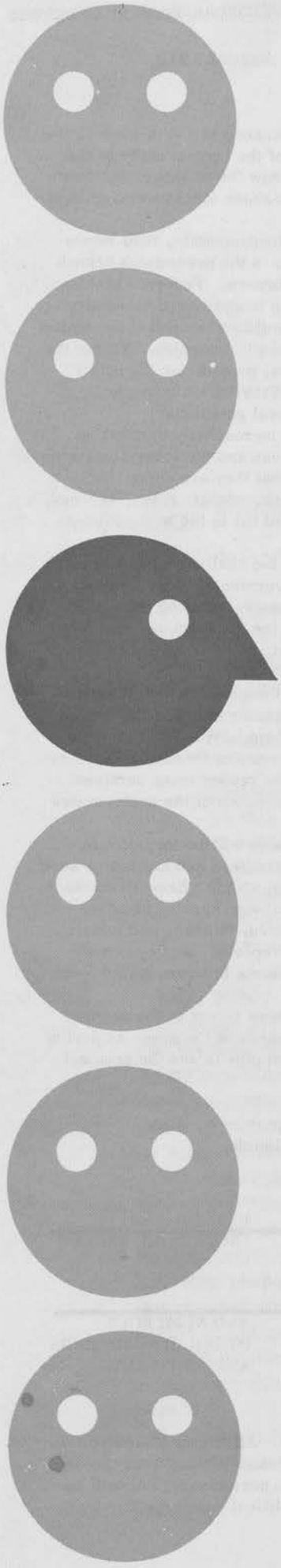


League of Women Voters of Minnesota Records

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Version 3
August 20, 2018



Ralph Nader Congress Project
Citizens Look at Congress

Walter F. Mondale

Democratic Senator
from Minnesota

written by
Judy Julian & Elizabeth Dean



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Version 3
March 18, 2019

hailed the Act, which is designed to help meet the special educational needs of Indian children, as "a hopeful and promising beginning in reversing our neglect of these children." The House of Representatives is expected to act on the measure early this year.

• CONSUMER PROTECTION. The Economic Stabilization Act of 1971 contains a Mondale-supported provision that allows consumers to sue and collect triple damages from persons who willfully raise prices above legal guidelines. The Senator fought for the provision in the Senate Banking Committee because he felt consumers needed protection against those who raise prices illegally. Such increases occurred frequently during the wage-price freeze, when both wages and prices were supposed to be stable.

• ATTACK ON CANCER. Senator Mondale co-sponsored the Senate bill to launch a massive attack on cancer. This bill was the subject of an extended national debate that resulted in enactment of legislation authorizing a $1.6 billion effort to find cancer's causes and cures. The final legislation preserves the essential relationship between cancer research and research directed at other diseases.

Spotlight: Clean Lakes

Congress is moving toward final passage of Senator Mondale's proposal to help communities clean up and protect their fresh water lakes.

The Senate approved his Clean Lakes legislation in November as part of the 1971 Federal Water Pollution Control Amendments. The water pollution package is expected to reach the House floor soon after the Congress reconvenes in January.

The Senate-passed version of the bill would provide federal grants for up to 70% of the cost of restoring the quality of publicly owned fresh water lakes. The bill also would increase to as much as 70% the federal share of constructing sewage treatment plants to stop a major source of lake pollution before it starts.

Mondale called the Senate's action "an historic step by the Congress," and said "we may now soon have a way to save America's irreplaceable lake resources."

A recent Senate report revealed that the lake waters of every state are now in danger. Minnesota, which has one-eighth of the nation's fresh water lakes, is no exception.

"Unless we act soon to safeguard these lakes, thousands may die from pollution," Mondale told the Senate in November. "I've received countless letters from communities and individuals who are anxious to preserve their lakes, but state and local governments simply cannot afford to do the job alone."

Enactment of the Senator's proposal could open the door for a dramatic expansion of lake pollution control programs involving every level of government.

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

Walter F. Mondale
U.S.S.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS MINN
555 WABASHA ST
ST PAUL MN 55102

Senator WALTER F. MONDALE

Reports to MINNESOTA

FIRST SESSION
92nd CONGRESS

CHILD CARE BILL VETOED

Dealing what Senator Walter F. Mondale described as "a cruel blow to children and working parents," President Nixon last month vetoed the Economic Opportunity Act.

The President refused to extend the Act because it contained the Minnesota Senator's program to provide quality day care and development services to America's pre-school children. Despite the fact that the voluntary program had wide bipartisan support in both the Senate and House, Nixon attacked it as being "radical" and said that it could replace the family with "communal approaches to child rearing." In fact, the measure was designed to strengthen the family.

Mondale responded by calling the veto "a totally indefensible act." He added that the veto message was "among the most irresponsible statements that I have encountered in many years of public life."

The Senator noted that Nixon himself had called in 1969 for "a national commitment to providing all American children an opportunity for healthful and stimulating development during the first five years of life." And he stressed that his program was designed to do just that.

"The simple truth is that this bill would provide developmental day care opportunities on a voluntary basis to the children of poor and working parents," Mondale said.

"In view of the President's attack, it is more than ironic that his own Family Assistance Plan would in many cases require impoverished families to place their children in low-cost warehouses—operated by a Washington-based bureaucracy—while the parents work."

Mondale was not alone in his worry over the veto. In an editorial entitled "Abandoned Commitment," *The New York Times* said "the arguments put forth in the veto message are not convincing."

"The veto suggests," the newspaper added, "that the President's concept of child care is limited to welfare cases and is only custodial at that."

Calling Mondale's child care program "the most promising piece of legislation pertaining to children to emerge from Congress in many years," the *Minneapolis Tribune* termed the veto "the latest anomaly" in trying to reconcile the President's "professions of concern about children with his administration's cutbacks in educational research projects, trims in the school lunch program. . .and recent lukewarm activity on behalf of health and welfare bills."

Mondale and other Senators made an

Controversy Over Butz Highlig

"I was very disappointed that the Senate confirmed Dr. Earl Butz as Secretary of Agriculture despite the unprecedented opposition to his nomination," Senator Mondale said after the close 51-44 vote.

The Senator opposed Butz from the start. "He is clearly not the man for the job," Mondale said after the nomination was announced. "His record shows that he represents too narrow a segment of agricul

After the vote over Butz might abandon his opp him more sympat Butz controversy bold new rural pro

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Within a day o principal Midwest

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Hearings Push St. Croix Bill

ST. CROIX FALLS, Wis.—Significant progress was made toward preservation of the Lower St. Croix River when the Senate Interior Committee held public hearings here in late October.

The hearings, chaired by Senator Henry M. Jackson, enabled local citizens to express their views on legislation that would add the Lower St. Croix to the National Wild and Scenic River System. The bill was introduced jointly by Senators Mondale and Gaylord Nelson (D-Wis.), both of whom testified at the hearings and took a boat tour of the River.

Mondale pointed out that the legislation was designed "to assure that future development along the Lower St. Croix will be planned, orderly, and consistent with the public's right to use and enjoy the river."

He observed that the Lower St. Crox "represents a unique and fading hope for more than two million Minnesotans and others from nearby states who seek the quiet, the beauty and the enjoyment that only a scenic river can provide."

"At a time when we are all victimized in one way or another by the increasing pressures of urbanization, we need places of refuge and natural beauty — places removed from the clamor of towns and cities," he added. "That is why I regard preservation of the Lower St. Croix — along with protection of the Big Fork and Kettle Rivers — as one of the key items on the Congressional agenda."

The next step for the bill will be hearings in Washington, D.C. They are expected to take place early this year.

Mondale Drug Bill Among Measures Passed By Senate

The first session of the 92nd Congress made halting but real progress toward re-establishing the constitutional role of Congress in foreign affairs, and in making policies in some areas more sensitive to human needs.

The Senate, for example, took the following important steps:

- Passed the Mondale Amendment to the foreign aid bill that authorizes the President to cut off foreign aid to any country failing to cooperate in the fight against drug traffic. This amendment now awaits action by the House as the final foreign aid legislation comes forward when Congress reconvenes in January.
- Also amended the foreign aid bill to prohibit military and economic aid to Pakistan until the war in East Pakistan is resolved and millions of refugees are allowed to return to their homes. This amendment grew out of a resolution originally introduced by Senators Mondale and Case (R
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AS I SEE IT . . . . . by Walter F. Mondale

Almost three years ago, President Nixon called for "a national commitment to providing all American children an opportunity for healthful and stimulating development during the first five years of life." I applauded the President for taking this stand and for creating the Office of Child Development in HEW. And I introduced legislation designed to build on his commitment.

Building on the successful Head Start program, my bill sought to provide quality day care and preschool education programs for poor children, and—for the first time—the children of working parents.

Since 1969, this legislation has been:

- the subject of more than 30 days of Congressional hearings.
- identified as the number one priority by the 1970 White House Conference on Children.
- endorsed by more than 30 national organizations that are concerned about children. They include the Academy of Pediatrics, the National Education Association, the United Methodist Church, the AFL-CIO, the U.S. Catholic Conference, the National League of Cities, the U.S. Conference of Mayors, the Council for Exceptional Children, the National Council of Churches, and the National Association for the Education of Young Children.
- adopted, in its final form, by bipartisan votes of 63-17 in the Senate, and 210-186 in the House.

Last month President Nixon vetoed this promising program. His veto message, which accused both Houses of Congress of favoring "communal approaches to child rearing," was among the most inaccurate and irresponsible public statements that I have ever encountered. His references to "family-weakening implications" are just plain wrong. But these allegations, along with a concerted propaganda campaign against the bill by right wing organizations, have produced considerable misunderstanding and confusion.

I want to set the record straight.

Whether the Administration wants to admit it or not, there are right now almost six million preschool children whose mothers work, and fewer than 700,000 licensed day care slots available to serve them. Our bill was designed to meet this need for expanded, *quality* day care, in a way that strengthened family and parental involvements, and emphasized parental choice.

That is why day care under our bill was entirely voluntary. Unlike day care under the Administration's welfare reform proposal, no family would have been required to place its children in a day care center.

And that is why our bill, unlike the Administration's—placed major responsibility for
ese programs with the parents of the children served.
ve composed at least one half of the governing boards
ms to fund. These boards also would have approved

ld have been administered locally—like the public
s close and as responsive as possible to the parents and

brought desperately needed education, health and
poor children. It also could have provided the same
ose parents are working—children who, because of the
re left to look after themselves or consigned to
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est investments America could make in her future.
ed program, and a Presidential message that insults the
igence of the American people.
re than unfulfilled commitments.

CRIME: Aid For The Victim

Senator Mondale has introduced legislation that would provide compensation to the innocent victims of violent crimes.

His proposal differs significantly from other proposed compensation measures in that it would cover the victims of all violent crimes—whether committed in federal, state, or local jurisdictions—and provide full reimbursement for medical and other expenses, as well as lost earnings.

There would be a ceiling of $10,000 on all other forms of loss, including pain and suffering.

The Senator's bill—the Compensation to Victims of Crime Act—also would provide a special $50,000 death gratuity to families of policemen killed in the line of duty and firemen killed as a result of violent crimes. Because the program would be administered by the Labor Department, it would be unnecessary to create any new agency.

"It is a mockery of justice that an innocent victim should be forced to bear the terrible experience of the crime and also the burden of paying for it," the Senator said. "The time has come, I feel, to enact a compensation measure of national scope. Our society has an obligation, which it has not met, to the crime victim—just as it helps victims of other misfortunes."

Abuses Cited In Nursing Homes

ST. PAUL— Testimony of abuses in Twin Cities area nursing homes was presented here Nov. 29 at hearings conducted by a Senate subcommittee concerned with care of the elderly.

The hearings were chaired by Senator Frank E. Moss (D-Utah), chairman of the Subcommittee on Long-Term Care of the Senate Committee on Aging. Senator Mondale, a member of the Committee on Aging, also participated.

Witnesses told the Senators of shocking conditions in some of the area's nursing homes—of unsanitary rooms, poor food, shortages of staff and doctors, and even the kicking of elderly patients. The hearings also revealed the existence of many good and excellent nursing homes, but it became clear that serious abuses do exist.

"If half of what we have heard is true," Senator Mondale said at the close of the hearings, "then the situation is tragic and deplorable." The Senator called for stricter enforcement of state and federal regulations governing nursing homes.

Since the hearings, Minnesota has put new nursing home regulations into effect, and Gov. Wendell Anderson has made additional funds available to the State Board of Health for expanding the inspection staff. The Minnesota Nursing Home Association, the Minnesota Hospital Association and the Minneapolis Age and Opportunities Center have agreed to work with the state to develop improved services and stronger inspection programs.

Commenting on the steps already taken, Mondale said he felt the state could remedy the situation better than the federal government.

Senator WALTER F. MONDALE

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Senator Walter F. Mondale (D-Minn.) was born in Ceylon, Minn., Jan. 5, 1928, the son of Theodore S. Mondale, a Methodist Minister, and Claribel Hope Mondale. He went to Minnesota public schools and Macalester College in St. Paul. He earned a B.A. with honors and then a law degree from the University of Minnesota. After two years in the U.S. Army, he entered private law practice in Minneapolis.

After two years as a Special Assistant Minnesota Attorney General, he was appointed Attorney General of Minnesota in May 1960. Five months later, he won election to that office. In 1962, he was re-elected to a four-year term. He was appointed to the U.S. Senate in December 1964, filling the unexpired term of Hubert H. Humphrey. He won election to a full six-year Senate term in 1966.

Senator Mondale's wife is the former Joan Adams of St. Paul. They have three children, Theodore, Eleanor Jane and William.

SENATE COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS

- Chairman of the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity.

- Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.
  Chairman of the Subcommittees on Children and Youth and Social Programs; member of subcommittees on Alcoholism and Narcotics; Education; Employment, Manpower and Poverty; Health; Migratory Labor.

- Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs.
  Chairman of Subcommittee on International Finance; member of subcommittees on Financial Institutions; Housing and Urban Affairs; Securities; Small Business.

- Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs.

- Special Committee on Aging.
  Chairman of the Subcommittee on Retirement and the Individual; member of subcommittees on Consumer Interests; Employment and Retirement Incomes; Health; Housing.

SENATE ENDEAVOR

Senator Mondale has worked on a broad range of domestic and international issues.

He has been particularly active on behalf of children, the undernourished, the elderly, the overburdened taxpayer and the consumer. He has also spoken out and worked to help migrant workers and the American Indian.

Senator Mondale's legislative initiatives and accomplishments include:

- Special attention to drug addiction. Legislation to cut off U.S. aid to countries that do not cooperate in an effort to stop growing and processing illegal opium, and a bill to establish a commission charged with developing a national program to control drug addiction.

- Legislation to create a Children's Advocacy Center and to promote early childhood development programs.

- Enactment of legislation requiring automobile manufacturers to warn owners of car defects. He also fought successfully for comprehensive federal meat and poultry inspection.

- Legislation that preserved the Upper St. Croix River and Voyageur's National Park for the people of Minnesota and the Nation.

- A bill to establish a Council of Social Advisers which would monitor social problems and recommend efficient use of resources in solving them.

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League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 555 Wabasha, St. Paul, Minnesota 55102 August 1972

Responses to Questionnaire for Candidates for U.S. Senate
in the
1972 State Primary and General Elections

Name of Candidate: RICHARD LEAF Age 46
Home Address: 3319 Irving Ave. So., Minneapolis, MN
Party: Independent - D.F.L.

Biographical Information

A. Education: High School, North High School, Minneapolis, 1945
B. Occupation: Construction - Labor - Union 563
C. Please describe any previous occupation, political office or training and experience that would qualify you for this office: Have been active 5 years in the civic problems in the State of Minnesota.

Questionnaire for Candidates for Congress:

1. What do you consider the three top national priorities for the next Congress?
   Over Taxation
   Government spending
   Government in the and undercutting private enterprise.
   Homes - Land - Families - Church - Neighborhoods are all in trouble.

2. How would you achieve your goals in the following areas of public concern?
   (a) Environmental Protection
   Over Taxation
   (b) Health Care
   Over Taxation
   (c) Welfare Reform
   Over Taxation
   (d) Financing education
   Over Taxation
3. How can federal governmental machinery become more responsive to all citizens?
   Get out of personal lives of the taxpayers.

Name of Candidate: WALTER F. MONDALE Age 44
Home Address: Afton, MN
Party: DFL

Biographical Information

A. Education: Heron Lake and Elmore Public Schools
   Attended Macalester College and graduated University of Minnesota, 1951
   (B.A. with honors)
   LL.B. University of Minnesota Law School, 1956
   Member of University of Minnesota Law Review
B. Occupation: United States Senator
C. Please describe any previous occupation, political office or training and experience that would qualify you for this office: Attorney, Minneapolis; Special Assistant, Attorney General of Minnesota; Attorney General of Minnesota, 1960-64; United States Senator, 1964 to present: Chairman, Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity; Member, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare; Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs; Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs; Special Committee on Aging. Chairman of the following subcommittees: Children and Youth; Social Problems; International Finance; Retirement and the Individual.

Questionnaire for Candidates for Congress:

1. What do you condier the three top priorities for the next Congress?
   (1) Ensuring economic and social justice for all Americans, with particular emphasis on the need for jobs, an end to inflation, decent farm income, a fair

and equitable tax structure, and quality education.

(2) Reordering national priorities toward meeting urgent human needs, by eliminating waste and unjustifiable programs such as the space shuttle.

(3) Reordering of our international relations to provide the foundations for a stable peace in Indochina, the Middle East and other troubled areas in the world. The first priority must be the immediate end to America's military involvement in Indochina, contingent only on return of American prisoners and an accounting of those missing in action.

2. How would you achieve your goals in the following areas of public concern?

(a) Environmental Protection

I will support all reasonable measures to expand Federal environmental protection efforts - such as the anti-water pollution bill now pending in Congress -- and to upgrade enforcement of existing laws. I will continue to place special emphasis on legislation of special importance to Minnesota, including my proposals to preserve the endangered Lower St. Croix River and to implement a comprehensive nationwide clean lakes program.

(b) Health Care

Barriers to decent health care for all Americans must be eliminated through enactment of some form of comprehensive health insurance. More efficient methods of delivering health care must be developed, such as health maintenance organizations. The supply of health manpower must be increased through adequate funding of legislation enacted in 1971, and adequate funding is required for medical research aimed at developing treatment and cure for deadly diseases.

(c) Welfare Reform

Our present welfare system is administratively unworkable, expensive and inequitable. It does not serve even those it seeks to serve. We need meaningful and comprehensive reform which helps people attain self sufficiency without penalizing those unable to work, such as the Ribicoff substitute for H.R. 1, and we need programs of public service employment which provide jobs and puts those to work who are capable of working.

(d) Financing Education

Although education is and must continue to be a local responsibility, the local property tax has been stretched far beyond its limits. The federal government must increase its efforts to assist local communities in providing education of high quality for all children. I have sponsored legislation which would substantially reduce the need to rely on local property tax, and encourage equalization of school district resources without penalizing those districts now offering education of high quality.

3. How can federal governmental machinery become more responsive to all citizens?

The keystone of responsive government must be the continuation and improvement of efforts by non-partisan groups --- such as the League of Women Voters and Common Cause --- to hold elected officials and government agencies at all levels responsible for their failure to serve the public interest.

In addition, the following legislative reforms are essential:

(1) Tightened Federal campaign spending and financing laws, with Federal financing of campaign costs as an alternative to private contributions.

(2) Creation of a National Legal Services Corporation to insulate Legal Services from political interference.

(3) Creation of an independent Consumer Protection Agency, empowered to intervene on behalf of comsumers before other Federal agencies.

(4) Consumer and environmental class action legislation allowing private citizens to band together to secure legal redress against various abuses.

yards; or 60 ft above the existing terrain (whichever is higher).

The proposal suggests guidelines for the specific use of channels for various applications, such as highway communications assistance, home-to-vehicle, car-to-car, etc. The basic reason for such recommendations is to guide the service in an ordered growth, foreseeing potential requirements.

What would it be like to operate on class E CB? First of all, a class E CB system is intended to be—and definitely is—a short-range system. Range would be 10 to 20 miles mobile-to-base depending upon antenna height, location, etc. At 220 MHz communications range is essentially limited to line of sight. Skip communications and skip interference would be non-existent in the class E service. Communications quality and range would be very consistent since atmospheric conditions have little effect on 220-MHz propagation. Also almost non-existent on class E would be man-made interference (often found on class D) caused by such things as ignition noise, diathermy, and other industrial radiations. To summarize, if you've ever heard a very good police communications radio system, class E CB would be very similar in performance.

Is Class E right around the corner and what will equipment cost? No one can really answer that question. Too many factors are involved and too many details still require further analysis and discussions by the FCC. Best industry estimates put the proposed service at least a year away even if immediate rule making were to take place. It takes a while to put the machinery together for such a significant step in personal communications.

If you're currently considering getting into CB, take a close look at the present class D service which will admirably serve the CB'ers needs for years to come. Equipment in the $100 class is quite common in Class D. It is estimated that class E equipment will be in the $250–$300 rank when it is introduced. Manufacturers anticapate that it will take two or three years after the establishment of class E before unit volume will enable cost of radios to drop to $100 or $150. You may find that class D is the low-cost way you'll want to go or perhaps you'll choose to wait for class E. There's also much talk on the air by people who want both!

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR MONDALE

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, it is perhaps the mark of our critical national mood that when we see favorable articles about a public figure we usually suspect the hand of the politician's own press secretary. But the New Republic for December 25, 1971, contains an article on an outstanding Senator that was as laudatory as it was deserved. There is no cause for skepticism.

Entitled "Mondale of Minnesota," the article is both accurate and sympathetic in its portrayal of a brilliant Senator, close friend, and promising national leader.

In the U.S. Senate only 7 years, WALTER MONDALE has moved quickly to establish himself as one of the most resourceful Members of this body. This year he coauthored one of the most important pieces of legislation to emerge from the Congress in years, the day-care bill which President Nixon mistakenly and tragically vetoed.

Senator MONDALE's solid reputation is explained by his outstanding work in this body. Members of both parties have learned that when he takes the floor, they may expect, as a matter of routine, well researched, penetrating analyses, whether the issue is child welfare, foreign affairs, or any other matter. Moreover, they know that an issue will not be dropped once the glare of publicity fades; for when Senator MONDALE champions an issue, real work then begins.

I ask unanimous consent that this excellent article about one of our most talented colleagues be printed in the RECORD.

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

CHAMPION OF POWERLESS PEOPLE—MONDALE OF MINNESOTA

(By Robert Coles)

Minnesota in recent years has done rather well in Washington. Within the past three years two of the state's sons have joined the Supreme Court, one as Chief Justice; and in 1968 the state's two senators fought for the Democratic presidential nomination. Hubert Humphrey and Eugene McCarthy were sent to Congress and kept there by the people rooted in the Granger movement of the 1870s, in the Farmers Alliance and the Populist Party, in the effort of small landowners and workers of the Midwest to fight the economic and political power of Eastern banks and corporations. Both parties in Minnesota have responded to that popularist tradition: the Democrats with men like Humphrey and McCarthy; the Republicans with men like Charles Lindbergh's father, a strongly progressive congressman from the state's sixth district, former governor Harold Stassen, and most recently, former senator Edward Thye, who back in the forties and fifties was a vigorous internationalist, a champion of federal aid to the country's colleges and schools, an enemy of racial segregation.

Walter F. Mondale took over Hubert Humphrey's seat in the Democratic landslide of 1964. He was then 36, had been attorney general of Minnesota, and before that active in the state's Democratic and Farmer-Labor parties, which successfully bring together (in contrast, say, to what happens to Nebraska or Indiana) the workers of St. Paul and Minneapolis and Duluth and the rural people who predominate in the hundreds of villages and small towns that stretch from the Iowa state line to the Canadian border.

Right off Senator Mondale showed his inclinations. He chose, out of a number of possibilities, membership on the Senate's subcommittee on Housing and Urban Affairs. He has since joined an interesting group of subcommittees which do not have the political clout and power of the Judiciary Committee or the Armed Services Committee but have insistently and skillfully revealed how very much needs to be done if a wealthy United States is going to be just and free. The names of the subcommittees tell a story of our continuing difficulties: Migratory Labor, of which the senator was for a time chairman; Education; Employment, Manpower and Poverty; Indian Education; Labor; Retirement and the Individual, of which he has been the chairman; Housing for the Elderly; Consumer Interests of the Elderly; Health of the Elderly; and finally the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs and the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, of which he is now the chairman.

Mondale is an active, outgoing, attractive, and unusually intelligent man, who does not need legislative aides and administrative assistants to tell him what to say, what to do, or how to vote. His concerns are not shared by powerful lobbyists, or members of the military-industrial complex—all of whom have other things to do than worry about how, for instance, thousands of migrant children get along as they are dragged all over America, and at 10 or 12 or 13 set to work picking crops. "I am concerned with powerlessness," the senator begins bluntly when he speaks to a visitor, and he goes on to say what he has said for the record many times in the course of hearings held by his subcommittee on Migratory Labor: "I don't believe the American people really know just how impoverished and hungry and above all powerless so many of their fellow citizens are—not only in the urban ghettos, but in the rural areas, where migrants like the people I've heard testify before our committee live by the hundreds and hundreds of thousands. They move all over. They belong nowhere. They don't vote. Often their children don't even go to a school. It's a disgrace, and it's even *more* of a disgrace that the public doesn't know what's going on, because such conditions are not considered 'news.' These people just go on being exploited. They are paid less than other workers and they do the hardest work imaginable. I have tried to find out for myself how migrants live, and I want to help them—*really* help them, not urge band-aids for the deep wounds they have. It's easy to disguise the problem and talk about 'increased benefits' for them. Sure they need medical care and schools that even half take notice of their children; but the real problem is that migrants (and maybe a lot of other people, too) are *powerless*, which means they have no real say in what happens to them. They don't get the protection of a whole group of laws we enacted in the thirties to protect the working man, to guarantee him collective bargaining rights and a minimum wage and unemployment compensation and all the rest. This committee's job is to document all that."

Mondale knew about migrant workers long before he came to the Senate. As a youth he worked his way through college in canning factories and out in the rich farmland of Minnesota, where he saw first-hand how migrants live. He lived with them and eventually began to organize them: "That was something you don't forget. I guess every working man has heard those kinds of stories, even if now most workers have unions, which prevent such practices. I'll never forget how quickly it all happened: we asked for better wages, and a little money to tide us over, because the summer was unusually wet, and the crops couldn't be harvested for a while and the migrants were left sitting around with no money, nothing. The next thing we knew they were all packed up and shipped South, like so much bad merchandise. They were "troublemakers," and I guess I was too, for trying to organize them. We didn't get far that summer, but you have to keep trying. My father was a Methodist minister, and when I was a boy he taught us to care, to be concerned about social problems, and not to give up easily. We were fortunate to be in a state like Minnesota. In the finest of the small towns—in Ceylon, for example, where I was born—people are ultimately affected by the way Americans live up a hollow in Appalachia or on an Indian reservation or along that Mexican border of ours."

The senator has seen what goes on along the Mexican border. At six in the morning one day a couple of years ago he had been watching Mexicans cross into Southern California for hours. Finally a US Customs official told him to "get out of here." Mondale looked like a tramp, or a troublemaker. He had on khaki pants and an old sweater and a sports shirt. When told to leave he refused. He was then asker to identify himself. The long lines of Mexican nationals were then stopped, and their credentials checked. The senator has no illusions, however, that anything short of new laws will stop what he describes: "At one in the morning they start crossing the

written, the business community resisted innovation and wound up with some unpalatable reforms and a blemished reputation. Now with the social contract again up for revision, new social and environmental problems are generating increasing pressure for further modification and regulation of business. By acting promptly, business can assure itself a voice in deciding the form and content of the new social contract. By taking the initiative, it can contribute technical competence, rational analysis and imaginative innovations to the process of adjusting our system—but it must recognize that some adjustments are inevitable. Even now, the outlines are becoming discernible.

In certain areas, there may have to be new laws to force consideration of the quality-of-life dimension so that the more socially responsive firms will not suffer a competitive disadvantage at the hands of others who refuse to aid voluntarily. Businesses are likely to find themselves prodded persistently by governmental edict into concerted action on pollution.

The allocation of scarce capital to meet social needs, even at the expense of greater economic efficiency, is another area that will come in for attention. Unless business and finance take the initiative in this area, government may decree that a businessman must be concerned not only to find the quantity of money he requires but also to obtain specific authorization to use the funds in the manner he proposes. Investment projects not sufficiently high on the "social agenda" may have to pay a premium or wait in line for approval. There are already prominent members of Congress who would favor precisely this kind of directed investment.

In a related field, it can be anticipated that a more knowledgeable public will demand a higher level of marketing ethics than has always been evident in the past. Among the advertisers of the future there may well be large consumer groups, specifying what they will accept, and inviting businesses to meet their specifications. Is is not unthinkable that advertising agencies may directly serve these consumer groups to help make known their wants.

Because of the growing pressure for greater corporate accountability I can foresee the day when, in addition to the annual financial statement, certified by independent accountants, corporations may be required to publish a "social audit" similarly certified. In anticipation of this, businesses should begin now to seek ways of reflecting in their accounting procedures their concern for the less tangible elements of the quality of life.

In view of the emerging demands for revision of the social contract, a passive response on the part of the business community could be dangerous. Any adaptation of our system to the changing environment is far more likely to be workable if those who understand the system's problems share in designing the solutions. So it is up to businessmen to make common cause with other reformers—whether in government or on the campus or wherever—to prevent the unwise adoption of extreme and emotional remedies, but on the contrary to initiate necessary reforms that will make it possible for business to continue to function in a new climate as a constructive force in our society.

Not only does present-day criticism differ in focus and ultimate aim from that of the past, as I've tried to point out, but it also differs in scope. Where earlier attacks concentrated on one or two industries, today virtually all industries find themselves being raked with scornful broadsides. Consumerism is equated in the public mind with the idea of the individual against business—all business.

Contrast this with earlier waves of criticism. In the Granger Era, for instance, the railroads were the chief targets. During the Great Depression, the banks and Wall Street were the whipping boys. But today all these and more are under simultaneous assault, so all must join in the response. Isolationism can be as disastrous in business as in foreign policy.

In dealing with critics, I think all businesses would do well to keep in mind the words of Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, a master of judicial summation. "We must sail sometimes with the wind, sometimes against it," he said, "but we must sail and not drift or lie at anchor."

The urban affairs "pilot projects" initiated by a number of individual companies have been very much worthwhile, and have taught us valuable lessons about what can and cannot be done with limited resources. But the need now, as I see it, is for more massive collaboration by groups of corporations in diverse fields to tackle some of those major problems that surpass the resources of a single company. Businesses must learn to create consortiums to achieve social objectives so as to surmount their fears of inadequate effort, unsophisticated effort and effort exploited by free riders.

One area where they could be immensely helpful would be in the development of new towns, satellite cities and new towns within existing cities to accommodate the 75 million more Americans who will be with us by the year 2000. It is recognized that the bulk of the new growth will come through expansion of existing communities, but a significant supplement could come through newly created towns and cities. About a dozen of these new towns are now being built, but the need is estimated not in the dozens but in the hundreds if we are to provide adequately for the well-being of our additional population without worsening the problems of existing cities.

To build the number of new towns needed will, I believe, require two things: first, a new federal agency or an existing agency endowed with new powers for planning and obtaining sites in cooperation with the appropriate local authorities; and second, a private or quasi-public organization to provide the pre-development financing. As I envisage it, this might be a new kind of community development bank offering long-term bonds that would make possible full evolution of a new town.

The opportunities for broad business participation in such an undertaking are numerous. For example, banks and insurance companies could further the new town concept by purchasing their share of bonds to provide the initial capital. Industrial corporations could help by considering new towns as sites for the expansion of their facilities, thus providing the economic base and job support so essential to development. Beyond this, companies interested in land development could form a consortium to build a town once a site had been selected and could participate in the venture as co-sponsors.

If the business community can respond to criticism in active ways such as these and then relate the story of its successful performance, I think we can win over the majority of citizens and convince them that we are contributing constructively to the building of a better society.

By first recognizing that today's criticisms are different in kind from those of the past, we can then map out more intelligent approaches to meet them. As I see it, these new approaches should take into account the need for consistently better performance effectively communicated; the need for businessmen themselves to become reformers; and the need for all business enterprises, not just a few, to participate in the effort.

Since the early writings of Karl Marx, critics have been predicting the demise of the corporation and the downfall of the American business system. Thus far these predictions have not come to pass because through the years the American corporation has proven remarkably resilient in adapting to changes, and I am confident that it can and will demonstrate equal adaptability in the decade of the Seventies.

In my view the most successful companies, in the future, will be those that are creatively concerned not only with increasing the nation's wealth but also with enhancing the people's welfare.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, citizens band two-way radio is a system which has many multiple and worthwhile uses among amateur operators across our Nation. Besides serving as an interesting form of entertainment, this two-way communication has many useful services relating to emergency communications in the event of accidents or natural calamities.

The popularity of the citizens band radio is well established by the fact that nearly 2 million licenses have been issued by the FCC.

It is becoming clear to experts that the current class D citizens band will soon become too overcrowded to fulfill demands that will be placed upon it. There has been a proposal for a new class E citizens band. It appears that this proposal has some merit.

An article published in the February 1972, issue of Popular Electronics goes into this matter in some detail. Because this article offers more detailed information on this subject, I submit it for the consideration of Senators.

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:

CLASS "E" CB OF THE FUTURE?

Back in 1958, the Federal Communications Commission recognized the need and the right of individual citizens to have the safety and convenience of personal two-way radio. And so, it established our current class D Citizens Radio Service at 27 MHz. In past years, citizens radio has grown beyond the wildest dreams of those who created the service. Somewhere around 1,800,000 licenses have been issued with about 900,000 currently active.

As the number of CB users continues to grow, it becomes increasingly clear that more channels—beyond the original 23—are required. It is this very real need that has led many individuals and groups to present countless proposals to the FCC for its consideration.

Last year (see "Communications," POPULAR ELECTRONICS, September 1971), the Citizens Radio Section of the Electronic Industries Association recommended the establishment of the class E Citizens Radio Service at 220 to 222 MHz. It should be stressed here that the new proposed class E service would be in addition to the present class D service. Briefly summarizing the EIA proposal, the new service would utilize a relatively unused portion of the amateur 220–225-MHz band, and would provide 80 new channels. Industry sources indicate that 80 channels would provide uncrowded operation for a minimum of 2.5 million licensees.

Power output to the antenna would be limited to 25W, with special public safety agencies permitted to license a base station at 100 W output to the antenna when using this band to assist in public convenience or necessity for safety. Antenna height would be limited to 20 ft above the nearest man-made structure or natural object within 500

border, and at two in the morning American farm foremen start signing them up on the streets of those border towns. By three you can see the buses and trucks driving farther into California or Texas, and by five or six they're working. You can't blame the Mexicans; they get 20 or 30 cents an hour in their own country, and I met some in our country working for 60 or 70 cents an hour, way below the minimum wage. What it all amounts to is very simple: American farm workers are undercut—in several ways. Their wages are undercut by foreign labor; just as important, they can't bargain with owners when all the owners have to do is bring in hungry, docile, frightened Mexican workers. The problem of the migrant workers won't be solved until we close that Mexican border to imported, underpaid farm labor. No union in America could survive that—the use of foreigners by a company whenever it finds domestic workers too 'demanding.' And now Mr. Nixon and Mr. Mitchell have emphasized that they will try to close the Mexican border alright—to drugs."

Mondale has marched with California's United Farm Workers to the Mexican border in protest against the hiring of Mexican labor to break the strike Cesar Chavez and his men worked so long and hard to make effective. He has traveled to Alaska in order to see first-hand how Indians and Eskimos live, or rather, barely survive. He and his wife have gone on a "welfare diet," eating only what poor people on welfare can afford to eat: "I went on that diet and I went to the border to see, to feel, to *be there,* to experience what is going on, rather than read about it. A lot of people, well-meaning people, never know how it really goes for the poor—down along the Mexican border, or in the cities or out in the countryside, too. That's why I've wanted to take our Senate investigations out of Washington—and also, bring the workers themselves to the hearing rooms of government buildings. It's very hard, though; you hear heart-breaking testimony, and you wonder how the public can be told about what you and your staff have found—how these very poor and hurt people live and try to get by, against overwhelming odds. And, of course, you try to get laws passed that will help them."

Mondale's office has in recent years sent out one after another remarkable law to the Senate floor. He sponsored the bill, vetoed December 9 by President Nixon, to create an effective "child development program," one that would commit billions of dollars for "needed health care, nutritional aid, educational assistance, and social services." (The text of the bill provided a long and first-rate description of what hunger and poverty do to children psychologically and physiologically.) He has asked for an annual "social report" that would do for health and education what has long been done with the nation's business and commerce by the President's Council of Economic Advisers. He has proposed that the various legal services programs for the poor be given much more money and the kind of organizational and administrative protection they will need if they are to continue working for penniless clients, who have complaints against people rich enough not only to hire good lawyers, but exert all sorts of pressures on governors, congressmen, and the White House. A while back he went to Vail, Colorado, during the Senate's August vacation, to meet with some hundred lawyers from local offices of the OEO's Neighborhood Legal Service Project who feared that offices set up to help Navaho Indians, migrant workers in Florida and California, and ghetto residents were in serious jeopardy.

On Vietnam, Mondale is candid "I came to the Senate in 1964 and didn't know much about Asia and Vietnam, like many others here in Washington at that time. I supported the President at first. In all honesty I think I was wrong, and over the past few years I've said why. I guess I began to wonder what was *really* going on there in 1966, and that's why I went to Vietnam then. I became more and more concerned as I listened to the growing dissent of people I respected very much. I eventually became totally convinced that this country has been terribly hurt by that war; not only have we lost men and wealth, but our whole sense of what is and is not important has been affected for the worse. In recent years I have spent hours with students all over the country, and I believe I've heard and responded to their message; they see us in a moral and political swamp, full of corruption, intrigue, and worse. I think over time a lot of us came to see that—but it took us too much time, much too much."

He worries about the future. Are we headed for years and years of conservative rule, with high military budgets and stingy, if well-advertised domestic expenditures for what he calls our "human needs"? He can range wide and eloquent on the subject: "I don't believe the people want a stop to the progressive legislation we've put through since 1933. Yes, you have the backlash, and the fear of the ordinary worker that he's being left out. He is, too. He needs more efficient and less expensive—less ruinous, if the illness is serious—medical care. He needs to be protected from fraudulent advertising and from products that are useless or dangerous. He deserves a tax system that gives him as much consideration as the oil industry or a millionaire who somehow ends up paying nothing to the government every April 15. I've talked in union halls, to steelworkers, to men and women who work hard all day and try desperately to make ends meet and have a little left over for a vacation or maybe some repairs on the house. They're not fed up with the thought of more social legislation.

They know what they want and need. I'll start talking about some of these problems and they won't let me go. The problem is that we've talked a lot about changing things, about fighting poverty and improving our national life—but we've voted a pittance of money to achieve these goals. Then we turn around and say the people are 'fed up,' and of course they are—at a lot of words that aren't backed up by concrete, well-subsidized action. I hear that there's a new majority and that they can be brought together on negative promises: we won't bother you on school desegregation; we won't ask you to do this or that for the next guy. People will get wise to that kind of appeal after a while. They can be scared and frustrated, but if my party keeps saying what it's for, not against, the majority of the American people will listen, as they have in the past."

Mondale keeps on trying: "Three minutes after we launched our men to the moon from Cape Kennedy I banged the gavel here in Washington to open hearings on the miserable conditions of the blueberry pickers in eastern North Carolina. I was proud to be in Washington that day, holding those hearings. The pickers were out on strike, and we thought we should listen to their complaints. Perhaps we belong on the moon, but we surely belong there, in North Carolina, aiding such workers—belong there with all the resources the nation could mobilize, if it only wanted to do so."

There are times when the mind dreams of what it would be like if an effective majority of the Senate shared Senator Mondale's concerns, and if the President of the United States did, too. One can also wonder how the American working man would respond to a presidential candidate like Mondale. But most senators like him, senators who carry on the populist tradition, stand little chance of heading a national ticket. They are apt to be without means, they speak too bluntly, they show a deeply felt compassion that gets them nowhere with lobbyists and tends to turn off many of those rich "backers" who decide for their own reasons whether a candidate will ever have a chance to get going and stay going.

U.S. EXPROPRIATION POLICY—SHORTSIGHTED

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I invite the attention of Senators to the recent Presidential pronouncement concerning expropriations of U.S. private companies abroad.

I believe that the editorial in the Washington Post aptly characterized the policy as shortsighted. Instead of additional fuel to the charges by developing nations that the interest of the United States is primarily one based on the private interest of foreign investors, we should seek to divorce Government policy from private interests. Our primary goals should be to encourage social and economic development of the low-income nations of the world as a fundamental prerequisite for political stability. The expropriation policy enunciated by the President works against these goals.

And in the general context of our relations with Latin America, this policy is viewed as an affront to independent nations. It will be resented by Venezuela or Costa Rica as much as by Chile. For these nations naturally object to the President deciding that it is not in their interests to nationalize any American company.

The action by the President reflects an accommodation with the corporate interests of the United States, an assurance that the administration will stand with them, regardless of their past activities, against the decisions of Latin American governments.

This announcement by the President is merely another indication that there exists at the White House a disturbing lack of understanding of the forces at play in Latin America. From the original decision to send Governor Rockefeller on a study tour through Latin America to the imposition of the import surcharge last August, and now to the current expropriation announcement, there has been a demonstrated absence of interest and absence of understanding of the needs of the people of Latin America. I hope that attitude changes before it is too late.

The expropriation decision also contained a disturbing change in U.S. policy toward multilateral institutions. As part of the economic retaliation against a nation which expropriates U.S. companies, it is now to be our policy to oppose those nations' development loan requests in multilateral institutions.

I find this policy decision particularly disturbing. It implies that multilateral agencies such as the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank are our tools to wield however we wish. It directly conflicts with the President's previously expressed view that we should be seeking a partnership with other nations in multilateral development efforts.

I ask unanimous consent that articles in the New York Times and the Washington Post concerning the President's decision be printed in the RECORD at this point, as well as the Washington Post

editorial which aptly cites the negative consequences of this policy.

Also, since this decision obviously was prompted by the recent events in Chile, I would ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the commentary on the Chilean expropriation by a group of Rutgers University scholars.

Also, I would urge that a short treatise on the question of private foreign investment and the need for alternative strategies, a study by Prof. Albert O. Hirschman, be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the New York Times, Jan. 20, 1972]

NIXON ANNOUNCES TOUGH U.S. STAND ON EXPROPRIATION

(By Robert B. Semple, Jr.)

WASHINGTON, January 19.—President Nixon announced today that the United States would now follow a tougher attitude toward foreign countries that expropriate private American holdings without adequate and swift compensation.

He said in a statement that foreign countries could assume that the United States would refuse to make any new aid agreements with them unless they were taking "reasonable steps" to provide just compensation, or unless there were other factors that in the judgment of the United States required the continuation of aid.

The statement, issued at the White House, appeared to be directed largely at several Latin-American countries that have nationalized United States investments.

INTERNATIONAL LAW CITED

The key passage declared:

"Under international law, the United States has a right to expect that the taking of American property will be nondiscriminatory; that it will be for a public purpose; and that its citizens will receive prompt, adequate, and effective compensation from the expropriating country.

"Thus when a country expropriates a significant United States interest without making reasonable provision for such compensation to United States citizens, we will presume that the United States will not extend new bilateral economic benefits to the expropriating country unless and until it is determined that the country is taking reasonable steps to provide adequate compensation or that there are major factors affecting United States interests which require continuance of all or part of these benefits."

For the first time Mr. Nixon set forth a systematic Presidential view of expropriations. Officials said that until now most expropriations had been handled case by case without general guidelines.

The new policy represents a compromise between the positions taken by John B. Connally, Secretary of the Treasury, and the State Department. Mr. Connally had wanted an automatic cutoff of United States loans to countries that take over private foreign holdings without prior settlements. The State Department had wanted more flexibility.

Economic retaliation will not be automatic, as the Treasury had hoped, but the new policy includes the threat of eventual retaliation if the expropriating country fails to move quickly to provide compensation.

Peter C. Peterson, the President's foreign economic adviser, who briefed newsmen, said that the policy should also "accelerate decisions" on expropriations and presumably those decisions would be to withhold funds.

The State Department got the flexibility it wanted, however, in Mr. Nixon's language permitting aid to continue if other "major factors"—that is, national security—were considered more important than prompt and fair compensation. The State Department had argued that an approach that was too tough would jeopardize American foreign policy interests for the sake of a few investors.

The statement also said that to strengthen its bargaining position with nations that expropriate American-owned companies, the United States could be expected to "withhold its support from loans under consideration in multilateral development banks."

This was a reference to the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank and other international lending institutions in which the United States, because of its large contributions, wields great influence. In the case of the Inter-American Bank, its influence permits it to veto long-term, interest-free loans to countries of whose policies it disapproves.

The statement said that the new policy would not apply to "humanitarian assistance"—earthquake and famine relief, for example. And Mr. Peterson emphasized that any cutoff in aid would not apply to funds already obligated, but to "new requests."

The debate within the Administration that finally produced today's statement began after several Latin-American countries, including Chile, Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia, expropriated private foreign holdings of which the United States share is estimated by its owners to be worth between $500-million and $1-billion. A large part of this is accounted for by the holdings of three major copper companies—Kennecott, Anaconda, and Cerro—seized by Chile.

In his statement, Mr. Nixon voiced strong belief in the value of foreign aid, especially to less-developed nations. But he suggested that the chief victim of expropriation was not the United States but the country that stood to lose American investment—both public and private—because of its actions.

Mr. Nixon said that "the wisdom of any expropriation is questionable," but he did not deny the right of a nation to take such action.

Mr. Peterson readily conceded in his briefing that the Administration hoped the new policy statement would head off mounting sentiment in Congress for "mandatory withholding" of aid. And Mr. Nixon, in his statement, made an appeal for more Congressional support for the United States contribution to the Inter-American Development Bank.

"Our contributions to this bank represent our most concrete form of support for regional development in Latin America," he said. "While the Congress did approve partial financing for the bank before the recess, it is urgent that the integrity of this international agreement be preserved through providing the needed payments in full."

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 20, 1972]

PRESIDENT WARNS OF AID CUTOFF WHEN U.S. PROPERTY IS SEIZED

(By Carroll Kilpatrick)

President Nixon announced a new and tougher policy yesterday against nations that expropriate U.S. property without paying compensation.

He said that in most cases the United States will approve no new economic aid to nations that expropriate American property without reasonable compensation.

He also said that the United States will oppose the granting of loans to those countries by such international agencies as the World Bank.

The new policy statement is aimed particularly at Latin American nations and it is designed to answer congressional critics who have argued that the administration has not followed a clear line in dealing with the problem. Officials acknowledged that the new policy statement would not be a panacea, but they said it would act as a warning to nations considering expropriation. They said that it should influence some countries not to expropriate.

The new policy is not retroactive, so it does not apply to countries like Chile and Peru that have expropriated American property in recent years.

The President's aim in defining his policy more clearly is to remove some objections in Congress to foreign aid. The expropriation question has become a major issue in Congress in foreign aid fights, with some congressment arguing that they could not vote for aid while recipient countries were expropriating American property.

Officials said that while the Treasury Department has consistently pressed for a tougher line than the State Department—which said no action here could stop a nation bent on expropriation—there was agreement on the final statement.

It was clear from the President's statement that overriding interests of national policy might allow for some exemptions from the stated policy. But he said the "presumption" is that the United States will grant no new economic aid and that it will oppose new loans in the international agencies when a country violates the principles he laid down.

"When a country expropriates a significant U.S. interest without making reasonable provision for such compensation to U.S. citizens, we will presume that the U.S. will not extend new bilateral economic benefits to the expropriating country unless and until it is determined that the country is taking reasonable steps to provide adequate compensation or that there are major factors affecting U.S. interests which require continuance of all or part of these benefits," Mr. Nixon said.

Peter G. Peterson, the President's assistant for international economic policy, said that in 1970 the U.S. had private overseas investments valued at about $78 billion, of which about $20 billion was in the less developed countries.

In 1960, Peterson said, over 35 per cent of American private investment abroad was in less developed countries but by 1970 only 28 per cent was in these countries.

The decline in the percentage of investment in the less developed countries, he said, was in part due to "a rapidly growing concern over investment security."

The President said that there was no argument over a country's inherent right to expropriate.

But he said that "such actions by other governments are wasteful from a resource standpoint, shortsighted considering their adverse effects on the flow of private investment funds from all sources, and unfair to the legitimate interests of foreign private investors.

"The wisdom of any expropriation is questionable, even when adequate compensation is paid.... Expropriations in one developing country can and do impair the investment climate in other developing countries."

To carry out his new policy, the President established an inter-agency group under the Council on International Economic Policy to review each case and recommend courses of action.

The final decisions would be made by him.

The Hickenlooper amendment to the foreign aid act requires that aid be cut off to expropriating nations, but the President may waive the suspension if he finds the national interest required it.

The amendment has been invoked only once, in the case of Ceylon, which expropriated property of two American oil companies in the Kennedy administration.

Officials said that the President's statement made more explicit than the Hickenlooper amendment the government's intentions.

"I announce these decisions because I believe there should be no uncertainty regarding U.S. policy," Mr. Nixon said. "The U.S.

January 5, 1973

The Honorable Walter F. Mondale
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Mondale:

On behalf of the League of Women Voters of Minnesota we wish to thank you for the generous amount of time you spent with us Wednesday, December 13. It was a very informative meeting. The League supports you in your efforts on behalf of programs to help the poor and to let them have a voice in shaping these programs, an independent legal service, opposing bans on busing, day care centers, Indian legislation, etc. We hope that the upcoming Congressional session may see some more successes in these efforts.

We appreciate having had the opportunity to meet with you. We congratulate you on your appointment to the Senate Finance Committee.

Very truly yours,

Elizabeth Ebbott, National Action Chairman
League of Women Voters of Minnesota

EE/jm

cc: LWV of the U.S.
Liz Ebbott
Mary Ann McCoy, President

dent Nixon and Vice President AGNEW. Chicago and Illinois are proud of him.

SENATOR WALTER F. MONDALE, OF MINNESOTA

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, since he entered the Senate 8 years ago, Minnesota's senior Senator, Hon. WALTER F. MONDALE, has won the high esteem of his colleagues for the dedication and imagination with which he has served the people of his State and the Nation. For this reason, I was delighted to see his record of service proclaimed recently in an excellent article by Alan L. Otten, and published in the Wall Street Journal.

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:

[From the Wall Street Journal, May 25, 1972]

WALTER F. WHO?

(By Alan L. Otten)

WASHINGTON.—Two political paradoxes make Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota an unusually intriguing Senator this year.

—At a time when many liberals are finding it expedient to duck for cover, he remains outspokenly liberal—a leader, for instance, in the fight against legislative curbs on school busing—and yet is commonly rated a shoo-in for re-election this fall.

—Virtually unknown to the general public, he is so highly regarded by knowledgeable Democratic professionals that his name figures high on many lists of possible presidential nominees if there's a deadlock at the convention in July. And while a presidential nomination for 44-year-old Fritz Mondale this year must be reckoned the longest of long shots, odds are he'll figure more prominently in presidential speculation in future years.

"He's good-looking, articulate, liberal without being abrasive,'" says a party activist. "He'd be the perfect candidate this year if only he weren't so far-out on busing, and didn't have to run for re-election."

Of his liberal credentials there can be no doubt. The son of a small-town Methodist minister, he says concern about poverty and inequality was drilled into him "over breakfast, lunch and dinner, and weekends to boot." Active from high-school days on in Minnesota's liberal, programmatic Democratic-Farmer Labor Party, he was named state attorney general at 32 by then Gov. Orville Freeman, and quickly built a reputation as a staunch fighter for consumer protection.

He was appointed to the Senate to replace Hubert Humphrey in 1964, and quickly zeroed in on urban and civil rights causes: open housing, legal services for the poor, conditions of migratory labor, hunger and malnutrition, Indian welfare. It was his child care bill—providing health, education, nutrition and other broad federal help for pre-schoolers—that President Nixon vetoed last year.

Along with most other liberal Democrats he strongly advocates lower military and space spending; he has led the fight, thus far very unsuccessfully, to block the space shuttle, even though one contractor, Honeywell, is a major Minnesota employer. With Sen. Mike Gravel of Alaska, he's sponsoring a move to cut off all Vietnam war funds within a month.

And as chairman of a special committee to study "equal educational opportunity," he has sought to build a record for far greater federal spending on education and for continued firm support of wider school integration. "It's much more complicated than I expected," he admits. "But I think we can now make a powerful case that a number of things are not being done, or done only half-heartedly, that offer great hope and promise." As examples, he cites pre-school programs, voluntary busing experiments, bilingual education, educational TV, metropolitan parks.

With so liberal a record, Mr. Mondale should be in at least a little re-election trouble, yet both Democrats and Republicans agree he's as close to being a cinch as any incumbent running this year. Well-known Minnesota Republicans ducked taking him on, and the party has just nominated a little-known minister, Rev. Philip Hansen, who'll have to fight a poorly financed, underdog campaign. "Why waste money trying to beat Fritz?" a GOP leader asks.

Minnesotans offer various explanations for this apparent anomaly: The state is more liberal than most, and traditionally gives its legislators considerable leeway; with a small black population, busing is not, except in the Twin Cities area, remotely the heated issue it is in many other large states.

But much of the answer clearly lies in Mr. Mondale himself. Though he often seems a trifle Boy-Scoutish on the surface, he is, in fact, a very tough and shrewd politician. He works extra-hard at keeping in touch with the folks back home—even in non-election years, for instance, he's back touring the state 20 to 25 weekends a year. He spends considerable time, too, on legislation of direct concern to the home-folks; trying to block railroad plans to abandon service, for example, or raise farm price supports, or expand federal efforts to combat Great Lakes pollution.

Fritz Mondale's strongest plus, however, may be the general air intelligence, solidity and fairness he projects. When unemployed scientists and engineers in Minneapolis criticized his space shuttle stand, he went back and met with them, listened to their arguments, gave his own. "They still don't love him, but maybe they at least respect his sincerity," an aide argues.

Concedes a Republican Congressman: "Voters seem to care less about his views on particular issue than the fact that he seems to them to be open-minded and honest and decent." Mr. Mondale himself agrees this may be crucial; "people are starved for the truth from politicians," he says.

The Mondale-for-President talk has a certain superficial logic. If there should indeed be a convention deadlock and Ted Kennedy still says no, why not a personable, telegenic Senator able to attract considerable center and liberal support? He has been a long-time associate of Mr. Humphrey and a close friend of Sen. Edmund Muskie, and his record certainly should make him more than acceptable to the issue-oriented McGovernites.

(Perhaps because of his leadership on school integration and other matters, liberals seem ready to forgive him for having long supported the Vietnam war. Though Mr. Mondale claims he began having doubts early in 1968 and argued for a dovish position within the Humphrey campaign organization that spring and summer, it wasn't until September, after the convention, that he publicly urged an end to the bombing. "The worst mistake of my entire career was to remain silent so long against the war," he now declares. "Some people in Minnesota still haven't forgiven me, and I can't say I blame them.")

Mr. Mondale pooh-poohs the dark-horse idea as far-fetched "Washington talk." Not only is it politically unrealistic, he believes, but "I don't have the stomach for a presidential race. I watched Hubert up close, and I don't like the way something like that tears you apart. I like some privacy, I like to see my family once in a while."

Anyhow, he says, "I love the job I have," and its potential for achieving the "decent society" he talks about. "There's a lot of power around here in Congress that's not being exercised for liberal ends," he declares. "Southerners and other conservatives don't let themselves get diverted, and it's time some of us liberals stayed around and tried to master and use the system, too."

NEW YORK TIMES CALLS FOR FEDERAL ACTION ON WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, earlier this week I commented on the report of the National Commission on State Workmen's Compensation Laws. I am pleased to note that the New York Times today editorially endorses the need for Federal action to implement the substantive recommendations of the Commission. As the Times editorial states:

> It will be an outrage if, at this late stage, pressure to keep hands off still frustrates action on the sound reforms the Commission proposes.

The editorial further suggests that ultimately workmen's compensation should be "integrated" with other programs providing income maintenance for workers such as welfare, social security disability, and unemployment insurance. I do deem this to mean federalization of workmen's compensation; and ultimately that may be a desirable objective. But, as the Times editorial suggests, until we are ready to undertake that task, we ought promptly to get about the business of getting a floor under State workmen's compensation laws. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the RECORD.

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

PAYING FOR JOB INJURIES

For nearly a half-century critics have been finding the same things wrong with the crazyquilt of state workmen's compensation laws: They are inadequate and inequitable. That conclusion has just been reached all over again by a national commission appointed by President Nixon under the provisions of the Federal Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970.

The important distinction this time is that the commisison proposes that Congress set 1975 as a time limit for action by the states to meet Federal standards designed to guarantee that workers would be more fully protected against loss of wages and other costs resulting from industrial accidents and disabilities. The commission stops short of recommending an outright Federal takeover of the whole compensation system, but its call for national yardsticks reflects more courage than either the White House or Congress has shown in the fact of past pressure from lobbyists for state governments and industrial interests.

It will be an outrage if, at this late stage, pressure to keep hands off still frustrates action on the sound reforms the commission proposes. What would be even better would be comprehensive Congressional action to integrate workmen's compensation into an over-all system of income maintenance for workers and for those in need of public assistance.

There is little sense to treating sickness pay, pay for industrial accidents, disability payments under Social Security, minimum wage, unemployment insurance and welfare reform as if they were watertight compartments unrelated to a general governmental approach to the problems of what a family requires to live or even what constitutes an equitable tax system. But until Washing-

ton is ready to face up to that larger assignment it ought to insist on a floor under state workmen's compensation systems in line with the commission's report.

THE GENOCIDE CONVENTION: TOO IDEALISTIC?

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, day after day I rise to implore the Senate to ratify the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

Critics might call those of us who call for approval of the Genocide Treaty idealists for believing that the Genocide Convention is necessary to prevent the destruction of a national ethnic, racial, or religious group. I would like to answer them by quoting the words of the late President Woodrow Wilson:

Sometimes people call me an idealist. Well, that is the way I know I am an American. America is the only idealistic nation in the world.

Since 1776 Americans have created ideals and striven to fulfill them. We can attribute the success of our country to the ideals which we have established for ourselves.

Idealism pervades our most cherished documents. Is not the Declaration of Independence the paragon of idealism? And yet opponents of the Genocide Convention argue that the convention is too idealistic.

How idealistic is the Genocide Convention? The Genocide Convention puts the lofty principles embodied in the Declaration of Independence into the framework of international law.

The Genocide Convention is a constructive attempt to diminish the threat of genocide. It is designed to prevent the destruction of a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group by defining genocide, outlawing it, and establishing procedures for trying and punishing it.

The Senate cannot reject the Genocide Treaty on the grounds that it is too idealistic for idealism is a characteristic of any treaty. Therefore, I ask the Senate to reconsider the idealistic nature of the Genocide Treaty and ratify it without further delay.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF SENATOR MOSS

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, it has long been my conviction that Members of Congress should make public disclosure of their income and assets. I have made such disclosure a number of times in the past, and I do so again today.

The statement I file this year shows an increase in the equity of my homes both in Washington and in Salt Lake City, and also some equity in a home in Holladay, Utah. I have acquired an equity in a building lot in Stansbury, a new housing development west of Salt Lake City, and have increased my savings. But, on the whole, my holdings vary little from those I made public in the past.

I should mention that I have lecture fees of about $5,000 a year, and approximately $300 in royalties from my book entitled "The Water Crisis" and from stock dividends. These are my only earnings outside of my senatorial salary.

My assets are so modest that some Members of the Senate may wonder why I make this information public. I do so because I feel that all public officials owe it to their constituents to report to them at regular intervals their full income and assets.

I recognize that the Senate has adopted a disclosure-of-assets rule, and I follow this rule faithfully. However, as we all know, that "disclosure" is not made public, but is merely filed away somewhere in a sealed envelope. How can constituents hope to know about the income and economic assets of the men they send to Congress if such information is held in an envelope by an appointed custodian? I favor full, public disclosure by every Member of the legislative branch of our Government. We demand disclosure of Executive appointees. Why should Members of Congress have any more privileged position?

Because I believe in public disclosure, I ask unanimous consent that my financial statement be printed in the RECORD. I should add that my wife has no separate income or earnings, so this statement applies to both of us.

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

Financial statement of Senator Moss
June 30, 1972

[All amounts approximate]

ASSETS

Equity:	
Home in Washington	$40,845
Home in Salt Lake City	14,060
Home in Holladay	7,000
Lot in Salt Lake City (unimproved)	8,000
Lot in Holladay (unimproved)	750
Equity: Lot in Stansbury (unimproved)	825
Average checking account	1,000
Savings account	2,440
Utah Employees Credit Union	395
1971 Dodge Dart	2,570
Personal note	7,000
5 shares Standard Oil of California	297
One share A.T. & T	42
Life insurance: Cash value	16,850
Total	102,074

LIABILITIES

Mortgage:	
Home in Washington	5,155
Home in Salt Lake City	17,027
Home in Holladay	27,016
Lot at Stansbury	6,176
Personal note	11,050
Loan on insurance policy	1,014
Total	67,438

NEW HORIZONS FOR HELIUM

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, helium is one of the most useful and intriguing of America's natural resources. Most of us know it best as the gas in circus balloons and blimps; but to industry and science it is a highly valuable and versatile substance with many properties which are unique among the elements. These unique properties—many of them known but little applied to industrial technology—hold great promise for the future well-being of our Nation's economy, environment and standard of living.

I believe it is highly important that we be aware of helium's present and potential value because it is a scarce material which, for all practical purposes, has but one source in nature. While it is the chief component of the sun and takes its name from the Greek word for sun, it is found in commercially recoverable quantities on earth only within certain natural gas deposits. And if the helium in these natural gas fields is not separated before the gas is used, the helium is lost into the atmosphere and can never be recaptured or replaced.

The Federal Government, through the Department of the Interior, sponsors a helium conservation program whereby helium is separated from natural gas and stored for future use. However, a proposal for discontinuation of the helium conservation program is presently under consideration.

To my view, termination of this program would be unwise and shortsighted. Helium's untapped qualities and unharnessed characteristics give it the potential for becoming perhaps one of the most important substances of the next century—perhaps even more important than uranium and other fissionable materials.

A short but enlightening article on one aspect of helium's promising future was published in the July 10, 1972, issue of Commerce Today. I believe it would make worthwhile reading for anyone who is concerned with the question of the helium program or who is interested in the likely course of technology and science in the coming decades. 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:

CRYOGENIC PROGRAM TO DEVELOP INDUSTRY

A Federal program to develop competitive new industry through the application of supercold cryogenic technology as a superconductor is expected to be undertaken under the leadership of the Commerce Department in the near future.

The President's FY 73 budget contains a request for $1 million for the first year's program planning and definition phase of an eventual $40 million program to help the electrical industry find better and cheaper means of generating electricity. The National Bureau of Standards will manage the program for the Commerce Department.

A Cryoelectronics Section was established within the Cryogenics Division of the National Bureau of Standards at its Boulder, Colo., laboratories in 1969 representing the fruition of a half-century of fundamental explorations in this field at the Bureau of Standards.

Specifically, this program, in cooperation with industry, recognized research institutes, the Atomic Energy Commission, and the National Science Foundation, would prove the feasibility of making a multi-million watt electrical generator and motor system which takes advantage of superconductors.

GREATER EFFICIENCY

Such an electrical generator is expected to operate with greater efficiency than present generators. A one percent increase in efficiency would mean that 20 million tons of coal per year could be saved. It would also mean a $4 million reduction in capital investment per generator.

Principal advantage, however, promises to be a marked reduction in weight and size

JAN 17 1973

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United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

January 15, 1973

Ms. Elizabeth Ebbott
National Action Chairman
League of Women Voters of Minnesota
555 Wabasha
St. Paul, Minnesota 55102

Dear Ms. Ebbott:

Thank you very much for your thoughtful letter commenting on our meeting in December.

It was a real pleasure talking with the League. I am always glad to have your support and look forward to it in the future. Please express my thanks to the other members for their warm reception and enjoyable discussion.

With warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Walter F. Mondale

Walter F. Mondale

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 555 Wabasha, St. Paul, Minnesota 55102
January, 1973
Pm - T

REPORT OF LWV INTERVIEW WITH SENATOR WALTER MONDALE
DFL - December 13, 1972

Committees: Finance
Labor and Public Welfare
Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, Chairman
Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs

Congressional Reform, Voting Rights: Campaing financing is the single most crucial issue in government. Large amounts of money are needed and a Congressman has to be responsive to those who make large, major donations, at least to the extent of talking with them. Senator Mondale doesn't believe that dollar limits work because there are always ways to get around them. He doesn't believe that public disclosure is the solution because conduits can always be arranged to hide the true source of the funds. Channelling funds through political parties can effectively hide their true source. Senator Mondale supports the check off idea where taxpayers direct a small portion of their taxes to the political party of their choice. He would like to have public funding of candidates in sufficient amounts so that those who want to stay honest can run an adequate campaign on that money alone. Others can spend what they want to, but they would be subject to questioning about this during the campaign.

For Minnesota, he is recommending to the DFL leaders that all advanced registration prior to election day be abolished. People would register as they vote, swearing that they were voting properly. If they were voting illegally, they would be subject to legal action which should be sufficient guarantee of honest elections. The present system of requiring registration in areas with larger populations apparently is based on the assumption that cities are more venal. This assumption is not based on fact.

Senator Mondale also endorses party designation for the state legislature and would extend it to cities of the first class. On the question of requiring registration by political party, the Senator feels it would be necessary if Minnesota decides to have a Presidential primary. Under the present conditions, he doesn't feel that party registration is that important.

Revenue sharing: The monies that are now being shared are in addition to existing grants-in-aid. How they are used will be watched closely. It is an idea that is being tried out and the results will probably be mixed. There are some jurisdictions that don't really need the money. There will probably be boondoggles, unwarranted salary increases, etc. Senator Mondale fought against and will continue to fight against special area revenue sharing. This kind of revenue sharing would wipe out the programs designed to meet special needs and would substitute general funds for education or welfare, or housing, etc. The Federal government is the only guarantee that these programs serve the poor and involve the poor in decision making.

Social programs, Welfare: Senator Mondale was discouraged about increasing programs to help the poor and minorities. Prom the election returns in Minnesota he is convinced that the blue collar worker has to be listened to. This group has traditionally been very strong in its support, but this year that support was lacking. To these people the issues of marijauna, amnesty, homosexual rights, busing their children back into the ghetto, every in-

creasing welfare burdens are threats and a politician who is identified with these issues is "nuts".

Nobody supports welfare. OEO could well be on its way out; it has no constituency. Senator Mondale has put in 3 1/2 years working for an independent legal services for the poor and has gotten nowhere. Four years ago the Senator sat in on the Ribicoff-Talmadge debate on school busing in which it was charged that the North was hypocritical. He became involved and now he is carrying the issue because no one else will. These issues take a lot of time and are alienating him from his constituency.

He will continue to exert leadership in these areas, but he doesn't feel very optimistic about them.

Indians: As a result of the "Trail of Broken Treaties" protest in Washington, central BIA leadership has been removed. Unfortunately the Indians are now back to having to deal with the regional directors, major obstacles in their efforts to control their own affairs. As a result of the Indian Education Act, a good deal of money for Indian education will be coming into Minnesota. Minneapolis should receive $200,000 or more. The League can help by working with Will Antell and making sure that this money is allowed to go to meet Indian needs.

Trade: Union pressure has become very strong that something be done to stop the "exporting of jobs". Senator Mondale is still committed to the free trade concept, but he feels that the United States has been the patsy in trade negotiations with the Common Market, Japan.

Environmental Issues: There is great concern over the President's withholding of funding power. Undoubtedly there will be a showdown on this. Senator Mondale would suggest, if it is needed, that the funds needed to run the executive branch be withheld until an understanding is reached.

There is a real fuel crisis and we in the mid-west are in a bind. Fuel oil is very limited. The Senator fears that the oil companies are using this to get higher prices.

It might make sense to use tax incentives to encourage recycling, but the question would be if it would cost too much money in lost federal revenues.

Senator Mondale's Committees: Senator Mondale would like to get appointed to the Finance Committee. This committee, similar to Ways and Means in the House, determines tax legislation, deals with welfare, trade legislation, health care legislation. (Senator Humphrey feels that he has a good chance.)

The interview was held in the Senator's Minneapolis office. It was attended by 5 State Board members, the Minneapolis League President, 5th District Coordinator, and 3 program people.

Liz Ebbott
National Action Chairman

December 1, 1972

Mrs. Jadwin
Appointment Secretary to
Senator Walter Mondale
443 Old Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mrs. Jadwin:

The State Board of the League of Women Voters of Minnesota would like to arrange a private meeting with Senator Mondale when or if he should be in Minnesota in December. A later date will be acceptable if December is filled. We would be happy to meet at his office in the Federal Building in Minneapolis.

One of our major interests is Congressional reform and possible rule changes for the new Congressional session. A copy of our position statement on Congress is enclosed. We would also like to talk to the Senator about welfare, foreign trade and aid, Indian legislation, and other issues of concern to our members.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Ebbott
National Action Chairman
League of Women Voters of Minnesota
224-5445

cc: Liz Ebbott
enc. Mary Ann McCoy

WALTER F. MONDALE
MINNESOTA

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

April 21, 1972

Mrs. D. L. Anderson
President
League of Women Voters
8409 33rd Ave. N.
Crystal, Minnesota 55427

Dear Mrs. Anderson:

Thank you for your recent letter regarding elimination of school segregation. I am most gratified by your support for my position on this important issue.

Busing is sometimes the only means to preventing racial discrimination in the public schools. I do not believe that school districts should be denied the tools needs to comply with the Constitution or to voluntarily undertake a school integration program designed to improve the opportunity for quality education for all children.

I am enclosing for your review a copy of the speech against school discrimination which I delivered in the Senate on February 18, 1972.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Walter F. Mondale

Enclosure

Same letter sent to Senator Humphrey.

May 31, 1972

The Honorable Walter F. Mondale
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Mondale:

Here are some new welfare ISSUES AND FACTS prepared by the League of Women Voters. We hope that as a co-sponsor of Amendment #559 you will find the information timely and useful during current Senate Discussion and debate.

We are pleased to inform you that Irene Janski of Richfield, Minnesota, immediate past president of the League of Women Voters of Minnesota, has been elected a director of the League of Women Voters of the United States. Mrs. Janski will be in Washington during the week of June 5th attending meetings of the national Board, and she plans to contact your office. We hope that it may be convenient for you to talk with her about our members' concern for welfare reform.

We welcome any information you may be able to share with us about ways we may assist you in your efforts in enacting this important legislation.

Sincerely,

Mary Ann McCoy
State President

MM/jm
encl.

cc: National LWV Office
Irene Janski
Gloria Phillips - Human Resources Chairman
√Liz Ebbott - National Action Chairman
Rosemary Rockenbach - Public Relations Chairman
Mary Ann McCoy

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 555 Wabasha Street, St. Paul, Minnesota 55102
January 1972

CONGRESSIONAL ACTION OF LEAGUE INTEREST - U.S.SENATE

92nd Congress - 1st Session

Walter Mondale - DFL

Committees: Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs
Labor and Public Welfare
Chairman, Children and Youth Subcommittee
Member, Subcommittees on Education; Health; Employment, Manpower and Poverty; Alcoholism and Narcotics; Migratory Labor
Chairman, Select Committee on Equal Education Opportunity

Y	N	NV	
			U.S. CONGRESS
			Co-author, amendment to Senate Rule XXII to reduce to 60% the vote needed for cloture.
			Signer, first cloture motion
X			--1st cloture vote, defeated (lacked 2/3rds) 48-37 (2/18/71 - #6)
			Signer, 2nd cloture motion
X			--2nd cloture vote, defeated (lacked 2/3rds) 50-36 (2/23/71 - #8)
X			--3rd cloture vote, defeated (lacked 2/3rds) 48-36 (3/2/71 - #13)
X			--4th cloture vote, defeated (lacked 2/3rds) 55-39 (3/9/71 - #15)
	X		--To table the appeal of the chair's ruling that a 2/3rds vote was required to pass the cloture motion. Passed 55-37 (3/9/71 - #16)
	X		--To table the proposed change in Rule XXIV to have party caucus nomination and Senate vote on chairmen and ranking minority members of all Senate committees. Passed 48-26 (3/16/71 - #27)
	X		--To vote cloture on debate on the Military Draft Bill. Passed (2/3rds present and voting) 65-27 (6/23/71 - #119)
	X		--To vote cloture on debate authorizing $2 billion in bank loans for failing major businesses. Failed 2/3rds vote 53-27 (7/30/71 - #178)
X			--To vote cloture on debate on Rehnquist's nomination to the Supreme Court. Failed. 2/3rds vote 52-42 (12/10/71 - #446)
			Co-author, to have calendar year as fiscal year.
			ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
			--To establish Joint Committee on the Environment. Passed 76-4 (3/16/71 - #26)
			Author, to add lower St. Croix, Kettle, and Big Fork Rivers to the Wild Scenic Rivers' system.
			Author, Clean Lakes Act, to help clean up lakes, added to Water Pollution Control Act (11/1/71)
X			--Water Pollution Control Act Amendments. Passed 86-0 (11/2/71 - #289)
	X		--Amendment, to increase the federal share of treatment works' cost from 60% to 70%, states must pay by grant 10%. Defeated 38-50 (11/2/71 - #288)
			HUMAN RESOURCES
			Author, Quality Integrated Education Act
X			--Educational Aid for Equal Educational Opportunities (became Emergency

Y	N	NV	
			School Aid Act in the House) Passed 74-8 (4/26/71 - # 54)
X			--Amendment to provide $2 billion/year for 10 years for metropolitan-wide approach to education problems. Defeated 35-51 (4/21/71 - #43)
	X		--Amendment that it be U.S. policy to establish uniform guidelines in all regions in dealing with school segregation practices. Passed 44-34 (4/22/71 - #46)
	X		--Amendment that funds be divided among the states in proportion to school population. Defeated 22-60 (4/22/71)
	X		--Amendment that parents have the right to choose the public school. Defeated 32-51 (4/26/71 - #51)
	X		--Amendment that prohibits busing children to change racial composition. Defeated 35-46 (4/26/71 - #52)
	X		--Amendment that the student has the right to attend school nearest home. Defeated 33-48 (4/26/71 - #53)
			Select Committee on Equal Education Opportunity held hearings on Charlotte-Mecklenburg case; status of black teachers; educational financing and inequality in educational resources.
			Author, low-interest home improvement loans for homeowners
			Author, to consolidate and extend federal housing programs
X			--To declare it the intent of Congress to assure free or reduced price lunches to all needy school children. Passed 75-5 (10/1/71 - #246) Co-author.
			Co-author, Rural Job Development Act.
	X		--Public Works Acceleration Program, Conference report (S575) Passed 45-33 (6/8/71 - #84)
X			--Emergency Employment Bill, Conference report (S31) Passed 75-11 (6/23/71) Conferee
X			--Amendment to provide an additional $5.62 million for the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, (restoring full budget amount) Passed 51-29 (7/19/71 - #148)
	X		--To reject the reorganization plan setting up ACTION, combining Peace Corps, VISTA, other volunteer agencies in one structure. Defeated 29-54
			Chief author, National Legal Services Corporation Act.
			Chief author, Comprehensive Child Development Act. Held subcommittee hearings on day care and child development.
X			--Economic Opportunity Act, 2 year extension. Passed 49-12 (9/9/71 - #220) Co-author. Led floor action on the bill. Conferee.
	X		--Amendment, to delete the provision preventing transfer of OEO programs to other agencies. Defeated 26-31 (9/8/71 - #214)
	X		--Amendment, to have the Secretary of HEW set the poverty level for free day care (instead of leaving it at $7,000/family) Defeated 20-44 (9/8/71 - #215)
	X		--Amendment, Child Development Councils to be advisory, not policy making. Defeated 17-41 (9/8/71 - #217)
	X		--Amendment, substituted Legal Services Corporation. Defeated 28-34 (9/9/71 - #219)
	X		--Amendment, deleting child development program. Defeated 17-46 (9/9/71 - #218)
X			--Economic Opportunity Act, Conference Report (S2007) Passed 63-17 (12/2/71 - #430)
X			--To override veto (S2007) Failed 2/3rds vote 51-30 (12/10/71 - #451)
			Co-author, Indian Education Bill

Y	N	NV	
X			--Indian Education Bill. Passed 57-0 (10/8/71 - #259)
X			--Alaskan Native Land Claim Bill. Passed 75-5 (11/1/71 - #285)
			Co-author Ribicoff amendment to HR1, Family Assistance Bill (10/28/71)
			FOREIGN POLICY
			Author, amendment to Export-Import Act to strengthen financing U.S. exports.
			Author, International Trade Act of 1971
			Author, amendment to allow Export-Import Bank financing of sales of non-strategic goods to East Europe.
			Conferee, Export-Import Bank Act.
			Author, to give Romania most-favored-nation status in trade.
			Conferee, Export Trade Expansion Act
			Co-author, resolution that U.S. not oppose admission of People's Republic of China to the UN (while not accepting that this means explusion of the Republic of China). (2/2/71)
	X		--State, Justice, Commerce Appropriation Bill, conference report, provides for no funding of the International Labor Organization. Passed 46-44 (8/3/71 - #190)
X			--Inter-American Development Bank, $900 million for 1972-3. Passed 49-31 (10/19/71 - #263)
X			--International Development Association, $320 million each year for three years. Passed 49-34 (10/20/71 - #264)
	X		--Foreign Aid Authorization Bill - Defeated 27-41 (10/29/71 - #284)
	X		--Amendment, to remove $101.5 million from U.S. contribution to UN development Fund and World Food Program of UN Food and Agriculture Organization. Defeated 28-55 (10/28/71 - #275)
	X		--Amendment, to reduce Economic Assistance Development Loan Fund from $445 million to $285 million. Passed 43-36 (10/29/71 - #281)
		X	--Amendment, to reduce military grant aid from $565 million to $452 million. Passed 47-27 (10/29/71 - #283)
	X		--Amendment, to have a formula to regulate the proportion of U.S. share to the UN. Defeated 28-52 (10/29/71 - #282)
X			--Foreign Economic Aid Bill, authorizing $1.144 billion for fiscal 1972. Passed 61-23 (11/10/71 - #304)
X			--Amendment, to exempt Alliance for Progress loans from the provision that interest rates are not to be less than current available rates. Passed 49-35 (11/10/71 - #302)
X			--Amendment, to remove the loan rate limits on development loans (to allow loans at less than current available rates). Defeated 42-45 (11/10/71 - #300)
X			--Amendment, to increase authorization by $125 million. Defeated 33-50 (11/10/71 - #301)
	X		--Amendment, that a formula be established to reduce U.S. share of voluntary contribution to UN organizations and programs. Defeated 39-46 (11/10/71 - #303)
	X		--Foreign Military Aid Bill, authorizing $1.5 billion for fiscal 1972. Passed 65-24 (11/11/71 - #308)
	X		--Amendment, increase security supporting assistance by $216 million, and military grant assistance by $102 million. Passed 46-42 (11/11/71 - #306)
X			--Amendment, decrease security supporting assistance by $85 million and military grant assistance by $50 million. Defeated 24-64 (11/11/71 - #305)

Y	N	NV	
X			--Amendment, to reduce ceiling on U.S. assistance to Cambodia from $341 million to $263.5 million. Defeated 43-46 (11/11/71 - #307)
	X		--Foreign Aid Authorization, Conference report. Passed 33-21 (12/17/71 - #455)

ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

Co-author, direct popular election of the President.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Co-author, Constitutional amendment to give D.C. Congressional representation.

X			--To table constitutional amendment giving Congressional representation to D.C. This was proposed to be added to the 18 year old vote. Passed 68-23 (3/10/71 - #17)
X			--D.C. home rule bill. Passed 64-8 (10/12/71 - #260)

APPORTIONMENT

Unanimous vote to establish procedures for calling a constitutional convention in case it is requested by 2/3rds of the states.

X			--Amendment, to require 2/3rds vote of delegates to propose an amendment. Passed 45-39 (10/19/71 - #261)

VOTING RIGHTS

Co-author, Constitutional amendment for 18 year old vote.
Co-author, to eliminate residency procedure for absentee registration and voting for Congress.

X			--Constitutional amendment giving the right to vote to 18 year olds. Passed 94-0 (3/10/71 - #18)
	X		--Amendment to the draft bill, a person registering for the draft to be informed of his right to be registered to vote in federal elections. Passed 47-31 (6/8/71 - #87)
	X		--Amendment to the draft bill to require states to notify women as well as men of their right to register for voting in federal elections. Defeated 28-56 (6/17/71 - #100)

OTHER ISSUES OF GENERAL INTEREST

	X		--Amendment to restore SST funds. Defeated 46-51 (3/24/71 - #30)
X			--Amendment to Supplemental Appropriation Bill, to remove $85.3 million for continued development of SST. Passed 58-37 (5/18/71 - #66)
X			--Amendment to Supplemental Appropriation Bill to appropriate $155.8 million to terminate SST. Passed 93-2 (5/18/71 - #67)
X			--Military Draft Bill. Passed 72-16 (6/24/71 - #187)
X			--Amendment, unilateral reduction of troops in Europe if there are no negotiations between NATO and Warsaw Pact countries before 13/31/71. Defeated 26-63 (5/18/71 - #60)
X			--Amendment, no funds may be used after 12/31/71 to support U.S. troops in Europe in excess of 150,000 unless authorized by Congress. Defeated 29-68 (5/18/71 - #63)
	X		--Amendment, barring assignment of draftees to duty in combat areas outside the U.S. after 12/31/71. Defeated 7-61 (5/25/71 - #74)
X			--Amendment, barring assignment of draftees to combat in SE Asia after 12/31/71 with the exception of volunteers. Defeated 21-52 (5/25/71 - #75)

Y	N	NV	
X			--Amendment, 18 month extension of the draft instead of 2 years. Defeated 8-67 (5/25/71 - #77)
	X		--Amendment, allowing conscientious objecting to a particular war. Defeated 12-50 (6/8/71 - #88)
X			--Amendment, McGovern-Hatfield, barring use of funds to support U.S. forces in Indochina after 12/31/1971. Defeated 42-55 (6/16/71 - #97)
X			--Amendment, to extend the draft 20 months instead of 2 years. Defeated 35-48 (6/17/71 - #98)
X			--Amendment to Foreign Aid Authorization Bill to strike Cooper-Church Amendment, withdrawing all U.S. military forces from Indochina. Adopted 47-44 (10/28/71 - #271)
X			--$250 million for emergency loan guarantees to major business enterprises (Lockheed). Passed 49-48 (7/30/71 - #185)
X			--Amendment, financing Presidential Election campaigns by tax return check-off. Passed 52-47 (11/22/71 - #385)
X			--Confirming Rehnquist Associate Justice, Supreme Court, Passed 68-26 (12/10/71 - #450)
X			--To close debate - Failed 2/3rds vote 52-42 (12/10/71 - #446)
X			--To postpone further action on the nomination until after January 18, 1972. Defeated 22-70 (12/10/71 - #447)

Conferee, Conquest of Cancer Bill.

WALTER F. MONDALE
MINNESOTA

JAN 14 1972

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

January 12, 1972

Ms. Mary Ann McCoy
Ms. Liz Ebbott
League of Women Voters of Minnesota
555 Wabasha
St. Paul, Minnesota 55102

Dear Mary Ann and Liz:

Thank you for your kind letter of the 6th regarding a meeting together with your state Board.

I certainly want to do this. As of now I am really not scheduled in Minnesota any time except on weekends. Would you prefer a weekday meeting or can the weekends be a possibility?

If you can give me some idea I will try to arrange this just as soon as possible.

Thanks for thinking of me, and I will look forward to getting together with you and the Board.

With warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Walter F. Mondale

January 18, 1972

The Honorable Walter F. Mondale
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Fritz:

We appreciate your cooperation in arranging a meeting time with the State Board of the League of Women Voters of Minnesota. We have no objections to meeting on a Saturday. For the next couple of months the only conflicts would be February 12th and February 26.

(I know you will be interested to know that on February 12 the Leagues of Minneapolis and St. Paul are holding a workshop on American Indians, stressing action. Leon Cook will be the main speaker.)

We hope the meeting can be arranged to fit your schedule soon. Thank you for your response.

Sincerely,

Liz Ebbott
National Action Chairman

December ~~12, 1967~~

The Honorable Walter Mondale
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Mondale:

It has been our practice for some time to arrange an annual meeting with ~~each of~~ our Senators and ~~some of the~~ members of our state Board. The purpose, as you will recall, is to give us an opportunity to discuss problems and issues of mutual interest to us.

~~The holiday season~~ prior to Congress reconvening has often proved a satisfactory time for us to get together, but this is entirely up to you. In fact, we would prefer that you set both the place and the date so that it will be as convenient for you as possible.

We look forward to hearing from you and seeing you soon.

Sincerely,

Mrs. ~~O. J. Janski~~ Mc Coy
President

Liz Ebbott
National Action Chm.

Please return
w/ carbon or
new letter.

January 6, 1972

The Honorable Walter Mondale
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Mondale:

It has been our practice for some time to arrange an annual meeting with our Senators and members of our state Board. The purpose, as you will recall, is to give us an opportunity to discuss problems and issues of mutual interest to us.

It has often proved a satisfactory time for us to get together prior to Congress' reconvening but this is entirely up to you. In fact, we would prefer that you set both the place and the date so that it will be as convenient for you as possible.

We look forward to hearing from you and seeing you soon.

Sincerely,

Mary Ann McCoy
President

Liz Ebbott
National Action Chairman



Senator WALTER F. MONDALE

Reports to MINNESOTA

Mrs. Ralph D. Ebbott
409 Birchwood Ave.
WHITE BEAR LAKE, MINN. 55110

END OF 2nd SESSION - 91st CONGRESS

Senate Kills Protectionist Trade Bill

A bipartisan bloc of liberal trade Senators, led by Senators Mondale and Javits (R-N.Y.), succeeded in preventing passage of protectionist trade legislation which Mondale termed "contrary to the interests of the American worker. . .violently and unequivocally anti-consumer. . .and a disaster for the American farmer."

The trade bill, which would have imposed quotas on shoe and textile imports, locked in the existing oil quota system, and opened the way toward numerous other trade barriers, was tacked onto the Social Security bill.

Also included in this "Christmas Tree" bill was the controversial family assistance plan, a number of repressive and unconstitutional changes in public assistance programs, and a brand new $2.2 billion national insurance plan – all on top of the basic Social Security, medicare-medicaid legislation.

Faced with powerful opposition in the Senate, the 546 page bill died in the closing moments of the session, and most of the highly controversial items including trade were dropped, allowing passage of vitally needed increases in Social Security benefits.

Mondale expressed regret that the House then refused to confer on the Social Security legislation, calling for prompt passage next Congress of a 10% increase along with a reduction in medicare-medicaid premiums.

In a major "post mortem" speech on the defeated trade bill, Mondale called for the opponents of protectionism "to take the offensive" by introducing legislation to meet the legitimate problems of foreign trade "without overthrowing the rules and inviting a world trade war."

He promised introduction of a bill next Congress which would liberalize tariff adjustment and adjustment assistance which would strengthen the bargaining hand of the United States in future trade negotiations with the Common Market and Japan.

"With the continued support of citizens and farm groups, workers and businesses, and with clear leadership from the Administration, I think we can not only avert a trade war but also repond to the remaining problems of international trade and the legitimate grievances of American workers and industries," Mondale said.

Lakes Act Funded

An initial appropriation of $1,985,000 was approved by the Congress for funding a new clean lakes pollution control research program sponsored by Senator Mondale.

This appropriation, with its provision for inland lake research, is a major breakthrough since it represents the first Federal effort toward the needs of the nation's fresh water community lakes.

"Minnesota has a substantial need for this program to both reduce pollution and the enrichment and aging process which are affecting many of our 14,000 lakes." Mondale said.

He said that this research effort "is only the start of a major national effort on behalf of our inland lakes," and promised reintroduction of his Community Lake legislation early next Congress.

Minnesota Voted A National Park

Noting that "it would be hard to find any non-park area in the U.S. about which there is wider agreement as to National Park quality," Senator Mondale has hailed enactment of legislation creating Voyageurs National Park in Minnesota.

Mondale, chief Senate sponsor of the bill, applauded the efforts of private citizens, government officials and concerned organizations in realizing this goal. He noted particularly the work of Congressman John Blatnik, chief House sponsor, and former Governor Elmer L. Andersen.

"This park will protect 219,000 acres of magnificent lakes, islands and forests, with all its wildlife, serenity and history, from ever being spoiled or destroyed."

He said the park will mean important new revenues to Minnesota's economy as a result of tourism, increased recreation and new facilities.

"These revenues have been estimated by State agencies at $37 million the first year, creating more than 3,000 new jobs in the State.

"In these times of recession and high unemployment, these results are especially important, and additional evidence that conservation of the natural environment is consistent with the long-term economic interest," Mondale said.



VOYAGEURS HEARINGS–Senator Mondale, invited to join Parks and Recreation Subcommittee hearings on Voyageurs National Park, listens as a witness testifies in support of creating park. To Mondale's left are Senators Frank Moss (D-Utah), Clinton Anderson (D-N. Mex.) and Alan Bible (D-Nev.), Subcommittee Chairman.



YOUTH IN WASHINGTON—Senator Mondale met with dozens of Minnesota youth groups who traveled to Washington during the 91st Congress. Mondale hailed passage of the 18-year-old vote and its successful Supreme Court test as "an enormous step forward in bringing our young people into our democratic system."

"JUSTICE FOR CHILDREN"

Improved Climate Sought for Youth

In a major Senate speech called "Justice for Children," Senator Mondale called for the organization of a bipartisan "Members of Congress for Justice to Children" to "work on behalf of the children of America." Mondale also called on the Administration to create and immediately fund and staff a Washington-based Children's Advocacy Center to work on implementing the recommendations of the White House Conference on Children.

"Our national myth," the Senator declared, "is that we love children. Yet, we are starving thousands. Other thousands die because decent medical care is unavailable to them. The lives of still other thousands are stifled by poor schools and some never have the chance to go to school at all. Millions live in substandard and unfit housing in neighborhoods which mangle the human spirit. Many suffer all of these mutilations simultaneously."

Mondale emphasized that bad health care, unresponsive schools, drug abuse, day care shortages, and inadequate help for the physically handicapped, mentally ill or mentally retarded child are problems which victimize children of all backgrounds.

"The children whom we are daily consigning to the scrap heap come from every income group, every racial group, every geographical area in our nation. And every child consigned to the scrap heap is a useful life lost to the country, and indeed a lifetime of costs to the taxpayers in welfare, prison or other expense.

"This is a problem in which the 'real majority' has a deep and vital stake. . .and the sooner we come to share the realization that this is in fact the case, the sooner we shall create in America the atmosphere our children need and deserve."

Mondale recommended a total reexamination of our institutions in terms of 10 key words: resources, size, regulation, accountability, advocacy, participation, innovation, national standards, legal rights and options.

Finally, Mondale concluded by saying, "What I have been saying comes down to a few simple sentences. We have to place a higher priority on our children and their families than we do on expensive military gadgetry or extravagant space explorations. And we desperately need to instill some understanding, humaneness and sensitivity into the existing institutions which are supposed to serve our children.

"We need to instill an attitude of respect for a child's heritage, for his family, and for his individuality and his potential. We need to involve children themselves and their parents in a significant decision-making role in these institutions.

"We need to recognize that we can and must provide far greater life chances for our children than we do now. Our children are our chance for change. They are our bridge to a better world. They are our only hope. Let us begin to act like we understand this."

AS I SEE IT

by Walter F. Mondale

The 91st Congress is over. It ended in a long and often frustrating "lame duck" session, but was marked by a continuation of the effort to shift our nation's priorities and to restore Congressional authority over matters of war and peace.

Dominating the concern of the Congress was our deteriorating economy. The current recession has seen unemployment reach its highest level since 1964, with nearly 2 million jobless added in the last year alone — including an increase of 29,000 or 37% in Minnesota. To stem persisting inflation, restore high employment, and bring relief to such hard-pressed sectors as farming and construction, the Congress moved on a number of fronts, often meeting Administration resistance and even Presidential vetoes.

The 1970 manpower bill, vetoed by the President, would have expanded and reformed our many training programs and provided vitally needed jobs in the public sector. Legislation was also passed giving standby credit, price and wage control authority to the President — authority which remains unused. The Administration's veto of expanded Housing and Urban Development funding and its resistance to meaningful farm parity thwarted Congressional attempts to restore economic health to these sectors. So far, the Administration's economic game plan has prevailed and the economy continues to suffer, but I am hopeful that Congressional action in the next session can return us to growth and stability.

The 91st Congress met with some success in the effort to shift national priorities. Here, too, the Senate frequently clashed with the Administration, and here too, with mixed results. Permanent funding for the SST was denied. The request for still another nuclear aircraft carrier was denied; and several billions were cut from Administration budget requests for space, ABM and other wasteful Pentagon projects.

Congressional efforts to channel resources into education, hospital construction, housing, veterans care, manpower training and public service employment all met Presidential vetoes, but at least the education and hospital construction vetoes were overridden and these programs preserved.

Crime, unrest and drug abuse were the focus of much legislation. Significant gaps remain, however, particularly the need for court reform and for massive assistance to states and local governments. I look forward to action on these problems, and hope soon to have completed work, along with other Senators, on a bill to enact such reforms.

Congress responded to the new "environmental awareness" by strengthening air pollution standards, increasing programs for water pollution control and ratifying the new Environmental Protection Agency. Of particular importance to Minnesota was passage of the Voyageurs Park legislation and the first funding of research into the restoration and preservation of our fresh water community lakes.

The reestablishment of Congressional control over foreign policy and the making of war and peace continued at a slow pace. Successful passage of the Church-Cooper amendment placed controls over the reintroduction of troops into Cambodia, but events and goals in Southeast Asia — as in other foreign policy arenas — continue to be shrouded by secrecy and removed from effective Congressional control.

As I see it, no quick message can do justice to the accomplishments — or to the failures — of any Congress. Although I shared the frustration of many Americans over some of the prolonged Senate debates, I think our nation, on balance, gained enormously from discussions of the ABM, SST, women's rights, trade policies, Cambodia and other matters. I look forward to a new Congress and to the tasks ahead, and I thank all of you for the help you have given me in the year just ended.

Veto Adds to Economic Woes

"I think it is time for the Administration to stop playing games with American workers," Senator Mondale said in commenting on the Presidential veto of the Employment and Manpower Act.

The Senator said the veto was inspired because the legislation conflicted with the Administration's 'game plan' for cooling the economy through high unemployment.

"It is both tragic and incredible that the Administration vetoed a bill which would have created 400,000 vitally-needed public service jobs at a time when 4.6 million Americans — 78,000 Minnesotans — are jobless.



HOUSING CONCERN — Senator Mondale (center), a member of the Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs, sponsored legislation increasing the funds available for low rent public housing program. Here Mondale visits with HUD Secretary George Romney (right), and Samuel Simmons, HUD Assistant Secretary for Equal Opportunity.

CONGRESSIONAL REFORM

Senator Mondale called for reforms in the next Congress which would make the House and Senate "more responsive to the needs of the nation and the will of the people. He called, in particular, for reforms to make it easier to end filibusters and to allow the selection of committee chairmen "on the basis of ability rather than longevity."

"But the challenge of the next two years is not simply to put these men and women back to work. We must, at the same time, convert from an economy dominated by a war in Vietnam, by a legacy of incredible waste in the Pentagon, and by the enormous expense of placing men on the moon, to an economy devoted to the betterment of the human environment."

Stressing the need for a sound plan of economic conversion, Mondale noted that "we have taken the first step — however small and tentative — toward an end to the war in Vietnam and a reordering of our national priorities.

"We cannot afford to stumble into the blessings of peace with no adequate plan. We cannot afford to reorder our priorities only half way, cutting out billions of dollars of Pentagon waste without redirecting those billions into productive work."

Mondale said that the government of a free economy faces no more crucial a test than its ability to ensure lasting and productive employment for all those willing and able to work.

Mondale Calls Rural Effort 'Spotty'

The Congressional record in the area of agriculture and rural affairs was "spotty," according to Senator Mondale, a former member of the Agriculture Committee.

The final farm bill enacted after nearly two years of discussion was a disappointment. Deleted from the bill were provisions guaranteeing feed grain producers a meaningful 75% of parity, and providing wheat and feed grain participants advance payments upon signup. Both were sponsored by Senator Mondale.

The bill as passed contains a new "set aside" provision, limits subsidy payments to $55,000, and extends wool, Food for Peace and Dairy Class I programs for three years.

The Congress overrode Administration requests to terminate the Special Milk and Agricultural Conservation Programs. The latter was then renamed the Rural Environmental Assistance Program.

Several bills sponsored by Senator Mondale were enacted into law. Included were the Waterbank bill, Potato Research and Promotion bill, and Recreation Development bill.



CAPITOL CAPSULES

- Senator Mondale is proposing legislation to make $80 million available for the development and production of educational television programs for children. Chairman of the Senate's Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, Mondale cited a recent evaluation of *Sesame Street* that the program had benefited children from disadvantaged inner-city communities, from middle class suburbs and from isolated rural areas by providing an effective medium for teaching important facts and learning skills.

- Legislation authorizing the USDA to enter into 10-year agreements with owners and operators of wetlands to prevent draining, burning, filling or destroying the character of the lands, has been signed into law by President Nixon. The Water Bank Act, co-sponsored by Senator Mondale, provides annual payments to those placing lands into the program.

- Senator Mondale's call for a government surplus removal, pork-buying program has been instituted by the Agriculture Department. Noting that the bottom had dropped out of the hog market with prices dropping nearly 50% in eight months, Mondale said a government buying program using Section 32 funds would increase producers' income substantially more than the amount of government expenditure. USDA purchases of frozen and canned pork had reached $4 million weekly by year end.

- The Senate decided for space and against sewers in passing a HUD-Independent Offices appropriations bill earlier vetoed by the President. Senator Mondale's effort to eliminate $110 million for design of a space shuttle/station — the first step of a manned Mars program estimated to cost $20 billion — was tabled. Efforts to increase grants for water and sewer facilities by $150 million were also defeated.

- Senator Mondale has commended the Office of Economic Opportunity for rescinding its earlier announced regionalization of the Legal Services program. Such procedures, he said, posed a clear and direct threat to the program's independence and integrity. They would have exposed Legal Services attorneys in the field to increased political pressure and thus seriously compromised the attorney-client relationship.

- Senator Mondale will re-introduce his Community Medicine Act in 1971. This bill would provide special improvement grants to medical schools and teaching hospitals which would operate medical care systems for underserved populations. Soaring costs, the demise of the general practitioner and the flight of doctors from small towns and rural areas are increasingly putting this care out of the reach of those who often need it most, he said.

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

Walter F. Mondale
U.S.S.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS MINN
555 WABASHA ST
ST PAUL MN 55102

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 555 Wabasha, St. Paul, Minnesota 55102

June 1971

CONGRESSIONAL INTERVIEW

Senator Walter Mondale - DFL

Committees: Labor and Public Welfare
Chairman, Subcommittee on Children and Youth
Subcommittees on: Alcoholism and Narcotics; Education; Employment, Manpower and Poverty; Health; Migratory Labor.

Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs
Chairman, Subcommittee on International Finance
Subcommittees on: Financial Insitiutions; Housing and Urban Affairs; Securities; Small Business

Chairman, Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity
Member, Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs
Member, Special Committee on Aging

U.S. Congress

Senator Mondale signed the cloture motion and voted for cloture the four times it came up in the Senate this session. The Senate was attempting to change its rules to allow a 60% vote instead of a 2/3rds vote to stop debate. The rule change failed.

Environmental Quality

The Senator has authored a bill to provide federal anti-pollution assistance for urban fresh water lakes, an area not covered by existing federal legislation.

Human Resources

School Desegragation: The Senate recently passed a bill providing extra funding to encourage and expedite school desegregation and to assist in improving the quality of education. Senator Mondale had been chief author of the Quality Integrated Education Act and played a major role in working out the bill's final version with the administration's Emergency School Desegragation Aid Act. The Senate passed bill insures that the money will be used to integrate and improve education for all races within a school.

Funds will be available for northern school districts who on a voluntary basis submit proposals for integrating their whole district. The bill is now in a House subcommittee where the Senator feels that the bill is in real trouble.

As a result of the recent Supreme Court decision in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg case (LWVUS was an amicus curiae), Senator Mondale feels that the courts will now begin to expand their role in requiring school desegregation plans. If it can be shown that there is local government responsibility for the segregation, the Supreme Court decision should apply. Mr. Mondale commented that the Twin Cities should get active now seeking solutions to segregation rather than waiting for some judge, perhaps uninformed about the education system, to impose a solution.

The Senator said that, ultimately, for quality, integrated education the suburbs are going to have to "open up." A current court case in Richmond, Virginia is asking for area-wide education. Mr. Mondale had voted for the Ribicoff proposal, which did not pass, requiring area-wide solutions for educational segregation. The vote on that bill was unusual because it was also supported by several of the Senators from the South.

Day Care Centers: The Senator has been working with some 30 groups, including LWVUS, in preparing a bill for greatly expanded and improved day care centers. With many more working women, with the emphasis of welfare reform on putting women to work, with many women being the sole support of their families, there is a growing tendency to separate children from parents. There is rampant child neglect. The recently held White House

Conference on Children and Youth indicated overwhelming concern about care for the young. The Subcommittee on Children and Youth that the Senator chairs will be holding hearings on this legislation later this year. It will propose spending $2200 per year per child instead of the current $700. The level considered poverty will be raised with graduated parental payments as income levels exceed the poverty limit.

Legal Services: Senator Mondale is the author of a bill to establish a legal services corps to be insulated from government control. His proposal varies in several respects from the administration's proposal, although both want a structure that will allow the lawyers freedom from outside interference. The Senator's bill would have only 1/3 on the controlling board appointed by the President. The rest would come from legal and client groups. The administration is asking for all presidential appointees. It also wants to restrict political activity and outside casework of the lawyers and would prevent involvement in criminal cases. Senator Mondale said that often what may begin by being a civil case can lead to criminal harassment by local government. A lawyer must be able to do what is necessary to assist his client. He also feels that good lawyers will not want to serve if there are severe restrictions on their leadership and outside activities. This legislation is still pending.

Indians: The Senator has been consulted by the Indians who were removed from the Naval Air Station. He understands and appreciates the urban Indian's sense of frustration at seeing no progress being made with his problems, at having no governmental body concerned about his situation. The Senator indicated that the goal of establishing an urban Indian education center is valid and that the Indians should be assisted in getting it. He has checked with experts in the Library of Congress and they indicate that the Sioux Treaty of 1868, claimed as the authorization of the take-over, would probably not be upheld by the courts.

The Indian Education Amendment to the Higher Education Bill will now be worked up in Senator Kennedy's subcommittee after several weeks of testimony. This bill gives Indians control of their education. (The LWV of Minnesota was asked to submit testimony on the proposition.) There will be difficulties in setting up the procedure to give control of the schools to the Indians. Senator Mondale indicated great frustration in trying to work with the Bureau of Indian Affaris. The position of responsibility over the BIA schools has been vacant for some 17 months of the past two years. With the great bureaucracy involved, "no educator with any competency will serve" according to Mondale.

Foreign Policy

Trade: The Senator's proposal to allow Export-Import Bank financing of trade with eastern European nations has passed the Senate and is pending in the House. Mr. Mondale is very pessimistic about fighting off trade restriction legislation, especially after the just announced large April balance of trade deficit. A Senate filibuster may be necessary. Labor has now switched its support to restricting trade. The Senator argues that it is more beneficial in the long run to expand our trade and create new jobs. This is the reasoning behind his proposals to extend "most favored nation" status to select communist nations. The committee that he chairs will be looking into the legal restrictions on trade with mainland China later this year.

The Senator pointed out that there is great fragmentation of trade policy in the U.S. Several departments and agencies have their own, and they often differ. The U.S. is at a disadvantage when it comes to trade negotiations and there is a real need to be able to deal more effectively, especially with the Common Market and Japan.

Representative Government

Mr. Mondale is an author of the proposed constitutional amendment to give D.C. full representation. He voted for this as an amendment to the 18 year old vote this session. (It failed 23-68.) The direct election of the president is probably dead for this session.

Voting Rights

With the enfranchisement of 18 year olds, there is now great concern that they be

assisted in registering and informed about voting. The Senator asked for League help. (Leagues should already be making their plans to be of help.) The problem of residency for college students was discussed. The League suggested nationwide, congressional set standards might be useful in clarifying the issue. The Senator felt that making the process as uncomplicated as possible is going to be necessary if these young people are going to use their vote. In an effort to dramatize the importance of voting he is co-authoring a bill making voting registration a part of draft registration. (Although this might further confuse the question of residency.)

The interview was attended by state Board people from Mankato, St. Cloud, St. Peter, the Twin Cities (11 Board members), three St. Paul League Board members and four Board members from the LWV of Minneapolis.

JUL 12 1971

Senator WALTER F. MONDALE

Reports to MINNESOTA

SUMMER 1971

MONDALE HITS SPACE WASTE

Supported by three economy-minded colleagues and armed with ample evidence, Senator Mondale has resumed his battle against NASA's proposed multi-billion dollar space-shuttle program.

Mondale began with a tough Senate speech stressing that "more urgent needs here on earth" deserve priority over the shuttle – a reusable space vehicle that could cost more than $12 billion to develop. He also made public a study conducted by the Rand Corp. concluding the shuttle was "not easy to justify" on economic grounds.

"This study makes clear that NASA can carry out its planned space mission for the next 20 years with existing boosters, and that the shuttle will not add any economy to performance of that mission," the Senator said. "There is, therefore, no basis for spending billions to develop it."

Mondale was joined next by Senators William Proxmire (D-Wis.), Clifford P. Case (R-N.J.) and Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.). They released letters from eminent space scientists James Van Allen and Thomas Gold, and a report by the National Academy of Sciences. The report concluded that the scientific and practical benefits of the shuttle and the proposed space-station, a facility permanently placed in earth orbit, "are insufficient to justify the cost."

Dr. Van Allen, discoverer of the Van Allen Radiation belts, argued that the shuttle would detract from a truly meritorious and scientifically productive space program. "The proper objectives of the national space program can be met in a vigorous and effective way by unmanned techniques at the annual level of some $2 billion," he said.

Dr. Gold, a member of the President's Science Advisory Committee, called the shuttle an "unwise step" that "seems impossible to justify economically."



Senator Mondale chats with Minnesota educators following Senate Education Subcommittee hearing. Seated clockwise around the Senator are Donald Smith, Richard Hawk, Robert Van Tries, Edwin Herbig, President of the Minnesota Higher Education Coordinating Commission, and Phillip Helland. For details on the hearing see the story below.

Six Minnesota Educators Testify

A panel of Minnesotans has given the Senate Education Subcommittee a rare view of how the total higher education structure fits together.

Coming to Washington at Senator Mondale's request, the panel testified on various higher education bills – and provided a case study of higher education in Minnesota. Senate committees rarely get that kind of overview in one hearing.

The panel was composed of Richard C. Hawk, executive director, Minnesota Higher Education Coordinating Commission; Robert P. Van Tries, assistant commissioner, Vocational-Technical Education; Donald K. Smith, vice president for administration, University of Minnesota; Phillip C. Helland, chancellor, State Junior College Board; G. Theodore Mitau, chancellor, State College Board; and Edgar M. Carlson, executive director, Minnesota Private College Council.

They gave the Subcommittee thoughtful suggestions concerning the higher education legislation before it, and also endorsed Mondale's Student Assistance Act. They were especially enthusiastic about the provisions of the Senator's legislation that provide direct federal assistance to needy college and vocational education students, and give cost-of-education grants to institutions the students choose to attend.

CLEAN LAKES

The Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution is expected to approve Senator Mondale's Clean Lakes Act. The bill provides $1 billion in federal assistance over four years to help communities clean up lakes that are being choked by algae and weeds and a wide variety of pollutants.



As Senator Javits listens, Senator Mondale answers a question at the press conference on the Comprehensive Child Development Act. The Act is explained in a story on this page.

Senators Stop Costly Carrier

Senators Mondale and Case, assisted by Senate Appropriations Committee Chairman Allen J. Ellender (D-La.), have postponed construction of a giant aircraft carrier that would break all records for cost.

Describing the effort in a dispatch from Washington, AP Military Writer Fred S. Hoffman wrote that Mondale "was credited with victory in a major economy battle."

The controversy centered around the CVAN-70 aircraft carrier, which would be the most expensive warship in history. The Navy itself has estimated the 95,000-ton vessel's cost at $640 million, a figure driven higher by inflation, and the total cost (with planes and escorting ships) probably would total over $2 billion.

Last year Mondale was successful in putting off construction of the carrier, which would be the fourth nuclear-powered carrier in the fleet, with convincing arguments that it simply was not needed. We now have 15 attack carriers, and the Russians (as well as other major powers) have none.

Nevertheless, the Navy this year tried to begin construction on the CVAN-70 through a back-door financing gambit known as "re-programming" — a process that avoids bringing an issue before the full Congress by shifting money from already approved projects.

Mondale and Case learned of the tactic and brought it to Senator Ellender's attention. Ellender agreed that such a move would be improper and lent his considerable weight to heading it off.

Over Navy objections, the Pentagon surrendered. Ten days after Mondale and Case raised the matter, Deputy Secretary of Defense David Packard announced the decision to postpone construction of the carrier.

Child Care Plan Goes to Senate

Democratic Senators Mondale and Nelson and Republicans Javits and Schweiker have introduced the Comprehensive Child Development Act — a measure to establish community-oriented pre-school child development programs.

The bill provides communities with federal funds to develop educational, nutritional, social and health services necessary to help children reach full potential. Participation is voluntary, and localities have priority in administering programs.

"Comprehensive pre-school child care is the most essential new program needed in America if we are to deal justly with our children," Mondale said.

The Senator, chairman of the Subcommittee on Children and Youth, noted that some 3.7 million working mothers have children under five — a figure expected to reach 5.3 million by 1980. "Despite the need," he said, "licensed day care centers can accommodate fewer than 700,000 children."

The Senator stressed that programs would be available to children from all income levels — free services going to those from families with annual incomes up to $6,900, and families above that level contributing on a sliding-scale basis.

AS I SEE IT. . . . by Walter F. Mondale

America's health care system is seriously ill, a victim of long neglect in desperate need of an adequate cure. Saving it will not be easy, but its rescue is essential.

The present health care crisis results from an accumulation of closely related and complex problems that center around a severe shortage of medical manpower, a frightening increase in medical care costs, and the resultant lack of effective services.

Putting this clinical assessment in human terms means that thousands of Americans are dying who could be saved, hundreds of thousands are going without proper medical care, and millions are burdened with bills they just cannot afford to pay.

America can be proud of its world leadership in health technology. But when it comes to delivering health care, we rank behind many less affluent nations of the world. Some of our rankings are shameful: eighth in female life expectancy, 13th in infant mortality, *27th* in life expectancy for males.

The reasons for these figures can be found in other, more telling statistics:

✓ The United States is short an estimated 50,000 doctors, and has a total medical manpower deficit of 512,000 physicians, nurses, technicians and other health professionals. There is also great disparity in the distribution of the available doctor supply.

✓ Nationwide there are 141 doctors for every 100,000 people, but the availability varies greatly from state to state. New York has 219 physicians for every 100,000 people, Minnesota 143, and Mississippi 73. *More than 130 counties in this country have no doctors at all.*

✓ Ten years ago the average American spent $145 a year for medical care. Last year he spent $324 — an increase of more than 150 per cent, compared to a Consumer Price Index increase of less than 33 per cent over the same period of time.

✓ In 1964 the average daily cost per hospital patient has $38. Last year it reached $80 ($100 in Minneapolis), and not all of these costs were covered by insurance. About one of every five Americans under 65 has neither hospital nor surgical insurance. More than half of all Americans in the same group have no coverage for medical bills incurred outside a hospital.

All these facts make painfully clear that we must restore health to our health care system. But how should we do it?

General agreement exists on the need to train more physicians and other health professionals — and to encourage them to practice in areas of greatest need. To accomplish this goal we must help both students and medical schools, many of which are already in imminent danger of closing for lack of funds.

I am supporting several pieces of legislation designed to solve the medical manpower problem. One measure provides federal grants to medical schools for each full-time student, as well as money for construction, and an increase in the size and number of scholarships for medical students.

These funds would be very helpful to the new Mayo Medical School.

The legislation also seeks to alter the poor national distribution of doctors by providing loans and scholarships to medical students who agree to practice in areas having a shortage of professional medical care. A separate measure covers nursing education.

Changing the method of financing health care in the United States presents a much more complex problem. Everyone agrees the system needs significant overhauling, but there is by no means a consensus on the approach to be used.

All existing proposals do recognize, however, the need to move toward the greater use of comprehensive health care organizations, especially those relying on pre-payment instead of the usual fee-for-service arrangement. And they emphasize preventive medicine and improved ambulatory care as techniques for reducing unnecessary and expensive hospitalization.

Because the advantages and disadvantages of the alternative proposals are difficult to evaluate, I have not yet made up my mind on the best approach to take. Partially for that reason, I am co-sponsoring two widely differing measures for extending medical care insurance to all our citizens.

One is Senator Kennedy's Health Security Program, which would cover all Americans and would be financed half by Social Security payroll taxes and half by general tax revenues. The other is a bill introduced by Senator Pell that would preserve a major role for private insurance programs and require employers to provide health insurance plans to all their employees.

As a member of the Senate Health Subcommittee, I will be evaluating these and other proposals very carefully in the months ahead. I hope that Minnesotans will give me the benefit of their thinking, and welcome advice and assistance from professionals in the health and insurance fields.

We still have a long way to go before we resolve America's health care crisis. But we have made a start in the right direction. And we must press forward because the very well-being of the Nation rests in the balance.

Home Improvement Bill Offered

Recognizing the need to preserve America's older but well-built homes, Senator Mondale and Rep. Donald Fraser (D-Minn.) have submitted companion bills to provide new low-interest, home improvement loans for American homeowners.

The legislation makes available federally subsidized, FHA-insured loans of up to $15,000 for single-family home improvements and basic appliances installed as part of a general improvement program. It would replace existing programs, which are too restrictive and burdened with red tape.

The Mondale-Fraser measure eliminates income limitations and the "points" charged by lenders. Borrowers would pay a 6 percent annual interest rate, and lenders would receive a subsidy equaling the difference between that and the standard FHA-insured rate.

The bill places a $30,000 limit on the value of eligible, single-family homes after improvement, but it would be increased accordingly for multiple-unit homes. A majority of Minnesota homes would qualify. In Minneapolis, for instance, 84 percent of all owner-occupied housing is valued under $25,000.

Mondale, a member of the Senate Housing Subcommittee, said the measure would help conserve what is "probably the country's most important housing resource — the older, owner-occupied homes."

Mondale Raps Drugs; Will Call Up His Bill

Senator Mondale had both praise and criticism for President Nixon's new $155 million campaign against drug addiction in the United States.

The Senator welcomed the President's promise of a new war on drugs and agreed with his assessment that drug abuse has "assumed the dimensions of a national emergency." He also endorsed the emphasis placed on rehabilitating the large number of servicemen who become addicts in Vietnam.

But Mondale expressed dismay over the President's failure to include adequate measures to eradicate the foreign drug supply. "As long as the foreign supply of drugs exists, the drug problem will grow *no matter* what we do or how much we spend here at home," he said.

"That is why I will call for a vote on my bill to give the President authority to cut off all U.S. aid to countries that do not cooperate in an effort to stop the flow of drugs."



Senator Mondale receives a year-round assist from young Minnesotans who serve as interns in his Washington office. He is shown above with three of the Spring group — Nelsen Smith of Fridley (top), Tony Trimble of Walker (middle) and Don Crosby of Faribault (Bottom).

WEAPONS TALKS

Senator Mondale responded to word of the U.S.-Soviet understanding to pursue active negotiations for the control of strategic weapons by commending President Nixon's initiative and pledging his full support. He called the negotiations commitment a "heartening sign that man may be able to stem the insane and potentially disastrous arms race."

CAPITOL CAPSULES



- Prodded by Senator Mondale, the National Railroad Passenger Corp. (Amtrak) agreed to include train stops at three more Minnesota cities – St. Cloud, Staples and Detroit Lakes. The passenger stops will be made on the experimental tri-weekly trains between Minneapolis and Spokane. Amtrak also stops at Breckenridge, with flag stops at Willmar and Morris, and at Fargo, N.D.

- Insisting that the United States "should not be a party to the enormous human tragedy taking place in East Pakistan," Senator Mondale is co-sponsoring the Church-Saxbe resolution to cut off all U.S. military and economic assistance to Pakistan until the relief effort is restored and the situation there returns to normal.

- In a follow-up to his efforts to create jobs for veterans, Senator Mondale has co-sponsored a bill that would provide unemployment compensation benefits of $75-a-week for 52 weeks to servicemen who are unable to find jobs following their discharge. The Senator noted that the rate is comparable to compensation provided veterans of World War II and the Korean War.

- Noting that "the Nation now finds itself lacking between $4 and $7 billion worth of necessary electric power," Senator Mondale urged the Administration to increase loan funds from the Rural Electrification Administration (REA). Only by increasing these funds, the Senator said, would it be possible to reduce the REA's current $360 million loan backlog, and meet the country's need for electricity.

- "There in black and white," Senator Mondale said in commenting on Vietnam War revelations published by the *New York Times*, "is proof of our worst fears about the origins of this folly – the loaded options, the unquestioned assumptions and, perhaps most shocking, the enormous political deception of the Congress and the public. . . . Yet, we must also wonder how far the present Administration has escaped the blind mistakes of the last. . .."

- Joined by Senator Nelson of Wisconsin, Senator Mondale has introduced legislation to include the lower St. Croix under the protective cover of the National Wild and Scenic Rivers system. The bill is intended to preserve the recreational and aesthetic value of the St. Croix River Valley. Mondale also is seeking similar protection for Minnesota's Kettle and Big Fork rivers.

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

Walter F. Mondale
U.S.S.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS MINN
555 WABASHA ST
ST PAUL MN 55102

April 21, 1971

The Honorable Walter F. Mondale
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Judie

Dear Senator Mondale: Attention: Judy Metcalf

The national council meeting of the League of Women Voters will be held in Washington, D.C. the week of May 3-6. Wednesday, May 5, will be spent on the Hill sitting in on hearings and visiting with our Congressmen. This would be a very convenient time for the Minnesota League representatives to meet with you and discuss League issues, a meeting that we have so far had difficulty arranging for the Twin Cities.

In addition to myself, League Council will be attended by Mrs. Nicholas Duff, Wayzata, National Board, League of Women Voters and Mrs. Ralph Ebbott, White Bear Lake, National Action Chairman, State Board. We would greatly appreciate the opportunity to talk with you. Perhaps lunch time would be convenient.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. Charles McCoy
President-designate,
League of Women Voters
of Minnesota

cc: Mrs. Nicholas Duff

MEMO

TO: New Board Members
and Pat Lucas
Jan Dvorak & Cornelia Einsweiler

FROM: Liz Ebbott

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA
555 WABASHA
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102
PHONE: 224-5445

SUBJECT Meeting with Senator Mondale DATE May 12, 1971

The state Board has an appointment to meet with Senator Mondale Friday, May 28, 10 a.m. at the Federal Building, U.S. Court House, 1105 4th St., Minneapolis. He is on the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee; Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs; and is Chairman of the Special Subcommittee on Equality of Educational Opportunity.

He is actively concerned with issues and is author of legislation in several League program areas:

Major liberalizing trade bill
Relaxing East-West trade restrictions
Emergency funding to schools to aid in desegregation programs - the bill in compromized form with the President's original proposal has just recently passed the Senate.
On going concern with Legal Services program, OEO; anti-discrimination law enforcement.
Indian Education Bill. He asked the LWV of Minnesota to submit testimony which we did a couple of weeks ago.

Try to make it!

Opls
St. Paul
Pres.

If you have someome with knowledge and concern in the school desegregation program area or Indians or discrimination enforcement, etc. areas, we'd be happy to have her sit in. Let me know.

May 11, 1971

Miss Judee Metcalf, Appointment Secretary
Office of Senator Walter F. Mondale
Room 443
Old Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Miss Metcalf:

This is to confirm the meeting between Senator Mondale and the State Board of the League of Women Voters of Minnesota, May 28, 10 a.m. in his office at the Federal Building, U.S. Court House, Minneapolis.

We are looking forward to seeing him again and appreciate his making time available.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. Ralph Ebbott
National Action Chairman

555 Wabasha
League of Women Voters of Min esota,/St. Paul, Minn 55102 June 1971

Congressional Interview

Senator Wal er Mondale - DFL

Committees: Committee on Labor and Public Welfare
Chairman, Subcommittee on Children and Youth
Member of Committees on: Alcoholism and Narcotics; Education; Employment, Manpower and Poverty; Health; Migratory Labor.

Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs
Chairman, Subcommittee on International Finance
Member of Subcommittees on: Financial Institutions; Housing and Urban Affairs; Securities; Small Business

Chairman, Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity
Member, Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs
Member, Special Committee on Aging

Human Resources

The Senate recently passed a bill providing extra funding to encourage and expedite school desegregation and to assist in improving the quality of education. Senator Mondale had been chief author of the Quality Integrated Education Act and played a major role in working out the final version with the administration's Emergency School Desegregation Aid Act. The Senate version insures that the money will be used to integrate and improve education within a school. Funds will be available for northern school districts who on a voluntary basis submit proposals for integrating their whole district for all races The bill is now in a House subcommittee. The Senator feels that the bill was in real trouble because the committee chairman does not support the legislation.

The Senator said that ultimately for quality, integrated education the suburbs are going to have to "open up." A current court case in Richmond Virginia is asking for area wide education. Mr. Mondale had voted for the Ribicoff proposal, which did not pass, requiring area wide solutions for educational segregation. The vote on that bill was unusual because it was also supported by several of the Senators from the South.

As a result of the recent Supreme Court decision in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg case (LWVUS was an amicus curiae), Senator Mondale feels that the courts will now begin to expand their role in requiring school desegregation plans from local districts. If it can be shown that there is local government responsibility for the segregation, the Supreme Court decision should apply. Mr. Mondale commented that the Twin Cities should get active now seeking solutions to segregation rather than waiting for some judge, perhaps uninformed about the education system, to impose a solution.

Day

beneficial in the long run to expand our trade and create new jobs. This is the reasoning behind his proposals to extend most favored nation trade status to select communist nations. The committee that he chairs will be looking into the legal restrictions on trade with mainland China later this year.

The Senator pointed out that there is great fragmentation of trade policy in the United States. Several agencies have their own, and they often differ. The US is at a disadvantage when it comes to trade negotiations and their are real need to be able to deal more effectively with the Common Market and Japan, especially.

China: The Senator supports efforts to normalize relations with the People's Republic of China. He didn't feel that there would be a push for a sense of the Senate resolution on seating China in the UN.

Representative Government:

Mr. Mondale is an author of the proposed constitutional amendment to give DC full representation. He voted for this as an amendment to the 18 year old vote this session. (It failed 23-68).

The direct election of the president is probably dead for this session.

Voting Rights:

With the enfranchisement of 18 year olds, there is now great concern that they be assisted in registering and informed about voting. The Senator asked for League help. (League's should already be making their plans to be of help.) The problem of residency for college students was discussed. The League suggested nationwide, Congressional set standards might be useful in clarifying the issue. In Minnesota there are voting registrars that refuse to register students. The Senator felt that making the process as uncomplicated as possible is going to be necessary if these young people are going to use their vote. In an effort to dramatize the importance of voting, he is co-authoring a bill making voting registration a part of draft registration. (Although this might further confuse the question of residency.)

***

The interview was attended by state board people from Mankato, St. Cloud, St. Peter, the Twin Cities (11 board members), three St. Paul League board members and four board members from the LWV of Minneapolis.

Sid Shirley

Jan Dvorak

Billie Young - Program Coordinator

Jean Druker. School Committee

Rosemary Rockenbach

Mary Conrad Wallner. Mpls. Education

Barb. Flanigan - ~~Chair of~~ National Program Chair

Connie Ekaitis. Ila.

Shirley Byers - St. Peter.

Barb. Jobst. Mankato.

- author of Ex-Im financing for E. Europe. Most favored nation - Romania.

1- Trade - China
LDCs.

2. HR - Welfare. Ed.
Indians. ← Administration package
Day Care. PEIOS
OEO - Legal Services Corp. (? of Inc.)
School Desegregation -

3- Computer -

4- Direct Election of Pres -

Asked for Finance or Approp.

Labor & Welfare -
Children & Youth - Chron.
? Migratory Labor.

Int. Trade Act of 1971

Passage of Finance Com.

Energy Aid

China Policy

Rosemary Rockenbach.
Mary Bonaventi. St. Cloud. Education
Shirley Byers.
Sid Mose. - Foreign Policy.
Barb. Jones -
Shirley Amundson.
Mary Ann McCoy.
Mary Carrol Wallace. Hyde. Ed.
Elaine Pholyer.
Elsie Thuem.
Barb Steinkamp
~~Mary~~

Day Care -
2200 / person -
Policy to separate children from parents -
6900

Day Care Centers: The Senator has been working with some 30 groups, including LWVUS in preparing a bill for greatly expanded and improved day care centers. With many more working women, with the emphasis of welfare reform on putting women to work, with many women being the sole support of their families, there is a growing tendency to separate children from parents. There rampant child neglect. The recently held White House Conference on Children and Youth indicated overwhelming concern about care for the young.

The Senator's Subcommittee on Children and Youth, that he chairs, will be holding hearings on this legislation later this year. It will propose spending $2200 per year per child instead of the current $700. The level considered poverty will be raised with graduated payments as income levels exceed the poverty limit.

Legal Services: Senator Mondale as the author of a bill to establish a legal services corps that will be insulated from government control. His proposal varies in several respects from the administration's proposal, although both want a structure that will allow the lawyers freedom from outside interferance. The Senator's bill would have only 1/3rd on the controlling boardappointed by the President. The rest would come from legal and client groups. The administration is asking for all presidential appointees. It also wants to restrict political activity and outside casework of the lawyers, and would prevent involvement in criminal cases. Senator Mondale said that often what may begin by being a civil case can lead to criminal harrasement by local government. A lawyer must be able to do what is necessary to assist his client. He also feels that good lawyers will not want to serve if their are severe restriction on their leadership and outside activities.

This legislation is still pending.

Indians: The Senator has been involved with the Indians who were removed from the Naval Air Station. He understands and appreciates the urban Indian's sense of frustration at seeing no progress being made with his problems, at having no governmental body concerned about his situation. The Senator indicated that the goal of establishing an urban Indian education center is valid and that the Indians should be assisted in getting it. He has checked with experts in the Library of Congress and they indicated that the Sioux Treaty of 1868, claimed as the authorization of the take over, would probably not be upheld.

The Indian Education Amendment to the Higher Education Bill will now be worked up in Senator Kennedy's subcommittee, after several weeks of testimony. There will be dificulties in setting up the procedure in giving control of the schools to the Indians. Senator Mondale indicated great frustration in trying to work with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The position of responsibility over the BIA schools has been vacant for some 17 months of the past two years. With the great burocracy involved, "no educator with any competency will serve."

Foreign Policy:

Trade: The Senator's proposal to allow Export-Import Bank finacing of trade with eastern European nations has passed the Senate and is pending in the House. Mr. Mondale is very pessimistic about fighting off trade restrictions legislation, especially after the just announced large April balance of trade deficate. Labor has now switched its support to restricting trade. The Senator argues that it is more

Liz Ebbott
426-3643

It will now be very hard to fight off protective trade ~~restriction~~ legislation according to Senator Walter Mondale ~~in~~ his This was comment at recent meeting with the state League Board and representatives from the Minneapolis and Saint Paul Leagues. It followed The announcement that the US had a major trade deficit in April, the first ~~xxxx~~ since Debruary 1969 will mean great pressure for restrictive ~~xxxxxxxx~~ action by Congress. The Senator is a strong advocate of ~~xxxxxxxx~~ less restrictions on trade and has been working for ~~xxx~~ laws to enable the US to expand its ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ exports. A bill to allow normal financing of trade to Eastern Europe, through the Export-Import Bank, has passed the Senate and is awaiting consideration in the House. Extending "Most Favored Nation" status to select communist controlled countries is another approach the Senator is urging. ~~xxxx~~ The subcommittee he chairs on International Finance ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ of the Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs ~~that he chairs~~ will be looking into US trade possibilities with the People's Republic of China.

The Senator Mondale is also a member of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and is chairman of the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity. Through these activities he has been deeply involved in shaping legislation of concern to the League. The Senate recently passed a school desegregation aid bill to provide extra funds to encourage and expedite desegregation. The final version represented was a compromise between the Senator's version and the the Administration. What had originally been proposed as

emergency school aid last session still has not received favorable consideration by the House subcommittee dealing with it. Senator Mondale is afraid that the bill is in real trouble.

Another of Mr. Mondale's chairmanships is the Subcommittee on Children and Youth. A large coalition has been helping him prepare a major Day Care Center Bill which will probably be heard later this summer. There is need for much more emphasis to be put on infant and child care, from pre-natal care on. The Senator will be proposing that $2200 be spent per year per child rather than the current $700 allowance. With many women already working and the thrust of welfare proposals that AFDC mothers be put to work, there is a large and growing need for centers to care for children,

The Legal Services Program is another area of active concern to the Senator. He is working for his bill to establish a National Legal Services Corps. The Administration is advocating a separate legal services program but the Senator pointed out that there were several major differences between the two bills. In his bill the controlling board, intended to keep the legal staff insulated from government control, would be only 1/3rd Presidential appointees with the remainder coming from legal and client groups. The administration is asking for all presidential appointees. The administration wishes to restrict the political activity and the outside casework of the lawyers. It also would prevent involvement in criminal cases. Senator Mondale indicated that often what may begin by being a civil case can lead to a local government making criminal charges as a harrasement. He feels that the

lawyers must be able to assist their clients. If there are severe restrictions on the leadership and outside activities of the lawyers, the Senator feels that good lawyers will not want to serve. This legislation has not yet been dealt with.

The Senator has shown concern for the urban Indian, and understanding of his frustration but he doesn't feel that they ~~would probably have a very good~~ claim to reowning unused federal land would be upheld in the courts. The expert in Indian treaties at the Library of Congress has told the Senator that the 1868 Treaty underwhich the naval station was claimed would probably not be held to apply . Mr. Mondale was very sympathetic to the Indians' wish to have an urban Indian school and center. He felt that somehow this should be able to be achieved.

The urgency of getting to the young voter, from 18 years up, to help them register and vote was stressed. This is a real service that the League could do by by getting deputized and going into the high schools, the post high school institutions, the factories to register the new voters. With this Senator Mondale challenged all Leagues to get out in their communities, to find and assist the potential new voters. The State Board on behalf of the local Leagues said that this was an activity we felt sure the Leagues in Minnesota were going to be ~~getting~~ pushing.

HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR., N.J., CHAIRMAN
JENNINGS RANDOLPH, W. VA.
CLAIBORNE PELL, R.I.
EDWARD M. KENNEDY, MASS.
GAYLORD NELSON, WIS.
WALTER F. MONDALE, MINN.
THOMAS F. EAGLETON, MO.
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ROBERT TAFT, JR., OHIO
J. GLENN BEALL, JR., MD.

STEWART E. MC CLURE, STAFF DIRECTOR
ROBERT E. NAGLE, GENERAL COUNSEL

United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

May 18, 1971

MAY 21 1971

Mrs. Ralph Ebbott
National Action Chairman
League of Women Voters of Minnesota
555 Wabasha
St. Paul, Minnesota 55102

Dear Mrs. Ebbott:

Thank you for your note of the 11th confirming your appointment with Senator Mondale on May 28th at 10:00 a.m. in his office in Minneapolis.

The Senator is looking forward to meeting with you then.

Sincerely,

Judee Metcalfe

(Miss) Judith C. Metcalfe
Personal Secretary to
Senator Walter F. Mondale

WALTER F. MONDALE
MINNESOTA

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

MAR 10 1971

March 8, 1971

Mrs. O. J. Janski
President
League of Women Voters of Minnesota
555 Wabasha
St. Paul, Minnesota 55102

Dear Irene:

Thank you for your very kind note of March 5th concerning my activity in the trade area. Congratulations on picking this as a key topic.

I am trying to make arrangements to meet with the State Board when I am next home, and you will be hearing from my secretary.

Thank you for writing.

With warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Walter F. Mondale

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 555 Wabasha, St. Paul, Minnesota 55102
February 1971

CONGRESSIONAL ACTION OF LEAGUE INTEREST

91st CONGRESS - 2nd SESSION

Walter Mondale, Senator, Minnesota (DFL)

Banking and Currency Committee
- Production and Economic Stabilization Subcommittee, Chairman
- Housing Subcommittee
- Financial Institutions and International Finance Subcommittee

Labor and Public Welfare Committee
- Migratory Labor Subcommittee, Chairman
- Employment, Manpower, Poverty Subcommittee

Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, Chairman
Special Panel on Aging
Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs

Y	N	NV	
			U.S. Congress
Y			--Legislative Reorganization Act - Passed 59-5
Y			--To have majority vote in the majority party elect committee chairman - Defeated 23-44
Y			--To have majority of the majority party in each committee elect the chairman - Defeated 22-46
			Environmental Quality
Y			--Water Pollution Control Act - Passed 80-0
			Author of Clean Lakes Act providing for research and treatment. Supported funding for these purposes in the Supplemental Appropriations Bill.
			Author of bill to designate Kettle River as "wild and scenic".
			Co-author, Resolution Committing the Nation to Population Stabilization.
Y			--Increased money for sewer and water in HUD projects - Passed 55-17
			Human Resources
Y			--Elementary and Secondary Education Act - Passed 80-0
	N		--Stennis Amendment "To insure uniform application of federal guidelines throughout the U.S. in dealing with conditions of segregation in schools by race, whether 'de jure or de facto'" - Passed 56-36
Y			--Right to attend school nearest home, vote to table - Passed 58-24
	N		--To forbid courts to require busing to alter racial composition - Defeated 36-49
			Authored amendment to increase the money for bilingual programs.
Y			--Conference Report - Passed 74-4
	N		--To insist on Stennis Amendment which was removed in conference - Defeated 32-43
Y			--Select Committee on Equal Education and Opportunity - Created 2/18/70 61-26. Mondale is chairman. The committee was to conclude its business by January 31, 1971. It was given a year's extension December 11, 1970.
			Emergency School Aid Act. Authored an amendment to prevent funds going to schools which divert money to other purposes - Passed 63-19
Y			--Labor-HEW Appropriations Bill for Fiscal 1970 - Passed 68-0
		NV	--2% reduction in total appropriation - Passed 45-40
Y			--nullifying the "Whitten Amendment" by adding "except as required by the Constitution" to sections barring funds to force desegregation compliance - 2 votes - Passed 41-34; 42-32 (Active in pushing this)
Y			--to delete - barring federal funds for any plan denying a student because of race the right to attend the school of his choice - Passed 43-32

Y N NV

Y --Labor and HEW Appropriations Bill for Fiscal 1971 - Passed 78-0
Y --To increase Headstart by $59 million - Passed 44-32
Y --To increase manpower development and training by $42 million - Passed 42-32
Y --To increase Headstart, manpower training, etc. by $182 million and to have OEO administer the programs - Defeated 35-42
Y --Conference Committee report - Passed 69-0
NV --Allen Amendment that states have absolute right to assign student to public schools - Defeated 17-57
Y --Equal Employment Opportunity Act - Passed 47-24
N --To exempt state and local government employees from coverage - Defeated 30-37
N --To exempt educational organizations from coverage - Defeated 30-38
Y --Housing and Urban Development Act - Passed 59-2
Independent Offices - HUD Appropriations Act - Conference Report
N --To table increased sewer-water funding in the conference bill - Passed 52-25
Testified for full funding of the Labor-HEW Bill before the Senate Appropriations Committee.
Co-authored amendments to increase funding.
Co-authored Middle Income Mortgage Credit Act.
Authored a bill to increase the authorization for low rent public housing.
Authored bill to improve migratory workers' housing.
Y --Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs - to extend for one year - Passed 47-12
National School Lunch Act
NV --Amendment to limit cost of reduced price meal to 20¢; meals free for children from poverty households ($4000 or less per year for family of 4) - Passed 41-40
Y --Amendment to require statewide plans, federal funds for operating costs - Passed 38-32
Y --Amendment to set definite amounts of funding rather than leaving it open-ended - Defeated 35-36
Y --Food Stamps - increase of $50 million - Passed 43-28
Y --Manpower Training Act - Passed 68-6 (Mondale spoke in favor of migratory labor programs. Member of the Conference Committee.)
NV -- Conference report - Passed 68-13
Y --To override Presidential veto - Failed 2/3rds vote 48-35
A conference on Veterans Education and Training Act Amendments of 1970.
Held public hearings of the Migatory Labor Subcommittee of which he is chairman.
Y --Social Security Act Amendments - Passed 81-0 (See also under Foreign Policy)
Y --To not recommit the Family Assistance Program to committee - Defeated 27-42
Spoke in favor of an amendment to have the federal government pay 100% of Indian welfare costs - Passed.
Foreign Policy
Y --International Financial Institutions funding. A test vote to see if the Senate were willing to discuss the bill on its merit - Passed 47-20
N --To send the Trade Bill, the Family Assistance Program and other amendments to the Social Security Bill to committee - Passed 49-21 (See also under Human Resources)
Actively worked to defeat the Trade Bill.
Contributed a paper on East-West Trade to NYU's Center for International Studies Policy Papers.
Authored bill for the U.S. government to guarantee the bonds for the new UN building program.
Representative Government
Signed cloture petition.
Y --Direct Popular Election of the President - Vote on cloture - Failed 2/3rds vote 53-34
Y --Second vote on cloture - Failed 2/3rds vote 53-34

Y	N	NV	
			Voting Rights
Y			--Voting Rights Bill - Passed 64-12
	N		--To extend coverage of the 1968 bill, suspending literacy tests when less than 50% of eligible voters registered or voted - Passed 50-37
Y			--To reduce voting age to 18 - Passed 64-17
	N		--To delay 18 year old vote until January 1973 - Defeated 15-72
Y			--To abolish residency requirement for voting for president and vice-president; to have uniform absentee voting procedures - Passed 78-5
			Other Legislative Action - Not League Program
Y			--Full Opportunity and National Goals and Priorities Act - Passed 31-24 (Mondale's Bill)
	N		--To confirm Carswell to the U.S. Supreme Court - Defeated 45-51
Y			--Public Broadcasting Act - limiting spending and exempting major party candidates for president from the equal time provision - Passed 60-19
Y			--To override presidential veto - Failed 2/3rds vote 58-34
			Constitutional Amendment banning discrimination on account of sex.
	N		--Amendment to exempt women from compulsory military service - Passed 36-33
	N		--Amendment to allow people lawfully assembled in a public building the right to nondenominational prayer - Passed 50-20
	N		--Declaration that the Senate rejects the findings and recommendations of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography - Passed 60-5
Y			--To strike out funding of the SST - Passed 52-41
Y			--To cut space shuttle vehicle development funds from NASA - Defeated 29-56 (Mondale author)
	N		--To table amendment authored by Mondale to delete funding of NASA space shuttle-station - Passed 50-26
			Member of Members of Congress for Peace Through Law, rebelling against the close tie between committee chairmen and the executive with their monopoly on information.
			Member of the Atlantic Conference which met in November in Puerto Rico
			Member of the conference committee on the Occupational Safety Bill.
			Delivered a major speech on "Justice for Children".

1730 M STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 TEL. (202) 296-1770

FEB 25 1971

The League of Women Voters of the United States

February 22, 1971

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Mrs. O.J. Janski, President
LWV of Minnesota
555 Wabash Street
St. Paul, Minnesota 55101

Dear Mrs. Janski,

Enclosed is a copy of the "International Trade Act of 1971" and remarks made when it was introduced into the Senate on February 17. Senator Mondale was a cosponsor of this bill, S 834, which was drafted with the help of the liberal trade coalition in Washington. We are hopeful that this bill will help head off protectionist legislation in this session of Congress.

We hope you will take this opportunity to thank your Senator and that you will pass this information on to your local Leagues and urge them to thank Senator Mondale for his leadership in this vital area and encourage him to continue his efforts. Senator Humphrey should also be encouraged to co-sponsor the bill (S 834).

Sincerely,

Shirley Coffield

Shirley Coffield, Staff Specialist
Legislative Action Division

Enclosure

avoid comment pending judicial proceedings. The Senator called Mr. Hoover's action "an affront to the Congress."

Needless to say, both statements received appropriate attention by the press. Such attention is always welcome if directed in the proper vein, and it is no doubt especially welcome to one who is currently seeking nomination to the highest office in the land.

There are a number of points in the remarks by the Senator from South Dakota, however, which deserve further consideration and comment.

First, in charging Mr. Hoover with contempt of Congress for publicly explaining his administrative action after refusing the request of a committee of Congress for the very same information, the Senator is in serious error.

His accusation is that on February 2, Mr. Hoover had answered a letter to the chairman of the subcommittee, the junior Senator from Massachusetts, by stating:

> The Attorney General has advised that since the courts have assumed jurisdiction of this matter, it would not be appropriate for me to use any other forum to contest Mr. Shaw's charges.

The Senator from South Dakota noted the propriety of this response, but added:

> Today (February 10) however I was shocked to discover that Mr. Hoover has written to the editor of the Atlanta Journal and Constitution, publicly stating his position on the merits of the Shaw case. He did so after refusing the request of a committee of Congress for the very same information.

This would be a serious indictment indeed if accurate. But anything more than a cursory examination of the facts would have indicated it was not accurate.

I have always felt that Mr. Hoover consistently conducts himself in the very best interests of the Bureau and the Department of Justice. He has stated his position on the Shaw matter. He has stated he had ample grounds for his action. That matter will be resolved by the court.

Thus it is not my purpose to defend Mr. Hoover's action with regard to Mr. Shaw at this time. It is my purpose at this time to point out that Mr. Hoover has been unfairly maligned for his very proper response on the Shaw matter. This will be clearly shown by the following chronology of events:

The Senator from Massachusetts wrote to Mr. Hoover on January 29, inquiring about the Shaw matter. Mr. Hoover's reply, dated February 2, cited the Attorney General's advice on the matter.

Mr. Hoover's letter to the editor regarding Mr. Shaw's accusations appeared in the Atlanta Journal and Constitution on February 7. This very likely led the Senator from South Dakota to the ill-founded conclusion that it had been written after Mr. Hoover's letter to Senator KENNEDY.

If the Senator from South Dakota had sought to verify this conclusion rather than proceeding eagerly to prosecute his case on the floor of the Senate, he would have discovered Mr. Hoover's letter to the editor had actually been written on January 26.

On the following day, January 27, suit was filed in Federal court on Mr. Shaw's behalf. Shortly thereafter, I am informed, Mr. Hoover's office received instructions from Attorney General Mitchell, a codefendant in the case, to reserve his comments henceforth for the courts.

Given the proper sequence of events, it becomes apparent that Mr. Hoover is not guilty of contempt. It is noted that the Senator from South Dakota, apprised of this proper sequence by the press, declined to modify his intemperate accusations. He is quoted as saying that since Mr. Hoover had already sent the letter to the newspaper, there was no jurisdiction for denying the same information to the subcommittee.

I submit, Mr. President, that generally there should be better acquaintance with legal proceedings than that. Obviously Mr. Hoover, in declining to discuss the matter further, was following the course of all prudent defendants—heeding the advice of counsel. Further comment on the case could have been a highly prejudicial action, especially so in this instance, since Mr. Hoover's words receive the closest attention by the Nation's press.

When I say highly prejudicial action, a prejudicial action potentially to the writer of the letter, Mr. Hoover, but also potentially prejudicial to the plaintiff in that action.

One wonders at the real purpose of the discussion on the floor. After all, if the Senator from South Dakota was aware of Mr. Hoover's answer to the Atlanta editor, it would be a simple matter to file that answer with the proper subcommittee. Surely no Senator should be offended that Mr. Hoover's comments were addressed to an editor rather than to the Senator or the subcommittee. It seems unfair that judgments as harsh as those made by the Senator from South Dakota were made simply on a matter of form, not substance. Nor would I like to think that Senatorial pride or vanity might have been somehow involved.

If the purpose of the Senator's accusations was really to judge the Director and find him guilty, I submit this was not the place to do it, nor the time nor the way to do it. The Senate does provide proper procedures for assessing the actions of administration officials. The motives of those who prefer to bypass those procedures for trial on the floor of the Senate should be seriously questioned.

Finally, it should be noted that Mr. Hoover has shown admirable restraint under the circumstances, in which he has been cast in a most unfair and uncomfortable light. With his access to the media, he could have responded vigorously to the charges against him. Of course, had he done so, there is no doubt he might quickly have been accused of gross impropriety. Yet that is no more than has been done to him.

Mr. Hoover's response to the Atlanta Journal and Constitution newsstory seemed to be a most restrained and proper recounting and accounting of his position. Furthermore, his answer to queries since then would certainly seem to be in keeping with the status of the entire situation in the courts.

S. 834—INTRODUCTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE ACT OF 1971

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, for myself and Senators JAVITS and MONDALE, I am today introducing a bill entitled the International Trade Act of 1971. Additional cosponsors are Senators CRANSTON, HART, HUGHES, MCGOVERN, PERCY, and STEVENSON. This bill is designed to point our foreign trade policy in a creative and expansionary direction, in contrast to the legislation that passed the House of Representatives and was approved by the Senate Finance Committee last year. There are indications that another effort will be made to enact a protectionist trade bill this year. It thus becomes all the more important, in my view, for those who oppose such an effort to express in concrete legislative terms the elements of a forward-looking, yet realistic, foreign trade policy for the 1970's.

We must protect and enlarge our large share of the world market for our goods and products. We must pay attention to and assist with the problems of American workers and plants unfairly injured by foreign imports. We can do both with an enlightened trade policy which is consistent with our international obligations and the principles of free trade. The International Trade Act of 1971, we feel, embodies such a policy.

The bill that we are introducing is long and complex, and it is not my purpose here to detail all of its provisions. It attempts to develop three primary themes:

First, negotiation of fair and equivalent access to foreign markets;

Second, prompt and effective relief from injurious and unfair import competition; and

Third, protection and promotion of U.S. exports.

NEGOTIATION OF FAIR AND EQUIVALENT ACCESS

The bill contains various authorities to negotiate with other countries the reciprocal reduction of tariff and nontariff barriers to trade. But the overriding purpose of such negotiations is explicitly stated as the establishment of fair and equivalent conditions of access to the markets of the countries concerned—for agricultural as well as industrial products. In the past, reciprocity has been the dominant purpose, but reductions in trade barriers can be reciprocal without achieving comparable conditions of access. It is now time for the United States to seek a common standard of access in the process of further liberalizing international trade, and a standard that will be concerned with the totality of restrictions affecting a given area of trade. There is no legitimate reason why the other major trading countries of the world, and particularly Japan and the European Economic Community—EEC—cannot endorse this objective.

With this purpose firmly provided for, the bill would provide five different authorities for the reduction of trade barriers.

First, the bill grants the President a new authority, lasting until July 1, 1973, to reduce by as much as 50 percent the level of tariffs that will prevail on January 1, 1972. It is on that date that the fifth and last stage of the tariff reductions agreed to in the Kennedy round

will become effective. While this new authority will not be available past 1973, it could become very useful, perhaps in conjunction with other authorities granted by the bill, in the context of the negotiations between the United Kingdom and the EEC. The United States presently seems to be taking a passive attitude toward those negotiations. While this may be diplomatic, it could also be unwise, since our exports, especially our agricultural exports, are bound to be affected. A point might well come at which a new U.S. initiative to liberalize trade might beneficially influence the outcome of the negotiations. It should be noted, in this connection, that the bill expressly repeals the special duty-eliminating provisions of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 that are related to trade between the United States and the EEC. I do not believe that the authority to reduce trade barriers should be tied to special trade relationships with any one area, since that risks diluting the objective of an open worldwide trading system.

Second, the bill urges the President to negotiate agreements with other countries providing for the reciprocal reduction or elimination of nontariff barriers and other distortions of world trade. Again, the express objective is the establishment of fair and equivalent conditions of access to the markets of the countries involved. At the same time, the bill makes clear that no such agreement should go into effect until the enactment of any necessary implementing legislation, recognizing that on occasion no new legislation may be required.

I believe that this accommodates the proper responsibilities of both the executive and legislative branches in an area that has to date proven a difficult one between those two parts of our Government. On the other hand, the President would be able to negotiate agreements on nontariff barriers and other distortions of world trade with the assurance that his efforts were in principle supported by the Congress. On the other hand, the Congress would retain its right and privilege to study closely any agreement requiring implementing legislation and pass such legislation only when it believed it was in the national interest to do so. This approach, in my judgment, affords the only realistic hope of making progress in this important area. For it seems clear that if the United States does not provide leadership in this respect, a number of years will pass before other countries will be in a position to launch such an initiative.

Third, as a particular—and important—aspect of nontariff barriers, the bill authorizes once and for all the total elimination of the American selling price system of customs valuation. In the first place, it provides for the implementation of the agreement concluded in the Kennedy round concerning the elimination of ASP as it relates to imports of benzenoid chemicals. This is long overdue and more delay will only further weaken the credibility of the United States in its pronouncements concerning the need to dismantle nontariff barriers. In the second place, the bill authorizes the President to negotiate an agreement providing for the abolition of ASP with respect to imports of rubber-soled footwear, chiefly sneakers, but on the condition that the new rate based on normal standards of valuation will yield about the same amount of duty. In this way, the bill anticipates the removal of an unjustifiable trade barrier that has unfortunately become a symbol of an all-too-prevalent lack of will in international trade policy.

Fourth, the bill urges the President to try to negotiate an international agreement that would for the first time establish a clear definition of illegitimate subsidies and impose enforcible restrictions on their use. The problem of alleged subsidies on both agricultural and industrial products has become a serious one, threatening substantially to exacerbate relations among the major trading countries. Under the bill, the United States would offer as its major contribution to such a negotiation the addition of an injury standard to our anti-subsidy or countervailing duty law. Such a standard has long been sought by other countries, and its inclusion would seem consistent with an enlightened trade policy. At the same time, the bill permits the Congress to eliminate the injury standard by a simple concurrent resolution if the negotiation did not seem to be going well in terms of our interest.

Fifth, the bill recognizes the increasing need to begin to normalize our trade relations with the countries of Eastern Europe. It therefore authorizes the President to conclude a short-term renewable commercial agreement with any Communist country with which we have diplomatic relations. But the President must determine that the agreement is in the national interest and that it is commercially balanced. If he does so, the President would be able to grant the prevailing, or so-called most-favored nation, rate of duty to one or more products of that country, which now have to pay the much higher Smoot-Hawley rates. By this selective approach, the President could assure himself that we were providing no commercial benefits greater than those we receive. This would be a modest but potentially significant step toward normal peaceful trade with these countries.

RELIEF FROM UNFAIR OR INJURIOUS IMPORTS

The second dominant theme of the bill is the provision of prompt and effective relief from imports that are acknowledged to be either unfair or genuinely injurious to domestic industries, firms, and workers. Insofar as unfair competition is concerned, the bill strengthens the existing provisions of law that deal with the injurious dumping of imports, the subsidization of imports, and unfair practices generally in the importation of goods. The bill makes a number of needed reforms in these provisions. Time limitations are imposed upon the agencies charged with the task of making the necessary determinations. Prompt judicial review of such determinations is afforded. All interested parties are assured of an opportunity to make known their views in a public and recorded proceeding. The three provisions of law will thereby become far more responsive to the needs of domestic concerns, importers, and foreign manufacturers by requiring a prompt and fair decision on the merits. At the same time, they will insure that, when unfair import competition is found to be taking place, effective action can be taken to stop it.

Beyond unfair imports, some imports may enter not through unfair means but in such increased quantities as to cause or threaten serious injury to domestic interests. The bill deals with this problem in a direct and reasonable manner. It first amends the criteria for industry-wide escape-clause relief by abolishing the present requirement that tariff concessions be the major cause of the increased imports and that the increased imports, in turn, be the major cause of serious injury to an industry. Instead, the bill substitutes a test that relates increased imports to serious injury.

In other words, regardless of the reason why imports of a given article may have increased, the bill asks only whether the increased imports have been the primary cause or threat of serious injury to a domestic industry. This change is also long overdue and should afford domestic industries a fair opportunity to make the case—so often alleged these days—that increasing imports are in fact hurting them badly. Once the Tariff Commission makes such a determination, the President is authorized to take such action as he thinks appropriate, and this can be in the form of either import restrictions or adjustment assistance, or a combination of both.

Such flexibility is as it should be, since foreign trade policy must be responsive to both the national interest as well as the interests of those hurt by imports. In taking an escape-clause action and in keeping such an action under review, those responsible are required by the bill to take into account the interests of consumers and exporters, as well as the impact of such action on domestic competition. Moreover, the firms benefiting from an escape-clause action are expected to make and disclose specific efforts to adjust to import competition and render themselves more competitive.

The bill also relaxes the criteria for adjustment assistance to individual firms and groups of workers. It requires a determination as to whether increased imports have been a substantial cause or threat of serious injury to a firm or unemployment or underemployment of workers. This is a somewhat easier test than for escape-clause relief, justified primarily on the ground that adjustment assistance does not have the international consequences of an escape-clause action. Moreover, adjustment assistance is in most cases better suited to providing relief that fits the particular circumstances of the dislocated firm or group of workers.

The bill also increases the benefits available to workers who are found to be eligible for adjustment assistance. Under present law, such a worker cannot receive—from all sources—financial benefits exceeding 75 percent of his average weekly wage prior to his unemployment. And in many cases such bene-

fits are substantially below even that level. But why should a worker not obtain full protection when he is found to be unemployed because of increased imports? If such imports are part of a trade policy that is believed to serve the national interest, then it is difficult to see why the worker should not be completely safeguarded while efforts are being made to shift him to other production employment. The bill therefore provides that such a worker shall receive no more and no less than 100 percent of his average weekly wage, with additional trade readjustment allowance being provided if his other sources of income, such as self-employment earnings and unemployment insurance, do not bring him to that level. In addition, the Secretary of Labor is authorized—but not required—to add the money value of such important fringe benefits as insurance and retirement plans. For the Secretary may find that the loss of such benefits is just as serious as the loss of wages.

With respect to adjustment assistance to firms, the bill makes few changes in present law, primarily because these provisions have not been tested as much as the provisions for workers. Nevertheless, the bill does provide for simplified procedures in obtaining and providing assistance for firms. It also permits the U.S. Government to render more financial assistance than is presently allowed in cases where the firm has already engaged in substantial self-help.

PROTECTION AND PROMOTION OF EXPORTS

The third major theme of the bill is the protection and promotion of exports, and it is important to stress both aspects of our trade to other countries. Efforts to increase exports will come to little unless the United States is prepared vigorously to defend the present access to foreign markets to which we are entitled by virtue of past trade negotiations.

In this regard, the bill completely rewrites and substantially enlarges the President's authority to restrict imports from any country that illegally or unreasonably hampers our exports. As rewritten, section 252 of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 would authorize the President to impose high tariffs or quotas—at whatever level he deemed appropriate and on a discriminatory or most-favored-nation basis—in basically three situations. First, and most generally, he could do so whenever he determined that a foreign country was maintaining or threatening to impose illegal or unreasonable tariff and nontariff trade barriers which directly or indirectly substantially burden U.S. exports. An illegal barrier would be one inconsistent with applicable international obligations—in most cases provisions of the GATT. An unreasonable barrier would not necessarily be illegal but would be patently unfair. Second, the President would have such retaliatory authority when a foreign country nullified or impaired a tariff concession on a given article by refusing to permit the establishment of a U.S.-owned facility that would assemble such articles into a finished product. It should be emphasized, however, that this authority could be used only in a case where increased exports would result from such foreign investment. Third, the President could take action against a country which subsidized exports to a third country and by that means substantially reduced sales of the competitive U.S. product to that country. In all these instances, however, the President could act only in a manner consistent with our international obligations. Otherwise, the United States would simply risk counter-retaliation and forgo the advantages of lawful action against the offending country.

Turning, finally, to the promotion of exports, the bill would take two significant steps. First, it would liberalize the existing provision of law that authorizes the refund—or drawback—of duties upon exported articles made of imported goods. In particular, if a certain article is imported and a domestic article of the same kind and quality is used to make the exported product, the duties paid on the imported product may be refunded. The bill would expand the so-called substitution provision to include cases where the domestic article is of similar kind and quality.

In addition, the bill provides for the drawback of indirect taxes on exports. Most modern industrial nations relieve their exported products of duties and taxes by refunding them at the time of exportation. The GATT prevents the refunding of income taxes, but we could—consistent with our international obligations and the programs of other countries with which we compete—refund excise and other so-called indirect taxes imposed by Federal, State, and local governments. The Department of the Treasury has calculated that these range from 1.5 to 4 percent of the export price. This could be a significant incentive to export, especially at the present time when a few percentage points can make the difference between a sale or no sale abroad. The bill would thus remove some of the handicaps under which our exporters labor against their foreign competitors, ameliorate our balance of payments, and relieve American exports of a tax burden that they should not—in equity—bear. The bill would, therefore, authorize—but not require—the President to refund the local, State, and Federal indirect taxes that are borne by exported articles and the merchandise, services, and property used in their manufacture. The President could do so, however, only when he found it was in the national interest, which should include a finding that additional exports would be generated by such a program.

The International Trade Act of 1971 seeks to balance the interests of all those affected by our trade policies.

Workers and firms are given fuller and more easily attainable relief from import-connected injury through expansion of the remedies of adjustment assistance and the procedures to obtain this assistance.

Industries faced with serious injury from imports will be aided by the easing of the escape clause. The procedural reforms as to dumping, countervailing duty and unfair import practices will substantially aid industries faced with unfair competition.

American farmers and manufacturers will benefit from the positive encouragement of exports, the attempt to deal firmly with nontariff barriers, the authority to expand trade and free trade while seeking comparable access to world markets.

The consumer also is not forgotten. The overall freeing of world trade will make available a wider range of products at reduced cost. Consumer interests are also taken into account in review of escape clause cases.

In an area so complex as international trade, it is not possible to fully satisfy all of the competing interests of the above groups. I feel that the provisions of this bill strike a proper balance which will more nearly benefit all segments of our economy and all of our citizens—exporters, importers, workers, farmers, firms and consumers.

I hope that we can have full hearings in the Senate Finance Committee on this and related legislation and that this bill can be speedily enacted.

At this time, I send the bill to the desk and ask that it be appropriately referred.

I ask unanimous consent that a statement prepared by the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. MONDALE), a summary of the bill, and the text of the bill itself be printed at this point in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and without objection, the several requests are granted.

The bill (S. 834) to accelerate the expansion of trade among the countries of the world on a fair and legitimate basis and thereby to promote the general welfare of the United States, and for other purposes introduced by Mr. HARRIS (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

The statement of Senator MONDALE, summary, and text of the bill were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, are as follows:

STATEMENT OF SENATOR MONDALE

Mr. President, I am pleased to join with the distinguished Senators from New York (Mr. JAVITS), and Oklahoma (Mr. HARRIS) and the other co-sponsors of the International Trade Act of 1971.

There is no question that this Congress must face up to an accumulation of grave problems with respect to international trade. And there is similarly no question but that the major trade legislation which emerges from this Congress will set the tone for our—and the entire world's trade policies for at least the rest of this decade. This is a crucial year for trade legislation, and the challenge must be met positively and responsibly.

Many sectors of our economy are facing increasing competition from abroad. While competition and specialization—doing what one does best—is at the very heart of a market economic system, both national and international, this absolutely must be fair competition.

There is strong feeling, and not without justification, that this import competition has not always been fair, and that our government has not been sufficiently aggressive in protecting the legitimate interests of our workers and industries faced with foreign export subsidies, dumping, and illegal restrictions on U.S. exports and investments abroad.

We have been the world leader in promoting the enormous economic advantages of open world trade. There is no other respect-

able or responsible position for the world's greatest economic power to take. Yet we must take stronger measures to see that our lead is, in fact, followed. Japanese restrictions on investments, Common Market barriers to agricultural exports, and remaining high tariffs and quotas abroad are evidence that our leadership has relied too much on "good example" and not enough on hard negotiations backed up by legitimate retaliatory authority.

In addition, regardless of the "fairness" of international competition, there will always be industries whose long run competitive edge is simply declining in the world marketplace—just as there will always be newer industries which are becoming increasingly competitive and able to expand their sales abroad.

There is no way to eliminate these trends altogether—short of an economic withdrawal from the rest of the world and denying our workers, industries, and consumers the enormous benefits of open world trade. But this does not mean that we can or should close our eyes to these inevitable problems of international competition.

Neither worker nor industry can be abandoned to an economic principle, oblivious to the very human hardship suffered by those in declining industries. We absolutely must do more than we have done in the past to help industries recover their competitive edge, to assist workers in maintaining their standards of living and productive usefulness, and to give all other forms of reasonable assistance where true "injury' has been found.

These real and legitimate grievances during the last year gained powerful momentum due, in large part, to the state of our domestic economy and the nearly 80% increase in national unemployment. With the jobless rate rising to its highest point in a decade—4.6 million workers by the end of the year and over 5 million unemployed today—the fear of foreign competition increased drastically. Whatever the cause of unemployment—and we know that the overwhelming cause, in simple terms, is a full-fledged recession—the unemployed worker looks first to the elimination of foreign competition as a means of preserving his own job.

We know from history that such a response, as understandable as it may be, is no solution. The Smoot Hawley tariff of 1932 was a child of the great depression, and only hastened the world-wide economic collapse of that decade. We cannot export if we will not import, and an invitation to an international trade war generated by economic insecurity will only cost more jobs than it can possibly save or recapture.

But our recession continues with no upturn yet in sight, and the fears so generated will continue to provide a powerful source of pressure for "solutions" through the erection of barriers to world competition, both fair and unfair.

Another source of pressure for protectionist trade legislation is political promises made to certain industries. Once industries with some legitimate grievances have been led to believe that they can receive special solutions—solutions which circumvent not only established procedures for the redress of injury, but international trade law itself—these industries soon become convinced of both the wisdom and the justice of such "solutions." This again, is understandable. But there is no way, as we saw last year, to grant special treatment to some industries and to deny such treatment to others which, by any measure, are far more "deserving" than the industry currently in political favor.

There are remedies—reasonable and legal—which can be applied to cases of injury or unfair froeign competition. As I said earlier, these must be strengthened and made more responsive to the legitimate problems suffered by many industries and workers. But protectionism is a contagious disease, and "political deals" in international trade can only result in an escalation of trade barriers and the disaster of foreign retaliation and trade wars.

Mr. President, these are the pressures which last year brought us to the very brink of such a trade war.

I and many of my colleagues opposed the protectionist legislation which died a fortuitous death in he closing logjam of the 91st Congress.

While I take relief in what I believe to have been a reversal of the protectionist momentum, I take no real comfort in having had a role in opposing this legislation. For I know that the only truly responsible alternative to protectionist sentiment lies not simply in opposition to quotas and other trade barriers, but in offering positive, forward-looking, and responsive legislation to deal with the legitimate problems—present and future—of international trade.

I promised on December 31, 1970, at the close of the 91st Congress, that those of us who believed in the benefits of expanded world trade would no longer rely simply on opposition to protectionist trade legislation. I promised then that we would have a positive answer—a constructive, responsive, and comprehensive trade bill for this Congress which could ease the domestic burdens of foreign competition and further the cause of expanded, open world trade.

The International Trade Act of 1971 is such a piece of legislation.

It is a forward-looking trade bill, continuing the momentum of the 1962 Trade Expansion Act toward the further mutual reduction of world trade barriers.

It provides a much needed stimulation for U.S. exports through the device of tax "drawbacks." For the first time, U.S. exporters would match some of the advantages of the European exporting firms who receive indirect but legal subsidies through rebates of their border taxes.

It provides for an elimination of the American Selling Price system, and grants negotiating authority to bring order to proliferation of non-tariff barriers being erected by all nations.

And this legislation take a small step toward granting the nations of Eastern Europe sufficient, selective access to our market to further open the channels of East-West Trade in peaceful goods, when such trade is in our national interest.

But most important, the International Trade Act of 1971 is responsive, to the limits prescribed by the international rules of trade, to the legitimate anxieties of American workers, farmers, business, and industry.

The criteria for escape clause relief calling for quotas or higher tariffs are substantially liberalized. While I have opposed legislated quotas which were in violation of the GATT, I recognize that they may at time be necessary and entirely justified, and that injury findings have been far too difficult to obtain in the past. By maintaining the established *procedure* for escape clause relief, but by liberalizing the *criteria for* injury we can be much more responsive to the problems of workers and industries without overthrowing the civilized rules of international trade and inviting certain retaliation upon our exports.

The bill also liberalizes the procedures for granting adjustment assistance to workers and firms which may be suffering from foreign competition regardless of the competitive status of the entire industry or the justification for quotas or higher tariffs. Beyond making this adjustment assistance easier to obtain, we have also provided for substantially liberalized benefits, both for the maintenance of income and for the necessary retraining, placement, counseling, and other services designed to assist workers in moving into more productive and higher paying fields.

Perhaps of equal importance to the liberalized escape clause procedures are provisions of this bill designed to strengthen the U.S. negotiating hand in eliminating unfair trade practices by other countries. These provisions would expand the President's retaliatory authority against other countries which impose illegal restrictions upon our exports, both agricultural and industrial, or upon certain U.S. investments abroad.

In addition, it would tighten up our present anti-dumping and countervailing duty laws, designed to combat unfair methods of foreign competition.

Mr. President, a summary of this comprehensive trade legislation has been prepared for the record. But the truly significant points, I think, are these:

First, there are legitimate problems which have accumulated in the international trade field for which our existing remedies have been obviously inadequate.

Second, remedies for these problems must come both through tighter and more liberalized legislation, *and* through more aggressive and responsive administration of the remedies long on the books, including retaliatory authority against other nations which have yet to follow upon our lead in opening world trade.

Third, we must shift the emphasis away from protectionism and isolationism toward an *expansion* of world trade, with all of its benefits to the American worker, farmer, businessman, and consumer.

Something in nature abhors vacuum, and the absence of expansionary, forward-looking trade legislation in the last several years has given over the field to myriads of protectionist trade bills. It is our hope now to fill this vacuum with the kind of trade legislation which can set the tone for new trade policies of the 70's.

Those of us who have opposed the remedy of illegal legisiated quotas owe it to our industries and workers to come up with a responsible positive alternative. I believe that this legislation is that alternative, and I hope that more of our colleagues will join us in support of this effort.

SUMMARY OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE ACT OF 1971

TITLE I—SHORT TITLE AND PURPOSES

This title provides that the Act may be known as the "International Trade Act of 1971" and briefly states the purpose of each of the succeeding six titles.

TITLE II—TRADE AGREEMENTS PROGRAM

This title amends the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (TEA) so as to—

(1) give the President, until July 1, 1973, the authority to reduce tariffs by 50% and to eliminate tariffs of 5% or less, with a new Congressional directive that any trade agreement negotiation should be aimed at establishing fair and equivalent conditions of access for agricultural and industrial articles to the markets of all the countries involved;

(2) repeal the duty-eliminating authorities in the TEA that are based on a now questionable "special relationship" with the European Economic Community;

(3) require that any investigation under the national security provision shall be completed within one year;

(4) provide an express authorization of appropriations for the annual U.S. contribution to the GATT, both to put this appropriation on a normal basis and to emphasize support of this key international institution; and

(5) expand the President's authority to retaliate against other countries' restrictive actions and permit him, consistent with our international obligations, to impose import restrictions when another country—

(i) illegally or unreasonably imposes restrictions on U.S. exports,

(ii) impairs or nullifies a tariff concession that could permit increased U.S. exports by illegally or unreasonably restricting U.S. direct investment in that country, or

(iii) subsidizes exports to a third country and thereby substantially reduces sales of U.S. exports to such country.

TITLE III—ASSISTANCE TO FIRMS, WORKERS, AND INDUSTRIES

This title amends section 301 of the TEA so as to—

(1) relax the criteria for escape-clause relief—i.e., higher tariffs or quotas for an entire domestic industry—by requiring the industry to show that increased imports are *the primary cause* of serious economic injury;

(2) liberalize the criteria for adjustment assistance—i.e., financial and other forms of relief not involving import restrictions for an individual firm or group of workers—by providing that a firm (or individual plant) or a group of workers (in a firm or plant) shall show that increased imports are *a substantial cause* of economic dislocation;

(3) take the function of determining whether the criteria for adjustment assistance are satisfied in specific cases away from the Tariff Commission and give it to what would probably be a three-agency board of the Executive Branch; and

(4) require the Tariff Commission to find the probable effect upon consumers of any escape-clause relief it recommends to the President.

In addition, this title—

(1) liberalizes the provisions authorizing adjustment assistance to firms;

(2) assures that workers under the adjustment assistance program will receive financial benefits equal to the wages they earned prior to unemployment;

(3) requires the President, in deciding whether to grant escape-clause relief, to take into account its probable effect upon consumers and domestic competition;

(4) requires the Tariff Commission, in reviewing existing escape-clause actions, to take into account their impact upon consumers, domestic competition, and exporters;

(5) requires any industry seeking the extension of an escape-caluse action to indicate the specific efforts made to adjust to import competition; and

(6) makes permanent the special adjustment assistance provisions of the law implementing the U.S.-Canadian Automotive Agreement.

TITLE IV—NON-TARIFF BARRIERS TO TRADE

This title attempts to clear the way for substantial further progress in the important field of non-tariff barriers (NTB's). In particular, it—

(1) urges the President to do all he can to eliminate NTB's and, if necessary, to negotiate so-called *ad referendum* agreements that are first concluded and then brought back to the Congress for the enactment of implementing legislation;

(2) provides that any NTB negotiation be preceded by public hearings and an investigation by the Tariff Commission into its probable economic effect and that such negotiation be attended by Congressional delegates from the Ways and Means and Finance Committees; and

(3) authorizes the complete elimination of the American selling price system of customs valuation—a precondition in the eyes of Europeans to further international action with respect to NTB's.

TITLE V—COMMERCIAL AGREEMENTS WITH CERTAIN COUNTRIES

This title authorizes the President to conclude a three-year renewable commercial agreement with a Communist country with whom we have diplomatic relations. Under such an agreement, the President would extend non-discriminatory—or so-called most-favored-nation—tariffs to one or more products of the Communist country in return for equivalent commercial benefits. The President is authorized to terminate such most-favored-nation treatment at any time, and he is required to do so whenever he determines that the Communist country is not fulfilling its obligations or that termination is in the national interest.

TITLE VI—ENCOURAGEMENT OF EXPORTS

This title would encourage exports by expanding the concept of drawback—or refund—of duties and taxes on exports. First, it would liberalize the so-called "substitution provision" in the present law that provides for the drawback on duties. Second, it would authorize—but not require—the Secretary of the Treasury to refund Federal and State indirect taxes on goods, services, and property used in the manufacture of exports. The Secretary could not, however, grant the refund unless he found that it was likely to increase U.S. exports and was in the national interest. Such refund would be consistent with the GATT, would probably average about 2.5 percent of the sales price, and would reduce, though not eliminate, the advantages presently enjoyed by exports from the European Economic Community under its border tax system.

TITLE VII—UNFAIR IMPORT COMPETITION

This title would amend the three provisions of law directed at dumping, subsidization, and other unfair practices in the import trade.

In general, this title would—

(1) establish fixed time periods within which investigations into such alleged practices would have to be concluded;

(2) require a public hearing to permit all interested parties to have a voice in the proceeding; and

(3) assure judicial review of the pertinent agency determinations.

In particular, this title would specify the kinds of economic injury to which the Antidumping Act pertains. In addition, it would make the anti-subsidy law applicable to both duty-free as well as dutiable products, instead of just the latter as at the present. Moreover, it would add an injury requirement to the anti-subsidy law—effective January 1, 1975. The President would be urged to negotiate an international agreement limiting the use of other countries' trade-distorting subsidies, with the United States undertaking for the first time to adopt an injury standard in its law. If this effort should fail, the adoption of the injury standard could be eliminated by concurrent resolution or proclamation.

S. 834

A bill to accelerate the expansion of trade among the countries of the world on a fair and legitimate basis and thereby to promote the general welfare 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—SHORT TITLE AND PURPOSES

SHORT TITLE

SEC. 101. This Act may be cited as the "International Trade Act of 1971".

STATEMENT OF PURPOSES

SEC. 102. The purposes of this Act are—

(1) to grant sufficient authority to the President to seek fair access to foreign markets for United States products, including agricultural and industrial products, and to deal with the special problems created by the establishment or extension of customs unions or other arrangements among foreign countries that may adversely affect United States exports;

(2) to establish an effective program of adjustment assistance for firms and workers dislocated by increased imports and, taking into account the interests of consumers and exporters, to afford adequate relief for industries seriously injured by increased imports in order to allow such industries to adjust to import competition;

(3) to promote the reduction or elimination of non-tariff barriers and other distortions of international trade by encouraging the President to negotiate international agreements providing for such reduction or elimination and by authorizing the total elimination of the American selling price system of customs valuation;

(4) to extend on a selective basis and through reciprocal commercial agreements the application of most-favored-nation treatment to the products of countries presently denied such treatment when and so long as it is in the national interest;

(5) to further encourage United States exports by liberalizing the drawback of duties and by authorizing the drawback of indirect taxes borne by such exports and by merchandise, services, and property that are used in their manufacture; and

(6) to afford prompter relief and establish more equitable proceedings under the provisions of law directed against the injurious dumping and subsidization of imports as well as the use of injurious unfair trade practices in the importation of goods.

TITLE II—TRADE AGREEMENTS PROGRAM

BASIC AUTHORITY FOR TRADE AGREEMENTS

SEC. 201. Section 201 of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (19 U.S.C. 1821(a)) is amended as follows:

(a) In subsection (a)(1), strike out "July 1, 1967" and insert in lieu thereof "July 1, 1973".

(b) In subsection (b)(1), strike out "July 1, 1962" and insert in lieu thereof "July 1, 1967".

(c) Insert immediately after subsection (b) the following new subsection:

"(c) In entering into each trade agreement pursuant to subsection (a), the President shall seek the establishment of fair and equivalent conditions of access for the articles concerned, including agricultural and industrial articles, to the markets of all the parties to such agreement."

SPECIAL AUTHORITIES

SEC. 202. (a) Section 202 of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (19 U.S.C. 1822) is amended by striking out "July 1, 1962" and inserting in lieu thereof "July 1, 1967".

(b) Sections 211, 212, and 213 of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (19 U.S.C. 1831, 1832, and 1833) are repealed.

NATIONAL SECURITY PROVISION

SEC. 203. (a) Section 232(b) of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (19 U.S.C. 1862(b)) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "In the case of any investigation under this subsection initiated by request or application, the Director shall make and announce the determination required by this subsection not later than 1 year after the date on which such request or application was made."

(b) The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply with respect to requests or applications made to the Director of the Office of Emergency Preparedness under section 232(b) of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 on or after January 1, 1968; except that, in the case of such a request or application made more than 1 year before the date of the enactment of this Act, the determination required by such section 232(b) shall be made on or before the 60th day after such date of enactment.

GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE

SEC. 204. Chapter 5 of title II of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 is amended by insert-

ing immediately after section 243 (19 U.S.C. 1873) the following new section:

"GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE

"SEC. 244. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated annually such sums as may be necessary for the payment by the United States of its share of the expenses of the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade."

FOREIGN IMPORT RESTRICTIONS

SEC. 205. Section 252 of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (19 U.S.C. 1882) is amended to read as follows:

"FOREIGN IMPORT RESTRICTIONS AND DISCRIMINATORY ACTS

"SEC. 252. (a) Whenever the President determines that a foreign country or instrumentality maintains or threatens to impose illegal or unreasonable tariff and non-tariff trade restrictions, including variable import fees, which either directly or indirectly substantially burden United States exports, including agricultural and industrial, the President—

"(1) shall take all appropriate and feasible steps within his power to eliminate such restrictions;

"(2) shall refrain from negotiating the reduction or elimination of any United States import restriction under section 201(a) in order to obtain the reduction or elimination of any such illegal restriction; and

"(3) may, consistent with the international obligations of the United States, impose duties or other import restrictions on the products of such foreign country or instrumentality on a most-favored-nation basis or otherwise, and for such time as he deems appropriate.

"(b) Whenever the President determines that—

"(1) a foreign country or instrumentality has granted a tariff concession applicable to a United States product;

"(2) such United States product is not likely to be exported in significantly additional quantities to such foreign country or instrumentality unless direct United States investment is made in that country or instrumentality in order to assemble, manufacture, or further process such product;

"(3) such foreign country or instrumentality has imposed illegal or unreasonable restrictions on such direct United States investment; and

"(4) such foreign country or instrumentality has thereby impaired or nullified the value of the tariff concession applicable to such United States product,

the President may, consistent with the international obligations of the United States, impose duties or other import restrictions on the products of such foreign country or instrumentality on a most-favored-nation basis or otherwise, and for such time as he deems appropriate.

"(c) Whenever the President determines that a foreign country or instrumentality provides subsidies (or other incentives having the effect of subsidies) on its exports of one or more products to other foreign markets which substantially reduce sales of the competitive United States agricultural or industrial product or products to those foreign markets, the President may, consistent with the international obligations of the United States, impose duties or other import restrictions on the products of such foreign country or instrumentality on a most-favored-nation basis or otherwise, and for such time as he deems appropriate.

"(d) Upon request by any interested person, the organization established pursuant to section 242(a) shall, after reasonable notice, hold a public hearing with respect to foreign import restrictions and discriminatory acts of the kind referred to in subsections (a), (b), and (c) and shall afford interested persons an opportunity to be present, to produce evidence, and to be heard at such hearing. Within 6 months of the date of the public hearing, such organization shall publish in the Federal Register its findings with respect to the restrictions and acts in question, including whether they are illegal or unreasonable and what their impact has been or is likely to be on United States exports, and shall submit its recommendations to the President as to what action, if any, the United States should take."

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 206. Section 256(4) of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (19 U.S.C. 1886(4)) is amended to read as follows:

"(4) The term 'existing on July 1, 1967', as applied to a rate of duty, refers to the lowest non-preferential rate of duty (however established, and even though temporarily suspended by Act of Congress or otherwise) existing on such date or (if lower) the lowest non-preferential rate to which the United States is committed on such date."

TITLE III—ASSISTANCE TO FIRMS, WORKERS, AND INDUSTRIES PETITIONS AND DETERMINATIONS

SEC. 301. Section 301 of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (19 U.S.C. 1901) is amended as follows:

(a) The title is amended to read "PETITIONS AND DETERMINATIONS".

(b) Subsection (a)(2) is amended by striking out "Tariff Commission" wherever it appears and inserting in lieu thereof "President."

(c) Subsection (a)(3) is amended by striking out "this subsection'" and inserting in lieu thereof "paragraph (1)'".

(d) Subsection (b) is amended to read as follows:

"(b)(1) Upon request of the President, upon resolution of either the Committee on Finance of the Senate or the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, upon its own motion, or upon the filing of a petition under subsection (a)(1), the Tariff Commission shall promptly make an investigation to determine whether increased quantities of imports of an article directly competitive with an article produced by a domestic industry have been the primary cause or threat of serious injury to such industry. In making its determination under this paragraph, the Tariff Commission shall take into account all economic factors which it considers relevant, including idling of productive facilities, inability to operate at a level of reasonable profit, and unemployment or underemployment.

"(2) No investigation for the purpose of paragraph (1) shall be made, upon petition filed under subsection (a)(1), with respect to the same subject matter as a previous investigation under paragraph (1), unless one year has elapsed since the Tariff Commission made its report to the President of the results of such previous investigation."

(e) Subsection (c) is amended to read as follows:

"(c)(1) In the case of a petition by a firm for a determination of eligibility to apply for adjustment assistance under chapter 2, the President shall determine whether increased quantities of imports of an article directly competitive with an article produced by the firm have been a substantial cause or threat of serious injury to such firm.

"(2) In the case of a petition by a group of workers for a determination of eligibility to apply for adjustment assistance under chapter 3, the President shall determine whether increased quantities of imports of an article directly competitive with an article produced by such workers' firms, or an appropriate subdivision thereof, have been a substantial cause or threat of unemployment or underemployment of a significant number or proportion of the workers of such firm or subdivision.

"(3) In order to assist him in making the determinations referred to in paragraphs (1) and (2) with respect to a firm or group of workers, the President shall promptly transmit to the Tariff Commission a copy of each petition filed under subsection (a)(2) and, not later than 5 days after the date on which the petition is filed, shall request the Tariff Commission to conduct an investigation relating to questions of fact relevant to such determinations and to make a report of the facts disclosed by such investigation. In his request, the President may specify the particular kinds of data which he deems appropriate. Upon receipt of the President's request, the Tariff Commission shall promptly institute the investigation and promptly publish notice thereof in the Federal Register."

(f) Subsection (d)(2) is amended to read as follows:

"(2) In the course of any investigation under subsection (c)(3), the Tariff Commission shall, after reasonable notice, hold a public hearing, if such hearing is requested (not later than 10 days after the date of the publication of its notice under subsection (c)(3)) by the petitioner or any other person showing a proper interest in the subject matter of the investigation, and shall afford interested persons an opportunity to be present, to produce evidence, and to be heard at such hearing."

(g) Subsection (e) is amended by inserting after "such injury" the words ", as well as the appropriateness of adjustment assistance to remedy such injury", and by adding the following new second sentence: "In addition, the Tariff Commission shall find the probable effect of such increase or imposition upon consumers, including the price and availability of such article and the like or directly competitive article produced in the United States."

(h) Subsection (f)(1) is amended by inserting "under subsection (b)" after "in each report" in the first sentence.

(i) Subsection (f)(3) is amended to read as follows:

"(3) The report of the Tariff Commission of the facts disclosed by its investigation under subsection (c)(3) with respect to a firm or group of workers shall be made at the earliest practicable time, but not later than 60 days after the date on which it receives the request of the President under subsection (c)(3)."

(j) Immediately after subsection (g), the following new subsection is added:

"(h) For purposes of this title—

"(1) the term 'firm' may include a separate establishment of a firm; and

"(2) the term 'group of workers' may include a group of workers of a separate establishment of a firm."

PRESIDENTIAL ACTION AFTER TARIFF COMMISSION REPORTS

SEC. 302. Section 302 of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (19 U.S.C. 1902) is amended as follows:

(a) The title is amended to read "PRESIDENTIAL ACTION AFTER TARIFF COMMISSION REPORTS".

(b) Subsection (b)(1) is amended to read as follows:

"Within 30 days after receiving a request for certification from a firm in an industry with respect to which the President has acted under subsection (a)(2), the Secretary of Commerce shall certify such firm as eligible to apply for adjustment assistance under chapter 2 unless he makes a determination that the increased quantities of imports have not been a substantial cause or threat of serious injury to such firm. Any such determination shall be supported by written findings of fact and shall be issued within 30 days after receipt of the initial request for certification unless, within that period, the Secretary notifies the firm that he requires it to submit additional information in order

to enable him to resolve specific questions as to the firm's eligibility, in which event he shall issue his decision as to eligibility within 15 days after receiving such information."

(c) Subsection (b)(2) is amended to read as follows:

"Within 30 days after receiving a request for certification from a group of workers in an industry with respect to which the President has acted under subsection (a)(3), the Secretary of Labor shall certify such group of workers as eligible to apply for adjustment assistance under chapter 3 unless he makes a determination that the increased quantities of imports have not been a substantial cause or threat of unemployment or underemployment of a significant number or proportion of workers of such workers' firm or subdivision thereof. Any such determination shall be supported by written findings of fact and shall be issued within 30 days after receipt of the initial request for certification unless, within that period, the Secretary notifies the group of workers that he requires it to submit additional information in order to enable him to resolve specific questions as to the group's eligibility, in which event he shall issue his decision as to eligibility within 15 days after receiving such information."

(d) Subsection (c) is amended to read as follows:

"(c)(1) After receiving a report of the Tariff Commission of the facts disclosed by its investigation under section 301(c)(3) with respect to any firm or group of workers, the President shall make his determination under section 301(c)(1) or (c)(2) at the earliest practicable time, but not later than 30 days after the date on which he receives the Tariff Commission's report, unless, within such period, the President requests additional factual information from the Tariff Commission. In this event, the Tariff Commission shall, not later than 25 days after the date on which it receives the President's request, furnish such additional factual information in a supplemental report, and the President shall make his determination not later than 15 days after the date on which he receives such supplemental report.

"(2) The President shall promptly publish in the Federal Register a summary of each determination under section 301(c) with respect to any firm or group of workers.

"(3) If the President makes an affirmative determination under section 301(c) with respect to any firm or group of workers, he shall promptly certify that such firm or group of workers is eligible to apply for adjustment assistance.

"(4) The President is authorized to exercise any of his functions with respect to determinations and certifications of eligibility of firms or workers to apply for adjustment assistance under section 301 and this section through such agency or other instrumentality of the United States Government as he may direct.

CERTIFICATION PROCEDURES FOR FIRMS

SEC. 303. Section 311 of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (19 U.S.C. 1911) is amended by adding the following new subsection:

"(e) Certification procedures and forms prescribed by the Secretary of Commerce pursuant to this section shall be designed to simplify and expedite the provision of adjustment assistance to firms."

USE OF DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

SEC. 304. Section 312(a) of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (19 U.S.C. 1912(a)) is amended to read as follows:

"(a) The Secretary of Commerce shall provide adjustment assistance under sections 313 and 314 to any firm whose adjustment proposal he has certified, unless he determines that the same assistance can be provided more expeditiously and effectively by one or more other agencies. In that event, he shall refer the adjustment proposal to such other agency or agencies and shall take all steps necessary to assist the firm in securing such assistance."

CONDITIONS FOR FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 305. Section 315(a) of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (19 U.S.C. 1915(a)) is amended by inserting after "90 percent" the words "or, if the Secretary determines that the firm has already taken substantial measures to assist its own economic adjustment, 100 percent".

TAX ASSISTANCE TO FIRMS

SEC. 306. Section 317(a)(2) of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (19 U.S.C. 1917(2)) is amended by striking out "by the increased imports which the Tariff Commission has determined to result from concessions granted under trade agreements" and inserting in lieu thereof "by the increased quantities of imports identified by the Tariff Commission under section 301(b)(1) or by the President under section 301(c)(1), as the case may be".

AUTHORITY FOR ASSISTANCE TO WORKERS

SEC. 307. Section 321 of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (19 U.S.C. 1931) is amended by inserting "(a)" immediately before "The", and by adding the following new subsection:

"(b) Procedures and forms prescribed by the Secretary of Labor pursuant to this section shall be designed to simplify and expedite the provision of adjustment assistance to workers."

INCREASED ASSISTANCE FOR WORKERS

SEC. 308. (a) Section 323(e) of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (19 U.S.C. 1942(e)) is amended to read as follows:

"(e) Whenever, with respect to any week of unemployment, the total amount payable to an adversely affected worker as remuneration for services performed during such week, as unemployment insurance, as a training allowance referred to in subsection (d), and as a trade readjustment allowance—

"(1) is less than 100 percent of his average weekly wage, his trade readjustment allowance shall be increased by the amount of such insufficiency, or

"(2) is more than 100 percent of his average weekly wage, his trade readjustment allowance shall be reduced by the amount of such excess."

(b) The second sentence of section 326(a) of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (19 U.S.C. 1951(a)) is amended to read as follows: "To this end, and subject to this chapter, adversely affected workers shall be afforded, where appropriate, the testing, counseling, training, and placement services and supportive and other services provided for under any Federal Law."

(c) Section 338(4) of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (19 U.S.C. 1978(4)) is amended by adding thereto the following new fourth sentence: "For purposes of this paragraph, the Secretary of Labor is authorized to issue regulations providing that the term 'total wages' may include the monetary equivalent of insurance, retirement, and other benefits obtained in addition to wages."

(d) The amendments made by subsections (a) and (c) shall apply with respect to assistance under chapter 3 of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 for weeks of unemployment beginning on or after the date of the enactment of this Act.

TARIFF ADJUSTMENT

SEC. 309. Section 351 of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (19 U.S.C. 1981) is amended as follows:

(a) Subsection (a)(1) is amended by inserting immediately before the period ", taking into account the probable effect of such increase or imposition upon consumers, including the price and availability of the imported article and the like or directly competitive domestic article, and upon competition in the domestic markets for such articles".

(b) Subsection (d)(1) is amended to read as follows:

"(d)(1) So long as any increase in, or imposition of, any duty or other import restriction pursuant to this section remains in effect, the Tariff Commission shall keep under review, and make annual reports to the President on—

"(A) the specific efforts being made by the firms in the industry concerned to adjust to import competition, and other developments with respect to such industry,

"(B) the effect of such increase or imposition upon consumers, including the price and availability of the imported article and the directly competitive article produced in the United States, and upon competition in the domestic markets for such articles, and

"(C) the impact upon United States exports and exporters of any action taken by foreign countries as a consequence of such increase or imposition."

(c) Subsection (d)(2) is amended to read as follows:

"(d)(2) No later than 2 years after the effective date of a proclamation providing for the increase in, or imposition of, any duty or other import restriction pursuant to this section, or upon request of the President, or upon its own motion, the Tariff Commission shall advise the President of its judgment as to the probable economic effect on the industry concerned of the reduction or termination of such increase or imposition."

(d) Subsection (d)(3) is amended by adding thereto the following new second sentence: "Such petition shall include a detailed account of the specific efforts made by the firms in the industry to adjust to import competition after the effective date of such increase or imposition."

(e) Subsection (d)(4) is amended to read as follows:

"(d)(4) In advising the President under this subsection as to the probable economic effect on the industry concerned, the Tariff Commission shall take into account the specific efforts made by the firms in such industry to adjust to import competition, as well as all other economic factors which it considers relevant, including idling of productive facilities, inability to operate at a level of reasonable profit, and unemployment or underemployment. In so advising the President, the Tariff Commission shall also provide its judgment as to the probable effect of the reduction or elimination, as the case may be, upon—

"(A) consumers, including the price and availability of the imported article and the directly competitive article produced in the United States, and upon competition in the domestic markets for such articles, and

"(B) United States exports and exporters affected by any action taken by foreign countries as a consequence of the increase in, or imposition of, any duty or other import restriction pursuant to this section."

PUBLICITY

SEC. 310. Title III of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new chapter:

"CHAPTER 6—PUBLICITY

"PUBLICITY OF ADJUSTMENT ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

"SEC. 371. (a) The President shall take all appropriate steps to ensure that the adjustment assistance available under chapters 2 and 3 is made known in a prompt and effective manner throughout the United States to persons who might need such assistance, including persons in areas of substantial unemployment as determined by the Department of Labor.

"(b) In particular, the President shall direct the Departments of Commerce and Labor, and such other agencies as he deems appropriate—

"(1) to use their services and programs in the several States to furnish interested persons with information concerning the various kinds of adjustment assistance available under chapters 2 and 3 and the procedures for obtaining such assistance, and

"(2) to provide timely and appropriate assistance, through their field offices in the several States, to any person seeking to apply for, and to obtain, adjustment assistance under chapters 2 and 3.

"(c) In any area of the United States where a language other than English is used by a significant number of persons, the President shall ensure that information and assistance under this chapter are provided in both English and such other language."

AMENDMENTS TO AUTOMOTIVE PRODUCTS TRADE ACT OF 1965

SEC. 311. (a) Section 302(a) of the Automotive Products Trade Act of 1965 (19 U.S.C. 2022(a)) is amended by striking out "After the 90th day after the date of the enactment of this Act and before July 1, 1968, a petition under section 301" and inserting in lieu thereof "A petition under section 301".

(b) The heading of section 302 of such Act is amended to read as follows: "SPECIAL AUTHORITY".

(c) Subsections (c), (d), and (g)(2) of section 302 of such Act are amended by striking out "the primary factor" and inserting in lieu thereof "a substantial factor".

(d) The amendments made by this section shall apply with respect to petitions filed after the date of the enactment of this Act except that—

(1) such amendments shall apply only with respect to dislocations which began after June 30, 1968, and

(2) such amendments shall apply with respect to dislocations which began after June 30, 1968, and before July 1, 1971, only if the petition is filed on or before the 90th day after the date of the enactment of this Act.

TITLE IV—NON-TARIFF BARRIERS TO TRADE LIBERALIZATION OF NON-TARIFF BARRIERS TO TRADE

SEC. 401. (a) The Congress finds that non-tariff barriers and other distortions of international trade are reducing the growth United States agriculture, industry, mining, and commerce, diminishing the intended mutual benefits of reciprocal tariff concessions, and preventing the development of open and non-discrimiatory trade among nations. It is the will of the Congress that the President take all appropriate and feasible steps within his power to reduce and eliminate non-tariff barriers and other distortions of international trade in order to further the objective of establishing fair and equivalent conditions of access to markets throughout the world.

(b) As a means of pursuing this objective, the President is urged to negotiate agreements with other countries and instrumentalities providing for the reciprocal reduction or elimination of non-tariff barriers and other distortions of international trade, with the objective of establishing fair and equivalent conditions of access for the articles concerned, including agricultural and industrial articles, to the markets of all the parties concerned. No such negotiation should take place, however, until all interested persons have been given a reasonable opportunity to present their views on any proposed agreement, until the President has obtained the advice of the Tariff Commission on the probable economic effect of such agreement, and only on the condition that such agreement shall not enter into force in the United States until the enactment of any necessary implementing legislation.

(c) Subsection (b) shall in no way be construed as prior approval of any legislation that may be necessary to implement an agreement concerning non-tariff barriers and other distortions of international trade.

(d) Before each negotiation under this section, the President shall, upon the recommendation of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, select two members (not of the same political party) of the Gommittee on Ways and Means, and shall, upon the recommendation of the President of the Senate, select two members (not of the same political party) of the Committee on Finance, who shall be accredited as members of the United States delegation to such negotiation.

ELIMINATION OF AMERICAN SELLING PRICE SYSTEM

SEC. 402. (a) The President is authorized to proclaim such modifications of the Tariff Schedules of the United States (19 U.S.C. 1202) as are required or appropriate to carry out—

(1) part II of the Agreement Relating Principally to Chemicals, Supplementary to the Geneva (1967) Protocol to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, concluded among the European Economic Community, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States in Geneva on June 30, 1967, and

(2) the Agreement effected in Geneva on June 30, 1967, by an exchange of notes between the United States and Japan relating to certain canned clams and wool-knit gloves.

(b) With respect to certain footwear presently provided for in item 700.60 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States, the President is authorized—

(1) to enter into a trade agreement providing for the replacement of item 700.60 by one or more new items having product descriptions and rates of duty found by the Tariff Commission to result in duties substantially equivalent to those resulting from the present law, which rates of duty shall be applied to values determined in accordance with the methods of valuation, other than American selling price, provided for in section 402 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U.S.C. 1401a); and

(2) to proclaim such modifications of subpart A (Footwear) of part 1 of schedule 7 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States as are required or appropriate to carry out such agreement and necessary to simplify product descriptions and eliminate anomalies of classification.

(c) In a proclamation issued pursuant to this section, the President is authorized to simplify the Tariff Schedules of the United States by consolidating article descriptions, without changing rates of duty, with respect to articles which will be subject to full concession rates of duty that are identical to one another in column numbered 1 and to rates of duty that are identical to one another in column numbered 2. Any such consolidation shall become effective on the date the full concession rates of duty become effective for such articles.

(d) The President is authorized at any time to terminate, in whole or in part, any proclamation issued pursuant to this section.

APPLICATION OF RELATED PROVISIONS

SEC. 403. (a) For purposes of section 256(4) of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (19 U.S.C. 1886(4)), each full concession rate of duty proclaimed pursuant to section 402 of this Act increased by 100 percent thereof shall be treated as the rate of duty existing on July 1, 1967.

(b) For purposes of general headnote 4 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States (19 U.S.C. 1202), a rate of duty proclaimed pursuant to section 402 of this Act shall be treated as a rate of duty proclaimed pursuant to a concession granted in a trade agreement.

CONSEQUENTIAL AMENDMENTS OF TARIFF SCHEDULES OF UNITED STATES

SEC. 404. As of the effective date of a proclamation issued pursuant to section 402(a) or 402(b) of this Act, the Tariff Schedules of the United States are amended by those of the following paragraphs which apply to the articles to which such proclamation relates:

(1) Part 3E of schedule 1 is amended by striking out the rate of duty in column numbered 2 for item 114.05 and by inserting in such column "35¢ per lb." and "35% ad val." for the articles provided for in items 114.04 and 114.06, respectively, proclaimed pursuant to section 402(a) of this Act, and by striking out headnote 1 and the headnote heading preceding it.

(2) Part 1 of schedule 4 is amended by striking out the rates of duty in column numbered 2 in subparts B and C and by inserting in such column "7c per lb. + 75% ad val." for the articles provided for in each item proclaimed pursuant to section 402(a) of this Act, and by striking out headnotes 4 and 5 and inserting in lieu thereof:

"4. The ad valorem rates provided for in this part shall be applied to values determined in accordance with the methods of valuation provided for in section 402(a) through (d) of this Act (19 U.S.C. 1401a(a) through (d))."

(3) Part 1A of schedule 7 is amended by providing for the one or more new items referred to in section 402(b)(1) of this Act a rate of duty in column numbered 2 that is twice the rate provided in column numbered 1 for such item or items, respectively, and by striking out headnote 3(b) and inserting in lieu thereof:

"(b) The ad valorem rates provided for in the items proclaimed in such proclamation as may be issued pursuant to section 402(b)(1) of the International Trade Act of 1971 shall be applied to values determined in accordance with the methods of valuation provided for in section 402(a) through (d) of this Act (19 U.S.C. 1401a(a) through (d))."

(4) Part 1C of schedule 7 is amended by striking out the rate of duty in column numbered 2 for item 704.55 and inserting in lieu thereof "40¢ per lb. + 35% ad val.", and by striking out headnote 4 and inserting in lieu thereof:

"4. The ad valorem rates provided for in item 704.55 shall be applied to values determined in accordance with the methods of valuation provided for in section 402(a) through (d) of this Act (19 U.S.C. 1401a(a) through (d))."

CONSEQUENTIAL AMENDMENTS OF OTHER PROVISIONS OF TARIFF ACT OF 1930

SEC. 405. As of the date the American selling price system of customs valuation is eliminated, pursuant to sections 402 and 404 of this Act, for all articles now subject to that system—

(1) Section 336 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U.S.C. 1336) is amended by striking out—

(A) subsection (b),

(B) "and in basis of value" in subsection (c),

(C) "or in basis of value" in subsections (d) and (f), and

(D) subsection (j).

(2) Section 402 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U.S.C. 1401a) is amended by striking out everything in subsection (a) which follows "constructed value" and precedes the period, and by striking out subsection (e).

(3) Section 402a of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U.S.C. 1402) is amended by striking out everything in subsection (a) which follows "cost of production" and precedes the period, and by striking out subsection (g).

TITLE V—COMMERCIAL AGREEMENTS WITH CERTAIN COUNTRIES

AUTHORITY TO ENTER INTO COMMERCIAL AGREEMENTS

SEC. 501. In the case of a country with which the United States has diplomatic relations, but to the products of which it denies most-favored-nation treatment, the President may make a commercial agreement with such country providing such treatment to one or more products of that country whenever he determines that such agreement is in the national interest and is likely to result in commercial benefits to the United States equivalent to those provided by the agreement to the other party.

BENEFIT TO BE PROVIDED BY COMMERCIAL AGREEMENTS

SEC. 502. The commercial benefits to the United States to be obtained in a commercial agreement may be of the following kind, but need not be restricted thereto:

(a) arrangements for the protection of industrial rights and processes;

(b) arrangements for the settlement of commercial differences and disputes;

(c) arrangements for participation in trade fairs and exhibits, for sending of trade missions, and for facilitation of entry and travel of commercial representatives; or

(d) most-favored-nation treatment with respect to duties or other restrictions on the imports of the products of the United States, and other arrangements that may secure market access and assure fair treatment for products of the United States.

PROVISIONS TO BE INCLUDED IN COMMERCIAL AGREEMENTS

SEC. 503. A commercial agreement shall—

(a) be limited to an initial period specified in the agreement which shall be no more than 3 years from the time the agreement becomes effective;

(b) be subject to suspension or termination in whole or in part at any time upon reasonable notice;

(c) provide for consultations at regular intervals for the purpose of reviewing the operation of the agreement and relevant aspects of relations between the United States and the other party; and

(d) be renewable for additional periods, each not to exceed three years.

EXTENSION OF BENEFITS OF MOST-FAVORED-NATION TREATMENT

SEC. 504. (a) In order to carry out a commercial agreement and notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the President may by proclamation extend, for the period of effectiveness of the agreement, most-favored-nation treatment to one or more products of the other party.

(b) The President may at any time suspend or terminate in whole or in part any proclamation issued under subsection (a). The President shall suspend or terminate such proclamation whenever he determines that—

(1) the other party is no longer fulfilling its obligations under the agreement; or

(2) the suspension or termination of the agreement is in the national interest.

REQUIREMENTS FOR NEGOTIATIONS

SEC. 505. Before the negotiation of a commercial agreement under this title, the President—

(1) shall seek information and advice with respect to such agreement from the interested departments and agencies of the United States Government, from interested persons, and from such other sources as he may deem appropriate; and

(2) shall, upon the recommendation of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, select two members (not of the same political party) of the Committee on Ways and Means, and shall; upon the recommendation of the President of the Senate, select two members (not of the same political party) of the Committee on Finance, who shall be accredited as members of the United States delegation to such negotiation.

TRANSMISSION OF REPORTS TO CONGRESS

SEC. 506. The President shall submit to the Congress an annual report on the commercial agreements program instituted under this title. Such report shall include information regarding negotiations, benefits obtained as a result of commercial agreements, the texts of any such agreements, and other information relating to the program.

RELATION TO OTHER LAWS

SEC. 507. (a) This title shall not apply to any agreement made with a country whose products are receiving, when such agreement is made, the benefits of trade agreement concessions extended pursuant to section 231(b) of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (19 U.S.C. 1861(b)).

(b) General headnote 3(e) to the Tariff Schedules of the United States (19 U.S.C. 1202) is amended by inserting immediately before the colon ", unless a proclamation is in effect with respect to such country or area under section 504(a) of the International Trade Act of 1971".

(c) Headnote 4 to part 5B of schedule 1 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States (19 U.S.C. 1202) is repealed.

TITLE VI—ENCOURAGEMENT OF EXPORTS

DRAWBACK OF CERTAIN DUTIES AND INDIRECT TAXES

SEC. 601. (a) Section 313(b) of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U.S.C. 1313(b)) is amended by striking out "of the same kind and quality" and inserting in lieu thereof "of a similar kind and quality".

(b) Section 313 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U.S.C. 1313) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(k) Whenever the President determines that such action is in the national interest, he is authorized, upon the exportation of articles manufactured or produced in the United States, to allow as drawback an amount equal to such local, State, and Federal taxes as he finds are borne by such exported articles and by merchandise, services, and property used in the manufacture or production of such articles."

(c) The amendments made by subsections (a) and (b) of this section shall take effect on the 90th day after the date of the enactment of this Act.

TITLE VII—UNFAIR IMPORT COMPETITION

ANTIDUMPING ACT, 1921

SEC. 701. (a) Section 201(a) of the Antidumping Act, 1921 (19 U.S.C. 160(a)), is amended by inserting immediately after the first sentence the following new sentence: "In determining whether an industry in the United States is being or is likely to be injured, the said Commission shall consider whether the industry is suffering, or is likely to suffer, from depressed prices, a decline in production, and unemployment or underemployment."

(b) Section 201 of the Antidumping Act, 1921 (19 U.S.C. 160), is amended by adding thereto the following new subsections:

"(d) During the course of each dumping investigation under this section, public hearings shall be held, after reasonable notice, pertaining to, and in advance of, the Secretary's determination with respect to fair value under subsection (a) of this section, and the Commission's determination with respect to an industry of the United States under subsection (a) of this section. A transcript shall be made of all testimony and exhibits presented at such hearing.

"(e) The Secretary shall make his determination under subsection (a) of this section within 6 months after the question of dumping has been raised by or presented to him or any person to whom authority under this section has been delegated. If, however, prior to the termination of the 6 months, the Secretary makes and publishes in the Federal Register a finding that a fair and thorough investigation cannot be made within that time, the Secretary shall have up to 3 additional months within which to make his determination.

"(f) For the purposes of this section, the question of dumping shall be deemed to have been raised or presented on the date on which a notice is published in the Federal Register that information relating to dumping has been received in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Secretary."

(c) Section 202(b)(2) and section 202(c)(2) of the Antidumping Act, 1921 (19 U.S.C. 161(b)(2) and (c)(2)), is each amended to read as follows:

"(2) other differences in circumstances of sale, including, but not limited to, differences in terms of sale, credit terms, and advertising, distribution, and marketing costs, so long as such differences may be reasonably related to the sale of the foreign merchandise under consideration, or".

(d) Section 202 of the Antidumping Act, 1921 (19 U.S.C. 161), is amended by adding thereto the following new subsection:

"(d) Whenever the Secretary determines that the basis for the finding made under section 201(a) no longer exists with respect to all or any part of the foreign merchandise covered by such finding, he shall modify or revoke such finding."

(e) Section 210 of the Antidumping Act, 1921 (19 U.S.C. 169), is amended by inserting "(a)" immediately before "That" and adding thereto the following new subsection:

"(b) The determination of the Secretary and of the Commission under section 201(a) shall be subject to judicial review in the United States Court of Customs and Patent Appeals in the manner prescribed in section 2112 of title 28 of the United States Code."

(f) Section 213 of the Antidumping Act, 1921 (19 U.S.C. 171), is redesignated section 214, and the following new section is inserted immediately following section 212:

"RULES AND REGULATIONS

"SEC. 213. The Secretary shall make rules and regulations necessary for the enforcement of this Act. Such rules and regulations shall be of sufficient specificity to afford any interested person a reasonable opportunity to determine whether a class or kind of foreign merchandise is likely to be sold in the United States at less than fair value."

(g) The amendments made by subsections (a) through (f) of this section shall take effect on the 180th day after the date of the enactment of this Act.

COUNTERVAILING DUTY LAW

SEC. 702. (a) Section 303 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U.S.C. 1303) is amended to read as follows:

"COUNTERVAILING DUTIES

"SEC. 303. (a)(1) Whenever any country, dependency, colony, province, or other political subdivision of government, person, partnership, association, cartel, or corporation, shall pay or bestow, directly or indirectly, any county or grant upon the manufacture or production or export of any article or merchandise manufactured or produced in such country, dependency, colony, province, or other political subdivision of government, then upon the importation of such article or merchandise into the United States, whether the same shall be imported directly from the country of production or otherwise, and whether such article or merchandise is imported in the same condition as when exported from the country of production or has been changed in condition by remanufacture or otherwise, there shall be levied and paid, in all such cases, in addition to any duties otherwise imposed, a duty equal to the net amount of such bounty or grant, how-

ever the same be paid or bestowed. The Secretary of the Treasury shall determine, within 12 months after the date on which the question is presented to him, whether any bounty or grant is being paid or bestowed.

"(2) In the case of any imported article or merchandise entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption on or after January 1, 1975, duties may be imposed under this section only if there is an affirmative determination by the Tariff Commission under subsection (b)(1).

"(3) The Secretary of the Treasury shall from time to time ascertain and determine, or estimate, the net amount of each such bounty or grant, and shall declare the net amount so determined or estimated.

"(4) The Secretary of the Treasury shall make all regulations he may deem necessary for the identification of such articles and merchandise and for the assessment and collection of the duties under this section. All determinations by the Secretary under this subsection and all determinations by the Tariff Commission under subsection (b)(1), whether affirmative or negative, shall be published in the Federal Register.

"(b)(1) Whenever the Secretary of the Treasury has determined under subsection (a) that a bounty or grant is being paid or bestowed with respect to any article or merchandise entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption on or after January 1, 1975, he shall—

"(A) so advise the United States Tariff Commission, and the Commission shall determine within 3 months thereafter, and after such investigation as it deems necessary, whether an industry in the United States is being or is likely to be materially injured, or is prevented from being established, by reason of the importation of such article or merchandise into the United States; and the Commission shall notify the Secretary of its determination; and

"(B) require, under such regulations as he may prescribe, the suspension of liquidation as to such article or merchandise entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption, on or after the 30th day after the date of the publication in the Federal Register of his determination under subsection (a)(1), and such suspension of liquidation shall continue until the further order of the Secretary or until he has made public an order as provided for in paragraph (2) of this subsection.

"(2) If the determination of the Tariff Commission under subparagraph (A) is in the affirmative, the Secretary shall make public an order directing the assessment and collection of duties in the amount of such bounty or grant as is from time to time ascertained and determined, or estimated, under subsection (a).

"(c) An affirmative determination by the Secretary of the Treasury under subsection (a)(1) with respect to any imported article or merchandise entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption (1) before January 1, 1975, or (2) on or after January 1, 1975, but with respect to which the Tariff Commission has made an affirmative determination under subsection (b)(1), shall apply with respect to articles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption on or after the 30th day after the date of the publication in the Federal Register of such determination by the Secretary.

"(d) During the course of each investigation under this section, public hearings shall be held, after reasonable notice, pertaining to, and in advance of, any determination of the Secretary of the Treasury under subsection (a) and of the Tariff Commission under subsection (b)(1). A transcript shall be made of all testimony and exhibits presented at such hearing.

"(e) Whenever the Secretary of the Treasury determines that the basis for his determination under subsection (a) or his order under subsection (b)(2) no longer exists with respect to all or any part of the merchandise involved, he shall modify or revoke such determination or order.

"(f) Any determination of the Secretary of the Treasury under subsection (a) and of the Tariff Commission under subsection (b)(1) shall be subject to judicial review in the United States Court of Customs and Patent Appeals in the manner prescribed in section 2112 of title 28 of the United States Code.

"(g) In recognition of the authority given to the Tariff Commission by subsection (b), the President is urged to negotiate an international agreement with other countries that would impose significant and enforceable restraints upon their use of subsidies (or other incentives having the effect of subsidies) on both agricultural and industrial exports. However, such authority given to the Tariff Commission shall terminate upon any date prior to January 1, 1975, which the Congress by concurrent resolution or the President by proclamation may designate."

(b)(1) Except as provided in paragraph (2), the amendments made by subsection (a) shall take effect on the date of the enactment of this Act.

(2) The last sentence of section 303(a)(1) of the Tariff Act of 1930 (as added by subsection (a) of this section) shall apply only with respect to questions presented on or after the date of the enactment of this Act.

UNFAIR PRACTICES LAW

SEC. 703. Section 337(d) of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U.S.C. 1337(d)) is amneded to read as follows:

"(d) The final findings of the Commission shall be transmitted with the record to the President at the earliest practicable time, but not later than 6 months after the date on which the complaint is filed or the investigation is begun upon its own initiative. If, however, prior to the termination of the 6 months, the Commission makes and publishes in the Federal Register a determination that its final findings cannot reasonably be made within that time, the Commission shall have up to 3 additional months within which to make such findings."

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

Mr. HARRIS. I am very pleased to yield to the distinguished cosponsor of the bill, the Senator from New York.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, first, I appreciate greatly the proposal which is now being made with respect to trade legislation. Secondly, I wish to underline what the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. HARRIS) has already made clear—that we felt we needed a positive alternative to the Trade Act of 1970 to which we objected, which was heavily loaded with quotas, and which we felt, at the end of the last session, would bring our trade wars harmful alike to the economy of the United States and the world and detrimental to the world's peace.

I would like to ask the Senator if he would join me in a few thoughts about what is occurring in the world with respect to trade, because it seems to me we have a very special message in this bill with respect to Japan and with respect to the European Common Market.

First with respect to Japan, as recently as this morning the Secretary of Commerce testified before the Joint Economic Committee, of which I am a member, saying that negotiations for a voluntary textile agreement on woolen and manmade fibers have continued rather desultorily, but have continued, since the end of last year, and he does not yet see a result. He made it clear, however, that the administration is serious about the need, in his judgment, for some kind of quota bill regulating imports of woolen and manmade textile and apparels in the absence of an agreement with Japan. Such an agreement is, in turn, the key to an agreement with other countries whose exports to this country, it is felt, in their weight and immediacy, bear too heavily on the American ability to absorb that kind of competition.

Mr. President, this is extremely serious, for this reason: If we have a quota bill for anything, it is our conviction, and we expressed it last year, that we are likely to have a Christmas tree bill with quotas for many products. As the hearings of the Ways and Means Committee of the 91st Congress made clear, many industries have a better case for special protection than the textile industry. Retaliation inevitably would result and we again would face the real and present danger of a trade war which could be so very harmful to the world's economy, including the economy of the most powerful nation on earth, ourselves. That is one threat.

I must strongly hope, as Secretary Stans himself hoped this morning, that statesmanship both in the United States and Japan could resolve this dilemma and thus obviate the need for the administration's backing any kind of quota bill, even in this area of textiles.

The other point I wish to make to my colleagues is with respect to the European Common Market. We are now engaged in a great effort to bring the United Kingdom, and perhaps a few other European countries of the so-called EFTA group into the Common Market. The enlargement of the Common Market to include the United Kingdom and other applicant nations is critically essential, in my judgment and that of many others, to the future progression of the economics and politics of the free world and for strengthening the prospects of world peace.

Yet, at one and the same time, the European Common Market itself is well down the road to creating a preferential trading system with certain States bordering on the Mediterranean and with selected African states, primarily those which, in previous times, had an administrative relationship with France. Such preferential arrangements are an open violation of the Most Favored Nation Provision and in contradiction to the scheme of non-reciprocal, generalized tariff preferences for the developing nations of the world. The scheme has been recently agreed to by 120 nations of the world in the 25th anniversary session of the United Nations.

In addition, there is the complication of the Common Market agricultural policy of the European Common Market which is highly protectionist in its implications. If the Common Market persists in these courses, then again a response is likely to be triggered in the United States of a highly protectionist character which would not serve the best interests of the free world.

Again, Mr. President, I hope that statesmanship and a broader outlook will prevail in the European Common

Market, as in the textile negotiations with Japan.

The legislation which the Senator from Oklahoma has introduced for himself, the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. MONDALE), myself, and others, is expressly tailored to give the President, flexible authority to deal with emerging trade problems. Rather than using the cutlass, we propose to use the scalpel, and we put the power in the hands of the Executive to do so.

I have emphasized the complexity, the interconnection, and the delicacy of these problems, Mr. President, only because I wish to emphasize the soundness of the remedies proposed, including improved adjustment systems, liberalizing the escape clause under the U.S. trade laws, calling for action against nontariff barriers, giving the President authority to open trade negotiations with Eastern Europe, and providing export incentives among other provisions.

Finally, Mr. President, if the Senator from Oklahoma will bear with me another instant—I think it is critically important—I just wish our voices—those of Senator HARRIS, Senator MONDALE, myself, and the rest of us—could be loud enough, in a symbolic sense, to be heard by all the people of the country and all our colleagues. I cannot overestimate this, Mr. President, and last year we had a foretaste of the tensions which can be created within the free world, among the nations who are our best friends, the dangers from unwise trade moves whether they originate in Japan, in the European Common Market, or in the United States. I think it is our duty, because we have a representative form of Government—we are sent here for a term of years, to look at the situation at least over a period of years, not just for the immediate transitory problems of today and tomorrow.

We have a duty, in my judgment a solemn duty, to call to the people's attention how right here with the bill there could be the genesis of either a future of trade peace or a future of conflict, a future of reason and economic well-being for the world, with an opportunity to close the gap between the developing and the developed nations—which is widening, not closing, as matters stand today—or a period of economic depression for the whole of mankind. The economic will bring of the world is dependent on amicable and expanding trading relationships. These things are directly inherent in this very bill, one of the most important submitted to this Congress, which the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. HARRIS) is submitting for all of us here today. I hope, Mr. President, that commentators, editors, those who make public opinion, and our colleagues will take the deep interest in the question which is here posed and which so very urgently deserves attention.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Senator from New York. I concur in the sentiments which he has expressed.

S. 835—INTRODUCTION OF THE ALASKAN NATIVE CLAIMS SETTLEMENT ACT OF 1971

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, I send to the desk for appropriate reference the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971, a bill designed to provide justice for the Eskimos, Indians, and Aleuts of Alaska. The distinguished senior Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY) and I announced our intention on February 9 to introduce this bill. We have since been joined by Senators GRAVEL, STEVENS, by request, HART, MCGOVERN, CRANSTON, TUNNEY, MONDALE, and HUGHES.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 835) to provide for the settlement of certain land claims of Alaska Natives, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. HARRIS for himself and other Senators, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Mr. HARRIS. The bill basically sets forth the position of the Alaska Federation of Natives. It is an alternative to S. 35, a bill which has previously been introduced and is now pending before the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. The bill basically provides for 60 million acres in settlement for the Alaska Natives, as well as making provisions in other important respects which we have previousy discussed here in the Senate, both during this session and the last. Hearings are beginning in the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee tomorrow, Mr. President, and I intend to be there at that time and speak out against the pending bill, S. 35, and in favor of this bill, which I think more nearly represents justice and equity for the Natives of Alaska.

I think it is highly important that the attention of Indian organizations and tribes all over America be focused on this issue. I believe if that is done and if there is a strong lobbying effort from all over the country, as was true in regard to the Taos land claim last year, that the Senate and Congress will come to see the importance of this issue for the whole country, and will be persuaded of the justice of the position of the Alaska Federation of Natives, which is reflected in the bill I now introduce.

I believe it will be a tragic mistake, Mr. President, if the committee or the Senate rushes forward with legislation which does less than the provisions of this bill, and it will be my effort and the effort of others to delay any kind of precipitate attempt to pass a bill which does not do justice, until Senators and others can come to see the justice of the claims of the Alaska Federation of Natives and the people whom they represent.

Mr. President, the major thrust and purpose of this bill is to insure that the right of self-determination is preserved for the natives of Alaska. This right can only be guaranteed if sufficient lands are provided in the settlement for the natives. The Eskimos, Indians, and Aleuts of Alaska depend upon the land and the inland and coastal waters for their livelihood. Vast amounts of land are needed to support the natives, and it therefore becomes essential that we do not destroy the culture of the Alaska natives by failing to provide an adequate land settlement.

The Alaska Federation of Natives and the National Congress of American Indians adopted a resolution last year which highlights the importance of the land, which reads in part:

> To deny the Alaska Natives an adequate land base . . . will contribute to their dependency, to the disintegration of their communities, and to the erosion of their cultures. To strip the Alaska Natives of their land will destroy their traditional self-sufficiency, and it is certain to create among them bitterness toward other Alaskans and a deep distrust of our institutions and our laws.

At a meeting of the board of directors of the Alaska Federation of Natives in December of last year, the board concluded that, among other things, a basic element of the settlement of the claims would be confirmation of title to 60 million acres of land in the native villages and regions over which the native people have asserted dominion through use and occupancy from time immemorial.

This request is altogether reasonable since 60 million acres is less than 17 percent of the lands to which the natives have a valid legal claim.

The natives are convinced, and I agree, that to provide them with only 10 million acres, as the Senate did last year when considering S. 1830, would almost immediately destroy their historic way of life. We would therefore deprive the natives of the right of self-determination, a right which the President stated the American Indian is entitled to in his address last summer on Indian affairs.

The bill we are introducing today would preserve the right of self-determination by providing the natives with 60 million acres.

The right of self-determination is further preserved in this bill by requiring that three of the members of the Commission to be appointed by the President to prepare the final membership roles and perform other tasks be natives. The bill before the Senate last year required that only two members be natives and unfortunately my amendment to require three of the members to be natives was defeated.

The provision in the Senate bill of last year which terminated the services of the Bureau of Indian Affairs is also omitted from the bill we are introducing. This is a matter which should be left to the determination of the natives themselves, and not the Congress.

Senator KENNEDY was absolutely correct in stating on the floor of the Senate last week that "an Alaska claims settlement is not a welfare bill. It does not, as he stated, "reflect generosity on the part of Congress in giving some-

Dear Senator Mondale,

The Leagueof women Voters of Minnesota appreciates your continued efforts on behalf of liberal trade policy for the United States. We know you were active in opposing the trade bill at the conclusion of the last session. Your cosponsorship of S834, International Trade Act of 1971, is a positive step in pushing for the principles of free trade, Nationally, the LWV is making a liberal trade policy one of our three major legislative objectives. On behalf of our members in Minnesota I want to thank you for your leadership on this issue.

The State Board of the LWV of Minnesota is still very interested in meeting with you to discuss our legislative interests and hearing about the prospects for the 92nd Congress. We hope we might arrange such a meeting in Minneapolis in the near future.

Vty

Irene

cc - Natl LWV attn - Shirley Enfield

JOHN SPARKMAN, ALA., CHAIRMAN
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STAFF DIRECTOR AND GENERAL COUNSEL

JAN 20 1971

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

January 15, 1971

Mrs. O. J. Janski
State President
League of Women Voters of Minnesota
555 Wabasha Street
Saint Paul, Minnesota 55101

Dear Mrs. Janski:

Thank you very much for your recent letter.

I will be more than happy to keep you on my list of subscriptions to the Congressional Record.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Walter F. Mondale

Walter F. Mondale

January 5, 1971

The Honorable Walter F. Mondale
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Mondale:

For the past Congressional session you have very kindly made available to the League of Women Voters of Minnesota a subscription to the Congressional Record. This has been invaluable in helping us keep informed about national legislation and in turn informing our members throughout the state.

We appreciate the fact that the cost of the Congressional Record is to be increased for the coming legislative session. We feel we do make good use of it. If you have subscriptions available, we would very much appreciate continuing to receive it. Please send it to: (no change)

Mrs. Ralph Ebbott
League of Women Voters of Minnesota
409 Birchwood Avenue
White Bear Lake, Minnesota 55110

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. O. J. Janski
State President

Mrs. Ralph Ebbott
National Action Chairman

Dear Senator Mondale:

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Mrs. Ralph Ebbott
League of Women Voters of Minnesota
409 Birchwood Ave.
White Bear Lake, Minn. 55110

Thank you .

Sincerely yours,

Janski

Ebbott, National Action Chrm.

United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 91st CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 116 WASHINGTON, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1970 No. 197

Senate

The Senate met at 10 a.m., and was called to order by the Vice President.

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

O Thou mighty God, we thank Thee for the tidings of great joy and the hope which broke upon man's life when the nightly sky heralded the advent of a redeemer who would set the people free and bring in the kingdom of love and justice for all. While we work and while we pray here, make our hearts ready to receive Him afresh, to comprehend Him more clearly and to follow Him steadfastly in private life and public service. As we catch a new vision of His star may all people, east and west, north and south, be guided to His manger of universal hope and salvation. May the promise of a new birth and a new man be fulfilled in our day and the peoples of every race and nation be brought under the domination of His great love in Thy kingdom that is without end.

We pray in His name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Tuesday, December 8, 1970, be dispensed with.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER FOR RECOGNITION OF SENATOR YOUNG OF OHIO TOMORROW

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that tomorrow, after disposition of the Journal, the distinguished Senator from Ohio (Mr. YOUNG) be recognized for not to exceed 15 minutes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

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

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate go into executive session to consider nominations on the Executive Calendar.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The nominations on the Executive Calendar will be stated.

DIPLOMATIC AND FOREIGN SERVICE

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations of Ambassadors.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the nominations be considered en bloc.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nominations are considered and confirmed en bloc.

U.S. ARMY

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the U.S. Army.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the nominations be considered en bloc.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nominations are considered and confirmed en bloc.

U.S. MARINE CORPS

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the U.S. Marine Corps.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the nominations be considered en bloc.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nominations are considered and confirmed en bloc.

NOMINATIONS PLACED ON THE SECRETARY'S DESK—IN THE ARMY

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the Army which had been placed on the Secretary's desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nominations are considered and confirmed en bloc.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be immediately notified of the confirmation of these nominations.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate resume the consideration of legislative business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate resumed the consideration of legislative business.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

The VICE PRESIDENT. Under the previous order, the Chair now recognizes the distinguished Senator from Minnesota (Mr. MONDALE) for 1 hour.

JUSTICE FOR CHILDREN

I. WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON CHILDREN

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, next week a few thousand Americans, some famous, some just interested citizens—but all sharing a deep concern for their subject—will meet in Washington for the 1970 White House Conference on Children. Many of us are wondering just how helpful this conference is going to be.

Yesterday, the administrators of the conference released a series of preliminary forum reports which contain a number of constructive recommendations, as well as a trenchant, critical analysis of present programs and institutions affecting children.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, will the distinguished Senator from Minnesota yield to me at that point?

Mr. MONDALE. I am very happy to yield to the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I would be more than pleased to stay here and listen to the Senator's entire speech but we are in the final phases of marking up the social security bill and the Finance Committee is now meeting.

Mr. MONDALE. I understand.

Mr. RIBICOFF. However, I have had the opportunity, through the courtesy of the Senator from Minnesota, to read an advance copy of his speech.

I want to commend him for his forthright and honest appraisal of the plight of children in America today.

What the Senator has said here this morning should be listened to and read by every American concerned with the future of our Nation.

For our children, indeed, are our future and we must not fail them.

The Senator has correctly identified many of the problems which we face, and he is supported by the findings and recommendations of the recent report of the Joint Commission on the Mental Health of Children. This report particularly emphasizes a major problem which the Senator from Minnesota has pointed out in his speech: The unresponsiveness of our society's institutions to the needs of children.

The Commission has recommended that a program of child advocacy be established. I have endorsed this recommendation and am presently drafting legislation to authorize a series of pilot programs in a number of communities throughout the country. Advocacy can be a means of putting the proper emphasis on the priorities we must give to children and their families. I share fully the view of the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. MONDALE) that we must act quickly to instill some understanding and sensitivity into the institutions which serve children.

Mr. President, I would also commend for reading by every delegate to the present White House Conference the speech and the practical advice the Senator from Minnesota gives the delegates. As he says, our shelves are full of reports of White House conferences and commission after commission. I become very skeptical over the years as to whether these White House conferences and these commissions serve any useful purpose, or are merely used as a means to sweep under the rug by a great deal of publicity many of the problems we face; because, if we study the White House conferences that have been held to study all the social fields over the past 30 to 40 years, we will find recommended, as a result of the conferences held 25, 30, or 40 years ago, many proposals which are relevant today and which Presidents and Congresses have failed to do anything with, and where the problems still exist in our society.

Therefore, the recommendation that this delegation at the White House conference not leave Washington until it gets a commitment from the administration is sound and practical advice, because many of these problems are long past due. They have been discussed in public forums for decades.

Let me take this opportunity this morning to commend once more the Senator from Minnesota for bringing together in his speech the problems which face our children today.

We brag in this country that we are concerned with our children. We are, really, not.

Again, there is a lot of rhetoric without any followthrough. Throughout this Nation, there are millions of children who are sick, hungry, uneducated, and who need all kinds of medical care, including care for mental illness; yet, we neglect them.

As the Senator from Minnesota knows, when we neglect a child, once that child gets to be 3, 4, or 5 years of age, it becomes almost impossible to correct any defects which we could have corrected had we addressed ourselves to the problems earlier in that child's existence.

We in this country must realize that the future of our Nation depends upon our children. If we love our children and love our country, we must go beyond speeches and push forward with action programs where we address ourselves to the problems that plague America and its children today.

May I say to the Senator from Minnesota that he has my complete support and admiration for what he has done. I shall be more than pleased to cooperate with him during the next session of Congress on any legislation that he may propose, or a course of action to be followed, to correct the problems facing the children of America.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, let me thank the distinguished Senator from Connecticut and express my deep appreciation. No person in the Senate has had a longer career seeking to serve these objectives than he, having served as Governor of Connecticut, and then Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and then as Governor for many years. In the Senate he has been one of the leaders in the field, introducing, among other progressive proposals, the legislation that created the Joint Commission on the Mental Health of Children. I think his words carry special importance.

The 1970 White House Conference on Children will be the seventh such conference. It is interesting to note that in 1930 they held what was probably one of the better conferences. When one reviews the recommendations made by this conference held 40 years ago, he is, first of all, struck by how excellent the recommendations are and, secondly, by how few of them have been adopted. Most of them remain untouched.

I would hope that this year's conference would spend time on the implementation of the resolutions.

I think the report of the Joint Commission on the Mental Health of Children underscores the fact referred to, that although we like to think of ourselves as a child-oriented society, I do not believe that there are many industrial nations which permit as many of our children to be mangled and destroyed by hunger and neglect and poor housing and poor education as we in the United States do.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, if we take into account the various affluent nations, the record of the United States is certainly one of the worst in the entire world.

I think we are fortunate in having Dr. Zigler in charge of these functions. I know Dr. Zigler. He was a professor at Yale University. I believe that he is dedicated to the same objectives as the Senator from Minnesota and I.

One of the problems, of course, that he is going to have, as in every other program, is where he will get the money considering the budget restrictions and restraints.

I, have more and more in recent years felt that one of the best things the President and Congress could do would be to have a every thorough going review of the programs. There are many programs on the books now which are funded and for which we appropriate money which are not as effective as some other programs, but which could be much more meaningful and helpful in our Nation.

If we have limited funds, it would be much better to scrap ongoing programs which produce little benefit and substitute for them programs which would mean so much for the future of our society.

I again commend the Senator from Minnesota for his leadership in this field.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. President, I should like to make one final comment with reference to children's advocacy centers, on which subject the Senator from Connecticut is preparing legislation. I think that is the sort of approach we ought to try. It would be unique in this field. It has been recommended but remains essentially untried. I think, with the proper essential involvement of parents and children counselors in these centers, they can help make some of these rigid, paternalistic programs more responsive to the needs of the family, the children, and the family unit?

The Senator from Connecticut has had a great deal of experience with this matter. He knows that they are Washington-centered and bureaucratic oriented and often do not have the sensitivity required and do not respond to the real needs of a family or children.

Mr. RIBICOFF. From my experience in government and as a former Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, there are millions of children who are falling through the cracks of bureaucracy. Many programs can be very helpful. However, when we get through shunting a child and his mother from one program to another with the forms and redtapes incident thereto, we find that it is very discouraging.

We have many programs that are under-utilized and could be better utilized.

The concept of a program is to have someone in the neighborhood to look after the problems of children, not to act as an agency, but to be there to make sure that if a child needs help because of physical, mental, educational, or emotional causes, that someone will be there to make sure that the child gets that care and does not wander around in the wilderness.

I believe this is especially true today when we consider the number of children who come under the influence of drugs and narcotics. It becomes even more important to help with the problems of these children as early as possible and move to correct them. With the passage of a little time, it is too late to salvage a child for himself and for the future of our society.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I could not agree with the Senator more. We had witnesses before the Equal Education Subcommittee who were representative of the Puerto Rican community. There are roughly 250,000 Puerto Rican children in the New York school system.

Last year they were able to identify only about 300 who had gone to college and received academic degrees.

We had as a witness one of the four Puerto Rican principals. We asked him how he was able to finally break through the system and become a principal. He said:

It was very difficult. But I want you to know that I am one of the few that made it.

I imagine that that man was in his early thirties. He said:

I cannot tell you how many of my peers failed to make it and now many are now dead from drug abuse.

When we hear that from a young American who resides in one of our major cities, it underscores beyond any doubt the way in which we are failing our people.

I thank the Senator from Connecticut for his useful contributions. I join with him as well in expressing my admiration for Dr. Zigler, who is one of the finest men in this field today.

Mr. President, I hope the delegates will also consider some of the issues overlooked by these reports, and above all, focus on the question of how to insure that immediate implementation of the Conference's recommendations will follow. Certainly the past history of White House Conferences and President's Commissions is that they make strong, sweeping, perceptive reports which ultimately do nothing but gather dust. President Hoover's President's Conference 40 years ago produced a children's charter comprehensive enough and still unfulfilled enough to be a fine agenda for action today. Since I believe that charter would be of interest to the Senate, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, there is recent experience, too. A reading of the Panel reports which preceded last year's White House Conference on Nutrition reveals a clear and forceful agenda for action, including hundreds of constructive recommendations. That agenda was followed by promises of action. A year later these promises remain unfulfilled. The followup to that Conference has been dismally weak.

So as the delegates prepare to come to Washington, I think it would be appropriate to convey some suggestions to them about what they might try to accomplish. I say to the delegates: Bear in mind the shelves of reports which already exist. Bear in mind what has happened in the past. Specifically, insist that a representative group from the Conference be formed to call on the President personally while the Conference is still in session and seek his public support for implementation. Abjure abstract discussion of new programs, new offices, new commissions, new agencies, new councils. Get an agreement from this administration, now, for immediate funding of an action committee, with an office here in Washington and staff picked by this Conference, to speak up for implementation of its findings; get a Children's Advocacy Center created now, with money, before you leave town; let this be the first White House Conference ever to focus on creating a legistive strategy for implementing its findings.

This will do more to make the recommendations of this Conference come to life than any other step. Take it from one who is personally and painfully familiar with what happened after last year's White House Conference on Hunger. Do not leave town without establishing a concrete action mechanism.

I make a commitment to the delegates as well. Regardless of what the administration does—although I would prefer to work in cooperation with it—I will join with other Senators to introduce the constructive proposals of the Conference in legislative form. And I will work to organize a bipartisan group of Members of the Congress to work on behalf of the children of America. If we can have Members of Congress for world peace through law, as we should and do, we can have Members of Congress for justice to children.

My advice to the delegates is not confined to the question of followup.

A study of the forum reports, as constructive as they are, reveals a certain lack of immediacy.

Nowhere in the reports do I find any real discussion of school desegregation. Yet this is an issue which has the gravest implications for the life chances of millions of American children—an issue where the direction of national policy is in heated debate every day, an issue where there is urgent need for public attention and response to the mounting evidence that the problems only begin for the black child when he is placed in a theoretically desegregated school. I find no mention of this in the forum reports. I hope the delegates will see that it is discussed.

And if there is little reference to school desegregation generally, there is no hint that this Administration is at this moment spending millions of Federal dollars to support continued racist practices in schools in the name of aiding desegregation.

Reference to continued Federal inaction to solve the simplest and most inexcusable American problem—hunger—is confined to two paragraphs in one of the reports on health. I hope the delegates will raise that issue to a greater level of priority.

There are other omissions.

The forum reports are permeated with expressions of the need to protect children. But there is no attention to the fact that the President's Family Assistance Plan, pending in Congress right now, would force mothers of school age children to work even during hours when the children are not in school—a development which could hurt children further just as the Conference seeks new ways to protect them.

The forum reports repeatedly stress the need for more child advocacy, but there is no mention that this administration has been moving in the other direction. The Community Action program, which created some local advocacy for children, is currently being emasculated and dismantled. The neighborhood Legal Services program, which created another effective means of advocacy for children, is in political difficulty within the administration. And there are elements in the administration who would curtail the activities of public interest law firms, still another source of effective advocacy for children.

The forum reports stress the need for expanded child welfare and child development programs, and do not mention that this is the first administration which sought a ceiling on funds for social services including day care. It is also the administration which opposed the expansion of Headstart, after its grand promises about the first 5 years of life.

So I urge the delegates to bring some immediacy to the deliberations of the Conference.

There is one further gaping omission in the forum reports—any consideration of basic power relationships in America. The reports rightly criticize the lack of accountability and the bureaucratic empire building in many programs for children. But their major recommendation to deal with these failures is advocacy, rather than greater participation in governance.

Advocacy is good, and the system of child advocacy proposed in the reports is both interesting and promising. But the fundamental question is power and powerlessness. The basic underlying reason, more important than any other, why millions of American children are victimized, is powerlessness—the lack of power which their parents and they have to affect the Government, the programs and the institutions which are supposed to serve them. Advocacy on behalf of the child to sue the system and otherwise demand that it operate properly will help. But what will help more is if parents and children—families—can participate in the decisions before they are made. What will help more is if the power is shared—if the composition and geographic reach of school boards are changed to be more reflective of the community; if the administration of welfare policy is changed so that recipients have a formal voice in making it; if the control of health policy decisions is changed so that the lay community has a direct voice in it.

Indeed, because the talk is more, far more, about what we are going to do better for and to children, than about increasing the share of power which they and their parents have, the net effect of the forum reports has a faint ring of the brave new world where the State knows what is best for everyone.

The suggestions in the reports, taken one by one, each have their merits. But

taken with the realization that there is no extensive consideration of powerlessness and how to alleviate it, the total impression created by the reports is more than slightly paternalistic.

Of course the Conference has not yet convened. My purpose is to urge the delegates to make this 1970 Conference what many past conferences have not been—a continuing lever for real, fundamental social change in America in the immediate future.

For we are failing our children. Erik Erikson has said:

> The most deadly of all possible sins is the mutilation of a child's spirit.

This sin is being committed every day, all over America. Our national myth is that we love children. Yet, we are starving thousands. Other thousands die because decent medical care is unavailable to them. The lives of still other thousands are stifled by poor schools and some never have the chance to go to school at all. Millions live in substandard and unfit housing in neighborhoods which mangle the human spirit. Many suffer all of these mutilations simultaneously.

In every society some people are consigned to the scrap heap—the irretrievably handicapped, the incurably ill, the incorrigibly criminal, the hopelessly uneducable.

But, in America we have needlessly allowed the scrap heap to pile up and up.

The most obvious victims of course are the 10 million children living in poverty and the untold millions maimed by racism.

But the scrap heap is not outsized merely because of poverty and racism.

Have we reduced the victims of physical handicaps to the irreducible minimum? Not when 45 percent of the children born in U.S. hospitals do not receive the prenatal care which could prevent some of the handicaps in the first place. Not when there are 3.7 million handicapped children who are not receiving the special educational services they require.

Have we reduced the victims of mental illness to the irreducible minimum? Not when there are 1.3 million children who need mental health services but are not getting them.

Have we reduced the victims of mental retardation to the irreducible minimum? Not when there are 1 million educable mentally retarded children who will never get the help they need to reach their full potential.

The victims are most emphatically not just the poor and the minorities.

Consider the victims of bad health care. It is not surprising, perhaps that the infant mortality rate in Coahoma County, Miss., which is nearly two-thirds poor, is over twice the national average. But it may give pause to realize that the infant mortality rate in Westchester County, N.Y.—one of the wealthiest counties in America—is just about equal to the national average, a national average which is higher than at least a dozen other countries. No, the victims of bad health care are not just the poor.

Consider the victims of the tremendous shortage of preschool child development programs. Research shows that approximately 50 percent of a person's intellectual development takes place before he is 5 years old. Head Start and day care reach only one child in 10 among the poor, and the figures for children in other income groups are not much different. It is not just the poor who are missing out on crucial stimulation during the preschool years.

Consider the victims of our schools. The child of the ghetto may attend a school without textbooks, where the teacher thinks he is incapable of learning, where the paint peels and the plaster cracks, but the child of the suburbs finds less and less to engage him in school as well. Of 17 million school age children identified as "educationally deprived" by HEW, less than a third come from poverty families. "You have to have grown up in Scarsdale to know how bad things really are," one observer says. It is not just the poor who are the victims of our school systems.

Consider the victims of drug abuse. Millions of children—not just the poor—are having their lives twisted by the pandemic spread of drug abuse. Recent studies in suburban schools reveal that up to 75 percent of high school students have experimented with marihuana. Last year in Fairfax County, Va., there were more heroin cases discovered among young people than in the previous 5 years combined. The users come from among the highest income families in the county, including the sons and daughters of doctors and colonels. It is not just the poor who are the victims of drug abuse.

The children whom we are daily consigning to the scrap heap come from every income group, every racial group, every geographical area in our Nation. And every child consigned to the scrap heap is a useful life lost to the country, and indeed a lifetime of costs to the taxpayers in welfare, prison, or other expense.

The fact is that this is a problem in which the "real majority" has a deep and vital stake. It has become fashionable to suggest that the "real majority" somehow has concerns and views which are different from the poor. I disagree.

Fifty-five percent of Americans live in families with incomes of less than $10,000 a year. Whether the problem is schools or health care or preschool programs of what happens when a child is physically handicapped or mentally disturbed, all Americans share the same problems. And the sooner we can come to the shared realization that this is in fact the case, the sooner we shall create in America the atmosphere which our children need and deserve in which to grow up.

There is no one who perceives the gap between the need for change and the lack of will to act better than our children. Perhaps it is partly because they suffer its consequences most acutely, whether in the physical consequences of hunger and poor medical care, the psychic and intellectual consequences of bad schools, or the total consequences of being the drafted foot soldiers in a war they do not support.

We need no social scientists, no child psychologists or experts in human development, to tell us that a growing boy or girl, whatever his or her background, takes notice of the world, comes to see the way things work. Our American children, all of them, are every single day learning things about this Government and what it does or does not do. They are learning, wherever they live and whatever schools they attend, that the world's richest and strongest nation seems powerless when it comes to cleaning up its air and its water; seems willing to let its countryside become cluttered and ravaged; seems compliant before the selfish demands of billboard advertisers who would assault our eyes; seems attuned to the ideas of airplane enthusiasts who do not care what all of our ears have to suffer, so long as a relative handful of people can go faster and faster in planes that require longer and longer runways, which take up more and more of our wealth, while all the time we must hear that there is a limit to what can be made available to medical scientists working on diseases like leukemia, diseases that strike at and kill thousands of children every year.

I know that talking of priorities goes on and on all over the country. But for all the talk, what chance is there that the year 1970, with its White House Conference on Children, will see any change in those priorities? Again, our children will be watching and taking note. They will see whether in the next months and years they can swim here or play there. They will see whether the schools they go to are half-way decent or not. They will, if taken ill, learn what kind of help they get, if any, from what kind of medical institutions. They will observe the way our land is preserved, or greedily and wantonly ruined. They will take note of the kind of fare they are offered on television programs. Their minds are no less capable than a grown-up's of coming to the appropriate conclusions—of deciding whether or not this Nation is concerned with its future as well as its present, its long-term growth as well as its immediate appetites.

It is easy for us to deny children such vision and social intelligence; that way, we are let off the hook—and free to go about our business, paying lipservice to various humanitarian causes, while all the while ignoring the very real legislative and institutional backing those causes require. But the fact is, our children know what is going on. They have our number.

VICTIMS

Who are the victims of our neglect?

First. The migrant child. Nearly a million are children who live in families which subsist primarily by doing migrant or seasonal farmwork. There is no child in America more powerless to change his future, more powerless to escape the cycle of poverty into which he has been born.

In addition to the problems which confront every poor child, the migrant child suffers the consequence of constant rootlessness. The image of traveling together as a family is perhaps one of the most cherished of the American culture. But for the migrant child, travel only means a new shack, a new field to work in, and

a new school, if any. Travel only increases the pace with which his life is destroyed. The very rootlessness of his life is a monstrous curse.

Born into extreme poverty—the average earnings of each farmworker from farm labor are less than $1,000 a year—the child not only is physically unable to attend school regularly, but he begins working at a very early age to supplement meager family earnings. He not only suffiers from malnutrition, but his learning perspective is geared to a never-ending cycle of backbreaking work—bending, lifting, and carrying. By the time he is 10 or 11 he has stopped going to school and is beginning to have to cope with life as an adult.

By the time he is 14 or 15 he is often married. Soon his health deteriorates—his teeth and skin begin to rot and his back shows the damaging effects of stoop labor. His ability to earn is permanently impaired. He is in constant debt, getting in deeper and deeper as life goes on. The grower and the crew leader advance him groceries and other necessities against his wages, and he never comes out ahead. He is powerless—both politically and economically—to affect his situation. The cycle is well on its way again.

Migrants are the poorest paid, the most underfed, the least healthy, the worst housed, the most undereducated, and perhaps the most abused human beings in our society today. What goes on from generation to generation is the awful wholesale destruction, physically and psychologically, of hundreds of thousands of American children—migrant children.

What is especially discouraging is that these remarks of mine are obviously not the first time, or the hundredth or the thousandth, that this tragedy has been brought to public attention. A half century of rhetoric—of books, poetry, song, presidential reports, congressional hearings, and television documentaries—has documented this modern day slave system again and again.

To say that nothing has been done to help the migrant child would be unfair. A Migrant Health Act was passed about 10 years ago, which now provides a very limited $36 a year for the health of each migrant child, as opposed to the $96 which the average middle income family spends annually on each of its children's health. The poverty program, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and other Federal programs have titles or special provisions providing funds for migrant children, but these funds are very meager.

The most important hope for the migrant child of the future has been the rising of a great movement among the farmworkers—the movement to organize for the improvement of wages and working conditions through collective bargaining. After a half century of broken strikes and failed efforts, Cesar Chavez has molded a union which is surviving. But if Chavez has succeeded to some extent in California, there are still thousands of migrant children in Texas and Florida, and, indeed, New York and New Jersey and Michigan, for that matter, whose life is essentially unchanged. There are still horrendous gaps in coverage by Federal labor law and social programs, including—of special significance to the migrant child—child labor laws.

The generational trap of poverty, the slave labor, the premature deterioration of health, the inevitable destruction of life—all these things remain essentially as they have perennially been for nearly a million migrant children in America.

"The Grapes of Wrath" was written almost 40 years ago, and John Steinbeck is dead, but the conditions continue.

If we are going to have White House Conferences on Children, let us put as much passion into the implementation as we do into the parlor discussion. Otherwise, 10 more years will pass. A few million more migrant children will go down the drain. And another conference will surely convene to talk about new directions for the future.

The black child in the rural South. Here we are on more familiar ground for the Nation. This child has been the subject of court suits, street demonstrations, and congressional debate which have commended national attention.

For those of us so disposed, we might congratulate ourselves just a bit. The black child in the rural South is not everywhere so trapped as he was a generation ago. Desegregation has produced broadened horizons for some, and more insistent demands for change from the current generation of young blacks in the South.

The Voting Rights Act has helped create an image of political possibility, resulting as it has in the election of 665 black officials in the Southern States and in the forced moderation of scores of white officials. Federal food programs reach some additional thousands of black children throughout the South, assuring that at least some children will not be irretrievably brain damaged in their infancy, and that others will be able to stay awake in school in order to learn. Headstart has helped open new worlds to thousands of children, and given their parents a stake in the improvement of the educational process.

But again, there is little reason for satisfaction, and even less for complacency. Regardless of what Mr. Moynihan and others say, the problems remain—educationally, politically, or economically.

Let the complacent one visit the black communities of Bolivar County, Miss.; Lowndes County, Ala.; Dorchester County, S.C.; or Terrell County, Ga. Or let him, for that matter, visit the Harlems and the Houghs, the Anacostias and the Roxburys, where thousands of blacks thought they would find the promised land after fleeing the depredations of plantation life.

It was Michael Harrington who told us 10 years ago, in revealing "The Other America" to his fellow citizens, that while we had a poverty problem in this country, it did not exist on a scale or in an intensity comparable to other nations. We learned during the 1960's that he was wrong. We found that there were families in Mississippi and elsewhere who literally had no cash income. We saw, because a few Senators and some media people cared, that there are children in America who have bloated bellies and running sores that will not heal.

There still are. It is not so fashionable in 1970 to talk about them. Hunger, it seems, was last year's issue. The other day someone remembered that President Nixon promised a free school lunch for every poor child by this Thanksgiving. It has not happened. Urgently needed reforms in the food stamp program have been in controversy for more than three and a half years and have still not been enacted. And all the while, there are still bloated bellies in Mississippi. I know it is hard to remember that every day. It is an uncomfortable thought, but in these days of our senses being assaulted with so many outrages, we have acquired an incapacity for further shock. That is too bad. Andrew Jackson's children in Winstonville, Miss., do not find it so easy to forget.

Nor are the problems of the black child growing up in the South just the same old ones—hunger, bad housing, no medical care, substandard jobs or no jobs at all, although these problems are all still with us.

Our achievements have produced new problems. Segregated classrooms are replacing segregated schools. Many black school principals are now in white schools in demoted positions. Thousands of black teachers have lost their jobs. The black child has been brought across town to the white school, but his athletic trophies have been left behind, and often he or she cannot play in the band or be a cheerleader or run for homecoming queen. Violence and intimidation are still problems—Lamar, S.C., was nationally publicized, but fear still stalks the dark back roads of hundreds of communities.

These things have not happened everywhere, of course. But they have happened in a shocking number of places. And the present administration has not only shut its eyes to these events but has even rewarded hundreds of offending school districts throughout the South. The $75 million appropriated under the emergency school assistance program has cheerfully and unashamedly been distributed to districts which are in clear violation of Federal civil rights laws, and for such racist purposes as improving the hygiene of black children so they do not contaminate the white children whom they may now chance to encounter in the hall between classes.

We have begun to tear down the outward manifestations of legal segregation. But we have not achieved real desegregation or quality education on the basis of a relationship of equality and respect. That is the challenge of the seventies. It has taken us 16 years to dismantle rural southern dual school systems. I am not sure we have 16 years to build a new structure. Black children are not nearly so patient as they once were.

In all of this, fortunately, there is some hope for further change, even accelerated change. This hope comes not from any new outpouring of conscience or commitment in white America, but from the very fact that the black community itself in the South, as well as

elsewhere in the Nation, has achieved a new level of awareness and organization. Beginning with the civil rights movement, and undoubtedly assisted by Federal legislation, a new generation of black leadership has arisen which, like Cesar Chavez among the migrants, will insist on change. This is the best hope we have for the future.

If the White House Conference on Children were more possessed of a sense of urgency, it would have a forum taking a very hard and tough look at the results of school desegregation and where we go now, and another examining the continued ravages of hunger and malnutrition. Thousands of black children have undoubtedly escaped from the trap in recent years, but make no mistake about it—there are millions of more black children in the South who, as things are now, will find it impossible to get out of the complex trap of powerlessness and poverty and racism.

The Indian child. Perhaps the greatest poverty in America exists among American Indians. Add to this the welfare dependency and hopelessness which generations of paternalistic Federal trusteeship have brought, and the trap which confronts the Indian child is at least as dangerous and powerful as that which ensnares the migrant child.

We have heard it before, but we forget that annual Indian per capita income is only $1,500, less than half of the national average, that infant mortality is almost twice the national average, that 90 percent of Indian housing is substandard, and that suicide rates on the typical Indian reservation are more than double the national average.

As in other areas, the situation is not quite as bad as it was 10 years ago. The major reason is a rising generation of Indian young people of greater awareness and competency, who are not only committed to improving life in their communities, but are acquiring some of the skill and political sophistication that is necessary to bring change.

But the American Indian is still governed by a Congress which too often is more interested in protecting the land and water interests of the white man than in making a better life for the Indian. And power relationships at the local level are still not significantly different.

Three out of five Indian children attend local public schools—schools which are funded by Federal funds under the Johnson-O'Malley Act and the impacted school areas legislation. But this money is often spent for purposes which do not benefit Indian children, and the Indian child is more often than not assumed by the school system to be slow, lazy or dumb. Indian students on the Muckleshoot reservation in Washington are automatically retained an extra year in the first grade of their public schools, and the Nook-Sack Indians of western Washington are automatically placed in a class of slow learners without achievement testing. No wonder massive early dropouts from school occur, and high rates of suicide and alcoholism ensue.

A third of the Indian children are in schools run by the Federal Bureau of Indian Affairs. Some of these are in boarding schools, including some 7,000 Navajo children under the age of 9, some of whom have frozen to death trying to escape and get home during the winter. About 1,200 Alaskan natives presently go to Federal boarding schools in Oregon and Oklahoma, thousands of miles from home. Two-thirds of the Indian children entering BIA schools have little or no skill in English, but less than 5 percent of the teachers in BIA schools are native to the culture and the language of the children they teach. Only 773 Indian children in the entire country were reached by the Federal bilingual education program in a recent year.

It has been our national assumption that Indians do not know how to do anything for themselves. Reservations are in general managed by white employees of the BIA, and Indian young people everywhere are indoctrinated with the idea of their incompetency.

The Indian child is also victimized by one of America's most dangerous and mean assumptions—that there is only one language in America, and that others are not worthwhile and will not be countenanced. Courses on Indian heritage and culture are nonexistent in both Federal and local public schools, and children are in every way made to feel that their own heritage and culture is inferior and worthless.

The rising young Indian leadership now beginning to develop gives some hope for change. But here, as with black children and others who are different, the Nation needs to learn a simple but profound lesson: If this country is to become what we have long claimed it to be, every citizen needs a full and free set of options for his life. It should be possible for the American Indian to live a life of fulfillment within his traditional family and tribal structure on the reservation, if he chooses to, but it should also be possible for the Indian child to go to the city and join the mainstream of American life if that is his wish. The assumption was made less than a generation ago that all Indians would be better off if forced away from the reservation. We have at least learned that that was wrong. Now we must make the choice of life-styles more than a choice between two lives of enforced deprivation—not paternalistically, not because we are generous, but out of a realization that there should be in America the capacity to celebrate diversity and to find new strength for our country in that fact.

I come back again, as I think about the White House Conference, to the matter of urgency. The forum reports make the salutary suggestion that control of Johnson–O'Malley and impacted area funds be turned over to local Indian communities. But I do not see enough of the sense that every day of delay in reforming the educational process for the Indian child is a day in which more suicides will occur and more alcoholics will be created.

The Chicano child and the Puerto Rican child. The list of victims proliferates. There are nearly 10 million Americans whose first language is Spanish, and whose heritage is a Spanish language culture. There are many who have Portuguese, Chinese, French, Japanese, and other culture and language heritages. Like the Indian child, the Chicano or Puerto Rican child or other linguistically and culturally different child is daily penalized by the forced application of homogeneity, the assumption that diversity is intolerable.

Until recent years the Chicano—or Mexican American, as the Anglo culture dominated him—was a forgotten minority of huge proportions. Politicians sought his vote, but after the election things went back to business as usual. Nationally, he was eclipsed by the greater numbers and earlier political awareness of the black community. He was thought to be submissive and unquestioning of authority. His child was among the more invisible of our victims.

Now we know a little more about how things are. We have had some national attention to the Chicano as a farmworker, through the organizing efforts of Cesar Chavez with the help of the media. The growing Puerto Rican minority in New York City and elsewhere has begun to surface. The barrio of East Los Angeles has erupted in violence. A network television documentary has shown a newly born Chicano child dying of prenatal starvation within a stone's throw of the multimillion-dollar Hemis-Fair entertainment complex in San Antonio.

The Nation has begun to hear some tales from the victims who survived. We now know that 50 to 90 percent of Chicano and Puerto Rican children, depending on the area, come to school speaking only Spanish. Many of them, we find, are put in classes for the mentally retarded simply because they cannot cope with standardized English language intelligence tests.

The Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity which I chair has heard some extraordinary personal testimony: A near Ph. D. Puerto Rican in educational administration at Harvard who was classified as retarded in elementary school; a Chicano Ph. D. in clinical psychology who spent several years in mentally retarded classes as a child; and a Puerto Rican woman lawyer who was told she has an IQ of 20 in elementary school. These are among the handful of victims who survived.

Others are not so fortunate. As many as one out of five Chicano children never go to school. Of those who do, one out of four drop out by the eighth grade. Less than half graduate from high school. In one school district in California 99 percent of the children in kindergarten are Chicano but only 30 percent of the graduating seniors are Chicano. Of 7,000 school-age Puerto Rican children in Boston, seven graduated from high school this past June.

Why? Not only are intelligent children treated as uneducable, but Spanish-speaking children are often forbidden to speak their native language in school and in many cases are even punished for doing so. In a south Texas school, children are forced to kneel on the playground and beg forgiveness if they are caught talking to each other in Spanish.

In an Arizona elementary school, children who answer a question in Spanish are required to come up to the teacher's desk and drop pennies in a bowl—one penny for each Spanish word spoken. "It works," the teacher boasts. "They come from poor families, you know."

Of course, the ways in which the Chicano and Puerto Rican children are victimized go on and on—the poor health care, the poor housing, the lack of job opportunities, and there is again the all-pervasive powerlessness. When Cesar Chavez began to organize, he found the law enforcement officials of the communities in California where he was working squarely on the side of the growers. When Chicano high school students in a small town in Texas demonstrated against school conditions, some were beaten by Texas Rangers, and those who were old enough were reclassified 1–A by the local selective service board. The sense of hopelessness, of inability to change conditions, is a major barrier to change. But again, if there is any basis for hope, it comes not alone from any increased commitment among Anglo politicians, but also from a rising generation of dedicated and able Chicano and Puerto Rican leaders. In Texas the Mexican-American Youth Organization, denounced as "militant" a year ago, helped form a new political party and elected a member to the school board in Crystal City. In New York Herman Badillo has been elected to Congress. All over the country Chicano and Puerto Rican young people are on the move, sometimes with tactics which cooler heads deem unacceptable or unwise, but always with a commitment and perseverance which are profoundly admirable.

As with Indian children, if the White House Conference were to be fully relevant, one would have expected to find more extended and specific reference to the daily damage we are doing to the children of Spanish-speaking Americans.

The poor white child. Two-thirds of the poor children in America are white. This is a fact which should have great political implications, but it is too often ignored or forgotten.

The greatest concentration of white poverty is, of course, in Appalachia. Things have not changed very much since the days when John Kennedy campaigned in West Virginia and was so deeply moved by what he saw there. In Appalachia today more than three-quarters of a million young people sit in the hollows and hills facing lifelong unemployment if they remain at home, and lacking the skills to do much of consequence they leave. Over 900,000 children under 6—nearly half of the preschool children in the region—are poor. Less than one of 20 of Appalachia's poor children is in Headstart. Only 6 percent of Appalachia's children receive welfare assistance.

The way things work is quite simple, though perhaps the truth is a bit hard to face. The outside economic interests which control the region no longer have any need for the labor of the men who live there. Coal mining is gone or largely automated. Children are neglected because social services are not thought to be important for people of no economic value. There are no jobs for the fathers, either privately or governmentally created. There is no welfare if the man is living at home with his family. And the schools for the children are badly underfunded. Local authorities remain unwilling or unable to tax the outside large corporations. So the school construction needs of the 13 Appalachian States represented 42 percent of the total school construction needs in the entire country in a recent year.

The power structure would just as soon that the former coal miners and former dirt farmers leave the region.

This approach ignores two problems: First, some people who live in a place call it home. They want to live there. They do not accept the idea that someone wants to force them to move elsewhere. Second, it is hard to go elsewhere when one lacks the skills to do much once one is there.

Thus, again, the trap. And as surely as the black child is still oppressed by the white power structure in the South, the white child of Appalachia is also oppressed by the white power structure. Racism in America is not all racial.

If the White House Conference had a deeper sense of immediacy, the children of Appalachia and the economic interests which oppress them would be the subject for a forum in themselves.

THE URBAN-SLUM CHILD

Some of the victims whom I have mentioned live in cities. But any child who lives in one of the large central cities of America is a victim in ways which transcend his race and even his economic status.

The air he breathes—polluted by automobiles, powerplants, industrial plants, and home heating—makes him far more subject to disease than his suburban or rural counterpart.

The congestion in which he lives has clinically observable effects on his mental state. It is not surprising, for example, that studies find an astonishing incidence of mental illness in New York City, where the population density is almost 1,000 times that of the country generally, and an even greater incidence in central Harlem, where density is near 10,000 times the national average.

But that is only the beginning. In most instances, the urban child must face and deal with the worst aspects of America's institutions. The child attending school in one of the 20 largest school systems in the country is almost a year behind the national norm for the rest of the country. The health problems faced by the urban child are equally as horrifying.

Venereal disease has gone beyond the epidemic stage. Infant mortality in the ghettos and barrios is often four times the national average. And drug addiction is now rampant in all parts of every major city. For a child of the city, his powerlessness and isolation from the mainstream of America are more obvious at an early age; his disconnection from society's major institutions, schools, police, religious institutions, business and industry is more blatant. Lack of space, poor housing, density, and inadequate opportunities strain family relationships even further.

Every institution which confronts the urban child is the biggest, most unresponsive form of that institution our country has to offer.

The schools are dropout factories. In the ghetto schools, children as they get older fall further and further behind national norms in every skill.

The city hospital is totally dehumanizing. The patient waits 2 to 4 hours in a clinic to see a doctor he has never seen before and is likely never to see again.

The welfare is at its most bureaucratic and degrading. The landlord is an absentee or a public housing authority as bureaucratic as the slumlord is neglectful. The credit merchant overreaches, and repossesses the moment payments fall behind.

We are coming to the point in America where the sheer fact of urban life, and particularly ghetto life, is a process of victimization in itself. People laughed nervously a couple of years ago when Jules Feiffer wrote a play called "Little Murders" in which urban life disintegrated into a sniper war. The play is no longer funny. It is coming true.

Our response so far is repression. Arresting the perpetrators of violence is right, as far as it goes. But if that is all we do, if we do not seek the causes and try to eliminate them, we are asking for a generation of urban guerrilla warfare.

The danger is not that there will be a successful revolution. We have in this technological society all the forces and power and weapons necessary for effective repression. The only catch is that we will have a different sort of country when we are through. A better course would be to stop now, reexamine national priorities, and commit the resources necessary to bring about the climate of justice and equality of opportunity within which guerrilla warfare will not arise and flourish. I do not see that question on the agenda of the White House Conference.

The handicapped child. There are more than 7 million handicapped children in America—emotionally disturbed, mentally retarded, physically handicapped in one of the variety of ways, or suffering from special learning difficulties. Nearly 5 million of these children are receiving no special educational services or other help.

Some are poor, but most are not. Most are children whose problem is not irremediable enough to cause them to be discarded into a public residential institution, but for whom the public schools have no appropriate programs and private services are either unavailable or too expensive.

We have, plainly and simply, failed these children. They are the victims of our neglect.

Consider the child who is in a residential institution either for the mentally retarded or the mentally ill. Typically, it is old, crowded, understaffed, filthy, sterile, strewn with feces, devoid of hope, filled with blank faces. There are retarded children there who are educable if the special education services are

available. There are disturbed children who are curable if the psychiatric services were available. There are neglected and abandoned children who are there simply because there is no other place to put them, and who will remain there until they are 16 and then be dumped on the street, propelled to the scrap heap by a society which did not care enough to make life possible for them.

Here again, our treatment is both inhumane, and senseless. It would save money to save lives. The annual cost of foster care is about one-eighth the cost of institutionalization. The lifetime cost of educating an educable handicapped or retarded child is about $20,000. Institutionalizing him will cost well over $200,000. And the Nation's handicapped children have potential earning power of $15 billion if they receive the special education and services necessary for them to realize their personal and economic potential.

We are not going in that direction. In a recent year the Federal Government appropriated, over $1 billion for cotton price support and one-twentieth that amount for child mental health services conceived in the broadest possible terms.

The 1930 White House Conference said:

> The emotionally disturbed child has a right to grow up in a world which does not set him apart, which looks at him not with scorn or piety or ridicule—but which welcomes him exactly as it welcomes every child, which offers him identical privileges and identical responsibilities.

Where are we now?

The child and the law. The child's life—rich or poor—can become entwined with the State in a variety of ways. He may be a neglected or abandoned child. He may be born out of wedlock or be the victim of a divorce where his future is determined without any legal protection for him. He may be deemed incorrigible by his parents or his teacher, or alleged to be a law violator of some kind.

The paradox of our national behavior is that we do both too much and too little. Too many children are swept off the streets for one reason or another. In various States, a child can end up in court and then in reform school or training school for such dangerous behavior as violating a curfew, hanging around a poolroom, wandering around a railroad track, swearing in public, sleeping in an alley, drinking, or smoking in public. He can be taken away from his parents, with or without their consent.

Once in the hands of the State, he is not all certain of being any better off. Milton Luger, a nationally known expert on juvenile delinquency, has made the following extraordinary statement:

> It would be better for all concerned if young delinquents were not detected, apprehended, or institutionalized. Too many of them get worse in our care.

First, the child gets a juvenile or family court hearing which is likely to be as short as 10 or 15 minutes in length. Before that hearing ever occurs he may be kept in a juvenile detention facility, perhaps in solitary confinement, for weeks on end or, even worse, his "pretrial" detention may have been in a county jail where he is mixed with adult prisoners, subject to homosexual abuse and the influence of hardened criminals. Adults are constitutionally entitled to bail under these circumstances. Children are not.

His court hearing may well be conducted without any legal representation, despite the Supreme Court's 1967 Gault decision requiring otherwise.

Having engaged in behavior which would not be a crime if he were an adult, he may nonetheless be adjudged a delinquent and sent away. Worse still, a judge not wanting to stigmatize him as a delinquent may send him away, noting on his record that he awaits "further orders of the court." This may be enough to keep him locked up a year or two, or even more.

The institution to which he is sent is seldom more than a crime factory. Educational programs are weak, psychological counseling infrequent or nonexistent, guards are frequently brutal, conditions are overcrowded, and stimulating activities scarce. Children with widely divergent problems are mixed together. Some are retarded. Some are disturbed. Too often, no sorting process exists.

As Howard James says in the subtitle of his shocking recent book, "Children in Trouble," the situation is a national scandal.

Less than a year ago, the New York Times reported the death of a 12-year-old heroin addict in Harlem—Walter Vandermeer. Charlayne Hunter and Joseph Lelyveld of the Times reconstructed his life. Public school gave up on him in the third grade, without trying to get him any psychological counseling from the school system's bureau of child guidance. Instead, it referred his case to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children which brought him to family court on a neglect petition. He was put in a children's shelter run by the society, and shortly moved to another public children's shelter. Shortly thereafter, the court released him, but he was back within 6 months, and was assigned first to a halfway house in Harlem and then to the Wiltwyck School in upstate New York—the fifth institutional setting in which he had been locked in 15 months. Wiltwyck gave up on him in 6 months and sent him back to family court, which let him back on the street again. The court, though finding him too disturbed for Wiltwyck, found, for reasons known only to itself, that he was not disturbed enough to be sent to a State training school. A year later he was dead. Most appalling, one school official told reporters that Walter's case was mishandled so badly, not because of incompetency, but because of overwhelming numbers. As he put it, "There are thousands of Walter Vandermeers out there."

Walter Vandermeer was a spectacular kind of victim. But the fact is there are 100,000 children in America in correctional-type institutions on any given day; the courts handle a million nontraffic juvenile cases a year—the children who drift in and out of the world of courts, social agencies, and special schools; and there are still thousands more out on the street where Walter Vandermeer eventually died, who have no hope at all of getting any help. The paradox is that no matter what happens as things are, no matter whether the neglected or disturbed or difficult child gets involved with the State or stays on the street—either way, he is a victim.

Institutions. I have listed a number of kinds of victims. Some are poor and some are racial minorities. Some are children with special problems. But they are not alone.

The fact is, all of our children are victims. The neglect, the mutilation affect the vast majority of our children—in certain respects all of them. Middle-class as well as poor children watch television commercials that are vulgar, insulting, misleading and frivolous, and television programs saturated with mindless violence, historical distortions, or rudely condescending remarks—programs which in sum treat American citizens as if they are infinitely exploitable. All children live and play and grow up in a world whose air is thick with smoke and dust and dirt, thick with obnoxious, foul-smelling, irritating substances whose potential hurtfulness we are only beginning to look at any study and estimate. Any child, rich or poor, can fall sick and find out that, yes, progress is being made on this or that disease—but only some progress, because we have set limits on how many doctors we turn out, and the money we need for various kinds of medical research is building huge, outmoded technological equipment.

What the list of victims does not adequately underscore is that the institutions and programs and structures which were created when things were simpler are simply not working now.

Education. Some of the questions about our schools are monetary; and I mean not only our ghetto schools or the schools on our Indian reservations or up our Appalachian hollows, but the schools most American children attend, the schools in Sacramento, Calif., and Boston, Mass., and in the cities and towns of the Midwest and the Prairie States, as well as the South. Do those schools have the books and other materials they need, the equipment they need? Are those schools new enough and pleasant to be in and well heated and airy and spacious and provided with good lighting? Do those schools have the services of school nurses and school doctors? Do they have adequate cafeterias and adequate playgrounds and adequate laboratories? Are the buses that bring those children to school safe? For that matter, are the school buildings themselves safe—and as well, not overcrowded, not understaffed, not old and dingy and depressing, a constant sign to children of what their Nation is and is not willing to do for its children?

Have we taken pains to document how many American workingmen have children at school in buildings labeled even by school authorities "inadequate" or "temporary structure"? Have we tried to find out what kind of educational services children get—not on paper, but in fact—if they are retarded or handicapped or plagued by one or another

psychological problem that affects their ability to concentrate and learn? Have we gathered information, city by city, State by State, region by region, as to what deaf children, blind children, brain injured children, children with speech learning difficulties, gifted children, get in the way of the special teaching they need? Have we studied our schools of education, which supply us with teachers—obtained from them a comprehensive estimate, national in its scope, of their needs? How many men and women who already are teachers become understandably tired and weary and frustrated and bitter—as they are asked to do their work under discouraging—if not impossible—circumstances and for wages that are an insult to them as citizens of this nation? And finally, what does it all mean to our children—that teachers are treated as they are, that so many school buldings and classrooms are left as they are rather than torn down and replaced by what is minimally acceptable, let alone optimally desirable?

But money is far from the only problem. The more basic question is what goes on in the schools, how the money they do get is spent. Listen to the remarks of a student evaluator of the very affluent Montgomery County school system in suburban Maryland just outside of Washington:

From what we know to be true, as fulltime students and researchers of the County School System (as well as from every attempt we know of to survey student attitudes in the County), it is quite safe to say that the public schools have critically negative and absolutely destructive effects on human beings and their curiosity, natural desire to learn, confidence as individuals, creative freedom of thought and self respect.

Listen to the words of another Montgomery County student:

Fear—the school system is based upon fear. Students are taught from the outset that they should be afraid of having certain things happen to them: bad grades, punishment from authorities, humiliation, ostracism, "failure," antagonizing teachers and administrators—are all things that terrify students as they enter first grade. These fears, which school officials use as a lever from elementary school through high school to establish and maintain order and obedience, have horribly destructive effects: they may be reflected in extreme nervousness, terror, paranoia, resentment, withdrawal, alienation; they may be visible, they may be submerged, but in either case these effects should be of utmost concern to those who value the human mind and spirit.

Montgomery County is one of the most respected, most affluent school systems in America. It stands to reason that these observations are not unique. Student dissatisfaction is widespread throughout the country. Eighty-five percent of the schools responding to a Syracuse University questionnaire this year said they had had some type of disruption within the last 3 years. Fifty-nine percent of the high schools and 56 percent of the junior high schools studied by the National Association of Secondary School Principals in 1969 experienced some form of protest.

Obviously there is a mixture of failures. There is a failure to impart basic skills—one out of four students in the public schools of New York State cannot pass even minimal tests of competency in reading and mathematics.

But the failure goes far deeper. What the students in Montgomery County are talking about, and what many protesters in other affluent systems throughout the country are rebelling against, is an attitude which places conformity above individuality, discipline above creativity, which above all conducts education as though the concept of an education person were a constant, the same in 1970 as, say, in 1950. Young people mature earlier than they have at any time in our history, or at any time in recent history—since young people assumed adult responsibilities in pioneer days far earlier than they do now. They have serious questions about the way our Government and our society operate. These questions are not answered by courses which teach that America has never been the aggressor or never lost a war.

Partly the attitude is the attitude of the parents and the adult generation generally. Two-thirds of a group of high school parents surveyed in 1969 said that they believe "maintaining discipline is more important than student self-inquiry." To be young is to be by definition untrustworthy. In one New York suburb a new middle school has been badly needed for years. The school board repeatedly refused to approve its construction until recently when the superintendent explained publicly that the new school was essential in order to remove the 10 to 13 year olds from the bad influence of the high school kids with their drugs, their "experimentation," and their "radical politics." It is no wonder that recent years have seen books with titles like "Death at an Early Age," "Our Children Are Dying," and "Crisis in the Classroom."

There is no doubt of it—our schools are failing millions of our children.

Corporations. The question of the social responsibility of the corporation is, of course, far broader than its responsibility to the child, but a few examples will illustrate how the child is particularly victimized by corporate irresponsibility or plain failure to take the child's interests into account.

A committee of the American Academy of Pediatrics recently concluded that air pollution is more dangerous to children in some respects than it is to adults, in terms of greater susceptibility to respiratory infections, which can lead in turn to permanent lung damage. What corporate consideration is given to children when it is decided that an industrial plan will use one type of fuel rather than another, or one grade of oil rather than another, thereby polluting the air more rather than less? What type of consideration is given to children when the automobile industry mindlessly pours more exhaust-spewing cars onto urban roads sending air pollution counters off their dials? What kind of consideration are children given when a large public utility decides to build another fossil fuel power generating plant in the middle of a large city, thereby polluting the air further? Perhaps if children were kept explicitly in mind when these decisions are being made, urban life generally would be less oppressive and less dangerous.

The food industry is another example. Here the responsibility is more direct.

What kind of food do we think we are buying for our children, and what do we actually get? How are we to make sense of some of the things we read on packages of food destined to be put before our children?

Every mother who has warmed a jar of baby food has tested the temperature with her finger—which she usually licks. Baby food companies know that and they flavor and salt the baby food to suit the mother's tastes. Lost in this consideration is the fact that babies need less salt than mothers and children who are taught to crave salt risk hypertension in old age.

There are other problems. The family accustomed to eating large quantities of rice was better nourished before the advent of polished rice. The mother who buys concentrated fruit juice to give her family vitamins and citric acid really gives her family flavored water if the concentrate was sold in a cardboard container. Cardboard, unlike the old tin cans, is porous and air produces a chemical reaction which can weaken or eliminate the vitamin content of the drink.

During World War II we had State laws requiring that commercial bread be made with fortified flour but they have been allowed to fall into disuse. Commercial bread—despite sweeping advances in food fortification—no longer contains fully fortified flour. Consider how much bread our children eat.

Anemia is a public health problem. It is widespread. It is particularly common in teenage girls, pregnant women, and young children. It has, depending upon the severity, a variety of debilitating effects. It could easily be eliminated. Iron fortification is a relatively simple process which is known not to affect food composition and consistency in most cases, and could be introduced with sufficient control to virtually wipe out anemia. That alone would eliminate nutritional anemia in pregnancy and improve the chances for normalcy for many of our children.

What people need, rich and poor, is nutritious food. If teenagers want to eat french fries and hamburgers, then we should use enriched flour in the hamburger bun and enrich the soft drinks that go with it. If a family wants to eat pasta, then we should make available the nutritious, enriched macaronis already developed.

Then there is the responsibility of television as a corporate entity. Study after study has shown the deleterious effects of violence on television, but it still saturates the airwaves. "Sesame Street" is widely heralded, but it, or anything like it, is seldom seen on commercial television. And television is still saturated as well with commercials which calculatingly and often misleadingly play on the emotions and desires of children. Saturday morning children's television has 50 percent more commercial messages than adult television. If a child watches children's television half the

time it is on, and pays attention to only a half again of the blandishments of Tony the Tiger, Cap'n Crunch, and Fred Flintstone for various edibles, he gets twice as many messages from them as from his mother who tells him every day at breakfast to eat nutritious food.

Finally, toy manufacturers have a tremendous responsibility to the health and well-being of American children. When an arm of a toy doll is pulled off leaving a sharp prong uncovered, when the eye on a baby's toy can be detached and swallowed, when an electric toy reaches heat that can burn, when games are covered with glass that shatters on impact, or when sharply pointed, heavily weighted darts are sold—children's lives are threatened.

Toys like these may be profitable, but they injure 700,000 childen a year. Almost one out of five eye injuries to children involves a toy.

The children of America have a right to better protection from both the corporations that manufacture toys and the Government agencies that are responsible for making sure these toys are safe. That right is being ignored. Despite authority to ban new toys found hazardous to children, HEW acted in only three cases, and only after the Secretary was sued by the Consumers Union. And HEW still refuses to ban further sales of a heavily weighted, sharply pointed lawn dart that has already killed two children and wounded 14 others. Every American child and every American parent has a right to expect more.

Health care for children. I have already alluded to the failure of performance in child health care as measured by a classic indication like infant mortality. There are a million children born every year without adequate prenatal care, and 21 million children who see a physician less often than once a year.

Look at it from the doctor's side—there are only 12,000 pediatricians in the United States, about a third of what we need. Or from the money side—only 10 percent of the Federal health research dollar is spent on children.

Look at it from the family's point of view—how hard it is to get a doctor to make a house call, how long the wait is in the doctor's office, let alone the public clinic or emergency room.

And of course there is the financial side of it—only 10 percent of child health care is covered by health insurance.

It is not easy to talk about such matters. It is not easy to remind factory workers and white-collar workers and small businessmen that a sudden medical emergency which afflicts one of their children is an emergency which also can all too quickly be a financial disaster. It is not easy to remind those same working people, hard-working people, that no matter how long and earnestly they work, at no matter how many jobs, their children might one day suffer because we as a nation haven't supported the medical research we might, haven't trained the doctors we might, have not built the hospitals we might—or equipped them as we might.

Let us try to relate this situation to the typical American working man—the so-called middle American. Even before his child is born there are risks and dangers that are avoidable, yet permitted by us in America. I refer to the illness pregnant women can get—illnesses that cost money only the rich can put their hands on, illnesses that require medical care and medical equipment simply not available in many cities and towns and whole counties and entire States of these United States. And likewise at birth or after birth, the child as well as his or her mother can require prolonged and delicate attention from skilled physicians and those who work alongside them—all of whom are in short supply in many parts of this country. What is a working man to do? He cannot rent planes and fly his family half way across the country and check into a hotel and stay there while his wife and child are treated. Nor can he pay the thousands and thousands of dollars that hospitals and doctors and "services" cost. His child may have some bone trouble, a particularly difficult club foot, cerebral palsy, a congenital heart defect or another "problem" that we lump together under categorical, descriptive terms like "congenital disorder" or "mental retardation" or "physically handicapped." He may live in a large- or medium-sized city, let alone in rural areas—and be told there is a waiting list for this, there are no facilities for that, and so it goes and so it has to be. Our Government takes a census every 10 years, and is always coming up with facts or figures about the economy, the war, the state of our defenses.

I wonder why we do not try to find out and report upon how many children are born with or succumb to severe and crippling illnesses, injuries to their bodies and brains, diseases that affect their growth and development—and then go on to get thoroughly inadequate treatment for such afflictions. Perhaps if we knew how many children need pediatricians, need surgeons, need physical therapists, need child psychiatrists, need one or another kind of machine or instrument or mode of therapy—and do not get what they need, then we would be in a position to weigh our priorities, so that when generals and admirals, already in control of enough military hardware to destroy the entire planet, tell us they have needs, they want another kind of plane or ship or gun, we can say to them yes, we want to protect this country, and protect it not only from outside enemies but from diseases that every single day unnecessarily kill and maim and stunt and cause pain and suffering to American children.

The whole system is a nonsystem.

The hospital is the costliest way to dispense medical care, and it has become nearly 100 percent more costly in just the last 5 years. Yet, we still continue to put children in hospitals who do not have to be there, who could be taken care of in a doctor's office or a neighborhood clinical setting. Blue Cross and other hospital insurances still require that children be put in hospitals if they are to be reimbursed for procedures which could be performed outside the hospital. The Government reimburses hospitals under medicare and medicaid without asking any greater efficiency in return. In short, no leverage whatsoever is exercised to require the development of a system of neighborhood clinics which could dispense preventive care and keep children out of hospitals instead of forcing them in.

The same situation exists regarding medical manpower. There are dozens of tasks which could be performed by physicians' assistants and other paraprofessional manpower. The doctor is the costliest form of medical manpower. The cost of care and the scarcity of personnel could be greatly alleviated if we were to change the mix of medical manpower. It has not happened.

These faults of organization have caused medical costs to skyrocket. The situation is intolerable. Not only is medical care less available than it should be, but it is too often provided in the least efficient possible way, and it is too often financially out of the reach of the typical family.

As a consequence, millions of our children are victims.

The welfare system. Here we have another non-system which has grown up over the years—which destroys children, breaks up families, perpetuates dependency, robs people of dignity, and leaves them in poverty—and infuriates giver and recipient alike.

The visible, highly debated problem is, of course, financial assistance to poor children.

But we do a poor job with other welfare problems as well—notably adoption and foster care. Adoption is limited in many places by outmoded laws restricting racial and religious mixing of children and parents, and by the fact that adoption policies are controlled by traditional private welfare agencies whose good intentions are matched only by their "welfarist" orientation.

Foster care is limited by lack of funds as well as by traditionalist attitudes, like the idea that a single person cannot be an adopting or foster parent. There are perhaps three times as many children in need of foster care as actually get it.

Lost, too, in the debate over the administration's family assistance plan is its unprecedented proposal to limit funds for social services including day care to 110 percent of last year's appropriation—a dangerous precedent indeed in an area where we have at least had the advantage of open-ended appropriation.

And the FAP itself is bad for children. For who is more the victim of the President's "work fare" than the child whose mother is forced to work?

FAP is perplexing to those of us who want to support real welfare reform. In return for a national minimum floor for benefits and for extending aid to the working poor—both highly desirable reforms—we are being asked to accept a new system which will force mothers to work, with consequent risk to their children.

Secretary Richardson's proposals the other day improves the bill somewhat, but it remains to be seen whether the final version of the bill will be an improvement over the present system, bad as that is.

It may be said that the discussion of welfare, unlike the other institutions I have described, relates uniquely to the poor. It does not.

Who pays for welfare? One of the great sources of anger on the part of the industrial worker taking home $58 a week after taxes in New York is that his taxes are helping to give tax-free support of $64 a week to a welfare mother and her three children. True welfare reform—a negative income tax or a justly conceived family income supplement plan—would provide assistance to that angry industrial worker who needs and deserves it just as much, and would ultimately alleviate his sense that his tax dollars are not being spent for broad social purposes.

There are other institutions which fit into the pattern of failure—failure through being oversized, overbureaucratic, overly impersonal, and overly insensitive. There are the courts and residential institutions for children, which I have discussed earlier. There is the role of the university and of the church. There is the pervasive effect of racism, hostility to diversity, and callousness to powerlessness which cuts across the functioning of all of our institutions.

Perhaps above all, the institution which is failing our children is Government. Government is the ultimate source of funds for programs. Government is a major source of regulations to make institutions respond to children's needs. But Government in this country has allowed itself to become enmeshed in one of the greatest situations of distorted priorities in the history of a democratic government.

Government in this country seems incapable of extricating itself from unpopular wars which still cost money and lives. Government seems incapable of stopping the flow of dollars into useless weaponry and high-flying elephants. And all the while children suffer and the institutions which are supposed to serve them are subjected to no searching inquiry, no serious push for reform. Yes, if we are looking at the institutions which have failed our children, let us look first and foremost at ourselves here in the U.S. Senate.

Recommendations. It is neither practicable nor feasible to set forth a total program for reform and change. The length of such a program would be a book or a set of volumes in itself. Its total cost would be staggering. Among other things, those who would criticize this speech for political reasons—and there will be those—would have a field day with the supposed impracticality of it all.

But any program for reform must begin with a cry for recalculation of our national priorities. The refrain is familiar by now. I need not go through it again. But if the White House Conference is to contribute anything, that is where it should begin. For, apart from the immorality of spending money on unneeded weaponry while children go hungry, the sad fact is that in this great, affluent nation, we will never have enough resources to solve our problems unless we begin to exercise wisdom and good sense in the way in which we spend our national funds.

We need far more resources devoted to the solution of domestic problems. With proper priorities and a healthy, growing economy, I believe we could begin to do what has to be done.

The other day it was decided that it was more important to fully fund a $110 million authorization for a space station than it was to more adequately fund public housing. Every day we reenact another example of our present set of priorities, in which usually the child is the loser. He has lost over and over again during the past decade, and unless we can reorder priorities, he will continue to lose.

Had we the resources, the agenda is not difficult to see: It must include a guaranteed decent job for everyone; income maintenance for all; national health insurance; an adequate program of early childhood development; sufficient funds to extend service to all the handicapped children who need it; and so on down the list.

But what is needed is far more than just money. For, apart from the scarcity of funds, our institutions are simply not working very well.

It is not just that we cannot run a welfare ssytem. We cannot get our hospitals to dispense decent, efficient medical care, either. It is not just that we cannot seem to get enough food to hungry children. Our schools cannot seem to interest or really educate our children either.

The question is not just one of a need for urgent attention to pressing problems. It is also one of philosophy and approach.

I have been for all the old programs. But even where we have spent a lot of money, things are often worse than they were before.

Because we did not listen. We bulldczed whole neighborhoods and called it urban renewal, over the anguished cries of those who told us it was Negro removal. We stacked people together in public housing and wondered what they were trying to tell us when they defaced walls and broke windows.

We built huge universities and wondered what the kids were talking about when they cried out about the impersonality of everything. We spent some Federal money—not nearly what was needed—on the public schools without asking how it was being spent or whether we were getting any results; then we acted surprised when citizen's groups told us that some of the money had been diverted to illegal purposes and was not helping poor children. We poured money into the welfare system without reform, long after recipients and welfare workers alike were telling us of its disastrous effects. The BIA did not listen to the cries of the Indians it was supposed to be helping, and now the first Americans are very nearly the last Americans.

It is time for us, as liberals, to face the fact that our approach has too often been self-satisfied, Washington-centered, insensitive, and conformist. We thought we knew best, and in so thinking, we robbed people of their pride and their sense of involvement in themselves and in their communities. Albeit unwittingly, we have often done as much damage as good.

In some ways the old political machines were more responsive than we are. At least people got some assistance in return for serving up their freedom. Now the bureaucrat whom they have to go to for help does not live in their neighborhood, does not speak their language, has no reason to deliver and often risks his career if he does.

Any nation which discovers in 1967 that it has 15 million hungry citizens in its midst cannot be very confident that it is doing things right. Any nation which discovers in 1970 that it has thousands of teachers in its schools who literally does not speak the same language as their students must doubt whether it is pursuing the right course.

If our national approach has been bulldozer solutions coupled with bureaucracy, this has been just as true of State government and local housing and redevelopment authorities and other agencies. Many have failed in the fundamental task of listening to and showing some understanding of those whom they are supposed to serve.

We need, first, a total reexamination of all of our institutions and programs in this country. What are we getting for our money? What are our children getting for our money? We are creaking along in 1970, trying to run a government and schools and social services through institutions which were created tens of decades and even centuries ago, and in many cases have not been reexamined since.

The changes in size alone are staggering. The United States Steel Corporation which the government broke up under the antitrust laws more than a half a century ago was smaller than the typical medium size corporation today. Before World War I, no university in the Western World had more than 5,000 students. Now 30,000 students is only a moderate-sized student body. Hospitals which had one employee for every three patients a half century ago now have three employees for every one patient. Some foundations have international operations and offices which are larger than most foreign governments.

The impersonality and unresponsiveness which comes along with the size is understandable. I have discussed some of it in these remarks. So the answer to our problems is far more than just money, although we certainly need more money as well.

One key matter to focus on is size. All the evidence suggests that adults and children feel more involved and are served better by small institutions. We can get smaller institutions by breaking up bigger ones and by creating new, smaller ones.

We can emphasize the building of neighborhood health clinics instead of concentrating almost exclusively on hospitals—clinics to serve target populations of 30,000 instead of 300,000. We can make sure that our new college campuses are smaller in size and just build more of them. When we build new

correctional facilities, we can insure that they are small enough to allow the kind of group interaction which benefits the children whom we put in them.

And we can decrease the size of existing facilities. We can create colleges within colleges, campuses within campuses, no matter what the institution.

Above all, we can and must do something about the size of government. Many functions which are performed on the citywide level could be handled at the neighborhood level far more responsively and far more effectively. Much of what goes on in the Federal Government could be given over to the local government with strong Federal supervision and strong Federal standards. That is not the old liberal philosophy, but it is one which just might work better.

Attention to the size of institutions—reducing them to the smallest viable size—is one key element in making them work.

Another key element is regulation. Ralph Nader, with all that he has done, has reminded us that the regulatory agencies which we created with such fanfare a generation ago and earlier, have more and more come to be just captives of those whom they are supposed to regulate. Regulation can help with the size of institutions. It is certainly not shocking to begin thinking of breaking up corporate units into smaller entities. That, after all, was done at the turn of the century. And regulation can help with the quality of life. It is not shocking to think that, had we the will, government regulation could result in the cleansing of the air and water. Nor do children's toys have to be dangerous.

So regulation is one key word which has been lost from our vocabulary to the great detriment of our children and all of us.

Another key word, related to regulation, is accountability. As the institutions and programs which I have discussed have grown and proliferated, they have become sovereignties unto themselves, accountable to no one, proceeding along from day to day without supervision or question from the outside. Some of the accountability can be built internally. Agencies can begin to evaluate their own programs and release those evaluations to the public.

Perhaps a more important aspect of acountability is using money as leverage—the demanding by the Federal Government of accountability on the part of those to whom it gives money.

For years the Federal Johnson-O'Malley and impacted areas money has flowed to local public schools for the education of Indian children with no questions asked. We could begin to demand the hiring of Indian teachers, parental and community involvement in schools, the institution of bilingual programs, the institution of Indian history and cultural classes, and above all, a measure of dignity for the Indian child in return for the Federal flow of dollars.

We could begin to ask what local school districts are doing with the money under title I of the Elementary and Secondary Act and to demand results.

The disaster which masquerades for our health care system in this country could be turned around very quickly if the Government were to seriously get about the business of demanding performance for the billions of dollars it pours into the health care field. If the Government began to say that hospitals had to reorganize, that medical schools had to turn out students other than doctors as a condition of receiving Government research and other funds, if all of these things were done, the cost of health care would go down and quality would go up.

Accountability can also be stimulated from the outside, and here we come to another key word—advocacy. The Government never got serious about monitoring where its funds under title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act had gone until a group on the outside did its own evaluation, and came up with the conclusion that title I was not really helping poor children. Some would say HEW is not doing much better now, but at least it is aware of the problems. And if you go and talk to the auditors who work at HEW, they are jubilant. The outside advocates have put them on the map. They have more staff than they ever had. They are delighted that outside advocacy has come along and given them a job. They are delighted at the idea that someone wants their help, wants their contribution in keeping the Government honest. So outside advocacy has a great role to play in assuring accountability.

One of the most exciting developments in our society right now is the outside advocacy—both through the legal services program and through public interest law firms, as well as the young professionals in other fields who have taken it upon themselves to try to bring accountability to their professions. It is in this area that there is both great hope for change and great need for vigilance. For when these young professionals are successful, they get into political trouble—witness this week's Finance Committee vote to prohibit legal services lawyers from suing to challenge welfare policies.

A fifth key word—far more fundamental than advocacy, as important as that is—is participation: the sharing of power and the alleviation of powerlessness. One facet of the lack of accountability is that bureaucrats have come to believe that bureaucracy exists for their internal benefit. They forget their mandate, which is to see that services are delivered to the people.

No one really knows more about whether a program is working or not, and whether it is being properly administered than those whom it is supposed to benefit. More important, the only way to eliminate paternalism, laziness and unresponsiveness is to share power. If we do nothing else in the 1970's we must make it our goal to achieve participation programs by those who are supposed to benefit from them and by the community generally. Such participation, such sharing of power, should become a familiar aspect of our national life.

Fortunately, the political and other struggles of the past decade have given us some models for participation.

The Headstart program at its best has shown us what a marvelously rich experience parent involvement can be—both in terms of the parents coming to understand what quality education is and also in terms of the enhanced learning experience of a child. The extension of that kind of parent involvement throughout all preschool education and indeed throughout the elementary and secondary schools as well, would be a great boon in our society.

It is critical that the method of participation that we adopt be one in which real power is shared. There is always the bureaucratic temptation to try to coopt—to try and create nice-sounding advisory boards which have no power, are convened once or twice a year in a fancy board room or hotel and are then ignored. The struggle to create the proper mix for participation will not be easy. There is an appropriate role for professionals in both administration and policy, and citizen praticipation must include both those who are served by the program and representatives of the community generally.

Welfare need not be controlled by welfare recipients, but they must be represented in a real way in the making and application of policy. The university need not be turned over to the students and faculty, but they should be represented on the board of trustees. The doctors and the hospital administrators should still have something to say about the way a hospital is run, but the community should be directly represented on the board as well.

There is one aspect of participation which I want to emphasize particularly. That is the idea of having children themselves participate in the process of their institutions. I do not wish to overstate this concept—I am not suggesting that 5-year-olds need to sit on the boards of kindergartens; but high school students can participate very actively in decisionmaking in their institutions and in teaching younger students, as well.

Ghetto youths in St. Louis have done a fine job of running a rat control program. Youngsters would make the most effective nucleus of a preventive drug education program, because peer group testimony is what would be most influential. Instead of mistrusting one generation of young people to have any constructive influence on those just below them—which is what we seem to do now—I think it is crucially important that we involve young people in working with children.

Another key word is "innovation." We just have to be prepared to try new approaches. Whether schools without walls or magnet schools, or open classrooms or individualized instruction, or new forms of early childhood development, or new approaches to juvenile delinquency, the subject does not matter. The point is that the way we are doing things now is not working. We simply have to have new approaches.

Another important need is to find new ways of getting Federal money out to the communities for the benefit of children. The goal should be to encourage initiative at the local level while requiring

adherence to strong national standards and requirements of accountability. Here I part most emphatically from those who would simply use revenue sharing or block grants as a means of handing out money to States and localities without any strings attached. But I also depart from some of my liberal brethren who are still enthralled with the categorical grant-in-aid approach that has a large Federal bureaucracy at the top handing out money to the States, which in turn give it to localities. This has resulted in the worst kind of bureaucratic delay and diffusion of purpose. We simply have to find new ways of getting the money directly to communities and even to neighborhoods for broad social purposes—but without giving up the idea of strong Federal standards.

The concept of national standards is extremely important. We are quite familiar with the patchwork of programs which passes for a welfare system, and the patchwork of local fiefdoms which passes for health care system. It is time we set national standards for performance as a country and stuck to them, through the processes of regulation and accountablity which I have already described.

Another key idea is rights—legal rights. This has two aspects. First, for too long we have regarded various social programs and services as a matter of largess dispensed by the State. It is time we began to think in terms of creating legally enforceable obligations for our children, on which they can sue if the obligation goes unfulfilled either in dollar terms or, for that matter, in quality. If we are ever to have any kind of national standard which really works to deliver service to people, we are going to have to create legally enforceable rights to go with it. This will be a massive job, and will require careful study, but I believe it is a major matter on the agenda.

The second aspect of the idea of legal rights has to do with rights of children vis-a-vis institutions—rights of children in school to engage in free expression and not to be subjected to discipline without due process, rights of children in court not to be subject to being disposed of without adequate counsel or real rules of law. The development of a body of children's law is also an important matter on the agenda.

A final key word is options, protected by national standards. A child and his family should have a full range of options as to where they want to live. The child should have a choice of educational experiences, a full choice of possible lifestyles and professions. We shut off the choices both ways sometimes. We do not integrate the schools and we deny ghetto schools the power and the funds they need to improve. We keep the suburbs lily-white as a practical matter and we keep the ghetto a slum. We make life for the Indian an impossibility both on the reservation and in the city. "Options" is a very important word.

I call now for a national re-examination of all of our institutions by reference to these 10 criteria—size, regulation, accountability, advocacy, participation, innovation, new avenues of money flow, national standards, legal rights and options.

Let us see how some of these ideas might work in relation to a matter of which I have not discussed in any detail, a timely subject on which public debate is going on—the question of day care, or more properly, early childhood development programs.

For various reasons, it appears that a good deal of new Federal money is about to be poured into the early childhood development field. I favor putting more money into this area. But let us be sure we do not make the same old mistakes all over again.

Some say that the present Federal day care guidelines are too stringent, that, if they are kept as they are, no project will be able to get started. No doubt there are ways in which these guidelines can be improved, but there is in my judgment one nonnegotiable criterion for whether an early childhood development program is an acceptable recipient of Federal money; not whether it enables the mother to work, but whether the program enhances the child's development. There is no point in pouring Federal money into a program that amounts to the warehousing of children, to a federally subsidized baby-sitting service. If we are going to provide money for early childhood development, let us do it correctly.

This means community participation in the planning and administration of the program; it means appropriate professional participation in the teaching or care at the program; and it means health care and nutritional value in the program.

There are those whose express interest in day care is to make it possible for mothers to work. They are applying growing pressure to provide 5-day-a-week, 10-hour-a-day child care for preschool children whose mothers work, or would work if these services were available. In some cases, this would be an improvement. There are thousands of young children—latchkey children—who are left at home to care for themselves, or are looked after by brothers or sisters barely older than they are. Unquestionably, a program with adult supervision and hot meals would be an improvement for them. But the creation of institutions with warm rooms, several adults, and breakfast, lunch, and dinner does not necessarily add up to child development.

I wonder whether many preschoolers—especially the very young—would not be served better by programs lasting several hours, rather than all day, or by programs that send tutors into their homes to work with them and their mothers. I know of one program here in the district that sent tutors to the homes of ghetto youngsters aged 1½ to 3 years, several hours a week, and was extremely successful in preventing IQ declines of 15 to 20 points that other ghetto youngsters were experiencing. That was not a day care program. It did not make it possible for the mothers to work. But it was a tremendously impressive child development. And that is what the criterion should be.

There is also a question about the funding channels for these new programs. I see that some of my colleagues are proposing day care programs which go exclusively through the States. I think it is time we learned that money sent out from the Federal Government by way of the States, through the State bureaucracy, to the localities gets to be pretty thin by the time it reaches the end of the pipeline. It is terribly important that we make money available directly to community groups and directly to local governments. Otherwise, the kind of early childhood development program we want will simply not be forthcoming. It is equally important for us to make sure that any private enterprise involvement in the provision of day care is subject not only to very careful standards, but to full community participation in the planning of the administration of whatever centers a franchise operation or a corporation becomes involved in.

The essential point here is that it will not do, in 1970, to simply write a blank check—pour a whole lot of money into something, anything, called "daycare" and then forget about the matter. We must do more than spend the money. After we authorize and appropriate the money, we must engage in appropriate oversight proceedings to see that the money is properly spent. We have gone on for too long just pouring out what little money we do appropriate without finding out where and how and to what end it is spent.

What I have been saying today comes down to a few simple sentences. We have to place a higher priority on our children and their families than we do on expensive military gadgetry or expensive space extravaganzas. And we desperately need to instill some understanding, humaness and sensitivity into the existing institutions which are supposed to serve our children. We need to instill an attitude of respect for a child's heritage, for his family, for his language, and for hiis individuality, and his potential. We need to involve children themselves and their parents in a significant decision making role in these institutions. We need to recognize that we can and must provide far greater life chances for our children than we do now. Our children are our chance for change. They are our bridge to a better world. They are our only hope. Let us begin to act like we understand this.

If that recognition, coupled with a sense of urgency and a concrete implementation mechanism, can emerge from the forthcoming White House conference, I will count the conference a success.

Mr. President (Mr. STEVENSON), over the past nearly 6 years, I have probably served on as many human-problem committees and subcommittees as any of my colleagues. I have been all over this country—its ghettos, its Indian reservations, migrant labor camps, among the Eskimos and the Athabascans, and in the pockets of white poverty—and I am unable to express the profound frustration that I feel at knowing that we are such a powerful and wealthy society and at the same time seem to so tragically fail thousands and

millions of our children. It is not only immoral. It is not only unnecessary. I think this failure tampers with the very existence and future of a vital democratic society.

If in our generation we could shift these priorities and make these institutional changes and, above all, commit ourselves to a full and effective reordering of society, so that every child had a chance—a full and a fair chance, which is what I understand to be the promise of America—I think our generation will have done more than any other to strengthen and revitalize our society and to assure a bright and a secure future.

EXHIBIT 1

THE CHILDREN'S CHARTER

President Hoover's White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, recognizing the rights of the child as the first rights of citizenship, pledges itself to these aims for the Children of America.

I. For ever child spiritual and moral training to help him to stand firm under the pressure of life.

II. For every child understanding and the guarding of his personality as his most precious right.

III. For every child a home and that love and security which a home provides; and for the child who must receive foster care, the nearest substitute for his own home.

IV. For every child full preparation for his birth. his mother receiving prenatal, natal, and postnatal care; and the establishment of such protective measures as will make childbearing safer.

V. For every child health protection from birth through adolescence, including: periodical examinations and, where, needed, care of specialists and hospital treatment . . . .

VI. For every child from birth through adolescence, promotion of health, including health instruction and a health program, wholesome physical and mental recreation, with teachers and leaders adequately trained.

VII. For every child a dwelling place safe, sanitary, and wholesome, with reasonable provisions for privacy, free from conditions which tend to thwart his development; and a home environment harmonious and enriching.

VIII. For every child a school which is safe from hazards, sanitary, properly equipped, lighted, and ventilated. For younger children nursery schools and kindergartens to supplement home care.

IX. For every child a community which recognizes and plans for his needs, protects him against physical dangers, moral hazards, and disease . . . and makes provision for his cultural and social needs.

X. For every child an education which, through the discovery and development of his individual abilities, prepares him for life; and through training and vocational guidance prepares him for a living which will yield him the maximum of satisfaction.

XI. For every child such teaching and training as will prepare him for successful parenthood, homemaking, and the rights of citizenship; and, for parents, supplementary training to fit them to deal wisely with the problems of parenthood.

XII. For every child education for safety and protection against accidents to which modern conditions subject him . . . .

XIII. For every child who is blind, deaf, crippled, or otherwise physically handicapped, and for the child who is mentally handicapped, such measures as will early discover and diagnose his handicap, provide care and treatment, and so train him that he may become an asset to society rather than a liability . . . .

XIV. For every child who is in conflict with society the right to be dealt with intelligently as society's charge, not society's outcast . . . .

XV. For every child the right to grow up in a family with an adequate standard of living and the security of a stable income as the surest safeguard against social handicaps.

XVI. For every child protection against labor that stunts growth, either physical or mental that limits education, that deprives children of the rights of comradeship, of play, and of joy.

XVII. For every rural child as satisfactory schooling and health services as for the city child, and an extension . . . of social, recreational, and cultural facilities.

XVIII. To supplement the home and the school in the training of youth . . . every stimulation and encouragement should be given to the extension and development of the voluntary youth organizations.

XIX. To make everywhere available these minimum protections of the health and welfare of children, there should be a district, county, or community organization for health, education, and welfare . . . .

For every child these rights, regardless of race, or color, or situation, wherever he may live under the protection of the American flag.

The Children's Charter served—and today continues to serve—as an extremely useful guide to the people of the United States concerned with the well-being of children.

OUTCOME OF THE CONFERENCE

Followup programs were organized in many States. Frequently they represented the first statewide attempt to bring together the various professional groups and agencies to review children's needs and improve services.

One of the outstanding results of the Conference was a great advance in the field of pediatrics and pediatric education. Conference findings and recommendations served as a base for the children's measures under the Social Security Act (1935).

The 32 volumes of Conference findings appeared over a period of several years and were representative of an era of detailed factfinding and report making. But to condense or coordinate these findings into a composite whole or to convert them into a program of action for children was almost impossible. Perhaps such a program could not have survived even if it had existed—the Conference was held at the beginning of the depression—a depression that steadily deepened and became more bewildering during the years in the course of which the final volumes of the report appeared.

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON CHILDREN IN A DEMOCRACY (1940)

The fourth White House Conference on Children was concerned with all children, not merely with those handicapped by circumstance. This was a major development—and a significant one for the future.

The base line for the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy was family and community life. Its specific purpose was to develop a frame of reference for equipping American children "for the successful practice of democracy."

In mid-January 1940, approximately 700 men and women gathered in Washington to examine in detail the state of child life in the United States, the forces that shape it, and the conditions requisite to health and opportunity for all children.

A few scattered young people sat in with the group as observers and commentators. They were the vanguard of the great numbers of youth who were to take their place in the 1950 and 1960 Conferences.

Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins summarized the task which faced the Conference by saying:

"No matter what the storms, no matter what the stresses, no matter what the world problems are, both economic and social problems, it is our intent and purpose to keep our minds firmly fixed upon the welfare of our children and to promote that welfare under all conditions, recognizing that they are the vitality . . . of this great experiment which we are making on this continent.

"One of our problems is this, as well as in every other Nation, is how to make it possible for the children who are the future generation to partake of the best that the Nation is able to give, while they are in the formative stage, while their health is being built up. This Conference has brought in people of many backgrounds, people with many points of view, people with a great variety of expert knowledge. . . ."

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

Mr. MONDALE. I am delighted to yield to the distinguished Senator from Hawaii.

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, we have just begun our Christmas season, and our newspapers are filled with tantalizing advertising messages of the joy of Noel. It is a time of hope, of anticipation, and of love; and this is a time when people look forward to glad tidings. I do not suppose that Americans are in a mood to receive a message of misery, a message of bitterness, a message of frustration, but the message which was given this morning by my distinguished colleague had to be given.

I would hope that my colleagues who have avoided listening to this message this morning would take time to read what the Senator from Minnesota has had to say.

This is a horrible indictment of the system, and I think the sooner we realize it, the better we will be. This morning, my colleague spoke of children, and this is the season of children, and we honor the most blessed one on the 25th of December.

If I may, in order to place an emphasis on this indictment, I should like to read a portion of the Senator's speech:

Our national myth is that we love children. Yet, we are starving thousands. Other thousands die because decent medical care is unavailable to them. The lives of still other thousands are stifled by poor schools and some never have the chance to go to school at all. Millions live in substandard and unfit housing in neighborhoods which mangle the human spirit. Many suffer all of these mutiliations simultaneously.

In every society some people are consigned to the scrap heap—the irretrievab handicapped, the incurably ill, the incorrigibly criminal, the hopelessly uneducable. But, in America we have needlessly allowed the scrap heap to pile up and up. The most obvious victims, of course, are the 10 million children living in poverty and the untold millions maimed by racism. But the scrap heap is not outsized merely because of poverty and racism. The victims are most emphatically not just the poor and the minorities.

The children whom we are daily consigning to the scrap heap come from every income group, every racial group, every geographical area in our nation. And every child consigned to the scrap heap is a useful life lost to the country, and indeed a lifetime of costs to the taxpayers in welfare, prison, or other expense.

This is a problem in which the "real majority" has a deep and vital stake . . . and the sooner we come to share the realization

that this is in fact the case, the sooner we shall create in America the atmosphere our children need and deserve.

I pray that my colleagues will read this Christmas message by Senator MONDALE.

Mr. MONDALE. I thank the Senator from Hawaii for his very kind remarks. I value his friendship greatly, and I particularly appreciate working with him on the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity which is trying to deal with some of the terribly important problems. More than I can express, I appreciate his remarks.

Permit me to make one observation here—although one could make thousands more—which I believe indicates the need for this kind of message as we approach Christmas. While I am sure it is a Christmas of joy for those of us making $42,000 a year, it is not a Christmas of joy for millions of young children, when we recognize that one of the great elements of the American Christmas is not delivered to him. We have had, for example, 2 of the top Spanish-speaking experts in the country testify before us—one a Dr. Palamares, who is a young psychiatrist and educator from California, and the other a young Puerto Rican, who is a candidate for a doctorate degree from Harvard University. Both have pleaded with us to understand how our system is failing Spanish-speaking Americans. Both these brilliant young men spent several years of their early lives in classes for the subnormal because they were not proficient enough for us in English and they were rejected as "dumb, stupid kids." It is a miracle they worked their way out of that. They are two geniuses and are so recognized by the best schools in this country. They happen to have escaped their early beginnings. Most do not. That is going on today.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, will the Senator from Minnesota yield?

Mr. MONDALE. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Indiana.

Mr. BAYH. I want to add my words of commendation to my distinguished friend and colleague from Minnesota, having served on a special committee of which he is chairman, and having seen him pursue tenaciously this area which is certainly not without controversy, and having seen the foresight and the courage which he exhibited as well as the hard work he has put into this problem.

I want to go on record publicly as not only congratulating him for the leadership he has provided in this area on the special committee, but also the perceptive remarks he has just made relative to the whole problem of the children of America. There is no one simple solution. The Senator from Minnesota just this moment addressed himself to the bilingual problem and the fact that many normal and bright children who are American citizens may happen to speak Spanish rather than English and are being denied the opportunity, to share the American dream.

This is one of the many problems we must deal with if we are going to solve the problems which confront millions of American children.

Later on this week, the Senator from Indiana intends to address himself to one particular problem; namely, that of child care and development services. This is a problem which I have been addressing myself to over the past several months. The Senator from Minnesota has one of the major pieces of legislation already introduced in this field, as he is one of the leading spokesmen for children in the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. I want to make certain that he has an advance copy of the prepared bill because I would like to have his thoughts and, hopefully, be able to work with him to see that it is enacted into law.

A comprehensive child care and development program is one which we suggest should be made available to all children, not just a few, and is one that should combine not just the theoretical, educational aspects of a traditional, preschool or nursery program, but bring to bear the nutritional and environmental aspects which are too often lacking in some of the custodial and educational, programs now available.

The Senator from Indiana does not intend to introduce the bill during this session but, feeling as the Senator from Minnesota does, that if this White House program is going to be meaningful and have any positive benefits accrue from it, some of us in the legislative branch might make some positive suggestions to let the White House Conference delegates know that we compliment them for their concern, but we want more than window dressing, we want action.

It is with that goal in mind that the Senator from Indiana intends to address himself specifically to a concrete bill in the area of child care, to try to get the opinions of some of the experts. Inasmuch as the Senator from Minnesota is one of the top experts in this field, I hope he will give us the benefit of his thoughts and that we can work together. I am certainly not wedded to the wording of the language of this particular measure.

In fact, one of the reasons we want to throw it out to public consumption and criticism is that the Senator from Minnesota and others can find ways to improve it and move forward to really get something done in this area.

Mr. President, my wife, Marvella is extremely interested in this subject and together we have had a chance to observe various child care programs. Having observed what some other nations have been able to do, the Swedes, the Japanese, the Israelis, and the Russians, I think that we in the United States can and must do more in this area.

I can think of no other area where we can make significant progress in solving a number of sociological problems than to tend to our children better. We do a lot of talking about it. The Senator from Minnesota in his remarks has eloquently stated that the time has come to do something about it. I compliment him again for his very fine speech.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Indiana. I know of his great work and devotion to reform in this field, and I am aware that both he and his wife have shown extraordinary concern and interest in the problems of children, particularly early childhood problems.

Hopefully, Congress can made fundamental changes in the early childhood efforts, because it is clearly one of the most hopeful of all the proposed remedies to deal with these problems. I want to underscore the need to create child development efforts that are sensitive to different cultures and languages, and in which the parents and children being served have an impact when decisions are being made. We need to permit the poor and disadvantaged of our children to play some role, along with their parents, to participate, to advocate, to reform, and to make their own decisions. I think that is the fundamental failure runing through all the programs. Hopefully, through our efforts and the implementation of recommendations from the White House Conference, we can begin to erase this curse and disgrace from our land.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, I commend the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. MONDALE) for his courageous speech this morning. By spelling out in forthright terms our national failure to provide a better quality of life for all our children, Senator MONDALE has exposed a national disgrace. And by offering specific suggestions for action, he has performed a valuable public service. This is what we have come to expect of him.

Mr. President, I share my colleagues' desire that the forthcoming White House Conference on Children will result—not merely in rhetoric and reports—but in concrete actions. The preliminary report by forum 15 on Children and Parents of the Conference contains a number of important recommendations, which I hope can be expanded and implemented. I shall do everything I can to support Senator MONDALE in his efforts to achieve justice for all children in America.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed, without amendment, the bill (S. 1366) to release the conditions in a deed with respect to a certain portion of the land heretofore conveyed by the United States to the Salt Lake City Corporation.

The message also announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 4536) to amend the Small Business Act, with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message further announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 2108) to promote public health and welfare by expanding, improving, and better coordinating the family planning services and population research activities of the Federal Government, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the

amendments of the House to the bill (S. 3418) to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for the making of grants to medical schools and hospitals to assist them in establishing special departments and programs in the field of family practice, and otherwise to encourage and promote the training of medical and paramedical personnel in the field of family medicine, and to alleviate the effects of malnutrition, and to provide for the establishment of a National Information and Resource Center for the Handicapped.

The message further announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 10634) to amend the Interstate Commerce Act and the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 in order to exempt certain wages and salaries of employees from withholding for income tax purposes under the laws of States or subdivisions thereof other than the State or subdivision of the employee's residence.

The message also announced that the House had disagreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 17755) making appropriations for the Department of Transportation and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, and for other purposes; agreed to the conference asked by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. BOLAND, Mr. MCFALL, Mr. YATES, Mr. STEED, Mr. MAHON, Mr. CONTE, Mr. MINSHALL, Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama, and Mr. BOW were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

The message further announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 2162) to provide for special packaging to protect children from serious personal injury or serious illness resulting from handling, using, or ingesting household substances, and for other purposes, with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate; that the House insisted upon its amendment to the bill and asked a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. STAGGERS, Mr. MOSS, Mr. MURPHY of New York, Mr. KEITH, and Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

The message also announced that the House had passed the following bills, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 8539. An act giving the consent of Congress to the addition of land to the State of Texas, and ceding jurisdiction to the State of Texas over a certain parcel or tract of land heretofore acquired by the United States of America from the United Mexican States; and

H.R. 17750. An act to grant the consent of Congress to the city of Boston to construct, maintain, and operate a causeway and fixed-span bridge in Fort Point Channel, Boston, Massachusetts.

HOUSE BILLS REFERRED

The following bills were each read twice by their titles and referred, as indicated:

H.R. 8539. An act giving the consent of Congress to the addition of land to the State of Texas, and ceding jurisdiction to the State of Texas over a certain parcel or tract of land heretofore acquired by the United States of America from the United Mexican States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 17750. An act to grant the consent of Congress to the city of Boston to construct, maintain, and operate a causeway and fixed-span bridge in Fort Point Channel, Boston, Mass.; to the Committee on Public Works.

TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be a period for the transaction of routine morning business, with statements therein limited to 3 minutes.

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

THAILAND, THE GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE, AND THE TAXPAYER

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, on June 9, 1970, as chairman of the Subcommittee on U.S. Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad, I requested the General Accounting Office to "make a study of all payments, direct and indirect, to the Thai Government and its officials for their forces sent to Vietnam; and determine the factors relevant to their disposition by U.S. Government officials."

This request was prompted by conflicts between statements in the press attributed to the Prime Minister of Thailand and statements under oath by administration officials to the subcommittee.

The Thai version was that the expenses of the Thai volunteers in Vietnam were paid by Thailand; whereas the administration statements were that U.S. Government funds and materials were given to Thai officials in return for their forces which were sent to Vietnam.

Let us note in passing that this difference in position was quite comparable to an earlier conflict which arose in connection with the subcommittee's hearings on the Philippines concerning the expenses of Filipino troops in Vietnam—a conflict which has not yet been entirely resolved.

Following my request to the General Accounting Office, the Comptroller General wrote to the Secretary of Defense seeking the cooperation of that Department in securing access to the relevant documents. There ensued a rather lengthy, and unfortunately inconclusive, three-way correspondence between the Comptroller General, the Secretary of Defense, and myself over procedures which the Defense Department instituted to screen documents before making them available to the GAO.

These procedures are not only time-consuming; they embody a concept of auditing that can only be described as astonishing.

What would happen, for example, if a bank asserted the right to screen its books before making them available to the bank examiner?

It should be emphasized that the General Accounting Office is the independent agent of Congress, trying to ascertain what has happened to the people's money.

I am now in receipt of a memorandum detailing some of the observations made, and difficulties encountered, by an agent of the General Accounting Office during a trip to Bangkok, Saigon, and Honolulu in an effort to trace the payments made to Thailand in connection with the deployment of Thai troops in Vietnam.

I ask unanimous consent that the entire memorandum may be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of these remarks. At this time, I will refer only to some of the highlights.

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

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, it is estimated, for example, that based on costs thus far tentatively identified, cash reimbursements to the Thai Government will probably represent something less than 15 percent of total costs to the United States for Thai troops deployed to Vietnam. Other benefits which have accrued to Thailand include increases in the military and economic assistance programs, outfitting and support of the Overseas Replacement Training Center in Thailand, outfitting and support of Thai troops in Vietnam, construction, military sales concessions, and so forth.

At the Thai Overseas Replacement Training Center, Thai troops receive about 5 months' training before departure to Vietnam. The United States supplied the center with enough equipment and vehicles of the latest models contained in U.S. Army stocks to outfit a U.S. division—approximately $20 million worth. But the Thai troops were being trained in increments of 5,400 men—less than half the strength of a U.S. division.

Furthermore, the maintenance shops at the training center were filled to capacity with vehicles requiring maintenance, although little work appeared to be taking place. Large numbers of new trucks, trailers, and tractors were parked in open fields, engulfed with weeds. Many had flat tires and others—also new—had obviously been cannibalized for parts.

Ammunition was stored unprotected in open fields, with no security in evidence.

The representative of the Comptroller General was not even permitted to visit the Thai installations in Vietnam—although he had agreed that he would talk only to Americans—not Thais—and although he estimates that the U.S. Government has invested some $260 million in equipment, allowances, subsistence, construction, military sales concessions, and other support to the Thais for their contribution under the free world military assistance program to Vietnam.

Mr. President, I hope and believe the General Accounting Office will pursue its inquiry into this matter with full vigor, so that Congress and the American people will know more of the truth about why and how their tax money is being expended in this tragic Far East venture.

Dear Senator Mondale:

For the past Congressional session you have very kindly made available to the Leagueof Women Voters of Minnesota a subscription to the Congressional Record. This has been invaluable in helping us keep informed about national legislation and in turn informing our members throughout the state.

We appreciate the fact that the cost of the Congressional Record ~~xxxx xxxxxxxxxx~~ is to be increased for the coming legislative session, We feel ~~xxxx~~we do make good use of it, ~~xx xxxx~~ If you ~~xxxxxxxxxx xxxxx~~ have subscriptions available, we would very much appreciate continuing to receive it. Please ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ send it to: (no change)

Mrs. Ralph Ebbott
League of Women Voters of Minnesota
409 Birchwood Ave.
White Bear Lake, Minn. 55110

Thank you .

Sincerely yours,

Janski

Ebbott, National Action Chrm.

JOHN SPARKMAN, ALA., CHAIRMAN
WILLIAM PROXMIRE, WIS.
HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR., N.J.
EDMUND S. MUSKIE, MAINE
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ROBERT W. PACKWOOD, OREG.
DUDLEY L. O'NEAL, JR.
STAFF DIRECTOR AND GENERAL COUNSEL

United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

December 2, 1970

Mrs. Ralph Elliott
409 Birchwood Avenue
White Bear Lake, Minnesota 55110

Dear Mrs. Elliott:

Thank you very much for your recent letter concerning the status of the Upper Midwest Regional Educational Laboratory.

As you possibly know, I have been acting along with the Congressional delegations from Minnesota and the surrounding states to get a new review of this Laboratory. I believe the decision to terminate the Lab was a most unfortunate decision and one which can only harm the educational research and development efforts in the entire country. I will certainly continue following this matter to do everything possible to insure continuation of what I feel to be one of the outstanding Labs of the country.

With warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Walter F. Mondale

Walter F. Mondale

Senator WALTER MONDALE

Reports to MINNESOTA



Effort to Cut Space Budget is Continued

The bipartisan Congressional effort to reduce space spending by reorienting the space program toward unmanned flights has been renewed by Senators Mondale, Case (R-N.J.) and Proxmire (D-Wisc.).

They noted that the recent success of the Soviet Luna 16 unmanned moon mission, plus the veto of the NASA appropriations bill, were additional reasons why Congress should reconsider the proposed space shuttle/station project.

Mondale is proposing elimination of the $110 million requested for this project. If this program is approved, NASA estimates a space budget by 1979 of nearly $7 billion—more than double this year's $3.2 billion budget. Scientists, however, estimate that for $2 billion we could have an unmanned program which would yield greater scientific and technical benefits than the manned programs.

"Congress now has a unique opportunity to reorient the U.S. space program. By taking advantage of this opportunity, we can have a space program in which our scientists believe and which our people can afford," Mondale said.

Trade Bill is Threat to Minnesota

Senator Mondale is leading opposition to pending trade legislation by a bipartisan group of U.S. Senators. The 7 Republicans and 7 Democrats who joined Mondale in a letter to Senator Russell B. Long, Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, said:

"It is our feeling that the bill as now written constitutes a radical departure from our past policies of expanding and opening world trade, and is a clear invitation to retaliation and trade wars that can only damage our exporters, our shippers, our balance of payments, and our entire economy."

Mondale, in a Senate speech, spoke of the adverse impact the bill would have on the American farmer who exports $6.6 billion worth of food and fibre, and urged "expansion, not constriction" of American exports.

"No one would claim that we should, or ever could, pursue a policy of totally free trade—oblivious to the trade policies of other nations, to subsidized imports and the threat of foreign dumping, to our domestic economic and agricultural policies, to the demands of national security, or to the need to assist businesses and workers whose livelihoods may be lost to foreign competition through no fault of their own."

He said these special needs "can well be met—and our position of responsibility as the world's leading trader maintained—within a policy which continues to advocate open trade and the progressive reduction by all nations of short-sighted artificial trade barriers."

Noting that no industry is more threatened by retaliatory protectionism than agriculture, Mondale said "neither Minnesota nor the rest of the nation can afford the inevitable trade war which would result if protectionist trade legislation passes the Congress."

"Trade is worth $3/4 billion and perhaps 70,000 jobs to Minnesota. We cannot allow this to be sacrificed to a politically expedient but potentially disastrous piece of trade legislation."

Seeks Drug Warnings

Describing the mounting rate of drug addiction as an "urgent. . .alarming call to action," Senator Mondale introduced legislation to require radio and television stations to devote as much broadcast time to anti-drug announcements as they are giving to anti-smoking messages.

He noted in a Senate speech that recent FBI crime statistics indicate that young people account for a high percentage of drug addiction, and that "death is a frequent companion—whether in suicide or overdose—of that 'casual experiment' which so many of our children may have with drugs."

Describing his bill as one aspect of the preventive effort to stop dangerous experimentation before it starts, Mondale called for action on "the full range of preventive, rehabilitative and control measures."

"We must strip narcotics of their illusive, murderous glamor. We must give our young people the facts and common sense to ward off the peer or pusher who might otherwise lure them to tragedy."



SPACE CUTS – Calling for a reorientation of the space program at a Washington news conference were, left to right, Senator Clifford P. Case (R-N.J.); Dr. Thomas Gold, Chairman, Space Science Panel of President's Science Advisory Committee; Senator Mondale; Dr. James Van Allen, discoverer of Van Allen Radiation Belts; and Senator William Proxmire (D-Wisc.).

Senate Accepts Mondale's SeawayPlan

The U.S. Senate has accepted an amendment to the Merchant Marine Bill, sponsored by Senator Mondale, which should prevent any toll increase on the St. Lawrence Seaway.

The Minnesota Senator called acceptance of his amendment, by a vote of 56 to 14, and final passage of the bill, "of historic significance to Minnesota and upper midwest states since it is a major step toward ending the long-standing discrimination against the Great Lakes.

"I have been working to prevent a toll increase since I first introduced legislation to refinance the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corp. in 1966.

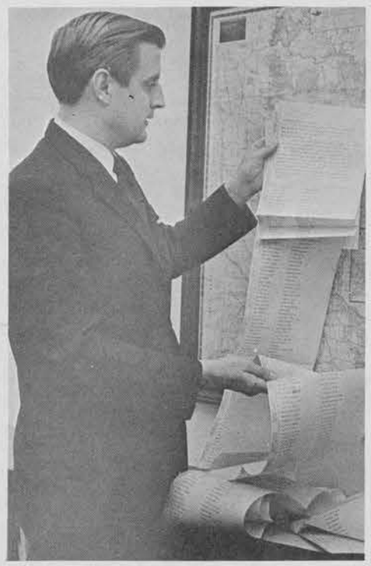
"In August, the Transportation Department reversed long-standing opposition of the Executive Branch and recommended legislation to relieve the Seaway Corporation of the burden of interest payment on its debt to the Treasury. The Department announced that it was now opposed to a toll increase. This position represents a substantial victory for the Seaway and was brought about by the legislation which I have been sponsoring, along with Senators from both parties, since 1966."

Mondale noted that the Merchant Marine Bill has a number of other provisions of great benefit to the Great Lakes. He said that naming the Seaway as the Nation's "fourth seacoast" is something he has been working for for several years. He also praised the extension of maritime subsidy and tax deferred construction reserve provisions to Great Lakes shipping.

Mondale's Social Adviser Bill Advances

Senator Mondale's bill which establishes procedures and institutions to provide the President and the Congress with information necessary to make vital social decisions has been approved by the United States Senate by a vote of 31-24.

The bill creates a Council of Social Advisers in the Executive Office of the President; provides for an annual Social Report by the President to the Congress; and establishes within the Congress an Office of Goals and Priorities Analysis. The new office would be responsible for an annual National Priorities Report and would provide the Congress with information and analysis necessary for enlightened priority decisions.



LONG TELEGRAM—Senator Mondale reviews telegram from more than 2,000 upper midwest citizens supporting his effort to amend farm bill to include parity for producers of feed grains. Senate accepted amendment setting feed grains floor at 75% of parity.

The Full Opportunity Act is modeled after the Employment Act of 1946 which established the Council of Economic Advisers and provided for an annual Economic Report.

Trim Carrier Funds

The two-year effort by Senators Mondale and Clifford Case (R-N.J.) to delete funds from the military procurement budget for a fourth nuclear aircraft carrier have been successful.

House-Senate conferees, working on the final version of the bill, agreed with the Senators that a 15-carrier force is currently adequate, and deleted the funds.

Neither the Soviet Union nor Red China has attack carriers.

Cost savings for a carrier, supporting escort ships and air wings is estimated at $2 billion.

AS I SEE IT

by Walter F. Mondale

I believe that the mounting wave of crime and disorder throughout our nation is one of the gravest challenges we have faced as a free society. At stake is not only the loss of life and property which grips its victims, but the terror and frustration which grips us all.

In the balance is nothing less than our ability to survive as a civilized community. We must act now to restore a respect for our law and the confidence of our citizens.

Much of this crime is closely connected to drug addiction. These recent statistics are shocking testimony that we must give highest priority to an all-out fight against narcotics. For example:

- the average heroin addict steals $50 per day to support his habit.
- stolen merchandise related to drugs per day in New York City is $10 million.
- organized crime revenues from drugs in New York run $343 yearly more than what the state spends on welfare.
- estimated cost of drug-related crime to the taxpayer is more than $30 million a year in Washington, D.C. alone.
- a municipal judge estimates 85% of all his criminal cases are drug-related.

Stark as the challenge is, I am deeply concerned that the vital attack against crime is being marred by an irresponsible effort in some quarters to exploit this life-and-death issue for short-run political advantage. There are even charges that the Democratic Party, and particularly those who work hardest for progressive social and economic legislation, have somehow been unconcerned with this growing national crisis.

This is partisan and dangerous nonsense. The fight against crime has always and will continue to be an effort which knows no party labels — except to those who seek political capital from the fear and human suffering bred by crime. In fact, those of us who believe in progressive social legislation have perhaps the greatest stake in a peaceful and orderly society. For we know that the fear and confusion ignited by lawlessness would make impossible the climate of reason so essential if we are to overcome prejudices and achieve social justice.

And so, as I see it, America must reject the senseless and wasteful recrimination which we hear too often in political rhetoric on the questions of law and order. We must all get to the serious and complicated business of stopping lawlessness in all its forms. That is precisely what I am doing in cooperation with three former State Attorneys General in the Senate—Senators Brooke (R-Mass.) Saxbe (R-Ohio) and Eagleton (D-Mo.).

Pooling our law enforcement experience with the assistance of outstanding experts in enforcement and corrections, we have been drafting what we believe will be the most comprehensive anti-crime bill to be introduced in recent years. Our aim is to mount a new attack on crime at every level of government—combining massive federal assistance to state and local law enforcement agencies with sweeping reforms of our courts and our procedures for dealing with such major problems as drug addiction, bombing and other acts of terrorism.

As I see it, the forces of lawlessness which threaten our society are beyond the realm of narrow political debate. They constitute a national emergency which demands a truly national response. This is the way we Americans have always responded to adversity. And I will do all I can to make this our response to the challenge of crime in the 1970s.



HEARINGS CONTINUE — Under the glare of television lights, the Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity continued its extensive hearings into the fall months. The Committee, chaired by Senator Mondale, has recently looked at the relationship of racial isolation in schools to segregated residential housing and the lack of housing opportunities for minority groups. To the Senator's right are Senators Roman Hruska (R-Neb.) Edward Brooke (R-Mass.) and Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.).

"Bad" Farm Bill Passes Congress

House and Senate conferees have agreed on a new three-year farm bill which eliminates a number of family farm income features sponsored by Senator Mondale. The Senator termed the bill "a bad one" for farmers.

The final version is closest to a bill adopted earlier this year by the House. It contains a key new provision known as the "set aside" program which requires farmers to keep some acreage idle to qualify for price supports.

Price supports themselves came in for the biggest trimming. The provision added on the Senate floor to guarantee feed grain producers a minimum support of 75% of parity was lowered to 70%.

Mondale, who cosponsored the amendment calling for 75%, said this level was "vital to insure that farmers' income be stabilized against cost-of-production increases." Minnesota has over 100,000 producers of feed grains.

Also eliminated by the conferees was the Mondale amendment requiring USDA to make advance payments to farmers participating in wheat and feed grain programs. The administration opposed the amendment since it would have increased 1971 budget figures by requiring 1972 funds to be spent in 1971.

"It seems to me," Mondale said, "that the Secretary of Agriculture should be worried first about the condition of the American farmer and not worried about technical bookkeeping matters."

The farm bill does, for the first time, place a limit of $55,000 on Federal subsidy payments for any one farmer on each wheat, cotton and feed grain crop. Some farmers have drawn as much as $4 million a year under present programs, which set no limits.

Voyageurs Park

Senator Mondale has hailed House of Representatives action passing legislation creating Voyageurs National Park in Minnesota.

He said the victory was due "to the tireless and dedicated efforts of Congressman John Blatnik, who used years of legislative knowledge to revive a dead bill and lead it through the House."

Mondale has pledged full effort to insure Senate hearings when Congress returns in November. He is in hope of enactment prior to final adjournment.



CAPITOL CAPSULES

- In a telegram to President Nixon, Senator Mondale has taken issue with the Agriculture Department's reluctance to announce the 1971 Agricultural Conservation Program. "Congress has given its mandate to continue this program so vital to conservation and to the protection of our environment," he said. "Minnesota and other Northern states will be especially handicapped without an immediate demonstration of administrative intentions to carry out national policy."

- Legislation to enact sweeping reforms in the education of American Indians has been introduced by Senator Mondale, who called the bill "the most far reaching Indian education measure ever introduced." It encompasses recommendations of the Senate Indian Education Subcommittee which found the education of Indians to be a national disgrace. Mondale, who served on this subcommittee, said his legislation would place the education of all Indians under the direction of "the real experts on Indian education—the parents of the Indian children."

- Senator Mondale expressed strong support of and voted for the Hatfield-McGovern 'amendment to end the war.' He said the measure not only reasserts Congressional authority in the "fateful choices of war and peace," but carries an "unmistakable peace message" to the American people, to South Vietnam and to Hanoi.

- Administration efforts to kill the Special School Milk Program by not spending Congressionally appropriated funds failed because of pressure brought by Senator Mondale, other Senators and concerned organizations. Mondale has taken strong issue with the planned cutback, calling it "not only contrary to national policy, but denying children the benefits of good nutrition."

- Legislation to conserve wildlife, abate pollution and preserve existing wetlands is being cosponsored by Senator Mondale. In a column written for Minnesota's weekly newspapers, the Senator said that in 19 west central Minnesota counties, some 48,000 acres of marshes have been drained since 1964. "This amounted to a loss of 14 percent of the wetlands in these counties." His Water Bank bill would authorize USDA to enter into agreements with owners and operators of wetlands to not drain, burn, fill or farm the lands during the contract period.

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510
OFFICIAL BUSINESS

Walter F. Mondale
U.S.S.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS MINN
555 WABASHA ST
ST PAUL MN 55102

Full Opportunity: Senate took from the calendar, and, by 31 yeas to 24 nays (motion to reconsider tabled), passed with committee amendment S. 5, proposed Full Opportunity and National Goals and Priorities Act.

Pages S 15160–S 15166

Family Medicine: S. 3418, to assist hospitals and medi-

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PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr.
The clerk will call the roll.
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r. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. Presi-
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The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

FULL OPPORTUNITY AND NATIONAL GOALS AND PRIORITIES ACT

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 1002, S. 5.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PROXMIRE). The bill will be stated by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows: A bill (S. 5) to promote the public welfare.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare with an amendment, to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That this Act may be cited as the "Full Opportunity and National Goals and Priorities Act."

TITLE I—FULL OPPORTUNITY

DECLARATION OF POLICY

SEC. 101. In order to promote the general welfare, the Congress declares that it is the continuing policy and responsibility of the Federal Government, consistent with the primary responsibilities of State and local governments and the private sector, to promote and encourage such conditions as will give every American the opportunity to live in decency and dignity, and to provide a clear and precise picture of whether such conditions are promoted and encouraged in such areas as health, education and training, rehabilitation, housing, vocational opportunities, the arts and humanities, and special assistance for the mentally ill and retarded, the deprived, the abandoned, and the criminal, and by measuring progress in meeting such needs.

SOCIAL REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

SEC. 102. (a) The President shall transmit to the Congress not later than February 15 of each year a report to be known as the social report, setting forth (1) the overall progress and effectiveness of Federal efforts designed to carry out the policy declared in section 101 with particular emphasis upon the manner in which such efforts serve to meet national social needs in such areas as health, education and training, rehabilitation, housing, vocational opportunities, the arts and humanities, and special assistance for the mentally ill and retarded, the deprived, the abandoned, and the criminal; (2) a review of State, local, and private efforts designed to create the conditions specified in section 101; (3) current and foreseeable needs in the areas served by such efforts and the progress of development of plans to meet such needs; and (4) programs and policies for carrying out the policy declared in section 101, together with such recommendations for legislation as he may deem necessary or desirable.

(b) The President may transmit from time to time to the Congress reports supplementary to the social report, each of which shall include such supplementary or revised recommendations as he may deem necessary or desirable to achieve the policy declared in section 101.

(c) The social report, and all supplementary reports transmitted under subsection (b) of this section, shall, when transmitted to Congress, be referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare of the Senate and the Committees on Education and Labor and Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House of Representatives. Nothing in this subsection shall be construed to prohibit the consideration of the report by any other committee of the Senate or the House of Representatives with respect to any matter within the jurisdiction of any such committee.

COUNCIL OF SOCIAL ADVISERS TO THE PRESIDENT

SEC. 103. (a) There is created in the Executive Office of the President a Council of Social Advisers (hereinafter called the Council). The Council shall be composed of three members who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and each of whom shall be a person who, as a result of his training, experience, and attainments, is exceptionally qualified to appraise programs and activities of the Government in the light of the policy declared in section 101, and to formulate and recommend programs to carry out such policy. Each member of the Council, other than the Chairman, shall receive compensation at the rate prescribed for level IV of the Executive Schedule by section 5315 of title 5 of the United States Code. The President shall designate one of the members of the Council as Chairman who shall receive compensation at the rate prescribed for level II of such schedule.

(b) The Chairman of the Council is authorized to employ, and fix the compensation of, such specialists and other experts as may be necessary for the carrying out of its functions under this Act, without regard to the

Senate; it also gives pause for looking ahead realizing how much more there is to be done. The task ahead is formidable and I ask the support of good men everywhere in bringing to our seniors a share of the "good life" which most of us enjoy.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Berry, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House insisted upon its amendment to the bill (S. 1933) to provide for Federal railroad safety, hazardous materials control and for other purposes, disagreed to by the Senate; agreed to the conference asked by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. STAGGERS, Mr. FRIEDEL, Mr. DINGELL, Mr. SPRINGER, and Mr. DEVINE were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

The message also announced that the House had disagreed to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 11833) to amend the Solid Waste Disposal Act in order to provide financial assistance for the construction of solid waste disposal facilities, to improve research programs pursuant to such act, and for other purposes; asked a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. STAGGERS, Mr. JARMAN, Mr. ROGERS of Florida, Mr. SPRINGER, and Mr. NELSEN were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

The message further announced that the House had agreed to the amendments of the Senate to the text of the bill (H.R. 16968) to provide for the adjustment of the Government contribution with respect to the health benefits coverage of Federal employees and annuitants, and for other purposes, with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate; and that the House had agreed to the amendment of the Senate to the title of the bill.

LT. COL. ROBERT L. POEHLEIN

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 1123, H.R. 13810.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows: A bill (H.R. 13810) for the relief of Lt. Col. Robert L. Poehlein.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be returned to the calendar.

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

RATES

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The PRESIDING OFFI
objection to the present co
S. 4227?

There being no objection,
proceeded to consider the bi

Mr. FONG. Mr. President,
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Senator from Wyoming (Mr.
and myself, and ask that it be

The PRESIDING OFFICE
amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk re
follows:

(a) (1) On page 6, line 11, strike out
figure "5" and insert in lieu thereof t
figure "4";

(2) on page 6, at the end of line 13, in-
sert the word "and";

(3) on page 6, line 14, strike out all after
the word "prevailing" down through the
word "prevailing" in line 15;

(4) on page 7, line 2, strike out "steps 3
and 4" and insert in lieu thereof "step 3".

(b) (1) on page 7, line 12, strike out "(A)";

(2) on page 7, line 16, strike out all down
through line 22.

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, this is an amendment presented by the distinguished Senator from Wyoming and myself and other members of the committee. We have discussed this matter subsequent to the presentation of this bill to the Senate.

We have eliminated the 7½ percent differential for regularly scheduled nonovertime work, the majority of hours which occur between 3 p.m. and 12 midnight. We have also eliminated a 10 percent differential for regularly scheduled nonovertime work, the majority of hours which occur between 11 p.m. and 8 a.m. At the present time, they are based on prevailing wages.

We have also decreased the fourth step in the increase, which gives an increase up to 112 percent, so that now it is up to 108 percent, a reduction of 4 percent.

I urge the adoption of the amendment.

provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and without regard to the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates, and is authorized, subject to such provisions, to employ such other officers and employees as may be necessary for carrying out its functions under this Act, and fix their compensation in accordance with the provisions of such chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53.

(c) It shall be the duty and function of the Council—

(1) to assist and advise the President in the preparation of the social report;

(2) to gather timely and authoritative information and statistical data concerning developments and programs designed to carry out the policy declared in section 101, both current and prospective, and to develop a series of social indicators to analyze and interpret such information and data in the light of the policy declared in section 101 and to compile and submit to the President studies relating to such developments and programs;

(3) to appraise the various programs and activities of the Federal Government in the light of the policy declared in section 101 of this Act for the purpose of determining the extent to which such programs and activities contribute to the achievement of such policy, and to make recommendations to the President with respect thereto;

(4) to develop priorities for programs designed to carry out the policy declared in section 101 and recommend to the President the most efficient way to allocate Federal resources and the level of government—Federal, State, or local—best suited to carry out such programs;

(5) to make and furnish such studies, reports thereon, and recommendations with respect to programs, activities, and legislation to carry out the policy declared in section 101 as the President may request.

(6) to make and furnish such studies, reports thereon, and recommendations with respect to programs, activities, and legislation as the President may request in appraising long-range aspects of social policy and programing consistent with the policy declared in section 101.

(d) Recognizing the predominance of State and local governments in the social area, the President shall, when appropriate, provide for the dissemination to such States and localities of information or data developed by the Council pursuant to subsection (c) of this section.

(e) The Council shall make an annual report to the President in January of each year.

(f) In exercising its powers, functions, and duties under this Act—

(1) the Council may constitute such advisory committees and may consult with such representatives of industry, agriculture, labor, consumers, State and local governments, and other groups, organizations, and individuals as it deems advisable to insure the direct participation in the Council's planning of such interested parties;

(2) the Council shall, to the fullest extent possible, use the services, facilities, and information (including statistical information) of Federal, State, and local government agencies as well as of private research agencies, in order that duplication of effort and expense may be avoided;

(3) the Council shall, to the fullest extent possible, insure that the individual's right to privacy is not infringed by its activities; and

(4) (A) the Council may enter into essential contractual relationships with educational institutions, private research organizations, and other organizations as needed; and

(B) any reports, studies, or analyses resulting from such contractual relationships shall be made available to any person for purposes of study.

(g) To enable the Council to exercise its powers, functions, and duties under this Act, there are authorized to be appropriated (except for the salaries of the members and officers and employees of the Council) such sums as may be necessary. For the salaries of the members and salaries of officers and employees of the Council, there is authorized to be appropriated not exceeding $900,000 in the aggregate for each fiscal year.

TITLE II—NATIONAL GOALS AND PRIORITIES

DECLARATION OF PURPOSE

SEC. 201. The Congress finds and declares that there is a need for a more explicit and rational formulation of national goals and priorities, and that the Congress needs more detailed and current budget data and economic analysis in order to make informed priority decisions among alternative programs and courses of action. In order to meet these needs and establish a framework of national priorities within which individual decisions can be made in a consistent and considered manner, and to stimulate an informed awareness and discussion of national priorities, it is hereby declared to be the intent of Congress to establish an office within the Congress which will conduct a continuing analysis of national goals and priorities and will provide the Congress with the information, data, and analysis necessary for enlightened priority decisions.

ESTABLISHMENT

SEC. 202. (a) There is established an Office of Goals and Priorities Analysis (hereafter referred to as the "Office") which shall be within the Congress.

(b) There shall be in the Office a Director of Goals and Priorities Analysis (hereafter referred to as the "Director") and an Assistant Director of Goals and Priorities Analysis (hereafter referred to as the "Assistant Director"), each of whom shall be appointed jointly by the majority leader of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives and confirmed by a majority vote of each House. The Office shall be under the control and supervision of the Director, and shall have a seal adopted by him. The Assistant Director shall perform such duties as may be assigned to him by the Director, and, during the absence or incapacity of the Director, or during a vacancy in that office, shall act as the Director. The Director shall designate an employee of the Office to act as Director during the absence or incapacity of the Director and the Assistant Director, or during a vacancy in both of such offices.

(c) The annual compensation of the Director shall be equal to the annual compensation of the Comptroller General of the United States. The annual compensation of the Assistant Director shall be equal to that of the Assistant Comptroller General of the United States.

(d) The terms of office of the Director and the Assistant Director first appointed shall expire on January 31, 1973. The terms of office of Directors and Assistant Directors subsequently appointed shall expire on January 31 every four years thereafter. Except in the case of his removal under the provisions of subsection (e), a Director or Assistant Director may serve until his successor is appointed.

(e) The Director or Assistant Director may be removed at any time by a resolution of the Senate or the House of Representatives. A vacancy occurring during the term of the Director or Assistant Director shall be filled by apointment, as provided in this section.

(f) The professional staff members, including the Director and Assistant Director, shall be persons selected without regard to political affiliations who, as a result of training, experience, and attainments, are exceptionally qualified to analyze and interpret public policies and programs.

FUNCTIONS

SEC. 203. (a) The Office shall make such studies as it deems necessary to carry out the purposes of section 201. Primary emphasis shall be given to supplying such analysis as will be most useful to the Congress in voting on the measures and appropriations which come before it, and on providing the framework and overview of priority considerations within which a meaningful consideration of individual measures can be undertaken.

(b) The Office shall submit to the Congress on March 1 of each year a national goals and priorities report and copies of such report shall be furnished to the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, the Joint Economic Committee, and other interested committees. The report shall include, but not be limited to—

(1) an analysis, in terms of national goals and priorities, of the programs in the annual budget submitted by the President, the Economic Report of the President, and the Social Report of the President;

(2) an examination of resources available to the Nation, the foreseeable costs and expected benefits of existing and proposed Federal programs, and the resource and cost implications of alternative sets of national priorities; and

(3) recommendations concerning spending priorities among Federal programs and courses of action, including the identification of those programs and courses of action which should be given greatest priority and those which could more properly be deferred.

(c) In addition to the national goals and priorities report and other reports and studies which the Office submits to the Congress, the Office shall provide upon request to any Member of the Congress further information, data, or analysis relevant to an informed determination of national goals and priorities.

POWERS OF THE OFFICE

SEC. 204. (a) In the performance of its functions under this title, the Office is authorized—

(1) to make, promulgate, issue, rescind, and amend rules and regulations governing the manner of the operations of the Office;

(2) to employ and fix the compensation of such employees, and purchase or otherwise acquire such furniture, office equipment, books, stationery, and other supplies, as may be necessary for the proper performance of the duties of the Office and as may be appropriated for by the Congress;

(3) to obtain the services of experts and consultants, in accordance with the provisions of section 3109 of title 5, United States Code; and

(4) to use the United States mails in the same manner and upon the same conditions as other departments and agencies of the United States.

(b) (1) Each department, agency, and instrumentality of the executive branch of the Government, including independent agencies, is authorized and directed, to the extent permitted by law, to furnish to the Office, upon request made by the Director, such information as the Director considers necessary to carry out the functions of the Office.

(2) The Comptroller General of the United States shall furnish to the Director copies of analyses of expenditures prepared by the General Accounting Office with respect to any department or agency in the executive branch.

(3) The Office of Management and Budget shall furnish to the Director copies of special analytic studies, program and financial plans, and such other reports of a similar nature as may be required under the planning-programing-budgeting system, or any other law.

(c) Section 2107 of title 5, United States Code, is amended by—

(1) striking out the "and" at the end of paragraph (7);

(2) striking the period at the end of paragraph (8) and inserting in lieu thereof a semicolon and the word "and"; and

(3) adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(9) the Director, Assistant Director, and employees of the Office of Goals and Priorities Analysis.".

JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE HEARINGS

SEC. 205. The Joint Economic Committee of the Congress shall hold hearings on the national goals and priorities report and on such other reports and duties of the Office as it deems advisable.

PAYMENT OF EXPENSES

SEC. 206. All expenses and salaries of the Office shall be paid by the Secretary of the Senate from funds appropriated for the Office upon vouchers signed by the Director, or in the event of a vacancy in that office, the Acting Director.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MONDALE. 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. MONDALE. Mr. President, the pending bill, S. 5, was reported from the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare on July 1, 1970. This measure had 24 cosponsors from both sides of the aisle. Since that time, the Senator from Illinois (Mr. PERCY) has asked to have his name added as a cosponsor.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the name of the Senator from Illinois (Mr. PERCY) be added as a cosponsor of the pending bill (S. 5).

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

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, a predecessor bill was extensively considered by the Subcommittee on Government Research of the Government Operations Committee under the distinguished leadership of the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. HARRIS) during the 90th Congress. In this Congress, a number of hearings were held on the bill during 1969 and 1970.

The bill has been strongly supported by a broad spectrum of leading public figures in the Nation. Among them have been two former Secretaries of Health, Education, and Welfare—John Gardner and Wilbur Cohen—Whitney Young, Dr. Ernest Hilgard who headed a special study for the National Academy of Science's National Research Council on Social Indicators, a number of other former officials of the executive branch such as former Budget Director Zwick, former Secretary of the Treasury Barr, and former Special Assistant to the President Califano. I am delighted to have had the strong backing of the distinguished Senator from New York (Mr. JAVITS) who has contributed a most important amendment to the bill which is included as title II.

Title I of the bill establishes full social opportunity as a national goal. The goal is more fully described in the bill as embracing such areas as educational and vocational opportunities, access to housing and health care, and provision of special assistance to the handicapped and other less fortunate members of society. It establishes institution and procedures for advancing this broad social goal, including a new Council of Social Advisers in the Executive Office of the President, and a requirement for an annual social report to be submitted by the President to the Congress.

The bill is patterned generally after the Employment Act of 1946 which, for the first time, established as a national goal the achievement of maximum employment, production, and purchasing power. To assist in achieving that goal, the Employment Act established the Council of Economic Advisers, provided for the annual economic report of the President, and established a Joint Economic Committee in the Congress.

It is our belief that this legislation will accomplish for the broad range of social policies what the Employment Act has done so well in the economic sector. By declaring a new National objective and increasing the quantity, quality, and visibility of information needed to pursue that objective, we should markedly advance our prospects for effective social action.

Mr. President, by now we have had a series of studies by prestigious commissions which have told us about the gap which remains in our society between the promise of full opportunity and the realities of deprivation, powerlessness, and poor fortune into which millions of our citizens are born. The increasing affluence of great segments of our society has merely sharpened the division between them and those who have not yet benefitted from the phenomenal growth in our economy, in our technological and scientific base, and in our educational systems. As a result, the demands of the deprived for their fair share in the benefits of our society and the responsiveness of our political institutions have both increased dramatically. At the same time, however, we have also become acutely aware of the fundamental inadequacy of the information upon which social policies and programs are based.

One consequence of our information gaps is that national problems go nearly unnoticed until they suddenly are forced upon us by some significant development and we learn of widespread hunger in America, of the rapid deterioration of our environment, of dangerous tensions and unrest in our great urban centers, of the shocking conditions under which migrant farmworkers live, and of the absence of decent medical care for tens of millions of our citizens. We desperately need ways to monitor our social health and to identify such problems before they destroy our society.

Another tremendously expensive consequence of our lack of adequate information is that we devise and operate programs based on myth and ignorance. The Congress is now groping with the problem of welfare reform, but it is painfully evident that we lack some of the basic information which we need in order to design a system in which we could all have confidence. Similar problems are presented with respect to urban renewal, mass transportation, air and water pollution and health delivery systems.

Finally, after years of experimenting with such techniques as program planning and evaluation systems, we still are quite ill equipped to measure what our existing programs do accomplish. And we have no adequate means to compare the costs and effectiveness of alternative programs. A Council of Social Advisers, dedicated to developing indicators of our social problems and progress, could well be a source of enormous savings to the taxpayer as well as of more effective solutions to the problems we face. Such a Council, taking full advantage of new developments in planning programing and budgeting systems, in computerized data collection and statistical methodology, in systems analysis and social accounting, could unlock the enormous potential of the social sciences to assist the Congress and the Executive in developing and administering public policy.

A Council of Social Advisers would not, itself, be a new decisionmaking forum. Rather, as a social monitoring, data gathering, and program evaluation agency, it would provide the new Domestic Council with much of the information which that body will need to make its policy and program recommendations to the President. The Domestic Council will have available to it the broad range of economic information now furnished by the Council of Economic Advisers. The Council of Social Advisers would fill a significant gap in the information system which is needed to butress the policy-making apparatus recently established under the President's reorganization authority.

While title I of the bill, with its new Council of Social Advisers and its new social report, should greatly augment the capacity of the Congress to make intelligent policy decisions, title II of the bill is even more significant with respect to strengthening the Congress. I was delighted to cosponsor the amendment to the bill which was offered by the Senator from New York (Mr. JAVITS) to create a new congressional staff office of Goals and Priorities Analysis.

Mr. President, I have now served in the Senate for nearly 6 years. Along with many of my colleagues, I spend most of my time dealing with the human problems with which the average American is confronted.

I never cease to be amazed by the abundance of evidence concerning how little we seem to know at the Federal level about what is really going on.

As one person observed, we have a natural strategy of suboptimization at the Federal level where we do better and better at little things and worse and worse at big things.

Thus, something as elementary as decent nutrition, something as essential to a sound body and a sound mind, adequate and decent nutrition was something about which the Federal Government was almost totally ignorant in 1967. We knew how many soy beans were grown. We knew how much money was being spent on the direct commodity distribution program, the food program,

and so on. But no one had the slightest idea whether there was widespread hunger and, if there was, where it was to be found and why, what the cost of feeding the hungry was, what the cost of not feeding them was, what the cost of the program was, or any of the other fundamental questions directly related to the issue of the most basic necessity of American life itself. The same was true with respect to decent housing.

In 1967, even though we should have been warned earlier, the major American cities began to explode in our faces. Newark, Detroit, and one community after another literally blew up in an astonishing and cataclysmic explosion causing the widespread loss of human life, and human injury, and millions and millions of dollars in property damage, and an emotional and cultural shock to Americans which we are still in the throes of. None of this was anticipated by the Government.

When hearings were started, this Nation was thrashing around; Congress and the Senate were thrashing around; members of the Cabinet and leading members of the executive branch were thrashing around, all trying to find out what was causing such a fundamental occurrence as this outrageous, heartbreaking phenomenon in American life.

We could go from this example to other examples. To demonstrate, in the federal system we lack an institution which takes not a tactical approach but a strategic approach to human problems which this society faces. We need to chart the social health of this country and seek to go forward; not, as John Gardner said, stumbling into the future, but trying to come up with the analysis, facts, and figures, and, as someone said, the "hot data" to help us understand our society and what we must do to make it more effective than it is in meeting this Nation's human problems.

One of our most impressive witnesses was Mr. Joseph Califano who formerly served as adviser on domestic programs to President Johnson. More than any other man he was in the Nation's hot seat trying to develop a program to advise the highest official in the land on domestic programs.

He recounted several instances of the phenomena to which I have made reference. For example, on one occasion, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare was in conference with Mr. Califano. He was asked how many people were on welfare, who they were, and all the rest. Since we are spending several billions of dollars one would have thought that information would be immediately available. The Secretary thought the information would be available to him as soon as he returned to his office. He said that he had the information and that he would send it right back. As a matter of fact, it took HEW more than a year to find out who was on welfare. Mr. Califano said this was a common experience with basic and fundamental human problems, to find that not even the President would have available to him the basic data necessary to make the choices upon which the very civilization depends.

He commented in this way about the issue of hunger:

> The even more shocking element to me is that no one in the federal government in 1965 knew how many people were hungry, where they were located geographically, and who they were. No one knew whether they were children, elderly Americans, pregnant mothers, black, white, or Indian.

Unless something of which I am unaware has been done since January 20, 1969, I believe we still do not know where hunger in America is with the kind of precision that is essential for an effective program to feed all the hungry among us.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, will the Senator yield with the understanding he does not lose his right to the floor for the purpose of asking for the yeas and nays on the bill?

Mr. MONDALE. I yield to the Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, then Mr. Califano concluded with this statement:

> The disturbing truth is that the basis of recommendations by an American Cabinet officer on whether to begin, eliminate or expand vast social programs more nearly resembles the intuitive judgment of a benevolent tribal chief in remote Africa than the elaborate sophisticated data with which the Secretary of Defense supports a major new weapons system. When one recognizes how many and how costly are the honest mistakes that have been made in the Defense Department despite its sophisticated information systems, it becomes frightening to think of the mistakes which might be made on the domestic side of our Government because of lack of adequate data.

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

Mr. MONDALE. I yield.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I have been very concerned about this bill for some time. I understand it has been revised from the original bill which the Senator introduced. Originally he contemplated having a congressional joint commitee on social goals. We were concerned because those of us on the Joint Economic Committee thought there would be duplication.

We have been trying to explore this matter. We felt this committee would have to be in direct conflict with our committee.

As I understand it, and I have had only a brief opportunity to look at this new legislation, this would not create a new committee but it would create a new office and a council in the executive branch and an office in the legislative branch.

Mr. MONDALE. That is correct.

Mr. PROXMIRE. It seems that the office is modeled after the Comptroller General's Office, but it is a little confusing to me in trying to determine under what committee or committees this office would operate.

Mr. MONDALE. I thank the Senator from Wisconsin. I was aware of the concerns of the Senator. In reporting this legislation the committee finally decided it would be preferable not to call for the establishment of a Joint Social Committee as my bill originally proposed. Instead of that, on page 11 of the bill, subparagraph (c) provides that the social report, which is an annual report of the President,

> shall, when transmitted to Congress, be referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare of the Senate and the Committees on Education and Labor and Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House of Representatives. Nothing in this subsection shall be construed to prohibit the consideration of the report by any other committee of the Senate or the House of Representatives with respect to any matter within the jurisdiction of any such committee.

In other words, we tried very hard to avoid a situation in which we were trying to designate jurisdiction over any subject matters that might come forward out of this Council of Social Advisers.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I notice later on in the bill, on page 21, lines 6 through 9, there is reference to the Joint Economic Committee.

Mr. MONDALE. That is correct. I was talking about title I up to this point. Title II, which is the proposal of the Senator from New York (Mr. JAVITS), does refer to the Joint Economic Committee responsibility for holding hearings on national goals and priorities.

I might refer the Senator's question in that regard to the Senator from New York.

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

Mr. PROXMIRE. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. I am the ranking minority member of the Joint Economic Committee and, of course, my intention was that we should have that jurisdiction. I have discussed this matter with the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Yes.

Mr. JAVITS. I thought that the best way would be to spell it out specifically, which we have done.

Another matter is important. I was rather anxious that we should not be faced with diverse consideration of the economic report and the social report. It will be noticed that under the bill the social reports are made available contemporaneously with the economic report.

My disposition was to have the entire matter go to the Joint Economic Committee. The Senator from Minnesota (Mr. MONDALE), whose proposal is in title I, felt it should go in this case to the legislative committee which will actually act, in view of the fact it is a separate piece of legislation and deals with a separate subject from that which is dealt with in the Employment Act of 1946 where the Joint Economic Committee has primary jurisdiction.

We agreed that although the report should be referred to the standing legislative committees with jurisdiction to report implementing legislation—to the general caveat that the report could also go to any other committee which would enable the Joint Economic Committee to complement its work on the economic report with whatever it chose to take from the social report which would be available at the same time.

Accordingly the two aspects of that are: First, the element of time which makes it possible for the Joint Economic

Committee to use that material in its own report, which is statutorily required under the Employment Act of 1946; and, second, the general privilege accorded by the law to make a reference as well to that committee.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I think certainly it is appropriate that when the Joint Economic Committee holds its hearings on the economic report it will have the witnesses testify on both reports. That would be helpful.

Mr. JAVITS. I think they should.

Mr. PROXMIRE. This legislation is of the most historic importance. For the first time that legislation has been considered by the Senate, the way of getting at the difficult job of priorities is spelled out. It is done in a sensible way. It is tied into the economic report. The principal determination of priorities has been through the budget and the consideration of the budget and the impact the budget has on the economy, and so forth. So I think this bill constitutes a most useful contribution.

I think it may be a workable combination of the diverse and contradictory responsibilities which a joint economic committee might have and a joint social goals committee might have. We have these tremendous social needs. Nowhere are they put together. We should have hearings. We should have some organized ways to get at the social conscience of the Congress and of the country, and to translate social goals into a coherent program.

I did not read the revised bill until a few minutes ago, but it seems a very good way of achieving that objective.

I congratulate both authors, the Senator from New York and the Senator from Minnesota, for what appears to be a constructive piece of work.

Mr. JAVITS. One of my concerns was the proliferation of units. The administration is not very happy with the Council of Social Advisers for that reason. Of course, it did not really have anything especially to say about the Office of Goals and Priorities Research since it is an office for Congress itself, but the administration was not happy with the idea of another Council of Social Advisers.

We have tried to deal with that subject by not setting it up in the same way as we did the economic report, requiring a special report of a congressional committee on it, and by making the time element such that the President could, if he chose, include it with the economic report so they would not be different.

I went along with the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. MONDALE), finally, after consulting with people in the executive department, who disagree even now, because I believe when one reads, as I have for so many years, having served with the Senator from Wisconsin on the Joint Economic Committee, the efforts of the Council of Economic Advisers to assess social needs—they try but it is always so limited and so obviously a fifth wheel to the things they are really interested in—it only highlights the essentiality, especially in this day and age, of a specialized appraisal of those priorities.

Second, I was motivated by the fact that I had thought the initiative during the Eisenhower administration, which was very close to the heart of President Eisenhower himself—in having a special commission to deal with national priorities—was a very gifted initiative. Of course, those were heavily in the social field. I actually tried for a long time to bring about a national commission which would deal with priorities both in the social and economic fields.

Failing that, I think this is, for practical purposes, the same approach, and therefore I supported the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. MONDALE) in it, though, naturally, being the ranking minority member, it is my duty to do everything I could to go with the President of my own party. I was reluctant to, but finally came to the conclusion that it was the only way to handle the matter.

I think the office which has been established, which gives the Congress a counterpart of the new Presidential office, headed by former Secretary of Labor Shultz, achieves a very desirable balance in the bill.

I might say to my colleagues, especially on this side of the aisle, that again I sought to avoid a proliferation of agencies and inquiry was made to the Comptroller General as to whether it would be advisable for the Comptroller General to extend his office to deal with the same problem.

I have a letter from the Comptroller General, which is dated February 17, 1970, and is incorporated in the hearing record at page 259. Although it might be unnecessary to place it in the RECORD since it appears in the record of hearings, I think perhaps it had better be placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to complete the record, I ask unanimous consent to make the Comptroller General's letter a part of these proceedings.

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

COMPTROLLER GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D.C., February 17, 1970.

Hon. RALPH YARBOROUGH,
Chairman, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, U.S. Senate.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This is in response to your request received February 9, 1970, for our comments on Amendment No. 428 to S. 5. This amendment would establish within the Congress an Office of Goals and Priorities whose functions would be to provide more detailed budget data and economic analysis to enable the Congress to make informed priority decisions among alternative programs and courses of action. These functions are more specifically spelled out in section 203 of the amendment.

While we believe that there is a need for the Congress to have the kind of information and assistance which is contemplated in Amendment No. 428, the question of whether the establishment of the proposed Office is the best organizational vehicle for obtaining such information and assistance is a matter of policy for determination by the Congress.

While the main thrust of the proposals in Amendment No. 428 relate to the assessment of national goals and priorities and the development of recommendations concerning spending priorities, a function for which the General Accounting Office does not have primary responsibility and one which it should not seek, the Office does have the capability for rendering assistance and making analyses of ongoing programs. We have created within the Office staff capability to make systems analyses and have, from time to time, during the past several years made such analyses at the request of congressional committees and in consequence of legislation.

We have also used these staff resources in connection with work undertaken on our own initiative related to the costs and effectiveness of ongoing programs. While the resources of this staff are now rather meager, we plan to enlarge its capability as the demands warrant.

In view of the fact that the problem of information needs of the Congress have been under study for some time by other committees of both Houses in the Congress, we suggest that this matter be given consideration in the light of all of the studies and proposals that have been made and are pending. For example, S. 844, "The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1969" includes provisions relating to the gathering of information and the making of analyses to assist the Congress in its deliberations. A similar bill is being developed in the House of Representatives.

Other proposals relating to specific features, such as development of automatic data processing accumulation of information are being developed or are under study. It would seem highly desirable that all of these activities be given consideration in the light of the overall requirements of the Congress for information, analyses, and assistance.

Sincerely yours,

ELMER B. STAATS,
Comptroller General of the United States.

Mr. JAVITS. I would just like to say to the Senator that it is very clear to me that the Comptroller General—while he could contribute to and help this new office—was not equipped to do the job that needs to be done, nor did he indicate any great interest in taking it over. For those reasons we proposed the separate office.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I am concerned with one section of the bill, the declaration of purpose which appears on page 15, and then later the functions, which appear on pages 18 and 19.

On page 15 of the bill, under "National goals and priorities, declaration of purpose," it is stated:

> The Congress finds and declares that there is a need for a more explicit and rational formulation of national goals and priorities, and that the Congress needs more detailed and current budget data and economic analysis in order to make informed priority decisions among alternative programs and courses of action.

Of course, this is exactly what our committee, and my particular subcommittee, have been concerned with in holding hearings on priorities over the last 2 years. This is a matter of expertise and economic competence in being able to evaluate the programs in the economic field. It is true there is a social element which is missing and which does not get enough emphasis in the economic report.

Then, under the "Functions" on page 18, line 1 and on to page 19, line 10, there is a staff operation here that could simply parallel and duplicate the staff activities of the Joint Economic Committee unless it is carefully coordinated. We tried to get the funds for the Joint Economic Committee so we could make

economic analyses of various programs which would be helpful. We started this year. We received $30,000, which is a small beginning. We are going to have to have $250,000 a year for the staff that can do systems analysis, economic analysis, but I think the job must be done by the Congress of the United States. We should have a clear understanding of the social goals and a staff set up to do it in the same sense that an economic staff would have the responsibility to do its work. But the social goals analysis would not be a substitute for the professional economic evaluation and analysis we seek.

Mr. JAVITS. We are doing precisely in this bill what the Senator from Wisconsin wants done. We are giving him his $250,000 staff. That is just what the Senator wants, and that is what the result will be.

The Senator, in referring to these functions and in referring to the purpose, is dealing now not with the Council of Social Advisers.

That office is a congressional office, and it is a service staff agency for the Joint Economic Committee and the Congress. It is precisely what the Senator from Wisconsin has requested. It does not make the decision; it furnishes the expertise for the committee, and the committee is tied directly into its work, because its report goes to the Joint Economic Committee.

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

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. DOMINICK. I thought the report went directly to HEW from the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

Mr. JAVITS. No; the report of the Council of Social Advisers goes to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare; the report of the Office of National Goals and Priorities goes to the National Economic Committee, precisely what the Senator from Wisconsin has referred to. We therefore will be giving ourselves expertise which is both staff and line. The staff is the Office of National Goals and Priorities, and the line is the Joint Economic Committee; accordingly, exactly what the Senator has sought, if this becomes law, will go into effect.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I thank the Senator, and again I congratulate both the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. MONDALE) and the Senator from New York (Mr. JAVITS) on what may become a useful accomplishment.

(Mr. PROXMIRE assumed the Chair as Presiding Officer at this point.)

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, since we have ordered the yeas and nays on this bill, I think some of the points on the other side ought to be pointed out. I think the Senator from Wisconsin ought to listen to this, so I am glad to see that the Senator is present and has taken the chair as Presiding Officer.

What we are doing here is setting up in the Office of the President, by law, a council which the administration says it does not want; and furthermore, we are authorizing $900,000 a year for a council of three. This means, obviously, that this council of three is going to have a big staff, because even under our current spending programs, assuming the Appropriations Committee should ever appropriate that much—and I hope they would not—that is not going to be spent just by the three advisers. They are going to have an enormous staff, and they are going to be doing exactly what every committee in Congress is supposed to be doing, only they are going to oversee it for the White House, as far as I can see. They are going to oversee the activities of every State and local government—and are directed to do so in title I of the bill—to review State, local, and private efforts designed to create the very conditions specified in section 101.

Section 101, on pages 9 and 10, covers almost every single thing that the government is involved with. So it is just a kind of general overseer group designed to establish for the White House and for Congress, presumably, the "social order," as they see it as a group of three, at $900,000 a year.

The next thing that I think is interesting is that, in conjunction with the Council at that price per year, we are also creating an office in Congress, at an unspecified cost. This has to be taken out of legislative funds if appropriations are asked, because this, I gather, is a legislative agency. Is that correct, may I ask the Senator from New York?

Mr. JAVITS. Yes, I intentionally did it that way, because I did not wish to see any bureaucracy established which was not exactly responsive to the cost-benefit ratio that the Appropriations Committee and Congress would see in it. So all we are committed to by this bill is set up an office, and what we will spend for it will depend on the kind of presentation which can be made.

Mr. DOMINICK. I thank the Senator from New York.

Mr. President, the Council, proceeding on that first, will in fact be asked to do what every major department of Government has been asked to do for a long period of time, in preparing the state of the Union message or in preparing a budget message. They are to assist and advise on the following matters: "to promote and encourage such conditions as will give every American the opportunity to live in decency and dignity."

That obviously means a whole group of social welfare programs, all of which are intertwined, and many of which are now under the jurisdiction of various departments of the Government. Then: "to provide a clear and precise picture of whether such conditions are promoted and encouraged in such areas as health, education and training, rehabilitation, housing, vocational opportunities, the arts and humanities, and special assistance for the mentally ill and retarded, the deprived, the abandoned, and the criminal, and by measuring progress in meeting such needs."

We would therefore be setting up an overview council to take in the jurisdiction of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Department of Transportation, the Department of Labor, and even the Justice Department, since it would also include criminal problems and the like.

So almost every department I can think of—and I would presume even the Defense Department, because it gets into the educational field—would be under the supervision, or at least under the review control, of this special council which we would be setting up, not only without the request of the White House, but against their will.

This is not a limited bill. It sets the council up on a permanent basis, at $900,000 a year; and if we have to go to this extent, to set up a group of overseers of every part of the Government, we are going to have to go much higher than that in order to make it really effective.

The next thing is the coordination. The President is required, under title I, to provide a report to the committees of Congress—specifically, the Labor and Public Welfare Committee on our side, and the corresponding committees on the House side—by February 15, on all these problems. The Council's report does not specifically go to the joint committee, but it can. It primarily goes to us first, and we do not try to take jurisdiction from any other committee, as I gather, but we get it first.

At the same time, we shall have created this Office in Congress, and the Office in Congress also delves into the same subjects, and is to give us a report on whether it thinks that the executive department has been doing a good job, and whether in fact the legislators have been doing a good job, and to give us that by March 1.

The question is, How is that coordination going to work? Is the Office, within the jurisdiction of Congress going to work together with the Council, within the jurisdiction of the White House? Obviously, they would have some commingling of authority and cooperation between them. But the beauty of the thing is that the purpose of the Office, as set up under congressional authority, is to have them responsible to Congress and not to the White House; but here we are asking for two separate reports, from two groups, that I would think obviously are going to be corresponding. To the extent that they will be disagreeing, they have 2 weeks to analyze the Presidential report and get together a report and submit it to Congress.

I simply say I do not see how that is going to work. That is what I would call a problem in the interrelationship between the White House and Congress, which I think will be further complicated by this particular bill.

Frankly, we do not know how much we are dealing with here. And we do not know what jurisdiction we are taking away. Our committee, the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, has a very expanded jurisdiction. The committee of which the Senator from Wisconsin is now the chairman has a very extensive jurisdiction.

I would say to the Senate that almost without exception, the problems that are outlined here have been or should be looked into by one of those committees, or by our Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, on which the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. MONDALE) and I both serve, and which has done quite

a job in bringing these problems of nutritional needs and hunger to the attention of the American people, and should be dealt with through legislation.

So my question here—maybe it is not particularly appropriate at this time of night, and I am not going to go much farther—is why we do need this bill now? Why can we not work it out through our own committees? Why should we impose on the White House another council which they do not want, and additional expenses for which are not budgeted? Why should we continue going these routes time after time, when what we are trying to do is achieve a coordinated and hopefully better expertise in carrying out existing programs? That is the thing it seems to me that we need.

I have said to the Senator from Minnesota, if I may just finish this one thought, over and over again, that one of the problems with all of the legislation we have been putting in is that the taxpayers' money goes to the staffing of programs rather than to the people who need it. Here is another $900,000 that is going to go into the White House for staffing of personnel there rather than to the people in this country, who are needy, poor, sick and so on. This is another objection I have to the bill.

Mr. MONDALE. If the Senator will yield, I will comment only briefly. First, a number of improtant units in the Executive Office have been established by the Congress over the objections of the President. I think the record will show that this applies not only to the National Security Council, but also, to the Council of Economic Advisers. The President also opposed the establishment of a Council on Environmental Quality but, Congress had passed the bill, he signed it with pleasure, announcing that it was the first step in a new war on environmental problems.

The Senator is correct in stating that the sphere of interest of the Council of Social Advisers is very broad. But it will not duplicate the work of the CEA or of the new Office of Management and Budget, or of the new Domestic Council. Just as does the CEA, the new Council will provide analyses which will be helpful to the President and the Domestic Council in making decisions. The LSA will not be a decisionmaking body but one which will collect and review social data to put it into meaningful form. Further, it will identify gaps in our social data system and assure that these gaps will be filled.

Finally, and most significantly, the Council of Social Advisers will initiate a new public process of analysis and discussion of social problems. The Domestic Council and OMB are "in-house" staff offices producing analyses for the President which he badly needs. But they are not principally concerned with educating the public or informing the Congress. Such a new council, composed of distinguished social scientists, will insist on a public report which is candid and enlightening to the Congress. It will, as did the CEA before it, stimulate new and imaginative thinking about current problems and their measurement. Academicians and Congressmen, alike, will be drawn into the debate and we will all be the better and wiser as a result. Surely, no one would now contend that the CEA and the Employment Act of 1946 have not contributed greatly to the sophistication and value of economic analysis in America.

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

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. GRIFFIN. I commend the Senator from Colorado for a very excellent statement and analysis of this bill. He has asked a number of questions about it. Another question might be, How in the world could a bill like this be entitled "the Full Opportunity Act" and also described as "A bill to promote the general welfare"?

I would not wish to use the word "ridiculous" because I know the motives and intentions of those who sponsor this legislation are the highest. But certainly such a title does not give one much of an idea of the real import of this legislation. I agree with the Senator from Colorado that this bill duplicates functions already performed by the Council of Economic Advisers and the newly established Domestic Council in the executive branch of Government.

This bill could create a new bureaucracy in the executive branch which the President does not want, and which would cost the taxpayers another $900,000 per year at a minimum, and probably much more.

I hope the arguments presented by the distinguished Senator from Colorado will be considered carefully by this body and that this bill will be voted down.

Mr. DOMINICK. I sincerely thank the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. GRIFFIN. I have a copy of a letter which the distinguished Senator from Delaware received, and I should like to read into the RECORD several paragraphs which relate to this bill:

> The Administration has opposed this bill because it would create another separate unit in the Executive Office that would largely duplicate ongoing activities, and would confuse further the identification of responsibilities within the Executive Office. For example, in spite of the provisions of the bill, it would be difficult to make a meaningful distinction in many areas between the social health concerns of the proposed Council of Social Advisers and the economic health concerns of the Council of Economic Advisers.
>
> The proposed Council would overlap many of the intended functions of the Domestic Council in the areas of priority development and resource allocation. Also, it would be concerned with areas intended to be the responsibility of the Office of Management and Budget—gathering of information and statistical data, the development of "social indicators," and the evaluation of programs.

I have read into the RECORD part of a letter from Mr. Weinberger of the new Office of Management and Budget, dated August 30, 1970, addressed to the Senator from Delaware (Mr. WILLIAMS).

Mr. DOMINICK. I thank the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I congratulate the Senator from Colorado for his analysis of this bill, and I agree with the remarks of the Senator from Michigan.

It is difficult to reconcile the bill itself with the title, which is "to promote the public welfare," but the report has "The Full Opportunity Act." The thought occurred to me that perhaps they got some titles from the fact that it would give an opportunity to the commissioners to promote their own welfare by giving them a job. Apparently, they are out of work now, because this is another unnecessary job, and theirs would be about the only welfare promoted by the passage of this bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute.

The committee amendment in the nature of a substitute was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading and was read the third time.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

The bill having been read the third time, the question is, Shall it pass? The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Indiana (Mr. BAYH), the Senator from Nevada (Mr. BIBLE), the Senator from North Dakota (Mr. BURDICK), the Senator from Virginia (Mr. BYRD), the Senator from Nevada (Mr. CANNON), the Senator from California (Mr. CRANSTON), the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. DODD), the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. EASTLAND), the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. FULBRIGHT), the Senator from Michigan (Mr. HART), the Senator from Indiana (Mr. HARTKE), the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. HOLLINGS), the Senator from Iowa (Mr. HUGHES), the Senator from Washington (Mr. JACKSON), the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY), the Senator from Washington (Mr. MAGNUSON), the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. MCCARTHY), the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. MCCLELLAN), the Senator from Montana (Mr. METCALF), the Senator from New Mexico (Mr. MONTOYA), the Senator from Maine (Mr. MUSKIE), the Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. PASTORE), the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. RIBICOFF), the Senator from Georgia (Mr. RUSSELL), the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. STENNIS), the Senator from Maryland (Mr. TYDINGS), the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. WILLIAMS), and the Senator from Texas (Mr. YARBOROUGH) are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from California (Mr. CRANSTON), the Senator from Michigan (Mr. HART), the Senator from Iowa (Mr. HUGHES), the Senator from Washington (Mr. JACKSON), the Senator from Washington (Mr. MAGNUSON), the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. RIBICOFF), the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. WILLIAMS), and the Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. PASTORE) would each vote "yea."

Mr. GRIFFIN. I announce that the Senators from Vermont (Mr. AIKEN and Mr. PROUTY), the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. BAKER), the Senator from Utah (Mr. BENNETT), the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. CASE), the Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. COTTON), the Senators from Arizona (Mr. FANNIN and Mr. GOLDWATER), the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. HANSEN), the Senator from Nebraska (Mr. HRUSKA), the Senator from California (Mr. MURPHY), and the Senators from Illinois (Mr. PERCY and Mr. SMITH) are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Nebraska (Mr. CURTIS) is absent because of death in his family.

The Senator from South Dakota (Mr. MUNDT) is absent because of illness.

The Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. BELLMON), and the Senator from Maryland (Mr. MATHIAS) are absent on official business.

If present and voting, the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. CASE) and the Senator from Illinois (Mr. PERCY) would each vote "yea."

(On this vote, the Senator from Illinois (Mr. SMITH) is paired with the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. MUNDT). If present and voting, the Senator from Illinois would vote "yea" and the Senator from South Dakota would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 31, nays 24, as follows:

[No. 288 Leg.]

YEAS—31

Anderson	Inouye	Pell
Byrd, W. Va.	Javits	Proxmire
Church	Mansfield	Randolph
Cooper	McGee	Schweiker
Eagleton	McGovern	Scott
Fong	McIntyre	Spong
Goodell	Mondale	Stevens
Gore	Moss	Symington
Gravel	Nelson	Young, Ohio
Harris	Packwood	
Hatfield	Pearson	

NAYS—24

Allen	Ervin	Saxbe
Allott	Griffin	Smith, Maine
Boggs	Gurney	Sparkman
Brooke	Holland	Talmadge
Cook	Jordan, N.C.	Thurmond
Dole	Jordan, Idaho	Tower
Dominick	Long	Williams, Del.
Ellender	Miller	Young, N. Dak.

NOT VOTING—45

Aiken	Fannin	Metcalf
Baker	Fulbright	Montoya
Bayh	Goldwater	Mundt
Bellmon	Hansen	Murphy
Bennett	Hart	Muskie
Bible	Hartke	Pastore
Burdick	Hollings	Percy
Byrd, Va.	Hruska	Prouty
Cannon	Hughes	Ribicoff
Case	Jackson	Russell
Cotton	Kennedy	Smith, Ill.
Cranston	Magnuson	Stennis
Curtis	Mathias	Tydings
Dodd	McCarthy	Williams, N.J.
Eastland	McClellan	Yarborough

So the bill (S. 5) was passed.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

AMENDMENT OF TITLE 39, U.S. CODE, TO REGULATE THE MAILING OF UNSOLICITED CREDIT CARDS—HELD AT THE DESK

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that H.R. 16542, to amend title 39, United States Code, to regulate the mailing of unsolicited credit cards, and for other purposes, be held at the desk. This request has been cleared on both sides.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE ACT AMENDMENTS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, for the purpose of laying before the Senate the business which will be considered in the late afternoon tomorrow, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 1079, S. 3418.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows: A bill (S. 3418) to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for the making of grants to medical schools and hospitals to assist them in establishing special departments and programs in the field of family practice, and otherwise to encourage and promote the training of medical and paramedical personnel in the field of family medicine.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from West Virginia?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill which had been reported from the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare with amendments.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, for the information of the Senate, there will be no more rollcalls today.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, on the pending bill, which will be considered tomorrow, there will be a rollcall vote on an amendment which will be printed and on every Senator's desk.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. The Senator is correct.

STATUS OF UNFINISHED BUSINESS, SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 1, WHEN TEMPORARILY LAID ASIDE TOMORROW

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that on tomorrow, no later than 5 p.m., the unfinished business, which is Senate Joint Resolution 1, be laid aside temporarily and that it remain in that status until the close of the morning business on Monday morning next and that at the time it is laid aside temporarily on tomorrow afternoon, the Senate then proceed to the consideration of the business which I have just had laid before the Senate with that purpose in mind.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, and I will not object, I ask the acting majority leader if it would not make better sense to conduct the business of the Senate and do our voting in the daytime and then, if we have a filibuster, do the filibustering in the nighttime?

This matter of having filibusters from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m., with a gentlemen's agreement that there will be no business but a lot of talk and that we will all go fishing tomorrow and then come back tomorrow night, seems to me to be a funny way to run a railroad. I wonder if we could not get back to the business of the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from West Virginia? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may be excused from attendance in the Senate tomorrow afternoon in order that I may participate in personal and political business.

If I were present tomorrow afternoon, I would vote "yea" on the first bill to be considered, the Public Health Service Act Amendments (S. 3418), and "nay" on the second one, an act for relief of Lt. Col. Robert L. Poehlein (H.R. 13810). I hope that the Senate will give me permission to leave.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. So, I am officially excused.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

ORDER FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 13810 TOMORROW

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that on tomorrow afternoon, following the disposition of the bill, S. 3418, the Public Health Service Act Amendments, the Senate then proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 1123, H.R. 13810, an act for the relief of Lt. Col. Robert L. Poehlein.

I make this request so that Senators will be on notice with respect to the business that will be considered tomorrow afternoon after we have finished our session anent the unfinished business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

REQUEST THAT IT BE IN ORDER TO ORDER THE YEAS AND NAYS ON S. 3418 AND H.R. 13810

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, one of these bills is not yet before the Senate, but I ask unanimous consent that it be in order to order the yeas and nays on both S. 3418 and H.R. 13810 at this time.

I do this so that Senators will be on notice that there will be rollcalls on both of these bills tomorrow afternoon.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President reserving the right to object, there will be a rollcall vote on my amendment tomorrow. Would this bar that under any procedure?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. No, it would not.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I must say that I feel that this is not good procedure. I must be compelled to object to the present consideration of rollcalls on those bills. I think it is bad procedure. So I will object, although I join in the request for the rollcall.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina). Objection is heard.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I want to make sure I have not been misunderstood. I am not asking unanimous consent for a rollcall. I am merely asking unanimous consent that it may be in order now to ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. ALLOTT. It amounts to the same thing.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Except the first would be unconstitutional.

Mr. ALLOTT. It amounts to the same thing.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

ORDER FOR YEAS AND NAYS ON S. 3418

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield to me, I ask for the yeas and nays on the pending bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second? There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, Senators are on notice that when S. 3418 is disposed of tomorrow we have unanimous consent to proceed to the consideration of the relief bill; and it is the intention of the Senate to have a rollcall vote on that bill tomorrow afternoon.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, why not proceed with this bill tonight, or is it the order of business that we quit now?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. The reason for not proceeding with this bill at this point is that the able Senator from Texas (Mr. YARBOROUGH), chairman of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, could not be present to handle the bill.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. As one who opposes the bill I would be glad to present his argument. [Laughter.]

HOSTAGES OF HIJACKED AIRPLANES

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, in this deplorable and really ghastly situation of hijackings, there is a matter that I wish to bring to the attention of the Senate.

Many Americans have been deeply concerned over reports that the administration refuses to rule out a possible agreement with the Arab hijackers which would agree to the release of Americans of other faiths while Americans of the Jewish faith continued to be held hostage. In this connection, Mr. Zeigler, the White House press spokesman, has personally confirmed to me that U.S. policy does not and will not countenance a distinction between American citizens on the basis of religion in this or any other matter. In view of the apparent misunderstanding which has arisen on this question, I urge the White House to make it clear officially so that this insidious notion may be laid to rest once and for all.

ORDER FOR THE RECOGNITION OF SENATOR NELSON TOMORROW

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that tomorrow, immediately following the remarks to be made by the able Senator from Ohio (Mr. YOUNG), the able Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. NELSON) be recognized for not to exceed 20 minutes.

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

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT FROM FRIDAY TO 10 A.M. MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1970

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, when the Senate completes its business tomorrow, it stand in adjournment until 10 o'clock on Monday morning next.

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

ORDER FOR RECOGNITION OF SENATOR PROXMIRE ON MONDAY NEXT

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that on Monday next, following the disposition of unobjected-to items on the calendar, if there be any, the able Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. PROXMIRE) be recognized for not to exceed 20 minutes.

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

ORDER FOR PERIOD FOR TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS TOMORROW AND FOR UNFINISHED BUSINESS TO BE LAID BEFORE THE SENATE

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that tomorrow at the conclusion of the special orders for the recognition of Senators, there be a period for the transaction of routine morning business with statements therein limited to 3 minutes, and that at the conclusion of that period the unfinished business, Senate Joint Resolution 1, be laid before the Senate.

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

S. 4335—INTRODUCTION OF THE AIR PIRACY QUARANTINE ACT

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. President, I am today introducing a bill, entitled the "Air Piracy Quarantine Act." The bill is designed to deal with the very excruciating problem we face in air hijackings that have occurred during the last 3 years, and, particularly, in the last few days.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina). The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 4335) to deter aircraft piracy by invoking a commercial air traffic quarantine against countries abetting aircraft piracy, introduced by Mr. GOODELL (for himself and Mr. JAVITS), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. President, the tragic epidemic of air piracies must cease.

Despite repeated past hijackings, the international community has stood idly by and done almost nothing. The multiple piracies of this weekend must, at last, galvanize us to action.

I believe we must turn to the ultimate sanction of the boycott or quarantine. Nations which intentionally harbor hijackers should be banned from international air commerce. Only that drastic step will induce them to take action to apprehend the criminals and return the aircraft, passengers and crew.

Until now, the only discussion of boycotts has been in the context of an international conference or agreement. However, there still is very little incentive for the parties to agree to this approach. The airlines are unwilling to lose their routes; the nations involved are unwilling to risk their alliances. Thus, despite the many hijackings of the past years, there are still no effective international sanctions.

This logjam would swiftly break were it to become evident that the greatest and wealthiest nation in the world, the United States, were about to impose a unilateral boycott. The drastic impact of such a boycott on international commerce—the disruption of routes, the risks of retaliation, in fact, all the negative effects—would create precisely that incentive for effective international sanctions which now is so sadly lacking. Faced with the chilling implications of unilateral action, the airlines and nations involved should swiftly agree upon an effective international method of discouraging and preventing hijacking.

To accomplish this end, I announced yesterday that I would introduce a bill in the Senate that invokes the unilateral boycott.

Today, I am introducing this bill. I am pleased that my distinguished senior colleague from New York (Mr. JAVITS) has joined me as a cosponsor of my bill.

JOHN SPARKMAN, ALA., CHAIRMAN
WILLIAM PROXMIRE, WIS.
HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR., N.J.
EDMUND S. MUSKIE, MAINE
THOMAS J. MC INTYRE, N.H.
WALTER F. MONDALE, MINN.
ERNEST F. HOLLINGS, S.C.
HAROLD E. HUGHES, IOWA
ALAN CRANSTON, CALIF.
WALLACE F. BENNETT, UTAH
JOHN G. TOWER, TEX.
EDWARD W. BROOKE, MASS.
CHARLES H. PERCY, ILL.
CHARLES E. GOODELL, N.Y.
ROBERT W. PACKWOOD, OREG.

DUDLEY L. O'NEAL, JR.
STAFF DIRECTOR AND GENERAL COUNSEL

United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

May 25, 1970

Mrs. Ralph Ebbott
League of Women Voters
555 Wabasha
St. Paul, Minnesota 55101

Dear Mrs. Ebbott:

Thank you for your very kind letter of the 14th.

I was so distressed to have to miss my meeting with you and the Minnesota delegation when you were in town. Although I did meet with some of the women who came by the next day, I was very disappointed to miss meeting with the entire group.

As you heard, they called up my amendment on the floor of the Senate which would have cut the NASA authorization for the space shuttle program. Unfortunately, it failed. Once it came up, however, I had to be there.

It sounds as if you had a very productive convention and I think you have picked key issues to focus on for the next two years. I look forward to working with you on them in any way I can.

I do hope we can have a chance to meet together and go over these matters, and in the meantime I will count on you to let me know whenever I can assist.

Please convey my sincere apologies to the other women who were here. I hope they will give me a chance to make up for it.

With warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Walter F. Mondale

As you know I strongly support DC Home Rule and D.C. Cong. Representation and Presidential Direct Election

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 555 Wabasha Street, St. Paul, Minnesota 55101

REPORT OF CONGRESSIONAL INTERVIEW - March, 1969

Senator Walter F. Mondale - DFL

Committees:

Banking and Currency: Chairman, Production and Economic Stabilization Subcommittee
Financial Institutions and International Finance Subcommittee

Labor and Public Welfare:
Chairman, Migratory Labor Subcommittee
Employment, Manpower, Poverty Subcommittee
Indian Education Subcommittee

Special Panel on Aging: Chairman, Subcommittee on retirement and the individual

Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs

Steering Committee, Members of Congress for Peace through Law

Electoral College: The present system of giving the total state vote to the candidate winning that state does give a weighted voice to urban minorities in the large population states. Candidates recognize this by doing most of their campaigning in these states, not the low population states. It also gives minority groups a more important voice in candidate selection and platform at party conventions. In spite of this, electoral reform should be in terms of the philosophical ideal rather than a current, perhaps temporary, benefit to one group. Senator Mondale favors the direct popular election of President-Vice President. He strongly objects to the plan which would give one vote per Congressional district winner plus two for the state winner. This would mean a much more conservative outcome in presidential elections. (Nixon would have defeated Kennedy in 1960 under that system.)

Human Resources: Senator Mondale is concerned about the failure to withhold defense contracts from the southern textile mills that are in violation of the Labor Department's Office of Federal Contract Compliance (OFCC) regulations. These were issued by President Johnson in 1965. Mr. Mondale feels that the country needs to be made aware of the unequal racial treatment that exists at these plants. He may push for subcommittee hearings on this in the Labor Committee. Giving OFCC regulations the status of law could be the next major effort in the civil rights field. He is also concerned that funds not be released to school districts unless they comply with desegregation guidelines.

The future of OEO programs is uncertain. It will make a real difference where the Job Corps and Head Strat programs go within the Labor and HEW Departments. Until their future is decided, it is hard to predict what the transfer will mean. Senator Mondale doesn't see any effort being made to reverse the legislation that gave local governments the right to take control of Community Action Programs. Very few have actually been taken over, perhaps five or so. Most local governments are reluctant to get involved.

Indians: The hearings on Indian education are showing the terrible disgrace of government efforts in this area. In Minnesota there are school districts with high reservation Indian enrollment, supported by up to 60% federal funds for Indian education with no Indians on the school board, no Indian say in how the schools are run. These schools have high drop out rates and are not doing a good job educating Indian students.

Senator Mondale is aiding Red Lake Reservation in making arrangements for a furniture factory. The way is now cleared for this business to be established.

Foreign Policy:
China: There may be a chance for better U.S.—China relations. It is being noted that Chinese officials are being more friendly in countries where they have diplomatic relations. The United States did not cause the defection which was used as the excuse to call off the scheduled Warsaw talks. It is not known why China did cancel them. Senator Mondale feels the United States should make every effort to not appear threatening toward China. We should allow trade, allow travel, etc. if China wants it.

Trade: The pressure for trade quota legislation is real rough. The United States does have legitimate complaints in some areas, especially agriculture where European countries are dumping some products at well below cost. Senator Mondale was instrumental last session in defeating a dairy quota bill. He voted against it, and since it ended in a tie vote, the bill failed to pass. Following this, the administration imposed some dairy quotas. The industry is in trouble again. Senator Mondale is the only senator in the dairy states who is not an author on a new dairy quota bill for the 91st session. He views this kind of legislation as a real disaster for the country and has great fear of it getting started. There are strong political pressures in Minnesota for quotas from the dairy and steel industries.

East-West Trade: Since the Export Control Act which restricts trade with Communist countries expires this June, there will be new legislation. The Senator feels that limits on this trade should apply to war goods only. This is the version that will pass from the subcommittee on Financial Institutions and International Finance, of which he is a member. Communist diplomats in Washington are expressing interest in greater trade.

Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty: This will pass. It is to be hoped that the world can now get working toward peace by beginning the arms reduction treaty talks soon.

Water: While the new Secretary of the Interior has the power to cancol the conference called to establish federal standards of pollution for Lake Superior, Senator Mondale doesn't think he will do that. The conference, to be held this spring, will collect evidence on pollution and take testimony from all governmental levels concerned with Lake Superior. Federal standards will be the ultimate result.

The Senator feels that there is real citizen interest in stopping pollution. A poll that asked about pollution vs. jobs showed that 90% would put pollution prevention ahead of jobs. This citizen concern has helped Mr. Mondale get votes in areas where he has spoken against strong industry pressure for greater pollution allowance.

Liz Ebbott

Congressional Quotes - Minnesota's Congressmen Speaking on Issues of League Interest. (Taken from the Congressional Record)

Senator Walter Mondale, speaking against the Stennis Amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and in favor of his amendment setting up a committee to study the question of de facto segregation.)

"de facto segregation ...is an issue on which the country has yet to focus. The courts have not dealt with it. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has not dealt with it under title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 because it is specifically prohibited from doingso. And the Stennis amendment in no way deals with the problem.

"I think in all fairness, we muct admit that neither the Senate nor the House have focused on the problem. For example, how do you determine and define racial imbalance? What percentage do you use? Does the concept include suburban communities as well as core cities? If you decide that a community is racially imbalanced, what remedies flow from that? Should there be a national policy of busing, and what would that mean to the traditional relationship between the Federal Government and the local school districts? Should there be a voluntary system of busing? If so, under what circumstances and what kind of Federal assistance?

"What bothers me about the Stennis amendment is that it does not do one thing about de facto segregation. It decries it; but nothing at all is done. What would follow would be an important tool in the hands of those who are trying to stall the elimination of dual school systems... That is where the mischief is."

May 14, 1970

The Honorable Walter F. Mondale
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Mondale:

The Minnesota delegation to the League of Women Voters national convention was very sorry that we were unable to make contact with you personally during our stay in Washingtnn. We were interested to hear from Mr. Smith, the background on your Select Education Committee and thanks to Judy, our women were able to hear Senator Kennedy. Some of our delegation had gone to the Senate galleries instead and reported on your efforts on behalf of the amendment to the Space Bill. We fully appreciate that this demand on your time has priority.

Our conventinn was a full one. From our deliberations will come the study and action issues for the next two years. We have decided to study environmental problems, alternatives to welfare, and evaluation of Congressional structure, procedures and practices. We will continue to support the several issues we have discussed with you in the past - education, employment, anti-discrimination legislation, funding anti-pollution programs, foreign assistance and trade legislation, electoral college reform, etc.

We are especially concerned to see that there will be some positive results coming from our D.C. Congressional representation drive. You will be interested to know that our members collected 29,906 signatures throughout the state.

Almost universally our members found that the public had no idea that the District did not have a voice in Congress. The public was very willing to urge change when the situation was explained. We hope you will use your influence to urge action in the Senate, preferably as a separate Constitutional Amendment. We also favor direct election of the President, but we feel it best to keep these two issues separate.

We appreciated meeting your staff in Washington. Our members will look forward to renewing discussions with you in Minnesota.

cc: Mrs. Childs
Bailey
Smith
Armin
Dahl
Sullivan
Hermens
LWV of Ogle.
Janak
Ebbott

Sincerely,

Mrs. Ralph Ebbott
National Action Chairman
LWV of Minnesota

January 9, 1970

The Honorable Walter F. Mondale
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator Mondale:

Members of the state Board of the League of Women Voters of Minnesota would appreciate spending 45 minutes to one hour with you, if you plan to be in the Minneapolis-St. Paul Area before Congress reconvenes.

We can set this up on short notice at your convenience at your Minneapolis office or the office of the League at 555 Wabasha Street, Saint Paul.

Our very best wishes for a happy and prosperous 1970.

Cordially,

Mrs. O. J. Janski
President

Also to: Senator Eugene McCarthy

cc: Liz Ebbott

Votes

By Minneapolis Tribune
Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Following are roll-call votes of Upper-Midwest members of Congress for the period Aug. 8 through Wednesday:

SENATE VOTES

APPROVED, 91 to 9, amendment to 1970 military procurement authorizations bill adding a new subsection, the provisions of which would serve as guidelines and controls over chemical and biological agents.



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Version 3
March 18, 2019

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The ASSISTANT LEGISLATIVE CLERK. The Senator from Maine (Mrs. SMITH) proposes an amendment in the nature of a substitute. In lieu of the matter proposed to be added by amendment No. 101, add the following:

SEC. 402. None of the funds authorized by this or any other Act may be used for carrying out, after the date of enactment of this Act, any research, development, testing, evaluation, or procurement of the antiballistic missile system known as the Safeguard system, or to carry out any research, development, testing, evaluation, or procurement of any part or component of such system; *Provided*, That funds contained herein or elsewhere for research, development, test and evaluation of components, and related procurement, of any other advanced antiballistic missile system or other weapons system shall not be affected.

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, I yield myself 2 minutes.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I make the point of order that the Senate is not in order.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senate will be in order. The Senator from Maine may proceed.

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, the observations I made on my original amendment apply to this amendment, for this amendment merely clarifies my original amendment.

eration by man. The system consists of three major component parts: (1) missiles, (2) radars, and (3) computers.

Although we have had a long and therefore disturbing series of failure in missile testing, including another Minuteman failure only last week, there is no reason to conclude that the two Safeguard missiles, the Spartan and the Sprint, will not work. But there is reason to doubt that the long-range radar (PAR) and the short-range radar (MSR), parts of which have not been built let alone tested, will operate successfully together in that almost instantaneous manner which would be necessary in case of sudden attack; and there is even more reason to doubt that the computer, which has been neither built nor tested, and which is admittedly far more complicated than any computer ever yet attempted, will operate properly when called upon to do so.

Finally, it is logical to consider whether, even if these three separate components would operate properly as separate units, would they so operate when combined. For obvious reasons, the testing of any joint operation has not been possible.

The second reason is the vulnerability of the system. Because the resistance strength (PSI) of the MSR radar is less than 10 percent of the strength of the missile site in its present conformation that radar is very vulnerable even to the less lethal, less accurate Soviet SS–11 missile, of which the Soviets have hundreds more than they have SS–9s.

Because the MSR radar is designed to guide both Safeguard missiles to their targets, if it is knocked out the entire Safeguard system would be blinded and therefore worthless.

I think it is particularly significant also to remember that in launching a nuclear attack the enemy has available a multitude of tactics and gimmicks with which to evade a defensive system. Those in our Defense Department are confident we have such an ability to evade or bypass any ABM system which the Soviet Union has deployed. There is a likelihood that the Soviet Union possesses the same capability in this regard as does the United States. I see no merit in taking a system—a system which has not been subject to the extensive research and development procedures normally followed by our Defense Department—and deploying it with the presumption that we will then make it work. In responding to the reliability questions, many proponents of the ABM have utilized the arguments that if we can send a man to the moon we can surely make this system work. In my mind there is a failure in this argument to recognize that the recent moon shot was a result of years and years of preparation involving thousands of scientists and numerous preparatory launchings prior to focusing an entire agency of the Federal Government on a single launching operation. And launching in terms of the ABM we have a vastly different problem. The issue here involves the ability to launch hundreds of missiles against incoming missiles instantaneously as opposed to a single launching operation with a lengthy countdown and preparation period. I do not downgrade our space program. But that effort is not the same as what must be done with an ABM.

Mr. President, there is no doubt in my mind that additional research and development work on an ABM system is absolutely essential. I shall support a research and development program. I oppose the deployment of a system whose components have not been through even the most preliminary testing stages. I firmly believe that the ABM is a step toward escalation of the arms race at the very time that our Nation and the Soviet Union are creating the climate for arms discussions. We can approach such discussions with a strong position. The United States is not at the mercy of Russia and the United States will not be at the mercy of Russia by 1975.

Mrs. SMITH. I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, do I have time remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time has expired.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The 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 VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

All time has expired. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Maine to the amendment of the Senator from Kentucky and the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, a parliamentary question.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Texas will state it.

Mr. TOWER. As I understand, the question is on agreeing to the amendment in the nature of a substitute for the Cooper-Hart amendment. If the substitute fails, the question recurs on the Cooper-Hart amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator is correct. The question is on agreeing to the amendment in the nature of a substitute for the Cooper-Hart amendment. The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 50, nays 50, as follows:

[No. 65 Leg.]

YEAS—50

Aiken	Hart	Muskie
Bayh	Hartke	Nelson
Brooke	Hatfield	Pearson
Burdick	Hughes	Pell
Cannon	Inouye	Percy
Case	Javits	Proxmire
Church	Kennedy	Randolph
Cook	Magnuson	Ribicoff
Cooper	Mansfield	Saxbe
Cranston	Mathias	Schweiker
Eagleton	McCarthy	Smith
Ellender	McGovern	Symington
Fulbright	McIntyre	Tydings
Goodell	Metcalf	Williams, N.J.
Gore	Mondale	Yarborough
Gravel	Montoya	Young, Ohio
Harris	Moss	

NAYS—50

Allen	Dirksen	Holland
Allott	Dodd	Hollings
Anderson	Dole	Hruska
Baker	Dominick	Jackson
Bellmon	Eastland	Jordan, N.C.
Bennett	Ervin	Jordan, Idaho
Bible	Fannin	Long
Boggs	Fong	McClellan
Byrd, Va.	Goldwater	McGee
Byrd, W. Va.	Griffin	Miller
Cotton	Gurney	Mundt
Curtis	Hansen	Murphy
Packwood	Sparkman	Thurmond
Pastore	Spong	Tower
Prouty	Stennis	Williams, Del.
Russell	Stevens	Young, N. Dak.
Scott	Talmadge	

The VICE PRESIDENT. On this vote the yeas are 50, and the nays are 50. The Vice President votes nay. The amendment is rejected.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was rejected.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I move that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair would inform the Senate that the question now recurs on the amendment of the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator will withhold a moment. The Senate will please be in order.

The Senator from Mississippi will state the inquiry.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the Cooper-Hart amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, a further parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Mississippi will state it.

Mr. STENNIS. What is the question now before the Senate?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question now before the Senate is adoption of the amendment offered by the Senator from Michigan, amendment No. 101.

Mr. STENNIS. That is called the Cooper-Hart amendment, is that not correct?

The VICE PRESIDENT. That is correct.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Missouri will state it.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Is all time on the Cooper-Hart amendment also——

The VICE PRESIDENT. All time on the Cooper-Hart amendment has expired.

On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered; and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

The result was announced—yeas 49, nays 51, as follows:

[No. 66 Leg.]

YEAS—49

Aiken	Hart	Muskie
Bayh	Hartke	Nelson
Brooke	Hatfield	Pearson
Burdick	Hughes	Pell
Cannon	Inouye	Percy
Case	Javits	Proxmire
Church	Kennedy	Randolph
Cook	Magnuson	Ribicoff
Cooper	Mansfield	Saxbe
Cranston	Mathias	Schweiker
Eagleton	McCarthy	Symington
Ellender	McGovern	Tydings
Fulbright	McIntyre	Williams, N.J.
Goodell	Metcalf	Yarborough
Gore	Mondale	Young, Ohio
Gravel	Montoya	
Harris	Moss	

NAYS—51

Allen	Baker	Bible
Allott	Bellmon	Boggs
Anderson	Bennett	Byrd, Va.

morrow we may discuss such matters. But today it is nuclear war. Every scare, every ghost, every hostile phrase and activity have been paraded through this Chamber to justify the Safeguard as a protection against the Soviet threat. Any indication of relaxing tensions between the United States and Russia has been downgraded. Frankly, I sense the tone and the temper of some of the arguments simply as scare tactics. The issues cannot be separated—peace yesterday—nuclear war today—peace tomorrow, hopefully. This Senate dialog constitutes a critical element of any future arms control initiatives undertaken with the Soviet Union. After frightening the people of our country with the prospect of a fantastic Soviet superiority over the United States in weaponry, it is inconceivable that we can reverse our field to talk of accommodation.

There are persons who deny that the decision to deploy an ABM potentially stimulates the arms race and induces a reaction from the Russians. These individuals completely disregard a basic theory of conflict. The installation of any measure to protect an offensive capability generates from your opponent—if he is totally committeed to the proposition of superiority over you—the effort to counteract your advancement. To state that the system which you install is "defensive" and therefore not provocative, is illogical. It seems to me that during this debate many proponents of the ABM have used a reference to comments from the Soviet Union that an ABM system is defensive and not meant to be provocative to justify their position. Of course, the Russians issue such statements, because they are utilized as rationale for a Russian ABM. Curiously, this proposition from the Soviet Union is accepted, while other comments are dismissed as being purely Soviet trickery. There is little reasoning here. Because the Soviet Union has installed ABM facilities surrounding Moscow and because we are stating that our system is primarily as a defense of retaliatory forces, the proponents of the ABM theorize that it follows accordingly that Russia will not construe this as a hostile action. Here is the failure to recognize the proposed phased deployment of the ABM in other areas of the United States, purportedly as a defense against China, leaving open the question of later modification as an enlarged defense system. Thus, the Soviets are to leave this unanswered question on the side of our good will, rather than taking the initiative to move forward with nuclear weaponry to counteract the more frightening prospect of an expanded American ABM system. Here is the assumption that the Soviet Union is willing to take the risk—while ours is to be a no risk policy. In my mind, there is no doubt the ABM stimulates the arms race. It is provocative. Be that as it may there are other facets to this very difficult problem which auger against the proposed deployment of the Safeguard system.

Mr. President, I believe it is critical to dispel a false and dangerous impression that has been generated during the months of discussion of the ABM. The United States is not without a massive deterrent force. Our Republic is not defenseless. Time has not run out on the American system. Our Nation has a strong and viable offensive capability. In fact, we have the capacity for overkill. Let there be no mistake about this fact. And our defense posture will continue to be strong.

Mr. President, I comment on a number of vital factors. Earlier, I used the phrase "scare tactics." This is to be avoided. We must present the facts to the American public but I submit that we must not leave the citizens of this country with the notion that our land is defenseless.

A Russian first strike against the United States is not inevitable. Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird has stated that in the event of a Russian attack:

> I am hopeful that we would be able to react immediately to an attack. . . . I do not want to frighten people about this I want the Soviet Union, and I want any potential aggressor to understand that we are going to be in a position where we will respond immediately.

It is my belief that we are in that position to respond. What does the Secretary of Defense refer to when he talks of our ability to respond immediately? America possesses an intricate system of radar and early warning devices which provides a capability to detect a hostile attack. This elaborate system is composed of the distant early warning—DEW—line, the ballistic missile early warning system—BMEWS—the SAGE system and other systems. There is no need now to again discuss the functions of these systems in detail. This has been done. We know that they provide an extensive and flexible early warning system. We continue to pursue research and development programs to refine our existing capability and to develop more sophisticated equipment. Thus, to speak only in term of the number of missiles and warheads disregards a critical element of our deterrent capability.

The early warning device facilities which give credibility to our offensive weapons systems cannot be ignored. And I suspect that we are in a better position and have a better prospect of major advances in this system than in any area of our weapons system.

What is behind this early warning system? What is the immediate response capability to which Secretary Laird has referred? The United States possesses a deadly arsenal of weapons, consisting of approximately 1,054 ICBM's, 41 Polaris submarines with over 600 missiles, over 500 bombers and hundreds of carrier-based fighter bombers with a nuclear weapons capability. This capacity involves nuclear tonnage sufficient to destroy the Soviet Union. The minority statement contained in the report on the procurement had this significant comment:

> We do believe that any primary defense against the threat of nuclear attack lies in our deterrent capacity. In this connection, we believe that with our Polaris fleet, our land-based ICBMs, our strategic bombers, and the thousands of additional nuclear warheads we have at sea and abroad, if we were attacked we could destroy the Soviet Union some fifty times over.

The term is "overkill."

It is particularly significant that our Polaris missiles cannot be targeted by enemy missiles as in the case of our fixed base ICBM's. The Polaris striking force, which has within its arsenal the nuclear force to destroy the Soviet Union, is not restricted to set geographic coordinates. We continue to develop advanced missile systems for the Polaris submarine. And this arsenal is adaptable to expansion to meet increased threats. There is no substantial indication that the capability of the Polaris system is being threatened by Russian countermeasures.

Against this present—I emphasize present—array of weaponry, we have the statements by the Secretary of Defense that the Soviet Union could have approximately 2,500 ICBM's by 1975 and 1,000 submarine-launched missiles for a total of 3,500 missiles. We do not know that the Soviets will have this total. These are intelligence estimates, about which Secretary of Defense Laird said:

> Our national intelligence projections for the mid-1970's involves a large measure of judgment rather than hard evidence.

Yet, the proponents of the ABM persist as if the projected Russian force for 1975 were a reality today. And it is equally fallacious to lump in the Soviet capability the numbers of intermediate-range or medium-range missiles. This may be indicative of the Russian global deployments, but it is not indicative of meaningful levels of weapons in terms of the ABM issue. Yes, the Russians possess the same overkill capacity we have. Thus, in discussing the achievement of nuclear superiority, we do not mean the advantage of a few additional missiles. Rather, one must visualize thousands of missiles, which, if developed by any one nation, negates an effective ABM as conceived under the present proposal.

Against this background of nuclear weaponry we are asked to support the deployment of a defensive system which protects only a part of the American offensive capability—the ICBM. This part does not contain probably our most valuable deterrent, the Polaris submarine striking force. Even acknowledging the necessity of this protection the proposed ABM system has been not only questioned by scientific experts but also has been determined by many of them to be unworkable. It is my feeling that there are questions with regard to the reliability of the Safeguard missiles in this system in view of the number of weapons failures experienced in the most optimum testing conditions.

However, the ABM does not merely involve the effectiveness of the missiles. The heart of the ABM is a complex system of radars and computers, parts of which have not been built let alone tested under the optimum conditions. And yet we are to accept at face value the contentions of the proponents that this system—missiles, radars, and computers—will operate under the most horrible conditions imaginable—a nuclear conflict. I am unable to accept that position. I again quote from the minority statement on the ABM:

> Safeguard is the most complicated technological development ever planned for op-

Would the Senator from Mississippi be willing to consider endeavoring to approximate compliance with the Senate's earlier decision by an agreement limiting time on this appeal?

Mr. STENNIS. I am not going to take more than a few more minutes.

Mr. CASE. Would the Senator consider an agreement fixing the time equally divided, say 10 minutes to a side?

Mr. STENNIS. Yes. I would be glad to.

Mr. PASTORE. What is that unanimous-consent proposal?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Ten minutes to a side, to bring the debate to an end.

Mr. PASTORE. To bring what debate to an end?

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, and in order to meet the situation here, Senators have previous engagements. They were told they would vote at 3 o'clock. Under that agreement I withdraw my appeal from the Chair's ruling, with the understanding the Senator from Rhode Island be recognized.

Several Senators addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognized the Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. PASTORE. I thank the Chair.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. CASE. Has the Senator withdrawn his appeal?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The appeal has been withdrawn.

Mr. PASTORE. I have the floor.

Mr. CASE. Has the Senator withdrawn his appeal or not?

Mr. PASTORE. Yes, he has.

Mr. CASE. I make the point of order there is no time for debate or recognition of any Senator.

Mr. PASTORE. Yes, there is; to make a motion to lay on the table. Of course there is, and that is why I am standing.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is permitted to make a motion.

Mr. PASTORE. I move to lay the substitute on the table as being untimely.

I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The motion is not debatable. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. KENNEDY. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. GORE), the Senator from Indiana (Mr. HARTKE), and the Senator from Washington (Mr. MAGNUSON) are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. EASTLAND), the Senator from Iowa (Mr. HUGHES), the Senator from Hawaii (Mr. INOUYE), the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. MCGEE), and the Senator from New Mexico (Mr. MONTOYA) are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. EASTLAND), the Senator from Washington (Mr. MAGNUSON), and the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. MCGEE) would each vote "yea."

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Iowa (Mr. HUGHES), and the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. GORE) would each vote "nay."

Mr. SCOTT. I announce that the Senator from Massachuets (Mr. BROOKE), the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. COOK), the Senator from Colorado (Mr. DOMINICK), the Senator from Oregon (Mr. HATFIELD), and the Senator from California (Mr. MURPHY) are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Alaska (Mr. STEVENS) is absent on official business.

If present and voting, the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. BROOKE), the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. COOK), the Senator from Colorado (Mr. DOMINICK), and the Senator from California (Mr. MURPHY) would each vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Oregon (Mr. HATFIELD) is paired with the Senator from Alaska (Mr. STEVENS). If present and voting, the Senator from Oregon would vote "nay" and the Senator from Alaska would vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 51, nays 34, as follows:

[No. 85 Leg.]

YEAS—51

Aiken	Fong	Mundt
Allen	Goldwater	Packwood
Allott	Griffin	Pastore
Anderson	Gurney	Pell
Baker	Hansen	Prouty
Bellmon	Harris	Russell
Bennett	Holland	Schweiker
Bible	Hollings	Scott
Boggs	Hruska	Smith
Byrd, Va.	Jackson	Sparkman
Cannon	Jordan, N.C.	Spong
Cotton	Jordan, Idaho	Stennis
Curtis	Long	Talmadge
Dodd	McClellan	Thurmond
Dole	McIntyre	Tower
Ervin	Metcalf	Williams, Del.
Fannin	Miller	Young, N. Dak.

NAYS—34

Bayh	Hart	Percy
Burdick	Javits	Proxmire
Byrd, W. Va.	Kennedy	Randolph
Case	Mansfield	Ribicoff
Church	Mathias	Saxbe
Cooper	McCarthy	Symington
Cranston	McGovern	Tydings
Eagleton	Mondale	Williams, N.J.
Ellender	Moss	Yarborough
Fulbright	Muskie	Young, Ohio
Goodell	Nelson	
Gravel	Pearson	

NOT VOTING—14

Brooke	Hartke	McGee
Cook	Hatfield	Montoya
Dominick	Hughes	Murphy
Eastland	Inouye	Stevens
Gore	Magnuson	

So the motion to table the substitute amendment was agreed to.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the motion to table was agreed to.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, in light of the adoption of the motion——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question first arises on the motion to table.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion to table the motion for reconsideration of the vote.

The motion to table was agreed to.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, in light of the fact that the issue arose on a motion to table, and without debate——

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry. There have been some rather peculiar rulings under the unanimous-consent agreement, but I thought the debate had been brought to an end.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will state that further debate is not in order.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, do I have the floor? I move to table the pending amendment, and after it is, I will propose my substitute amendment. I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, would the Chair state the motion or the parliamentary situation?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will state that a motion to table the original amendment is not in order because of the unanimous-consent agreement.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I appeal from the ruling of the Chair, and I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There is not a sufficient number of seconds for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were not ordered.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There is now a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota is recognized for the purpose of speaking on the pending appeal from the ruling of the Chair.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, the last vote on the motion to table by the Senator from Rhode Island raised the issue, but not in correct form, as to whether the U.S. Senate wanted to study what its attack carrier force level should be, what the purpose of those attack carriers should be, and the other cost-effective matters which many Members of the Senate feel should be debated.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, may we have order?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will be in order.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, we had hoped to make that the issue we would vote on at 3 o'clock. That had been the objective of the Senator from New Jersey and myself since we first laid this amendment before the Senate, not a week ago, but a day and a half ago. We wish that this study could be made, and we would like to have a direct vote which would permit the Senate to say whether it wanted a study of the aircraft carrier issue or whether it did not.

The substitute amendment in no way affects the authorization for the construction of the nuclear aircraft carrier CVAN–69. It simply asks that information be received from the General Accounting Office, based on its study, in time to permit the Senate to consider a matter which has been profoundly debated even within the Department of Defense and by the National Security Council itself.

Therefore, by moving to withdraw the

original Case-Mondale amendment, I intended to lay before the Senate this amendment, thereby giving the Senate an opportunity to face directly the issue of whether it wanted to inform itself on a matter which is costing billions and billions of dollars a year, and which many responsible people in this country, including the Defense Department's own systems analysis branch, thinks needs long overdue study.

It is for those reasons that I proposed to introduce the substitute amendment with a different date for a report from the General Accounting Office, so we might have this information, and so the Senate might have an opportunity to be heard on the matter.

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

Mr. MONDALE. I am glad to yield.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, I join the Senator from Minnesota in his appeal from the ruling of the Chair. It seems to me utterly incredible that the Senate could become so enmeshed in a web of rules that we would be taking an appeal from the ruling of the Chair denying a motion to table the original amendment, when debate on the substitute amendment was immediately cut off.

I would say the Senate has not been given an opportunity to work its will today.

I have followed rather closely the debate going on. I have not taken part in it, but I would say the Senate, in the course of debating a matter which is so important that it has debated the issue for over 2 days, should allow Senators to speak so that perhaps some minds should be changed a little. If not, why do we fan all the air and make all the talk? Why do we say, "You cannot change your minds. You have to be snubbed up. You have got to vote on this"?

As I understand the Senator from Minnesota and the Senator from New Jersey, they said, "All right, we are ready to talk about it. You have talked about funding that second carrier long ago. We are willing to fall back and say, 'All right, we will fund our second carrier, but we would like to find out what the policy is before we get to the third carrier, instead of finding ourselves in the same box where we are snubbed so we cannot debate it at all.' "

It seems to me utterly incredible that the two Senators were not allowed to get a vote on their amendment, but were cut off with a tabling motion, when, in all the time I have been here, notice has always been given ahead of time that, after some talk about it, there would be a motion to table. Here it came out of the blue and it was said, "We will table that, snub it off. Now we will compel a motion on an amendment that the authors themselves say they do not want to have a vote on at this time."

Mr. MONDALE. I thank the Senator.

Actually, we wanted to agree to a 3 o'clock voting time 3 days ago for the convenience of Senators. I had recommended 4 o'clock, but the representatives of our Armed Services Committee said, "No, you cannot have a vote after 3 o'clock." I tried to make it 3:30. "No," they said, "you have to have it at 3." Now here we are at 20 minutes of 4 and we still have not voted. We could have voted on this issue and had it out of the way. Here we are still trying to raise an issue that would permit the U.S. Senate to say, "Yes" or "No" on whether it wants to study the carrier program before it appropriates billions and billions of dollars.

Several Senators addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota has the floor.

Mr. MONDALE. I yield to the Senator from Washington for the purpose of asking a question.

Mr. JACKSON. Would it not be wiser to offer an independent amendment, bring it up on Monday, and offer it in the form that the Senator from Minnesota deems appropriate? Why avoid voting on that which was agreed to?

Mr. MONDALE. We have been trying to vote on it all day. We propose the very thing the Senator suggests.

Mr. JACKSON. The unanimous-consent agreement was to vote on the carrier, period.

Mr. MONDALE. No; the Senator from Washington is not correct. The heart of the pending substitute amendment was the heart of the original Mondale-Case amendment, which is to study nuclear and other attack carrier forces. That has always been the issue. The Armed Services Committee does not wish us to vote on that question, because if we do, we will all know how many Members of the U.S. Senate think that matter should be opened up for study.

Mr. JACKSON. The original amendment was to cut the heart out of the CVAN–69.

Mr. MONDALE. No; the Senator apparently did not hear our debate. We said time and time again that the heart of that amendment was to raise the issue I have stated.

Mr. JACKSON. I have the amendment right here, No. 146.

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

Several Senators addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota has the floor. Has the Senator yielded?

Mr. MONDALE. I yield to the Senator from Maine.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from Minnesota this question: Is it not true that the original amendment encompassed two elements, first, the study, in the very same language as is found in the substitute amendment that the Senator from Minnesota and the Senator from New Jersey have been undertaking to get before the Senate all afternoon; and the second element, raised by these two Senators only in their original amendment, was the question of the funding of the CVAN–69?

Mr. CASE. At this time.

Mr. MUSKIE. At this time. Now, these two Senators have asked that half of that amendment be set aside, in order to focus on what they said they considered the most important part of their amendment. As I understand the Senator from Washington and the Senator from Mississippi, they are saying to these two Senators that what they considered most important was the funding of aircraft carrier 69. The Senators are replying, "That is not what we considered most important; we considered most important the study. That is what we would like the Senate to vote on."

Now, why should not you gentlemen, who do not yourselves propose to cut out the funding for CVAN–69, permit the movers of the original amendment to focus on that part of their amendment that they considered important, and which obviously a number of Senators on this floor would like to vote on first?

Mr. MONDALE. And, if I may say so, the only reason we cannot vote on the amendment, in the first place, is because we agreed to a unanimous-consent agreement on time for the convenience of the Senate, and thus forfeited the benefit of certain rules which permit modification of amendments. Because we agreed to do that, we are denied rights that would otherwise be ours, to bring the issue to a vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator from Minnesota suspend for a minute?

Mr. MONDALE. Without yielding the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is informed that on page 300 of the book "Senate Procedure," it is stated that debate is not in order on appeals relative to the motion to table.

At this point, the Chair rules that further debate is not in order, and we have to go back and vote on the question of appealing the ruling of the Chair.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, in spite of the fact that I have now explained my position, I move to table, with the understanding that the sponsors will support that motion, and then we will raise again a modified substitute amendment to permit us to vote on the main issue of the study of attack carirers.

I move to table, Mr. President, and I hope no one will object.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry. Will the Chair restate the ruling he made as to whether debate is in order?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Debate in this instance is not in order, because on page 300 of "Senate Procedure" it is stated that debate is not in order on appeals relative to the motion to table.

The Senator from Minnesota has just moved to table the pending appeal of the decision of the Chair——

Mr. MONDALE. No; the Presiding Officer did not exactly understand what I am seeking to do. In spite of the fact that I have explained my position, I am moving to table the pending Mondale-Case amendment, with the understanding that we will vote for that motion, and then call up the substitute amendment.

Several Senators addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair has ruled that the motion is not in order, because we still have the matter of appealing the decision of the Chair to dispose of.

Mr. MONDALE. I withdraw that, and I move to table.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum while this is worked out.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

Mr. STENNIS. A point of order, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistance legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. STENNIS. A point of order, Mr. President. Under the unanimous-consent agreement, the time to vote on the original amendment 146 has arrived.

Several Senators addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair informs the Senate that a quorum call is in progress, and debate is not in order.

The rollcall was continued.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, may we have order?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will be in order. The clerk will continue the rollcall.

The rollcall was continued.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded and that the Chamber be cleared except for those who should be in it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The Chair orders that the Chamber be cleared of all unnecessary personnel.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, is my understanding correct that the pending vote is now on amendment No. 146 as originally proposed by the Senator from New Jersey and me?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will state, so that everyone understands, that the pending matter is the appeal taken from the decision of the Chair that the motion to table the original amendment was not in order. That can only be withdrawn by unanimous consent.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the appeal from the ruling of the Chair be withdrawn.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I believe we are closer to a decision on this matter now than we could possibly get otherwise. The pending matter here will be whether we should vote on amendment No. 146. The time has already arrived for that vote. The yeas and nays have been ordered on the appeal. And I think we ought to take these matters as they come and get down to a vote.

The Chair has ruled correctly, I believe, and I think we ought to have a vote on that appeal and then bring up the only other matter pending—the vote on amendment No. 146.

I point out, if I may, that I am willing after a vote on amendment No. 146, the original Mondale-Case amendment, to try to work out something that calls for a study of some kind.

I am not willing to do so in the present form of the amendment. However, I would be willing to support the matter down to the figure "70" on page 1, and have a comprehensive study all the way through and see what can be done about it. If it passes, there will be an honest effort in conference. However, I object to withdrawing the appeal under these circumstances.

Mr. MONDALE. Does the Senator object to the withdrawing of the appeal?

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, excuse me. Perhaps I did not understand.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I renew my unanimous-consent request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Minnesota to withdraw his request? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, I have the right to object.

Mr. MANSFIELD. It is too late.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, a point of order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will announce that the Senate is now going to vote on the original amendment.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, does the pending amendment not only apply to the study which the original sponsors of the amendment have asked for, but also hold up funds temporarily for the 1969 carrier?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will state that it is not authorized to interpret the amendment.

All time having expired, the question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senators from Minnesota and New Jersey. On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered and the clerk will call the roll.

Mr. KENNEDY. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. GORE), the Senator from Indiana (Mr. HARTKE), and the Senator from Washington (Mr. MAGNUSON) are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. EASTLAND), the Senator from Iowa (Mr. HUGHES), the Senator from Hawaii (Mr. INOUYE), the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. MCGEE), the Senator from New Mexico (Mr. MONTOYA), and the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. FULBRIGHT) are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. EASTLAND), the Senator from Washington (Mr. MAGNUSON), the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. MCGEE), the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. FULBRIGHT), and the Senator from Iowa (Mr. HUGHES) would each vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Montana (Mr. MANSFIELD) is paired with the Senator from Hawaii (Mr. INOUYE). If present and voting, the Senator from Montana would vote "yea" and the Senator from Hawaii would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. ELLENDER) is paired with the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. EASTLAND). If present and voting, the Senator from Louisiana would vote "yea" and the Senator from Mississippi would vote "nay."

Mr. SCOTT. I announce that the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. BROOKE), the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. COOK), the Senator from Colorado (Mr. DOMINICK), and the Senator from California (Mr. MURPHY) are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Alaska (Mr. STEVENS) is absent on official business.

The pair of the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. COOK) has been previously announced.

If present and voting, the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. BROOKE), the Senator from Colorado (Mr. DOMINICK), the Senator from California (Mr. MURPHY), and the Senator from Alaska (Mr. STEVENS) would each vote "nay."

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, is it impossible now for the sponsors of the amendment to state that they are going to vote against their amendment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Further debate is not in order. The unanimous-consent request was agreed to.

Mr. CASE. I make that statement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll and Mr. AIKEN voted "nay."

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Mississippi will state it.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I wholeheartedly support the regular order; but there ought to be some statement by the Chair about what the Senate is voting on.

Mr. CASE. I do not think there is any question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to amendment No. 146. The Chair has ordered that the roll be called. The rollcall will proceed.

The legislative clerk resumed the call of the roll.

Mr. COOPER (when his name was called). On this vote I have a pair with the junior Senator from Kentucky (Mr. COOK). If he were present and voting, he would vote "nay." If I were permitted to vote, I would vote "yea." I withhold my vote.

The rollcall was concluded.

Mr. MANSFIELD (after having voted in the affirmative). On this vote I have a pair with the junior Senator from Hawaii (Mr. INOUYE). If he were present and voting, he would vote "nay." If I were at liberty to vote, I would vote "yea." I, therefore, withdraw my vote.

Mr. ELLENDER. On this vote I have a live pair with the senior Senator from Mississippi (Mr. EASTLAND). If present and voting, he would vote "nay." If I were permitted to vote, I would vote "yea." I withdraw my vote.

The result was announced—yeas 7, nays 75, as follows:

[No. 86 Leg.]

YEAS—7

Goodell	McCarthy	Young, Ohio
Hatfield	Nelson	
Javits	Proxmire	

NAYS—75

Aiken	Bayh	Burdick
Allen	Bellmon	Byrd, Va.
Allott	Bennett	Byrd, W. Va.
Anderson	Bible	Cannon
Baker	Boggs	Case

Church	Jackson	Prouty
Cotton	Jordan, N.C.	Randolph
Cranston	Jordan, Idaho	Ribicoff
Curtis	Kennedy	Russell
Dodd	Long	Saxbe
Dole	Mathias	Schweiker
Eagleton	McClellan	Scott
Ervin	McGovern	Smith
Fannin	McIntyre	Sparkman
Fong	Metcalf	Spong
Goldwater	Miller	Stennis
Gravel	Mondale	Symington
Griffin	Moss	Talmadge
Gurney	Mundt	Thurmond
Hansen	Muskie	Tower
Harris	Packwood	Tydings
Hart	Pastore	Williams, N.J.
Holland	Pearson	Williams, Del.
Hollings	Pell	Yarborough
Hruska	Percy	Young, N. Dak.

PRESENT AND GIVING LIVE PAIRS, AS PREVIOUSLY RECORDED—3

Cooper, for.
Ellender, for.
Mansfield, for.

NOT VOTING—14

Brooke	Gore	McGee
Cook	Hartke	Montoya
Dominick	Hughes	Murphy
Eastland	Inouye	Stevens
Fulbright	Magnuson	

So the amendment (No. 146) was rejected.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask that it be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be read.

The bill clerk proceeded to read the amendment.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered, and the amendment will be printed in the RECORD.

The amendment, ordered to be printed in the RECORD, is as follows:

At the end of the bill add a new section as follows:

"SEC. 402 (a) Prior to April 30, 1970, Congress shall complete a comprehensive study and investigation of the past and projected costs and effectiveness of attack aircraft carriers and their task forces and a thorough review of the considerations which went into the decision to maintain the present number of attack carriers. The results of this study shall be considered prior to any authorization or appropriation for the production or procurement of the nuclear aircraft carrier designated as CVAN–70. Such study and investigation shall, among other things, consider—

"(1) what are the primary limited war missions of the attack carrier; what role, if any, does it have in strategic nuclear planning;

"(2) to what extent and in what way is the force level of onstation and backup carriers related to potential targets and the number of sorties needed to destroy these targets;

"(3) what is the justification for maintaining on continual deployment two carriers in the Mediterranean and from three to five in the Western Pacific;

"(4) what is the overall attack carrier force level needed to carry out these primary missions;

"(5) does the present 'one for one' replacement policy for these carriers have the effect of maintaining or increasing this force level, in light of the fact that the newer carriers and their aircraft are more expensive and have far more capability than the older carriers which they are now replacing;

"(6) would a policy of replacing two of the oldest carriers with one modern carrier maintain a constant force level;

"(7) how many, if any, attack carriers and carrier task forces are needed to back up a carrier task force 'on the line';

"(8) what efficiencies, such as the Polaris 'blue and gold' crew concept, can be utilized to increase the time in which a carrier can stay 'on the line';

"(9) what type of military threats are faced by the attack carrier; what proportion of the costs of a carrier task force are allocated to carrier defense against various types and levels of threats;

"(10) to what extent does the carrier's vulnerability affect its capacity to carry out its missions; what are the plausible contingencies in which carriers may be committed;

"(11) what type of resources should be devoted to carrier defense, considering the range of threats, the costs and effectiveness of the defense, and the plausible contingencies in which a carrier can be effectively used;

"(12) to what extent can land-based tactical air power substitute for attack carriers; to what extent should the role of the attack carrier be restricted to the initial stages of a conflict;

"(13) what are the comparative systems costs for land-based and sea-based tactical air power;

"(14) what is the comparative cost effectiveness of land-based and sea-based tactical air power; and

"(15) how is the attack carrier being used in support of American foreign policy; if there is a need for a 'show of force' in support of foreign policy commitments, can this need be met by smaller carriers or other types of ships.

"(b) In order to assist the Congress in carrying out such study and investigation, the Comptroller General of the United States shall review and make a report to the Congress on items numbered '(8)' and '(13)' in subsection 'a', above. He shall also review any studies which have been made, or may be made, by the executive branch which relate to the other items listed in subsection 'a', above. He shall provide summaries of such studies, together with any appropriate comments or questions, to the Congress. The report and summaries provided for by this subsection shall be furnished to the Congress not later than March 1, 1970."

Mr. STENNIS and Mr. MONDALE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I have an amendment to offer as a substitute to the amendment offered by the Senator from Minnesota.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will read the amendment.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I do not know whether the clerk can read my writing.

I ask unanimous consent that I may be permitted to read the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears no objection, and it is so ordered.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I wish to state that most of the amendment is the same as the language on the first page of the amendment offered by the Senator from Minnesota which was just read.

I offer this now as a substitute.

At the end of the bill add a new section as follows:

"SEC. 402. (a) Prior to April 30, 1970, Congress shall complete a comprehensive study and investigation of the past and projected costs and effectiveness of attack aircraft carriers and their task forces and a thorough review of the considerations which went into the decision to maintain the present number of attack carriers. The results of this comprehensive study shall be considered prior to any authorization or appropriation for the production or procurement of the nuclear aircraft carrier designated as CVAN–70."

Mr. President, that refers to the third aircraft carrier of this type, and not the one in the bill.

Now, here is the language no one can read except me:

The committee shall call on all Government agencies and such outside consultants as the committee may deem necessary.

Mr. JACKSON and Mr. ERVIN addressed the Chair.

Mr. STENNIS. I yield to the Senator from Washington.

Mr. JACKSON. Is that the end of the amendment?

Mr. STENNIS. I will make a brief statement of explanation.

I yield to the Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, will the Senator consider a suggestion? I suggest that the Senator substitute or strike out the word "Congress" and substitute the Armed Services Committees of the Senate and the House of Representatives?

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

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I shall yield, but first I would like to respond to the Senator's suggestion. This is exactly what it means.

Mr. JACKSON. We will cover it in colloquy.

Mr. STENNIS. I yield to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, we understand that when reference is made to "Congress" we mean the Committee on Armed Services. We use "Congress" so that studies would be generally distributed to Members of the Senate.

Mr. STENNIS. The Senate will be entitled to the information and that is the way I understood it in the discussion here; that the committees would be making the——

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

Mr. STENNIS. I yield.

Mr. ERVIN. To me, the word "Congress" means 100 Senators and 435 Representatives.

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

Mr. STENNIS. I yield.

Mr. JACKSON. Is it fair to say to the author of the substitute amendment that under this language it is the intent of Congress that the Armed Services Committee of the Senate and the House Armed Services Committee undertake this study as projected in the amendment?

Mr. STENNIS. Does the Senator direct that question to me?

Mr. JACKSON. I direct the question to the author of the amendment.

Mr. STENNIS. That is the way I understood the discussion; that these matters were to be carried on by the respective Committees on Armed Services

of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

Mr. CASE. The Senator is correct, as the Senator from Minnesota suggested, that this is our agreement and it is based on the assurance of the chairman that the study would indeed be a comprehensive and broad study by his committee, regardless of this discussion in the other body.

Mr. STENNIS. The Senator is correct. That is the way I understood it. The focal point in each House will be the Armed Services Committee. They will make the study.

Mr. MONDALE. That is correct. We discussed with the chairman of the Committee on Armed Services the possibility of setting forth specific questions as in the original amendment. We agreed this was probably not the time to do that but I do hope that some or all of those questions will be considered in the comprehensive study contemplated by this amendment.

If it is appropriate, I wish to ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. STENNIS. If I may make a further statement on this matter I shall then yield to the Senator for the yeas and nays.

The amendment that I offered as a substitute has the very purposes already stated. That is not a perfunctory matter or just a formality. This is a promise that before there is any more authorization brought in for further carriers this real study will be made and made by these two committees. I think that is all the explanation I have.

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

Mr. STENNIS. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. May I suggest that the questions the Senator raises in his original amendment be incorporated in the RECORD at this point?

Mr. MONDALE. I so request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair did not hear the request.

If the Senator will address his motion to the Chair again, the Chair will rule.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that my original amendment be modified along the lines as proposed by the Senator from Mississippi.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears no objection, and it is so ordered.

Mr. MONDALE. I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All those in favor——

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, where does that leave my amendment now? I offered an amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will state that the Senator's amendment has now been accepted and is included in the Senator's amendment.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I misunderstood for the moment. I am not going to raise my amendment. This is the amendment of the Senator from Mississippi which I would be willing to join as a cosponsor. What I was asking for was unanimous consent to include the questions to which I had made reference earlier.

Mr. JACKSON. I believe the Senator had in mind putting in at this point in the RECORD what was suggested by the able majority leader, the original amendment which he had offered and wanted as a part of his discussion.

Mr. MONDALE. The Senator is correct. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I want to make clear for the RECORD that my references to the comprehensive study by the committees did not undertake to bind the House committee to a joint undertaking. I think the committees of each body would have to proceed on that as they might see fit; otherwise, it would greatly complicate the amendment.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, would the Senator from Montana advise us on what we may expect as to legislative business for the remainder of the week?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, in response to the question raised by the distinguished acting minority leader, it is my understanding that the distinguished Senator from South Dakota (Mr. McGOVERN) is prepared to call up his AMSA amendment immediately at the conclusion of the vote on the pending Stennis proposal. Is that correct?

Mr. McGOVERN. That is correct.

Mr. MANSFIELD. In view of the great progress made today, and the lack of disunity and the prevailing unanimity, I do not anticipate there would be any votes after this one.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT UNTIL MONDAY NEXT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon on Monday next.

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

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, at that time, there will be further debate on the McGovern amendment and other amendments. I would hope we could vote on final passage of the bill sometime early in the week, or at the latest by the middle of the week.

AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR FISCAL YEAR 1970 FOR MILITARY PROCUREMENT, RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT, AND FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF MISSILE TEST FACILITIES AT KWAJALEIN MISSILE RANGE AND RESERVE COMPONENT STRENGTH

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2546) to authorize appropriations during the fiscal year 1970 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, naval vessels, and tracked combat vehicles and to authorize the construction of test facilities at Kwajalein Missile Range, and to prescribe the authorized personnel strength of the Selected Reserve of each Reserve component of the Armed Forces, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Minnesota as modified.

On this question, the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. KENNEDY. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. GORE), the Senator from Indiana (Mr. HARTKE), and the Senator from Washington (Mr. MAGNUSON) are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. EASTLAND), the Senator from Iowa (Mr. HUGHES), the Senator from Hawaii (Mr. INOUYE), the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. McGEE), the Senator from New Mexico (Mr. MONTOYA), and the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. FULBRIGHT) are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. EASTLAND), the Senator from Washington (Mr. MAGNUSON), the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. McGEE), the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. GORE), the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. FULBRIGHT), and the Senator from Iowa (Mr. HUGHES) would each vote "yea."

Mr. SCOTT. I announce that the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. BROOKE), the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. COOK), the Senator from Colorado (Mr. DOMINICK), and the Senator from California (Mr. MURPHY) are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Alaska (Mr. STEVENS) is absent on official business.

The Senator from New York (Mr. JAVITS) is detained on official business.

If present and voting, the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. BROOKE), the the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. COOK), the Senator from Colorado (Mr. DOMINICK), the Senator from New York (Mr. JAVITS), the Senator from California (Mr. MURPHY), and the Senator from Alaska (Mr. STEVENS) would each vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 84, nays 0, as follows:

[No. 87 Leg.]

YEAS—84

Aiken	Goodell	Nelson
Allen	Gravel	Packwood
Allott	Griffin	Pastore
Anderson	Gurney	Pearson
Baker	Hansen	Pell
Bayh	Harris	Percy
Bellmon	Hart	Prouty
Bennett	Hatfield	Proxmire
Bible	Holland	Randolph
Boggs	Hollings	Ribicoff
Burdick	Hruska	Russell
Byrd, Va.	Jackson	Saxbe
Byrd, W. Va.	Jordan, N.C.	Schweiker
Cannon	Jordan, Idaho	Scott
Case	Kennedy	Smith
Church	Long	Sparkman
Cooper	Mansfield	Spong
Cotton	Mathias	Stennis
Cranston	McCarthy	Symington
Curtis	McClellan	Talmadge
Dodd	McGovern	Thurmond
Dole	McIntyre	Tower
Eagleton	Metcalf	Tydings
Ellender	Miller	Williams, N.J.
Ervin	Mondale	Williams, Del.
Fannin	Moss	Yarborough
Fong	Mundt	Young, N. Dak.
Goldwater	Muskie	Young, Ohio

NAYS—0

NOT VOTING—15

Brooke	Gore	Magnuson
Cook	Hartke	McGee
Dominick	Hughes	Montoya
Eastland	Inouye	Murphy
Fulbright	Javits	Stevens

So Mr. MONDALE'S amendment, as modified, was agreed to.

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator from South Dakota yield to me, before calling up his amendment?

Mr. McGOVERN. I yield.

JOINT LABOR-MANAGEMENT TRUST FUNDS FOR SCHOLARSHIPS AND CHILD CARE FACILITIES

Mr. MANSFIELD. I ask unanimous consent that the pending business be laid aside temporarily and that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 284 (S. 2068) and Calendar No. 391, Senate Joint Resolution 149.

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

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 2068) to amend section 302(c) of the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947 to permit employer contributions to trust funds to provide employees, their families, and dependents with scholarships for study at educational institutions or the establishment of child-care centers for preschool and school-age dependents of employees, which had been reported from the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare with an amendment on page 2, at the beginning of line 10, after the word "Provided," insert "That no labor organization or employer shall be required to bargain on the establishment of any such trust fund, and refusal to do so shall not constitute an unfair labor practice:"; so as to make the bill read:

S. 2068

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 302(c) of the Labor-Management Relations Act, 1947, is amended by striking out "or (6)" and inserting in lieu thereof "6)", and by adding immediately before the period at the end thereof the following: "; or (7) with respect to money or other thing of value paid by any employer to an individual or pooled trust fund established by such representative for the purpose of (A) scholarships for the benefit of employees, their families, and dependents for study at educational institutions, or (B) child-care centers for preschool and school-age dependents of employees: *Provided,* That no labor organization or employer shall be required to bargain on the establishment of any such trust fund, and refusal to do so shall not constitute an unfair labor practice: *Provided further,* That the requirements of clause (B) of the proviso to clause (5) of this subsection shall apply to such trust funds".

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 91-293), explaining the purposes of the measure.

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

BACKGROUND

Section 302 of the Labor-Management Relations Act prohibits payments by employers of money or other thing of value to employee representatives. This broad prohibition was enacted to prevent bribery, extortion, shakedowns, and other corrupt practices. However, section 302(c) sets forth six exceptions to the general prohibition in section 302, and thus permits employer contributions to joint trust funds to finance medical care programs, retirement pension plans, and other specific programs. By enacting a general prohibition on employer payments and then setting forth specific exceptions, Congress impliedly prohibited payments for any purpose not specifically excepted.

S. 2068 would add a seventh exception to section 302(c), and would thereby validate employer contributions to jointly administered trust funds established to provide educational scholarships for employees and their dependents, or to provide child-care centers for dependents of employees. Enactment of the bill will not require such contributions nor will it require the establishment of such trust funds. The bill would simply make clear that Federal law will not inhibit voluntary labor-management cooperation in establishing these programs.

PURPOSE OF S. 2068

S. 2068 would provide labor and management with the opportunity to deal cooperatively with two urgent needs: educational scholarships and child-care centers.

While the importance of higher education becomes increasingly apparent, the costs of such education have been rising sharply. Although Government and other sources of financial aid have increased, the demand for this aid far exceeds its supply. Consequently many working families find it difficult or impossible to sustain the financial burden of meeting the necessary expenses for educating their children beyond the free public schools.

Joint trust funds to provide educational scholarships for employees and their dependents, created and financed through the collective bargaining mechanism, would help make higher education financially possible for many children from working families. In addition to meeting these family needs, such scholarships would serve the national interest by helping to expand the Nation's reservoir of intellect and talent.

In this connection, it should be understood that the phrase "educational institutions," as used in S. 2068, is not limited by the terms of the bill. Thus, under the bill, parties to a trust established pursuant to its authority could arrange that the scholarship fund be used for scholarship aid to a student admitted to any type of educational institution, including universities, community colleges, technical institutes, or secondary level schools.

Trust funds to provide child-care centers for the children of employees, also created and financed through the collective bargaining process, would benefit the mothers who must work to meet family obligations. According to data supplied by the Department of Labor, 10.6 million mothers with children under 18 years of age were working in March 1967. Of these children, 4.5 million were under 6 years of age. At the same time there were available only 531,000 spaces in licensed day-care centers and family homes. It is clear that many mothers are consequently forced to make unsatisfactory child-care arrangements while they work.

Day care centers operated by qualified personnel would serve important needs of mothers, their children and employers. Mothers who must work would surely feel more secure knowing that their children were being well cared for, and problems of absenteeism, tardiness, and turnover resulting from unsatisfactory child care arrangements would undoubtedly be reduced. The children themselves would benefit from the environment of a good child care center. The availability of day care centers would obviously be a major attraction to mothers seeking work, and many industries which rely heavily upon women for their work force might find these centers advantageous in hiring and retaining employees. Finally, in addition to meeting the needs of working families and employers, child care centers established in accordance with S. 2068 would serve the national interest by increasing the pool of working women.

In summary, by permitting employer contributions to joint trust funds established to finance educational scholarships and day care centers for children of employees, S. 2068 would encourage interest by the labor and business community in these two vital areas. Such trust funds could meet important needs of employers, employees, and their families, and the Nation.

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS OF S. 2068

S. 2068 amends section 302(c) of the Labor-Management Relations Act to provide that section 302's general prohibition on payments by employers to employee representatives shall not be applicable with respect to money or other thing of value paid by an employer to a pooled or individual trust fund established by such representatives for the purpose of (A) scholarships for the benefit of employees, their families, and dependents for study at educational institutions, or (B) child care centers for preschool and school age dependents of employees.

S. 2068 also provides that no labor organization or employer shall be required to bargain on the establishment of any such trust fund, and refusal to do so shall not constitute an unfair labor practice.

The bill further makes applicable to such trust funds the requirements of clause (B) of the proviso to clause (5) of section 302(c). These requirements are for a written agreement specifying the detailed basis on which payments to the trust fund are to be made, equal representation of employers and employees in the administration of the trust fund, together with provisions for neutral persons, and an annual audit available for inspection by interested persons.

CHANGES IN EXISTING LAW

In compliance with subsection (4) of rule XXIX of the Standing Rules of the Senate, changes in existing law made by the bill, as reported, are shown as follows (existing law proposed to be omitted is enclosed in black brackets, new matter is printed in italic, existing law in which no change is proposed is shown in roman):

* * * * *

"SECTION 302(c) OF THE LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS ACT, 1947

"RESTRICTIONS ON PAYMENTS TO EMPLOYEE REPRESENTATIVES

"SEC. 302. (a) * * *

* * * * *

"(c) The provisions of this section shall not be applicable (1) in respect to any money or other thing of value payable by an employer to any of his employees whose established duties include acting openly for such employer in matters of labor relations or personnel administration or to any representative of his employees, or to any officer or employee of a labor organization, who is also an employee or former employee of such employer, as compensation for, or by reason of, his service as an employee of such employer; (2) with respect to the payment or delivery of any money or other thing of value in satisfaction of a judgment of any court or a decision or award of an arbitrator or impartial chairman or in compromise, adjustment, settlement, or release of any claim,

AUTHORIZATIONS OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR FISCAL YEAR 1970 FOR MILITARY PROCUREMENT, RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT, AND FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF MISSILE TEST FACILITIES AT KWAJALEIN MISSILE RANGE, AND RESERVE COMPONENT STRENGTH

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2546) to authorize appropriations during the fiscal year 1970 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, naval vessels, and tracked combat vehicles, and research, development, test, and evaluation for the Armed Forces, and to authorize the construction of test facilities at Kwajalein Missile Range, and to prescribe the authorized personnel strength of the Selected Reserve of each Reserve component of the Armed Forces, and for other purposes.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I should like to speak today on the critical issue of the anti-ballistic-missile system. I have spoken frequently against the recommendations of the Committee on Armed Services, and today I should like to speak in detail, setting forth the reasons for my opposition.

I certainly do not want to see this country undefended but I also do not want us to live under the illusion that the Safeguard ABM system will provide an adequate defense.

If I thought Safeguard would make our chances for survival greater, I would support it.

If I thought large expenditures of funds on an ABM system would provide an effective defense for the country, I would advocate spending the money.

I favor continued research, development, and testing for ABM systems. R.D. & T. serves a double purpose: it protects us against changes in the world nuclear situation and it either produces

a workable ABM or provides the system unworkable. Also, it avoids fantastically expensive deployment costs on a system which may be unworkable or obsolete.

The Hart-Cooper amendment stresses further ABM research, development, and testing, but it carefully prevents deployment of any sort; nothing can go into the ground. The reasoning behind it is that deployment is what throws uncertainties into the arms race and disarmament talks; deployment is what commits us to a system.

If, as the amendment provides, there is to be no preparation of any site, research and development will not be conducted in North Dakota or Montana. The facilities at Kwajalein or the contractors' plants are far better suited for testing than installation facilities not yet constructed.

Any partial preparation of missile sites will commit us to further deployment; therefore, I support the Hart-Cooper amendment that will allow further ABM research and development, but bar the deployment of any components of the system.

The reasons for my position reflect my general views on the deployment of Safeguard. I have opposed it because I fear its effect on the crucial disarmament talks; question its technical feasibility; believe there are better, cheaper, and more certain means of protection; am not convinced that the Russian threat is as immediate as the Pentagon would have us believe; and place a priority on domestic spending to meet our tremendous needs at home.

Nuclear clouds. Mushroom shaped. Scattered across the face of the earth. We live daily and have for the past two decades with the possibility. Occasionally, we worry about it publicly, as in the 1950's, when local schools, and municipal buildings were stocked with civil defense shelters and supplies, or in 1962, when we had a close brush with nuclear confrontation in Cuba.

Nevertheless, day in and day out, 1,054 intercontinental missiles wait to be released, 30 minutes from their anticipated destination in the Soviet Union.

Of the 656 sea-based missiles, about 400 are always beneath the sea waiting to be launched from 41 Polaris submarines.

Forty percent of the 680 intercontinental bombers, armed with four hydrogen bombs each, are kept on strategic alert, ready to take off in less than 15 minutes at warning provided by the ballistic missile early warning system.

The United States plans to double its more than 4,000 strategic nuclear weapons in the next few years.

Minuteman II, the third version of the U.S. intercontinental ballistic missile, currently is replacing the two earlier verisons. If the Minuteman III force is set at 500 missiles, total individually aimed ICBM warheads will increase from 1,000 to 2,000. The submarine Polaris A–3, also a third-generation missile, is fitted with a cluster of three warheads. With completion of the planned Poseidon submarine force, individually aimed warheads on submarines will rise from 656 to more than 6,000. Within the next several years, about one-half of the bomber force will be replaced with new and faster aircraft. And none of this includes the tactical nuclear weapons we have positioned throughout the world.

Arrayed on the Soviet side are between 1,050 and 1,100 intercontinental ballistic missiles, about 700 of which have been deployed in the last 3 years. Two hundred of these missiles are the large and accurate SS–9 which, like the U.S. Minuteman II, may be outfitted with multiple individually aimed warheads in the future. The Soviet Union also has between 700 and 800 intermediate-range ballistic missiles aimed at Western Europe.

Within the past year, the Russians have launched several submarines comparable to the U.S. Polaris, carrying 30 long-range missiles. Their arsenal includes 10 to 15 other nuclear-powered submarines each carrying three missiles of a shorter range capability.

Obviously, the world nuclear destructive capacity has grown from the development of the atomic and hydrogen bombs to immense proportions, with the major powers having more than sufficient sophisticated delivery systems for hydrogen weapons. The United States maintains its numerical lead in every category of weapons, but both are confident of the capability to kill hundreds of millions of persons.

The capability exists and is deployed; however, it has not been used because of belief in mutual deterrence. Both Russia and the United States are deterred from launching a "first-strike" by the knowledge that the other would inevitably retaliate, and could destroy one-third to two-thirds of the attacker's population and industry.

This uneasy deterrence balance is threatened by the deployment of the American Safeguard anti-ballistic-missile system. The threat comes from uncertainties—the uncertainties as to whether an anti-ballistic-missile system can work because it is impossible to test under the circumstances of a real nuclear warhead attack, the uncertainties which come with the inevitable introduction of offensive weapons to negate the effectiveness of an ABM defense, the uncertainties which must be added when we spiral into a new round of nuclear weapons development and the uncertainties about our intentions when the deployment of more weapons indicates a decision to spend on military materials rather than on peaceful and domestic needs.

Unusable nuclear weapons offer us nothing but a balance of terror. After having stockpiled nuclear weapons with an explosive power of 15 tons of TNT for every man, woman, and child on earth, it seems absurd to be told that we must increase our nuclear armaments so that we can disarm from a position of strength. An equal absurdity is that the moment we begin the work on ABM's, we and the Russians also build the MIRV—multiple independent reentry vehicle—the weapon to circumvent ABM's.

The impact of agonies and absurdities surrounding the American defense posture of the past 20 years, Prof. George Wald, of Harvard, says, is what is bothering the students. "I think that what we are up against is a generation that is by no means sure that it has a future."

To straighten out the problems which Americans confront, both young and old, we must make clear that we are a nation of peace, not a nation of war; a nation of life and not one of death and destruction. The best way we can do this is by making every possible effort to achieve successful disarmament talks.

First. Ending the nuclear arms race is so important that we must let nothing jeopardize disarmament talks. I fear the effect of a decision to deploy Safeguard, creating uncertainties about our good intentions and difficulties for enforcing any arms accord. If we fail to take advantage of an opportunity to level off the arms race when both the Americans and the Russians feel that they have a secure deterrence, we forgo a rare opportunity to achieve peace and security.

Both the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty and the possibility for disarmament talks offer some hope of escape from the arms race. After China and France entered the category of nations with nuclear capability, we sought international agreement to stop the worldwide deployment of nuclear weapons. The treaty may be abrogated, but international negotiations and agreements, international good faith, are truly our only means of survival. The Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty gives us a chance to step back, at least symbolically, from the international competition in arms, and to encourage other nations to do the same thing

Section VI of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty requires the United States and Russia to do everything possible to halt the arms race, including disarmament talks. Whether or not we follow that specific encouragement, the U.S. acceptance of the treaty is hollow indeed if it is not followed by other efforts to dampen the arms race. However, our good faith will also be questioned if we move ahead with ABM deployment notwithstanding ongoing disarmament talks. Deployment of the ABM or any other new missile development such as the MIRV flies in the face of our proclaimed policy of nonproliferation.

I am terribly afraid that our deployment of ABM, even the initial authorization of deployment at two sites, and the further testing and installation of MIRVed warheads will seriously jeopardize any chance we have of achieving accord through disarmament talks. Therefore, I deplore the fact that the Air Force recently ordered MIRV warheads.

I joined with 40 other Members of the Senate to introduce a resolution calling upon the administration to enter into a mutual moratorium with the Soviet Union on testing the MIRV warheads. Although the Soviets possess the technology and capability to deploy MIRV, it is unclear whether tests of their version of the MIRV have begun. The best way to stop Soviet development of the weapon is a suspension of American tests as long as the Soviet Union refrains from testing as well. This would keep the situ-

ation stable until there is an opportunity to reach agreement on a limitation of both ABM and MIRV.

There simply is no need to develop either the antiballistic missile system of MIRV if we can reach an agreement with the Soviets to stop mutual development.

On the other hand, President Nixon's policy for the talks seems to be negotiation of a weapons escalation. Mr. President, I will repeat the last sentence, because I am very fearful that what I say is correct. On the other hand, President Nixon's policy for the talks seems to be negotiation of a weapons escalation. The administration freely acknowledges and proclaims it is now deploying the MIRV system. The administration must intend to negotiate a workable MIRV and a workable ABM if it follows the line that we would put ourselves in the strongest position by having both an ABM system and a fully-tested MIRV when we go into the talks. The majority of the committee on Armed Services made explicit their view of the administration's position:

> The President believes that the backing of the Congress on his Safeguard program would strengthen his hand in the forthcoming negotiations with the Soviet Union on the limitation of offensive and defensive nuclear systems. If we unilaterally abandon all deployment of our ABM's, what incentive do we give the Soviets to negotiate with us a limit or a reduction in their ABM deployment?

The Secretary of Defense, Melvin Laird, in his defense of the Safeguard system in hearings before a House Appropriations Subcommittee on May 22, 1969, brushed off the problems of achieving arms limitation while the Safeguard is being deployed:

> Meanwhile, we have to deal with the world as it is today. Until an acceptable arrangement is achieved, we must continue to insure the sufficiency of our deterrent.

Noting the existence of the Galosh ABM defense which has been deployed around Moscow and contains 67 missiles—a system most observers term obsolete—Laird continued his testimony:

> It is entirely possible that a Soviet-United States agreement on strategic arms limitation might provide for limited ABM defense on both sides.

He ignored, however, any problems of Soviet reaction or of inspection.

The obstacles, which deployment of ABM and MIRV could put in the way of achieving some type of arms limitation agreement are: First, what will be the Soviet reaction—and our counter-reaction—and second, assuming that the situation does not remain stable, once we have achieved even limited ABM and MIRV deployment, how can any limitation and its accompanying verification problems be achieved.

We must assume that the Soviet reaction to our deployment of ABM will be to either scale up the number of deterrent missiles, strengthen their own anti-ballistic-missile system, or put multiple warheads on their existing missiles. The response might well include all three. We should keep in mind that one of the reasons used by the administration for present deployment of the Safeguard system is that the Russians have deployed a limited anti-ballistic-missile system.

Of course, the fear of either country concerning the other's ABM system is that it may be effective, and if it is effective, it could end the deterrent value of existing missiles. Mutual deterrents depend not on the number of weapons maintained by each side, but on the assurance that either side will be able to retaliate to a degree that is unacceptable if attacked by the other. If one country can protect itself against attack, then it can use its missiles on an offensive, "first-strike" basis with impunity. Secretary Laird has argued that the Soviets are moving toward a "first-strike" capacity with the development of larger and more accurate missiles and a small ABM system.

The Soviets could argue that the United States is doing the same thing by deploying ABM and adding MIRV warheads to our existing nuclear weapons. Our ABM system contains at least 10 times as many missiles as the Golash system around Moscow. A Soviet cost analysis would show that most of the cost of the proposed American Safeguard system goes purely for population defense although its proponents claim the system is intended to defend our missiles, bombers, and the center of command, Washington, D.C.

Safeguard presumes to protect nearly all of the United States from a "light" or accidental attack and it can be the basis for a "thick" city defense system which the Russians would fear as giving us the "first-strike" capacity. In addition, we have begun work on MIRV which can circumvent the ABM on the grounds that the Russians have deployed an ABM system around Moscow.

Developments by one nation inevitably breed developments by the other.

Although the Defense Department claims a rapid buildup in Soviet forces indicates their push toward a "first-strike" capacity, many other observers argue that the rapid Soviet buildup is only an effort to achieve parity with the number of missiles maintained by the United States.

If both the United States and Russia have ABM and MIRV, arms limitation negotiators, although they might be able to negotiate an acceptable limitation on the deployment of ABM and MIRV, would be faced with the problem of inspection. As ABM defense may include a large number of small missiles or missiles with multiple warheads which would be impossible to count unless onsite inspection were allowed. Equally difficult to check would be the performance of radars or computer programs. Deployment of ABM enhances the incentives to deploy MIRV, which makes the probability of arriving at an agreement even more complicated.

We have a chance in the ABM vote to assure meaningful disarmament talks—uncomplicated by the problems of onsite inspection—by demonstrating our good faith and slowing the deployment of ABM.

Proponents of ABM claim that it will strengthen the President's hand as he enters arms negotiations with the Soviets. The assumption is that if the Soviets enter negotiations with a deployed ABM system, we should too. However, if the United States argues that it should be allowed to catch up to the modest Soviet system, then the Soviets in turn could argue that they should be permitted to close the gap in submarine-launched missile capabilities and the strategic bomber force. The superiority of the American Polaris force offsets by many times the U.S.S.R. ABM system.

The United States would do better if all new strategic force deployment, both offensive and defensive, for both sides is terminated as soon as possible. If disarmament talks fail and if the United States is in danger of dropping behind in the arms race, we can then rapidly deploy more offensive nuclear weapons.

Of course, I recognize that we must not fail to insure the safety of the United States from nuclear attack. On the other hand, we must not fail to take any steps to reduce or terminate the possibility of such attack. At the moment, the two world power nuclear forces are balanced, and that balance exists at a level far above the number of weapons needed to inflict catastrophic damage. This dangerous fact can give us hope, hope of reaching some type of arms accord.

Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko, speaking recently in Moscow to the Supreme Soviet, gave encouragement to an atmosphere which can produce meaningful talks; he said:

> We are for the development of good relations with the United States and would like these relations to be turned into friendly ones because we are convinced that this would correspond to the interests of both the Soviet and the American peoples . . . when it comes to problems of safeguarding peace, the Soviet Union and the United States can find a common language.

He reaffirmed Soviet willingness to seek negotiations with the United States, but the Russians have yet to reply to the U.S. proposal to begin disarmament talks in the first 2 weeks of August. We should keep that fact in mind during our consideration of the effect of Safeguard deployment on Soviet willingness to talk about arms limits.

Our situation is well described at the conclusion of the "Over View" section by Abram Chayes, Jerome B. Wiesner, George W. Rathjens, and Steven Weinberg in "ABM: an Evaluation of the Decision to Deploy an Anti-Ballistic-Missile System."

> We are now at a point where it can be said that both sides have a sufficiency, a moment of rare and precious strategic balance. That is why this moment seemed so hopeful for the conclusion of some kind of strategic arms limitation agreement, in which, as almost everyone agrees, the best hope for ultimate security lies.
>
> If there are risks in deferring deployment for a time, we believe they are small. There are also risks in going forward now, because if this moment is lost, one like it will not come soon again.

Second. Safeguard is the most sophisticated system ever designed, and we have little assurance that it will work. More research, development, and test-

ing should give that knowledge before we make a decision for deployment.

Assuming that what is for me the most important consideration—achieving arms limitation—is not a factor, will the proposed ABM system achieve its purposes?

The Safeguard system contemplates deployment at 12 sites within the continental United States: at missile bases, air bases and around Washington, D.C. The location of the sites provides light air cover for the entire continent. The Armed Services Committee has reported a bill which would authorize phase 1 of the Safeguard plan. Phase 1 allows acquisition of the sites at Grand Forks, N. Dak., and Malmstrom, Mont., and the missiles' radar and computer systems there.

The chief purpose of the ABM Safeguard system, we are told this year, is to defend American missile wings. At the same time, Safeguard is basically the Sentinel system proposed by President Johnson and intended to provide light protection for many American cities. By reducing the number of missile sites, increasing the radar capacity, and moving the missiles away from major cities, Sentinel has become Safeguard, deployed not against a future Chinese attack on our cities, but against a future Soviet attack on our missile bases.

The shift is intended to allay Russian fears that the United States is building a viable defense that will protect it from the Russian deterrent. The basic components of Safeguard remain those of an area defense, providing a very light missile cover for nearly the entire continental United States.

Safeguard includes two separate radar systems: PAR—perimeter acquisition radar—a long-range radar design to detect incoming missiles at a range of 1,000 to 2,000 miles and track them until they come into the range of MSR—missile site radar—which performs surveillance and detection, target track, missile track, and command functions for the Safeguard antiballistic missiles. Their extensive range means the PAR's are not needed at every site.

The computers for this system, the largest and most complex ever built, are intended to interpret the radar signals, identify and track targets, distinguish between actual warheads and decoys, allocate and guide the Safeguard missiles, and fire them when they are within range of their target.

The two missiles in the system are the Spartan and the Sprint. The Spartan is a long-range missile, armed with a large warhead and designed to intercept incoming missiles in outer space. At that altitude effects from a nuclear explosion are felt on the surface of the earth. Spartan, therefore, is designed as a city defense, but an ineffective or open one because it is easy to fool the Spartan missile. All decoys, penetration devices and attempts to jam a missile are effective in outer space.

The other missile, Sprint, has a range of about 25 miles, is highly maneuverable, and has a high rate of acceleration. The Sprint is designed to pick up incoming missiles which escape the Spartan. It is less easy to mislead the Sprint with decoys because most of them burn up as the incoming missile enters the atmosphere.

The weakest link in the system is the radar. For radars to work they cannot be protected in silos such as the offensive missiles are. Consequently they are quite soft and vulnerable to less than a direct hit by an incoming missile. The radar sits exposed and virtually unprotectable—potentially as ineffective as a blinded Cyclops.

The long-range radar has little capability to discriminate between actual warheads and decoys. In addition, incoming missiles may be equipped with electronic jamming devices intended to mislead the radar. The Russians have developed FOBS—fractional orbit bombardment system—which delivers a missile on a much lower orbiting trajectory, accomplished by placing a missile in orbit and then breaking the orbit, giving the defensive radar scarcely 3 minutes warning. Intentionally caused fire storms or nuclear explosions screen incoming missiles from the defending radar.

No possibility exists for testing the system because it is impossible to simulate an incoming nuclear attack with simultaneous explosions.

The radars, computers, and missiles must operate in close coordination, and the system, to be effective, must be able to handle a large number of incoming missiles at a time when there may be many nuclear explosions and blackouts. Past experience with complicated radar and computer systems is not encouraginging. The SAGE—Semi-Automatic Ground Environment—was a defense system designed to protect against manned-bomber attack through the use of radar and computer analysis. After 15 years of work and $20 billion, SAGE has not worked well enough to convince us of its reliability against a well-planned air attack. In this year's budget, the administration is asking for an airborne warning system (AWACS) because the ground-based radar was vulnerable in earlier warning systems; at the same time, the administration presses the expensive Safeguard which will be entirely dependent on ground-based radar.

Problems exist with each of the ABM components, and no one knows yet whether the system will work as a whole. All political questions aside, much more research and development and testing is needed before we deploy Safeguard.

I agree with the members of the Senate Armed Services Committee that we should continue research and development on ABM systems. The world situation may change, and we may later want to deploy an ABM of some type; I do not believe that we should close all doors to that possibility.

Third. Alternatives to Safeguard exist that are better, cheaper and more certain to achieve the purposes of an antiballistic missile system.

Technical difficulties present different problems of varying seriousness of each of the specific defensive purposes.

The defensive missile site problems include the large number of Sprints which may be needed to destroy incoming ICBM's and the vulnerability of the radar. It would be much cheaper to either superharden the missile silos or increase the number of our offensive missiles so that more of them would survive an attempted preemptive first strike.

If a large number of offensive missiles are fired at one Minuteman site and if our ABM system at 95 percent effectiveness will allow one in 20 of the incoming missiles to penetrate the defense, it is difficult to expect the President to wait and see if the attack fails. Undoubtedly he would launch the Minutemen, and the ABM would be left defending open holes. If an enemy knows that the President will wait out a first-strike attack, it serves only to encourage that attack.

Cities are "soft" targets and extremely vulnerable to even one missile with a nuclear warhead eluding the defense. The Spartan missiles are especially designed to protect population centers, but decoys and penetration devices in outer space can mislead the radar and misdirect the Spartan.

No one claims that either the Sentinel or Safeguard system would be an adequate defense for cities. President Nixon, on March 4, 1969, warned—

> The heaviest defense system we considered, one designed to protect our major cities, still could not prevent a catastrophic level of U.S. fatalities from a deliberate all-out Soviet attack.

Secretary of Defense Laird presented the predicted fatalities from a Soviet first strike in the mid-1970's. A Soviet attack with no defense could kill between 110 and 120 million Americans. It was predicted that the Sentinel system would cut the deaths to 100 million, decreasing the death rate by only about 15 percent.

Bomber bases are the same soft targets as cities. Safeguard's protection for them is ineffective and unneeded because the warning system and radars give ample opportunity for aircraft carrying nuclear arms to be aloft by the time missiles arrive.

ABM is also sold as protection against the accidental release of a missile against the United States. A better protection against an accidental launching is the use of a self-destructive device on each missile; such devices should be a subject for negotiation at the strategic arms limitation talks. Indeed it is perplexing why we have not equipped our ICBM's already with a self-destruct mechanism to avert an accident on our part.

Finally, in the attempt to find a purpose for phase I of the Safeguard system, Secretary of Defense Laird on May 22 rationalized the deployment of ABM at two missile sites, Montana and North Dakota, on the grounds that it would provide an opportunity to test the system.

Neither the Governor of Montana nor the Governor of North Dakota is happy about the prospect of ABM development in his State.

The type of research and development Mr. Laird envisaged at the two missile bases would be possible only if offensive missiles could be fired into the States with a nuclear blackout of some sort which is impossible under the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. It would be far wiser to continue the development and testing at Kwajalein where there are re-

search and development facilities already and the possibility exists of firing ICBM's into Kwajalein to actually test the system in limited circumstances.

In response to Mr. Laird's May 22 ABM White Paper, George W. Rathjens, Jerome B. Weisner, and Steven Weinberg, pointed out:

> One cannot but wonder if all of the recent emphasis on the advantage of Phase I deployment for check-out and R&D purposes is an afterthought—an effort to find an acceptable rationale for the Safeguard decision, arrived at after it had become apparent that both the threat to our retaliatory force and Safeguard's actual utility as a defense for Minuteman had been much overstated.

The honorable Senator from Tennessee (Mr. GORE) has referred to the ABM system as a program in search of a mission. And indeed it is. We could have found and still can develop a better means of defnding our ICBM's with an anti-ballistic-missile system which would be less expensive, and contain more, smaller missiles and a less sophisticated radar.

Chayes, Wiesner, Rathjens, and Weinberg outlined a good defense for our deterrent if a need were determined. First, the ABM system would be concentrated to protect enough intercontinental ballistic missiles to assure the retaliatory capacity of the United States to any enemy first strike. They suggest that it protect two wings of missiles and not include the soft bomber bases. Second, it would not include Spartans and PAR's, intended for long-range use, and ineffective against heavy sophisticated attacks. Third, rather than using Sprints, it would use a simpler and cheaper weapon which could be deployed in greater numbers. The simpler weapon, although it would not protect cities, would be sufficient for the protection of hardened missiles sites. Fourth, it would use more, cheaper, harder radars at each missile site. And finally, the computer programing would be far simpler because most decoys and penetration tactics are less effective at lower altitudes.

Basically, it is much simpler to defend our missile sites because they can be defended at lower altitudes. And as long as we are sure that we have retaliatory capacities sufficient to destroy or inflict intolerable damage upon the attacking nation, the concept of mutual deterrence keeps nuclear peace.

We should step back from Safeguard. If we later decide that it is necessary to deploy a deterrent defense, then we should deploy one that is designed to be effective. The trouble with Safeguard is that it is basically a city defense system with much of its cost allocated to components designed to defend a city against a light nuclear attack.

Secretary Laird in his March 19 testimony said that one of the reasons the administration rejected Sentinel was that it could be interpreted by the Russians as a first step toward a heavy city defense. Although the Safeguard missiles are not deployed as close to cities, the system itself is basically the same and subject to the same interpretations. A city defense, if it makes us invulnerable to attack and gives us the capacity for a safe first strike—at least if that is what the Russians think it does—steps up the ante in an arms race. Safeguard gives us a poor defense of the Minuteman missiles, very little protection from attack against our cities, and makes the Russians believe that we are building the basis for a city defensive system.

If we are concerned about the potential Russian threat of the mid-1970's, we should choose a response which takes less leadtime to develop than the complicated anti-ballistic-missile system. Because it takes between a year and a half and 2 years from the start of construction to the operational availability of an ICBM—as compared to the 1976 availability of ABM—it is wiser to plan to deploy more Minuteman missiles if we need them based on the evidence we have in 1972 or 1973. That alternative would protect us as well by 1975 as would the provocative ABM.

Thus far, about $4.7 billion has been spent in research and development on land-to-air nuclear defense systems, including the Sentinel. Mr. Laird, to illustrate that the ABM system is ready for production and deployment, noted that some of the components are already being manufactured, and that $434 million has been obligated for procurement; as of March 30, 1969, $103 million in procurement funds had been expended. Although the bill before the Senate authorizes research and development, procurement and construction for ABM at a cost of about $760 million, the actual cost of fiscal 1970 expenditures on Safeguard is an appropriation request of slightly over $1 billion plus $350,000 carried forward from the past year.

Costs for the completed Safeguard ABM are estimated presently at between $10 and $13 billion. The senior Senator from Missouri, (Mr. SYMINGTON), citing the additional costs of the C–5A transport plane and the F–111—at 5 times its original price—said it is within the range of possibility that the "thin" system could cost at least $40 billion, and if we develop a heavier defense system, the cost could go as high as $400 billion, a figure greater than the current national debt.

The $40 billion figure includes sufficient missiles and radars for 95 percent effective protection of Minuteman missiles. This means that 1 in 20 offensive missiles would elude ABM, perhaps knocking out the system's radar and thus destroying the defense for a Minuteman wing. The price for ABM jumps to $100 billion if ABM is deployed to defend fifty cities; the additional cost covers many more missiles, radars, and computers. If 95 percent effective ABM protection is provided for the entire country, the cost may go as high as $400 billion, and still there is the chance that one in 20 missiles may get through.

The cost of any ABM system must be measured in the tens of billions of dollars; in contrast, we can duplicate the entire ICBM force or the entire Polaris fleet for about $5 billion. The cost of superhardening 1,000 Minuteman missiles is between $6 and $7 billion. Superhardening would protect three times as many Minutemen as Safeguard phase I which would cost $4 billion, and superhardening would increase the number of surviving missiles at least half again as compared to the number which would survive if protected by the full Safeguard program at a cost of more than $10 billion.

If we do not deploy ABM we will continue to have sufficient defense to protect us for some time to come: the Polaris missiles, the defensive measures already taken to protect the ICBM's, and the mobility and quick reaction of bombers. The Safeguard system is intended to protect our Minuteman missiles. However, those missiles are already in hardened silos which prevent their destruction unless the attacking missile is accurate and carrying a heavy warhead. The early warning system allows a sufficient time for the Strategic Air Command to become airborne. Safeguard, as presently designed, would not assist in a defense of bomber bases from a simultaneous Russion attack on bomber bases and nuclear sites because radars employed in the ABM, if they work as described, pick up an incoming missile in time to allow the bombers to leave the ground. The ABM is not intended to protect our Polaris missiles.

The key to our defense and stability has been, and will continue to be, the near-invulnerability of the deterrent force which arises from the diversity of weapons systems and the power of any single strategic weapon which we might send against an enemy urban target.

Fourth. The proponents of Safeguard base their case upon the threat of Russian missile development. They ignore the ease with which the Russians, if their threat is growing as fast as claimed, can nullify whatever ABM protection we deploy.

Our position is sufficiently strong for us to avoid the fears of a Russian buildup, but most military planners overreact to any new developments. We have been plagued with cries of "missile gap" for the past 15 years. The Senate Committee on Armed Services report on the ABM included minority views that the committee heard witnesses for deployment who said little other than to reemphasize fears of the Soviet Union. Questioning of Secretary Laird in the past few months indicates that this administration's justification for deploying a system to protect our missile sites from Russian attack is based upon the same evidence which allowed the previous administration to officially ignore the Russians and deploy a similar ABM system near cities to protect against a light Chinese attack.

Why the Russians accepted talks and what they plan in future missile deployment figures heavily in the thinking of proponents of ABM. President Nixon rejected canceling the Safeguard program and reverting to research and development because, according to Secretary Laird:

> He was convinced that the Soviet threat to our bombers and land-based missiles was more imminent than previously assumed.

The majority report of the Armed Services Committee also was based upon a number of presumptions about Russian intentions: what their position will be in negotiations on ABM; how they will

react to the talks if the United States does deploy ABM; and when they will have a variety of new weapons.

The emphasis of the majority position coincided with the armed services minority summary of the evidence presented:

It was noticed that witnesses who testified for deployment of the system devoted much if not most of their time to re-emphasizing their fear of the Soviet Union; whereas witnesses who opposed the proposed system expressed in detail why they believed the system would not work, or why and how it could be nullified in any real effectiveness by relatively minor additions to the Soviet SS–9 production.

The proponents of Safeguard, with the assistance of the Department of Defense, have declassified every possible piece of evidence about the Russian threat; at the same time they have refused to declassify how much more Russian development will be necessary to nullify our Safeguard system.

According to Wolfgang Panofsky, director of the Stanford linear accelerator and an expert on nuclear physics.

If the threat to Minuteman grows at the rate projected by the Defense Department, and if Minuteman become vulnerable at a certain time several years hence, then if the Safeguard system were installed and functioned perfectly, then the Minuteman would be just as vulnerable as before only a few months later . . .

It would . . . appear clear that if we proceed with these system, the Soviet Union will respond by increasing its offensive strength so as to negate any possible advantage which might be derived from said Safeguard deployment. The result could only be a further escalation of the arms race.

The simplest offense against an ABM-protected installation would be to saturate it with incoming offensive missiles or with multiple warheads such as MIRV to the extent that all defensive missiles are used up. Experts have calculated that if we take into consideration a 30 percent failure probability for each missile, something that must be done under the present state of missile development, then three defensive missiles must be allocated to destroy each incoming warhead with 97 percent certainty. This requires that each missile base have three times as many defensive missiles as the number of offensive missiles they expect an attacker to use.

All of the Russian offensive missiles might be directed at several U.S. missile bases, and as long as the Russians have a slim margin of offensive missiles after the Safeguard defensive missiles are used up, they retain the ability to destroy the missile sites. An arms race between offensive missiles and the number of defensive missiles needed to destroy incoming warheads could spiral beyond control with neither side certain that it has the needed slim margin.

Fifth. The deterioration and uncertainty in American life raises a different security question; if we want to remedy domestic ills we must cut back our immense and disproportionate defense expenditures.

After three decades of war, World War II, the cold war, the Korean war, and the current war in Vietnam, Americans are tiring of military and defense spending consuming 40 percent to 60 percent of the Federal budget, especially as problems in the United States become less easy to ignore; they are becoming apprehensive of the warnings from the Pentagon which justify new projects.

Gen. David M. Shoup, retired commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps, wrote recently:

The defense establishment now devotes a large share of its efforts to self-perpetuation, to justifying its organizations, to preaching its doctrines, and to self-maintenance and management. Warfare becomes an extension of war games and field tests. War justifies the existence of the establishment.

And the Defense Establishment has become the largest organization in the world. The Pentagon spends almost 10 percent of the U.S. gross national product; its spending accounts for 43 cents of every Federal tax dollar. The Military Establishment employs directly or indirectly 8.5 million people—one of every nine jobs in the United States. As of 1968 there were over 23 million living veterans of U.S. military service.

Congress has finally taken the size of the military and General Eisenhower's warning of the military-industrial complex to heart. Close investigation of Defense Department practices reveals which companies benefit from military procurement, contract profit margins and cost overruns, inefficient or shabby performance on contracts, the relationship between the military research centers and the Pentagon, and former military personnel employed in the defense industries.

In the past 6 months we have learned that almost all large military contracts overrun their original cost estimates from 200 percent to 700 percent. We have seen billions of dollars expended on major missile or defense systems abandoned as obsolete or unworkable after years of research and development. Work on such projects as the B–70 bomber, the nuclear-powered airplane, the Dyna-soar, the Sea Master jet-powered seaplane, and the Skybolt continued long after the projects were declared unworkable. More than $15 billion of tax money has gone for missile systems produced, deployed, and then abandoned as out-dated or unworkable. The bad record of the military on keeping spending and costs under control decreases our confidence that the ABM is a system we can afford.

A commitment to an expensive, questionable ABM when taxpayers are caught between inflation largely caused by high rates of Federal spending—10 percent of the GNP is military spending—and high taxes—43 cents of every tax dollar goes to support the military—is unwise. I believe we should cut all funds for Safeguard deployment until we are convinced that there is a need, that there is no better alternative and that the system works.

But for now the question is whether we spend on destruction in the name of protecting life—which no one claims the Safeguard system can do—or on life-giving domestic programs.

Almost every great nation has been destroyed from within. If a nation will not spend money on problems within, then no amount of money spent on dangers from without will save that nation. A nation with the capability of destroying the world certainly must also have the capability for encouraging life.

Surely feeding the hungry, housing the poorly housed, remaking a livable environment, and providing adequate school and health facilities for millions of Americans must come before the deployment of yet another nuclear weapons system unless we find ourselves in a changed world position where the protection offered by our present deterrent is no longer effective. The administration states, however—

Notwithstanding the severe budget stringencies under which the Government will have to operate over the next fiscal year, President Nixon found it necessary to recommend this program to the Congress.

As Congress considers appropriations for domestic programs throughout the rest of the year, we shall realize exactly how expensive ABM is. One sacrifice of a human program to the military effort was the $100 million cut the Nixon administration made in the Job Corps. As a result of this cut, the number of Job Corps slots were reduced by more than half, ending training for 19,000 Corpsmen; 340 of them were at the Job Corps conservation camps at Lydick Lake and Tamarac, Minn.

The $1 billion ABM will cost in fiscal year 1970 could buy many other human programs. $1 billion could buy day care to provide Headstart opportunities for 625,000 more children. At least 500,000 welfare parents could receive job training and full supporting services to move into regular employment under the work incentive program (WIN) for $1 billion. $1 billion could buy 225,000 additional training-employment opportunities through the new careers program. And perhaps most striking, for less than half the cost of ABM we could provide children's allowances of $50 per month for all children under the age of 6.

Estimates supplied by the Department of Agriculture, the Agricultural Committee and the National Planning Association, the National Council on Hunger and Malnutrition, and the Bureau of the Budget indicate that to feed the hungry through school lunches, food stamps and direct commodity distribution will cost anywhere from $2 to $4 billion dollars a year.

Congress has never adequately funded the low-income housing programs, rent supplements, the homeownership program, or the model cities programs. The Department of Housing and Urban Development receives hundreds more applications than it can possibly fulfill. The Riot Commission called for 6 million new housing units in the next 5 years for low- and moderate-income families; the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 set a similar goal for 10 years. The price tag? $75 to $80 billion in Government assistance over a 10-year period—the military budget for 1 year.

Crime control and law enforcement.

Public transportation systems.

Clean air and water.

We are not the only nuclear power feeling the pressure of domestic spending needs. The director of the Russian

Institute at Columbia University, Professor Marshall D. Shulman believes that concern for the cost effect in the 1971–1975 5-year plan of an upward-spiralling arms race led the Soviet leadership into accepting disarmament talks.

In a speech on the floor of the Senate recently, the Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. PROXMIRE) cataloged the Soviet economic position. He pointed out that the Soviet Union supports 10 percent more people than the United States on one-half the economic production of this country. Correspondingly, its military budget at less than $40 billion is about half that of the United States, after making allowances for price and wage differences.

The most severe Russian domestic spending pressures come from the agricultural and consumer sectors of the economy. Russia devotes seven times more people to agricultural production than does the United States, but it produces 20 percent less food. Industrial efficiency in the Soviet Union is coming more and more to depend upon motivation from the rewards of better housing, food and clothing. Soviet industrial investment must continue at the same rate to maintain the present growth of ouput necessary to support its military capacity. If the Soviet Union spends a greater share of its budget on the military, it will be to the detriment of a healthy economy and evenutally to the detriment of the ability to support a large war machine.

The American people have lived with fear of Soviet attack for a quarter of a century and have expended a thousand billion dollars on defense in recognition of possible danger. Many billions of the dollars spent have been wasted. Gigantic military expenditures have been detrimental to many other plans, programs, and policies which now appear equally important to the security and well-being of this Nation.

> If we had had more accurate information about planned Soviet strategic forces, we simply would not have needed to build as large a nuclear arsenal as we have today—

Said Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara on September 18, 1967. He continued:

> If the Soviet offensive-defensive threat does not increase beyond the highest level projected through 1972 and the latest national intelligence estimates, we will have more assured destruction capacity than we will probably need.

In the past it has proved impossible to defeat military plans. Patriotism and caution—the fear that if we do not spend every requested cent in protection of America, we may regret the day—have made military budget requests nearly sacred.

Are we now going to react with fear to statistics painting a supposed Russian nuclear buildup, fear which will drive us to another round of missile armament for an already filled nuclear arsenal?

We cannot allow the same forces which have operated in the past to draw us closer to nuclear holocaust. In the words of Albert Camus:

> I know that the great tragedies of history often fascinate men with approaching horror. Paralyzed, they cannot make up their minds to do anything but wait. So they wait, and one day the Gorgon devours them. But I should like to convince you that the spell can be broken, that there is only an illusion of impotence. That strength of heart, intelligence and courage are enough to stop fate and sometimes reverse it. One has merely to will this not blindly, but with a firm and reasoned will.

For these reasons, Mr. President, I strongly oppose the proposed deployment of the ABM system.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, will the Senator from Minnesota yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HUGHES in the chair). Does the Senator from Minnesota yield to the Senator from Texas?

Mr. MONDALE. I yield.

Mr. TOWER. Does the Senator have some assurance that if we cease our development and deployment of the ABM, the Soviets will likewise arrest their contingent development of air superiority aircraft, that they will arrest their development and deployment of their offensive missiles, that they will arrest their development of deep water silent submarines, that they will arrest the momentum of their development of military technology, if we merely, by a simple act, turn down the ABM?

Mr. MONDALE. I have two answers to the question posed by the Senator from Texas.

First, his question assumes that the ABM system is an effective deterrent to the alleged Soviet buildup. I have become firmly convinced, based upon the closed session held in the Senate recently, my reading of all the literature I could obtain, and the nearly 5 hours of secret testimony before the Committee on Foreign Relations which I sat through, that whatever the dangers alleged from the buildup of Soviet nuclear missile capability, the ABM system is a weak, a timid, and an insipid response.

I believe that if there is one thing we can afford to do, it is to wait a few months, or perhaps a year, in responding to a possible Soviet buildup—especially with an inadequate, inappropriate, and highly doubtful response.

The second point is that we have the advantage in every weapons system. The Senator from Texas refers to nuclear submarine capability. The Senator is surely aware that we have a massive margin over the Soviet Union in deliverable missilery propelled by nuclear submarines and fired from submerged positions, that even with their increased production, it will be many years before they could catch up.

We are far ahead of the Soviets in MIRV capability technology. We are far ahead in the number of manned bombers and in the number of missiles—and in practically every other category there is.

With the capacity to destroy the Soviet Union several times over, should we not now take a chance and use a reasonable period to see whether we can agree with the Soviet Union to limit the arms race before we become billions and billions of dollars poorer and far less secure than we are today?

Mr. TOWER. May I say I am not arguing the quality of the current capability of the ABM. I am not even at this point arguing whether or not it works, although I think it does. I think it will.

Mr. MONDALE. The Senator must know that even if it works the way the proponents say it will work, it does not help. If we could get the proponents to declassify a little of this material, we could specifically talk about that.

Mr. TOWER. The Senator implies that if we will stop it, the Russians will stop it and we can have some meaningful talks. I want to know what assurance the Senator has that if we stop it, they will stop it. They are ahead of us in some areas of technology. They have much better air superiority than we have. As a matter of fact, it is going to take us a long time to catch up with them, if we try. As far as submarine development is concerned, they are proceeding at a more rapid pace than we are. As far as hardened missile sites are concerned, they are proceeding at a much more rapid pace than we are. The point is, if we arrest our effort here, will they sit down and arrest their own?

Mr. MONDALE. I have two answers to make to the Senator. First of all, we will know whether they are arresting their development. If they escalate to the level which the Senator from Texas would have us believe they might, then we can always respond at that time. As the Senator knows, we know virtually every detail of the development of such things. They are observable. We know them.

Mr. TOWER. If I may interject at that point——

Mr. MONDALE. The second point is this. If the Senator could persuade the Department of Defense to declassify some of the evidence that has been presented to us to show how useless the ABM system is, perhaps we could debate that point with a little more credibility.

Mr. TOWER. I think what the Senator is referring to, as far as declassifying some information is concerned, are some "think" papers that were done 2 or 3 years ago. They are going to work them over again.

Mr. MONDALE. I have no doubt the Defense Department would like to work them over.

Mr. TOWER. There are subsequent papers that would have to be declassified in the process. There was classified material not even brought out in the discussions in the last closed session, because of its sensitivity.

But let us go back to the original point. The main thrust of the argument of Senators who have opposed the ABM is that if we will simply fail to develop and deploy the ABM, we are going to create a vastly more favorable climate for talks and the Soviets are going to have less zeal in the development of their own technology. If the Senator can give me some evidence of that, I will be on his side.

Mr. MONDALE. That is good news. First of all, let me say I am glad to hear the proponents of the ABM system have better information than that which was disclosed in the closed session, because I would like to think their fervor was based on more than the slim evidence that was disclosed. Perhaps it could be made available to Members of the U.S. Senate, so we could know all the facts.

Mr. TOWER. I thought the distinguished Senator from Washington (Mr. JACKSON), who is being denigrated, actually did a splendid job. By consensus, he pretty well answered all the questions that were raised in that session.

Mr. MONDALE. The Senator from Texas knows I have great respect for the Senator from Washington, but I do not recall his stating, at any time in that debate, that he had all kinds of new information that was not disclosed to the Senate, which was stronger than the evidence which was.

Mr. TOWER. I think the information is going to come before the appropriate subcommittee, and that is new information here. But I think we are working on the same ground here. We have been working on it for 3 or 4 weeks. I am a little disappointed that the opponents of the ABM are not prepared to come to a vote. I cannot understand the reason for the delay. I think every document which the opponents bring forth will result in bringing forth another document on the part of the proponents. I think the lines are hardened. There seems to be a singular unwillingness on the part of some Senators who are opposed to come to a vote. To the credit of Senators HART and COOPER, they are disposed to bring it to a vote at the earliest opportunity. But we cannot bring it to a vote and we are holding up the work of the Senate.

Mr. MONDALE. As the Senator from Texas knows, this is probably one of the most important issues to come before the Senate in many years. If we continue to proceed on the theory that there is no way to negotiate a settlement on armaments with the Soviets; that there is no reason to believe that a few months spent in trying to reach an agreement with the Soviet Union could bring anything favorable; that the only security there is for the American people is to respond to every single appeal of the Defense Department for more and more arms and for new and different kinds of weapons systems; that all we should do, as we have done for years, is consult our suspicions and fears; and that we make no efforts to limit arms, then it seems to me this generation has lost any opportunity to deal with problems at home and is resigned to agree to a policy that is going to create far more tension and far less security than anything else.

Thus, how we decide on this issue is not a question that comes just before this body, but it is a fundamental question of what kind of world we want.

I say a couple of weeks of debate spent on that question is time well spent. If we had spent this kind of attention in the first place, instead of routinely passing favorably upon every request of the Pentagon, we would be billions of dollars richer and more secure. I am glad we are finally standing up and having the kind of debate we should have.

Mr. TOWER. I think 4 weeks of debate pretty well gets at all the answers and questions.

Mr. MONDALE. The Senator just mentioned that we have all kinds of new information at the Defense Department that we have not heard.

Mr. TOWER. I did not say it is new. It has been there. They have not chosen to disclose it.

Mr. MONDALE. Why have they decided not to provide the Senate with information of which we should be informed?

Mr. TOWER. I think it is available if the Senator decides to go after it. I have the distinct feeling that there is an effort to reach into the past to find "think" papers developed by the Defense Department to support conclusions already arrived at.

Let us be realistic. The lines have hardened. We all know how we are going to vote on this issue. I do not think any more argument beyond what has been had is going to change the outcome. The point I make is that while the proponents of the ABM are being accused of pitching our arguments on the basis of fearful arguments—in effect, we are being told that we are pushing the panic button of fear and suspicion—on the other hand we could probably make an equally good case that the proposals of the opponents of the ABM are based on visionary support and good faith that perhaps have no background in experience and history.

Mr. MONDALE. Why do we not just have talks with the Soviet Union and find out?

Mr. TOWER. I am prepared to have talks with the Soviet Union, but I am not prepared to have talks with the Soviet Union while we are doing nothing in the way of weapons development and they are doing everything. They are devoting far more to research and development than we are. They have far more updated facilities for research and development than we have. And technologically, they are going to be ahead of us in a very short period of time, if they are not now.

If the Senator can give me some assurance that they are going to arrest all this while we sit and bargain, then I will be in his corner.

Mr. MONDALE. The Senator from Texas knows that we enjoy an impressive margin in every one of the weapons fields. We can destroy the Soviet Union several times with our power, and there is no threat to that retaliatory power until the middle of the 1970's, at the very earliest. We are not romantic about the Soviet Union. What we are suggesting here is that we have negotiations, and see if we can agree to limit this tragic arms race. If we do, we will be richer and more secure than if we do not. That is a hardheaded, practical, realistic position.

The position of the proponents, basically, is that we should deploy a series of new systems such as the ABM and the MIRV, which make it exceedingly difficult to reach an agreement and even more difficult to enforce an agreement. In effect, the position of the proponents is to negotiate an escalation. We would like to negotiate a limitation. We think we would all be better off.

Mr. TOWER. I think we would be, if we could all just sit down and beat our swords into plowshares and our spears into pruning hooks. But I would like to say that the only reason we maintain a huge military establishment is to deter aggression on the part of others.

I do not think that the Senator from Minnesota would even hint that this administration, the previous administration, or the administration before that had imperialistic designs on the rest of the world. I do not think, even in the most partisan context, I could accuse the Johnson administration of that, nor that the Senator from Minnesota could accuse the Nixon administration of that.

The fact of the matter remains that there are nations in this world that do have designs on others. They would prefer not to resort to military means to accomplish those designs, but if they have to, including Czechoslovakia, they will.

I think what the Senator from Minnesota is arguing is that we cannot have meaningful negotiation unless we allow the Soviet Union to achieve military parity with the United States. Is that the thrust of his argument?

Mr. MONDALE. As the Senator from Texas well knows, and as I have repeated several times in this colloquy, we already enjoy a massive superiority.

Mr. TOWER. In certain areas.

Mr. MONDALE. And we well know, at any given time, what the Soviets are doing. We retain the right to expand production of Polaris missiles and Polaris submarines; and I happen to think that the Polaris is a better way than the ABM of meeting the Soviet challenge. We can always deploy more offensive missiles, as well as a number of other things.

What makes this situation critical is that ABM is a new weapons system, which, whether it be for offense or defense, upsets the whole structure and balance, making it increasingly difficult to reach an agreement. That is why I and many others think this is not the time to deploy a new system.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, the Senator says we know what the Soviet Union is doing at all times. I have no criticism of our intelligence gathering community, but I must say that the Soviets have a much easier time getting intelligence in this country than we have in getting intelligence in their country, because they are a closed society, and we are an open society.

We cannot always be sure what they are doing. I think, generally speaking, we have underestimated what they are doing, and this gets me back to the point that if we are going to negotiate in a meaningful way disarmament, we have got to have parity.

Again, that raises a number of questions. That means the Soviets have no imperialistic designs on anyone else. In the second place, what is parity? How do we determine parity? They are superior to us in a number of fields. Would the Senator be prepared to see us ask them to stop development of an air superiority weapon while we catch up with them in that field, or while we allow them to catch up with us in others?

How do we know whether we have parity, unless we have open inspection? Does the Senator believe a closed society like the Soviet Union is going to allow open inspection, so we can determine

whether or not we have parity before we begin these talks?

Mr. MONDALE. As the Senator from Texas knows, we know by air surveillance what they are doing with their missilery. We know how many missiles have been deployed, we know the character and the kinds that are being deployed, and it is this information that the proponents of the ABM have been using daily to raise concern about the capacity of our retaliatory forces.

There is nothing about Soviet missile development that we cannot determine by our present surveillance and information-gathering sources. We can easily afford to go to negotiations now, and see if we can agree with the Soviet Union. We will keep up with the facts during the course of the negotiations. If developments such as those to which the Senator makes reference should occur, we can always review the matter at that time. The question is whether we are going to take this reasonable risk to end the insane, immoral, and outrageously costly arms race—one which strips this Nation of its capacity to deal with its own problems, creating another security risk, perhaps a more serious security risk—or whether we are going to continue just consulting our fears and apprehensions, and accepting every single proposal the Defense Department sends down here because they would like to have us spend the money.

Mr. TOWER. If the Senator will yield further——

Mr. MONDALE. Gladly.

Mr. TOWER. What we are proposing in this bill is an expenditure of $759.1 million for research and development, and for predeployment procurement and preparation. We are not asking for operational deployment here. A year hence, we can come back and review the matter. All we want to make sure of is that the state of the art is sufficiently advanced, and valuable lead time is not lost, in the event the negotiations fail.

The Sovets themselves have said that they do not regard this as provocative, because it is a defensive weapon. They are employing or have deployed an ABM themselves. They say that that is defensive, not offensive.

The other option we can take is to put all our eggs in the offensive basket.

Mr. MONDALE. The Senator must know that the so-called Galosh ABM system is an old "Model T" system, so bad that even the Russians stopped deploying it. It is at the technological level of some of our earlier ABM systems, which we ourselves have abandoned. To raise that question is, I think, to create the impression that the ABM system in and around Moscow poses a serious or substantial or significant threat, when it does not.

Mr. TOWER. What would the Senator's reaction be if he found that they had ceased work on the present system because they were developing or had developed a better system?

Mr. MONDALE. That is the reason we need negotiations—to agree on these matters, to determine at what level we are going to place a ceiling on arms development, to decide if we are going to try to continue to outbuild other nations. Are we going to continue to spend increasing billions of dollars on such systems, many of which are highly dubious, to continue to consult our fears, and not try to reach an agreement on arms limitations?

Mr. TOWER. Therein lies the dichotomy between us.

Mr. MONDALE. As the Senator knows, the Hart-Cooper proposal favors continuing research, development, and testing of an ABM system. The distinction is on the deployment issue. The proposal to establish the system in Montana and North Dakota, obviously, is the beginning of a deployment of the system; and we hope through this proposal, to avoid that possibility.

Mr. TOWER. I cannot see why we cannot proceed with onsite research-and-development testing and evaluation as a prelude to deployment and be prepared to deploy if necessary.

Again, the whole argument is based on assumption. We are making an assumption—those of us on this side of the aisle—that the Russians will not negotiate and that we cannot have a satisfactory settlement or a satisfactory resolution of the arms race. The opposition is saying that we should risk it; that we should take a chance; that perhaps we can achieve some sort of negotiation to limit the arms race.

We are accused of basing our argument on fear; but our fear is well founded. It is based on history. It is based on experience. There is all the evidence in the world to show that the Russians desire to achieve military superiority to accomplish their imperialistic designs in the world. There is nothing to show that even if parity is achieved, they will be willing to negotiate to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion in the matter of a limitation of arms development.

Mr. MONDALE. Is the Senator from Texas suggesting that an effort to reach an arms limitation agreement with the Soviet Union would be futile; that there is no hope?

Mr. TOWER. I would be delighted if an arms limitation agreement could be reached with the Soviets. If it were a matter of determiation that both of us should be equal, that would be fine, provided we had meaningful inspection. But I do not see that our placing ourselves in a position of inferiority or parity will necessarily help the negotiations along.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, this past weekend, a public opinion poll prepared by Dr. Gallup showed that almost 60 percent of Americans polled expressed the view that they still did not understand all the factors that go into the ABM system and are having difficulty in fully understanding the debate.

I think this underscores the need to have fuller amplification, debate, and discussion, because the Senate does not operate in a vacuum. This body has a responsibility to debate in public, so that the public might have better knowledge of the issues and facts that bear upon matters that are dealt with in the Senate. Certainly that public opinion poll shows the need for further discussion and education on the ABM.

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

Mr. MONDALE. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. HART. I had risen simply to congratulate the able Senator from Minnesota on his discussion and to intrude no further. But his very last point bothers me. I think it should bother all of us. Why is it that 58 percent of Americans are either unaware of the anti-ballistic-missile program or have not made up their minds about it? The Senator from Minnesota suggests that that would indicate the necessity for further discussion in the Senate. Perhaps so. But are we at fault? The discussion has been thorough and full, I should think.

One certainly cannot quarrel with the coverage of the discussion in the media. I suspect that newspapers are not sold and television channels are not kept locked in when someone explains or undertakes to write a technical discussion about the anti-ballistic-missile system. I think we all agree that we are talking about something that bears on a nuclear arms race which involves the survival of us all. Yet, more than half of the people in this country, we are told, have not heard about it or have not made up their minds.

Perhaps we, who are nontechnicians, really have undertaken to discuss too technically the anti-ballistic-missile system. Perhaps we count warheads and multiply them by three and get into sensors and radars, and I doubt if any of us could come close to being the equal of Dr. Seagraves in college physics. My grade in that subject was not very good 30 years ago.

Perhaps at the risk of being charged with oversimplying the debate, we should bring it into more of a layman's context.

The argument is made that by our beginning to deploy an ABM system, the Russians will not be discouraged, but will recognize it for what it is, a defensive system. Then, why in heaven's name when the Russians began to deploy their ABM system, did we get in a lather and begin to MIRV because they had begun to deploy an ABM system? That is a system that we understand now is outmoded and ineffective.

We ought to get that point discussed and developed a bit further. We cannot have it both ways. We are wrong in one or the other of those analyses, are we not?

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I agree with the Senator from Michigan. We have for the past few months been officially stating that the Russians are prepared for a first strike. "There is no doubt about that," said the Secretary of Defense.

I wonder what the response of the defense planners and political leaders of the Soviet Union is. I wonder if they really believe that we think the Soviet Union is prepared for a first strike.

What would their reaction be? And what would our reaction be if it were the other way around?

The only way I can see to sort out these suspicions and try to replace terror and a sense of insecurity with some stability is to have the strategic arms limitation talks. We must work out our differences, try to agree on a system that

limits arms and provides an inspection system which would permit us to know without doubt that the agreement is being kept, and permit the Russians to have the same opportunity. We would both retain our mutual deterrence.

It so happens that we are now ahead of the Russians in every weapons system. We have nothing to lose and much to gain by eliminating the suspicions that have created the ever-increasing arms budget and ever-increasing environment of instability, uncertainty and terror.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, again risking oversimplification in an effort to broaden an awareness of the questions before us and in the minds of the people of this country, perhaps we should make this point: sometimes when we are proposing that we should delay deploying the ABM until we have had an arms control discussion with the Soviet Union, we are asked to prove, if we delay the deployment, whether the Soviets would withhold its action in developing some kind of a super rocket or bomber. We ought to ask ourselves where the balanced budget is, who is really ahead, and whether there is anyone here that would trade the American weapons system.

Does anyone want to trade America's nuclear power for that of the Soviets? Would we be able then to go into discussion and negotiations?

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I agree with the Senator from Michigan. I sat through hours of executive sessions and through the debate we had on the floor. There seems to be little, if any, doubt that we have a mammoth advantage in every critical strategic weapons system. It is well known that our MIRV technology is almost ready for deployment, if it has not already been deployed.

I think that the ABM system we are testing is not much of a defense. However, compared to the Galosh system, it is the difference between a modern Cadillac and a Model T.

If there ever is going to be a time in our history when we can and should determine to end the insane arms race, now is the time.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, in the hearing to which the Senator from Minnesota makes reference before the Committee on Foreign Relations, does he recall the statement of Dr. Marshall Shulman, professor of government and director of the Russian Institute at Columbia University, when he said:

> It follows, also, Mr. Chairman, that it would not be wise to deploy an ABM system in the belief that it would improve our bargaining position in relation to the missile talks. To do so would be more likely, in my opinion, to strengthen the position of those on the Soviet side who are only too ready to argue that the United States is too committed by its system or its pressure groups to an arms race to be seriously interested in its abatement.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I do not recall that. However, I agree wholeheartedly with the point.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I think it is important that we should remind ourselves of this periodically. Getting back to the point that persuaded me to do more than just thank the Senator from Minnesota, this Gallup poll of July 26, which he discussed as he concluded his remarks, indicates that a majority of Americans are either unaware of the ABM program or have not made up their minds about it. Fifty-eight percent of Americans are unaware or do not know. Yet, across the country, in full-page ads, captioned "84 percent of all Americans support an ABM system," is this ad by members of the Citizens Committee for Peace With Security, the chairman of which is William J. Casey. One need not be a Ph. D. in mathematics to know that that one does not add up.

Mr. MONDALE. Is that the Mr. Casey who is going to be with the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency?

Mr. HART. This is my understanding, yes.

Mr. MONDALE. It is no wonder, then, that the American public becomes confused, when a man who has taken a position as one who is supposed to be primarily concerned with limitation of armaments helps sponsor a poll which says 84 percent of the American people support an ABM system, and Dr. Gallup comes out a week later and says 60 percent do not understand the ABM issue.

Mr. HART. Or do not know about it.

Mr. MONDALE. According to the Gallup poll, how many support the ABM system?

Mr. HART. Twenty-five percent, if I read this correctly.

Mr. MONDALE. Twenty-five percent favor the ABM, and the ad says 84 percent. Is that within the normal margin of error?

Mr. HART. Well, it is, in the development of weapons systems cost estimates, but aside from that, I know no area where that range of mistake is so accepted.

Mr. MONDALE. I thank the Senator.

THE SURTAX EXTENSION

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, earlier today an item appeared on the UPI wire service commenting upon the fact that the majority leader, speaking for the Democratic policy committee, has indicated that there will be no votes on the surtax extension, thereby leaving the impression that this tax is going to be allowed to lapse.

Approximately 3 hours later a second item appeared on the same wire service with a New York dateline.

I ask unanimous consent that both these items be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

TAXES

WASHINGTON.—Senate Democratic Leader Mike Mansfield raised the possibility today, Congress might quietly bury the 10 per cent income tax surcharge this week by letting paycheck withholding of the extra levy expire.

"The surtax expires at midnight Thursday," Mansfield told reporters, referring to paycheck withholding. The surtax itself expired June 30, but Congress extended withholding for a month while considering President Nixon's plea to extend the surcharge another year.

"If it goes out of existence Thursday, it would be very hard to revive it in view of the deep undercurrent in this body."

He referred to opposition by some Senators toward Nixon's surtax proposal, under which the 10 per cent levy would apply this year, then drop to 5 per cent Jan. 1.

Mansfield warned last week that Senate opposition to the surtax was increasing. He said the administration was calling it a vital anti-inflation tool but had no evidence it had slowed inflation so far.

The House passed Nixon's surcharge proposal a month ago, and the Senate Finance Committee approved it. But Mansfield's democratic policy committee has refused to put the bill on the Senate calendar until coupled with a tax reform measure.

Last week, Mansfield proposed a compromise—extend the surtax through November, enough time to get a tax reform bill ready. Then, he said, Congress could take up the surcharge and reform.

Senate Republican Leader Everett M. Dirksen told newsmen he rejected Mansfield's proposal. But Mansfield said Dirksen hadn't said the same to him and he was still hoping Dirksen and the administration would agree.

"I'm hoping the accommodation which was proposed would be accepted," Mansfield said.

Mansfield's veiled threat to let the whole surcharge package expire came in response to questions about a resolution, scheduled for a House vote today, which would extend withholding of the levy another 15 days.

Newsmen asked Mansfield whether he'd rush the resolution through the Senate. Unexpectedly, he declined to say he would. He said the proposal would go to the Senate Finance Committee, but declined to promise he'd then put it on the floor for a fast vote.

A week ago, Mansfield had offered to extend withholding up to 4 months. But today he said he was uncertain because so many Senators had since told him they opposed the surtax.

STOCKS

NEW YORK.—The gloom intensified on Wall Street today as the stock market took another tumble. It has been in a steady decline for more than three weeks.

The selling hit virtually all major groups. One exception was the airlines with some issues recording gains on the strength of new routes awarded several companies by the Civil Aeronautics Board.

The downdrift has been attributed by some analysts to concern by investors over the prospect of corporate profits and expansion. The failure of the Senate to extend the income tax surcharge has added to Wall Street's worries.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I emphasize again that this lack of decision on the part of the Senate and the prevailing uncertainty as to what the Senate will or will not do with respect to the extention of the surcharge and what it will or will not do with respect to the repeal of the investment credit is creating chaos in our markets.

I hope the leadership in the Senate can be prevailed upon to allow the Senate at least to vote on this measure and to remove this cloud of uncertainty. Certainly there can be no excuse for the continued delay on the part of the Senate to act.

I most certainly do not attribute to the Democratic policy committee any ulterior motives; however, if this were part of a plan to create a recession in this country no other action that could be taken would be more fruitful in that

direction than these unwarranted delaying actions.

I appeal to the leadership that we get action on this tax bill at an early date.

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

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. I asked the Senator to yield because it would be so easy to dismiss the situation as a stockmarket decline: The stockmarket is going down, so what do we care? Most of the people in the United States are not materially affected. But people have to realize that it is not just the market going down. Housing starts are going down by a million; that is approximately 40 percent.

The economic pressure will be felt, because high interest rates are being built into every price, and wage settlements are taking that into consideration, going up approximately 6 or 7 percent. We are heading for a recession. There is no question about it. I do not know that it can be avoided, considering the way the Federal Reserve Board has put the brakes on in this situation. Certainly, we are not helping it any by marking time as we are on the surtax extension.

I am delighted that the Senator is pressing the fight. It is interesting that he and I, in a sense, have joined in it; and I think it is quite symbolic of the situation the country faces.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I thank the Senator, and I should emphasize what he has said.

When one speaks of disrupted financial markets he is speaking not only of the price of stocks as it affects investors but also of the climate in which the employers of America expand and operate their businesses. This can be carried over into increased unemployment, which I am sure none of us wants.

Interest rates have been climbing, and while I do not claim that extension of the surtax alone would change the interest rates or solve that problem, it is one of the factors with which we must deal, along with many others including the control of Government spending. All these are actions which must be taken as part of an overall correction of our fiscal dilemma.

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

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I yield.

Mr. AIKEN. I read this morning that several utility companies have been permitted to add the surtax into their rate structure. My question does not concern that however. My question is, "Would it not be better to have a 4- or 5-month extension of the surtax than no extension at all?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Except for this point. Even if the surtax were extended for 4 or 5 months the uncertainty is still not removed from American industry as to whether the surtax is going to be extended.

That uncertainty as to whether Congress will or will not face up to these hard financial decisions is what causes many of today's problems.

Another point is this: Under this proposal of the Democratic policy committee no action would be taken on the investment credit until November. Many companies file their tax returns on a fiscal year basis. One company in particular mentioned that its fiscal year ends on August 1. It has bought approximately $10 million worth of equipment since the April date. We all expect that there is a reasonable chance that this investment credit will be repealed retroactively. The company, however, would be in this position when it files its annual tax return. It must pay its taxes based on the law on the books on the date it files its return. The 7 percent tax credit has not been repealed. It is still the law. The company would have no choice except to take the tax credit. It can invest the money in 90-day Treasury bills, draw 6 percent, and if and when Congress does repeal the investment credit retroactively, it will have 60 days to file an amended return and to pay the tax to the Government. There is no choice except to give the company the 60 days without penalty or interest because, as Congress retroactively repeals this tax, a penalty cannot be put on a taxpayer for not having paid a tax which was not the law on the date he paid his tax.

So not only would the Government lose the use of that revenue during this interval, but also it would have to borrow the money, and perhaps borrow it from the same man.

Another point is that when the companies go to the bankers to arrange their loans they do not know the terms upon which they are going to purchase this equipment, whether the investment credit will or will not be allowed.

My suggestion is that we make this tax bill the pending business and that we proceed to vote. There are those who earnestly think that a 3- or 4-month extension would be better. If that is the will of the Senate I accept the will of the majority. On the other hand, let the Senate itself decide.

Surely it is not expected that all Senators blindly delegate to the Democratic policy committee our proxies to vote as they order.

Mr. President, if the Democratic policy committee is determined to repeal the surtax let the country know their position by voting on the bill. In that way we will know where we stand. Then the administration could cut expenditures accordingly; otherwise the Democratic policy committee could raise the debt ceiling to cover the additional deficits. I know of no reason why we should leave this matter hanging in the air with no action being taken. That is my point.

As the Senator from New York has said, this situation does contribute to the uncertainty that exists in the financial community. It has an adverse effect on interest rates.

A couple of weeks ago it was reported that the city of New York had sold a sizable bond issue. It was estimated that the interest rate was three-eigths percent higher than it would have been had it not been for the uncertainty as to whether or not Congress was going to change the tax exempt status of State and municipal bonds.

It is true, as the Senator from Vermont has said, that American industry, whether one is talking about utilities or manufacturers, makes allowances for taxes as a part of the cost of the operation.

On another point, suppose we do not extend the surtax or it is repealed. In that event the money that has been withheld from the employees would have to be refunded. It is true that wage earners would get the money back next year but it would be without interest. I think a great many inequities are being created in this situation.

There is now on the Senate Calendar a bill which was considered by the Committee on Finance. The hearings have been held, and the hearings have been printed. I have a copy of the printed hearings on my desk. They are available to all Senators. I do not see why we do not proceed to a vote on the bill, either up or down, and settle the question.

Mr. President, I made this same point last year when the Senate at that time was delaying action on the original tax bill. I could take the speech that I made last year in support of President Johnson's tax bill, change the dates, and make the same speech now while urging President Nixon's request for prompt action by the Senate on his proposed tax bill.

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

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I yield.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I agree with the Senator that tax legislation is undoubtedly the most important legislation that will come before this session of Congress; that it ought to be considered and a decision made at the earliest possible moment.

But I have an elementary question about the surtax. Is the surtax intended to hold prices up or to hold prices down?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. As far as I am concerned the surtax is not a vehicle to control prices at all. It is needed to provide revenue to avoid an unbearable deficit.

Mr. AIKEN. Then, does it affect prices at all?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Our Government will be operating at a deficit of $5 billion to $6 billion a year even with the extension of the surcharge. If we do not extend it we will have a deficit of at least a billion dollars a month. That is inflationary and as the Senate delays action now, fires of inflation are fanned in this country and prices are pushed higher.

Mr. AIKEN. I noticed just a few minutes ago on the ticker that the surplus as of June 30 was about $1.9 billion or nearly $2 billion more than anticipated. How much of this amount was due to the 10-percent surtax? Would it be all of it?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. It would be a part of it. The tax surcharge enacted last year provided about $9 billion in extra revenue. But I point out that when they talk about surplus today they are speaking of the overall collections of the Government, including trust funds. The Government did not close last year's operations with any surplus. It does not have the right to use trust fund money to defray the normal operating costs of the Government. For example,

full partnership in our society. It will be an appropriate forerunner of other measures which recognize the new awareness, idealism, and talents of our young citizens.

It is particularly critical that we afford our young people the opportunity to seek answers, to express their views, and to use their influence in the development of our national policies. Young persons want to do this—and they want to do it in an orderly and effective manner. That youth can participate—and participate in a constructive manner—was evidenced in the political campaigns of 1968. Those campaigns are over. Now it is not sufficient for us to look back and praise young people for their persevering efforts. Rather, our responsibility is to renew the efforts to bring youth into the discussion, formulation, and implementation of our policies. This is a worthy objective. Its accomplishment will benefit our Republic.

My support for this proposal is basically twofold. It is my belief that those in the age group of 18 to 21 are capable of discharging the right to vote in an intelligent and conscientious manner. And a democracy thrives when its base is broadened and additional persons are brought into the democratic process. Full participation is the ideal for which we strive. We accomplished this in giving women the right to vote, in eliminating the poll tax, in passing the Voting Rights Act, and in other measures. Now is the time to further extend our base by affording young people the opportunity for full participation.

Seven percent of our population is in the age group of 18 to 21. These approximately 13 million persons are actually adults in our society. They are in the education process; they have jobs. And for the most part, they can marry, buy insurance, sign wills, and are treated as adults in the courts of law and are brought into the Armed Forces to defend their country. Additionally, our young persons participate in the Peace Corps, in VISTA, and the community action and charitable programs. I feel the youth of today are better educated and more aware. And, more importantly, I think our young people possess a greater social conscience; are more perplexed by the injustices which exist in the world; and are more anxious to rectify these ills.

The future, in large part, belongs to youth. It is imperative that they have the opportunity to help set the course of that future.

My estimate of young people is high. It continues to grow. I feel that our youth is equal to the challenges of today and tomorrow. They will aid in bringing into being a better world than those of past generations have been able to create.

Mr. President, I realize that voting age lowering is only one facet of the report by the House Members. But I believe so strongly in this proposition that I have commented at length. It is gratifying that our colleagues determined that the recommendation for a lower voting age should be one of their key recommendations.

ABM SUPPORTED WITHOUT RESERVATION

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. President, a great verbal battle has raged in the Senate for many weeks over the merits of the anti-ballistic-missile system proposal.

While some observers have called this a battle for headlines, and because of numerous publications on the issue have also termed the controversy "the battle of books," I am aware of the deep-rooted misgivings some Senators have about the wisdom of the Safeguard proposal.

Nationwide polls have indicated that the American people by a substantial majority favor the deployment of the Safeguard proposal in the interest of the national security, and a vast majority do have an opinion on whether an ABM system is in the best interest of the security of the people.

It is time we heard from the experts whose whole concern is the protection of life and property in these United States. One such organization is the Civil Defense Association of Wyoming. The Wyoming Association on May 15, 1969, approved unanimously a resolution supporting the Safeguard proposal "without reservation." From personal knowledge, I categorically assert that the motives of this association cannot be impugned.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the complete text of the resolution adopted by the Civil Defense Association of Wyoming.

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

RESOLUTION—APPROVED UNANIMOUSLY BY THE CIVIL DEFENSE ASSOCIATION OF WYOMING, MAY 15, 1969

Whereas Civil Defense is concerned with the protection of life and property under any condition; and:

Whereas the National posture for the protection of all citizens should be the concern of all elected officials at all levels of government, and:

Whereas the proposed Anti-Ballistic Missile System would provide the best known protection from a nuclear threat of an aggressor nation, and:

Whereas the National Fallout Shelter Program is the primary and only element of Civil Defense planning and programming for the protection of the population from nuclear accident or attack, and:

Whereas time is the most limited commodity during periods of international tension:

Now therefore be it resolved that the Civil Defense Association of Wyoming supports without reservation President Richard M. Nixon's proposed Anti-Ballistic Missile System, and encourages the Congressional delegation from the State of Wyoming and all other states in Region Six, Office of Civil Defense, to assist in bringing this protection to the population of the United States at the earliest possible date, and:

Be it further resolved that this resolution be forwarded to the United States Civil Defense Council through its Region Six representatives meeting at Joplin, Missouri, on 17, 18, and 19 June 1969, begging that body to endorse this action in support of President Nixon and his proposed national defense effort.

FACT BOOK ON ANTIBALLISTIC MISSILE

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, as the vote on the Safeguard ABM system draws near, it becomes increasingly important for each Senator to inform himself fully on this critical issue.

In recent months we have received a deluge of material on both sides of the question. Unfortunately, much of this material tends to be colored by the views of the author, whether it be a prominent scientist opposing deployment or the Department of Defense trying to justify it.

For a fair, lucid, and factual presentation of the basic facts about the Safeguard system and an excellent summary of the best arguments for and against deployment, I commend to the attention of Senators, particularly those who have not yet made up their minds on the issue, the Democratic study group fact book entitled "ABM." The Democratic study group booklet provides all the basic information one requires to come to an informed judgment on deploying the Safeguard systems, in addition to a bibliography for further study of material available from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It has been praised by Representatives who support and those who oppose the Safeguard system. I have found the booklet most useful.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Democratic study group fact book entitled "ABM," prepared by the Democratic study group in the House of Representatives, be printed in RECORD.

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

ABM—DEMOCRATIC STUDY GROUP, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, 1969

I. INTRODUCTION

This DSG Fact Book is designed to provide Members of Congress with a basic understanding of the proposed SAFEGUARD ABM system, a history of anti-ballistic missile development and the ABM debate, and a fair and factual exposition of the arguments for and against SAFEGUARD deployment.

The controversy over the proposal to deploy an anti-ballistic missile system is certain to rank as one of the key issues of the 91st Congress. In addition to the immediate defense and foreign policy considerations involved, the ABM debate has other ramifications as well. It has helped stimulate a critical examination of national commitments and the size of the defense establishment needed to fulfill these commitments, and it is expected to produce closer Congressional scrutiny of future defense proposals.

SAFEGUARD authorization bills are currently being considered by both the House and Senate Armed Services Committees. The first vote on the issue, however, is expected to come in the Senate. If authorization is approved, funds for SAFEGUARD will be included in both the Department of Defense (DOD) and Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) appropriation bills later in the year.

II. HOW SAFEGUARD WORKS AND WHAT IT WILL COST

An anti-ballistic missile (ABM) is a missile armed with a warhead designed to destroy an enemy incoming intercontinental

ballistic missile (ICBM) warhead. In order to accomplish its goal an ABM system such as Safeguard depends on the perfect working of three subsystems—radars, computers, and missiles—plus interconnecting communications and controls.

Radars

Safeguard uses two kinds of radar. A long range Perimeter Asquisition Radar (PAR) picks up the incoming ICBM at a range of 1,000 to 2,000 miles (8 to 15 minutes flight time) from its target and fixes its trajectory. As the ICBM closes, a second radar, the Missile Site Radar (MSR) takes over and guides the ABM to the point of intercept. The MSR can handle many ICBMs and ABMs at the same time.

Computers

The computer system involved in Safeguard will be the largest and most complex ever built—the equivalent of 100 large commercial computers. Its function is to interpret radar signals, identify potential targets, track incoming objects, predict trajectories, distinguish between warheads and decoys, eliminate false targets, reject signals from earlier nuclear explosions, correct for blackout effects, program, arm, and fire the ABMs—and correct itself—all in ten minutes.

Missiles

Two kinds of missiles are used in Safeguard. The *Spartan* has a range of about 400 miles and employs a warhead in the megaton range (1 megaton equals 1 million tons of TNT). *Spartan* intercepts its target above the atmosphere and destroys the incoming missile by radiation from the explosion of its warhead.

The second missile, *Sprint*, has a range of about 25 miles. It has an extremely rapid rate of acceleration and is designed to take care of those enemy missiles that get past the *Spartans*. Because it intercepts in the atmosphere, it has a much smaller warhead of a few kilotons (1 kiloton equals 1 thousand tons of TNT) and must therefore come much closer to the incoming missile. *Sprint* does not have to deal with decoys and other penetration aids as they will have burnt up or fallen behind the incoming missile as it enters the atmosphere.

A typical site

An ABM installation in the Safeguard system might have a PAR but would definitely have an MSR, computer installations, 35 or so *Spartans*, slightly more *Sprints* (many more if it were in the Minuteman fields), command and control structures, and personnel barracks. The site itself, particularly the MSR, would be almost as vulnerable as a city or a bomber base and far more vulnerable than a missile silo.

Sentinel and Safeguard Compared

While SAFEGUARD and SENTINEL consist of the same components and are essentially similar in deployment, the following differences should be noted:

1. Most of the SENTINEL installations were to have been near major cities. The SAFEGUARD installations have been moved from the vicinity of cities (except for the National Command Authority at Washington, D.C.), and reduced in number from 15 to 12. The same geographic coverage is given, except that the area around New Orleans, La., is left unprotected. The seven installations not located in the Minuteman fields (Malstrom AFB-Montana, Grand Forks AFB-North Dakota, Warren AFB-Wyoming, Whiteman AFB-Missouri) and Washington, D.C., are to be located at or near SAC bases to protect the manned bomber deterrent.

2. SAFEGUARD would have two additional PARs, located in Southern California and Georgia or Florida, to give the system the capability to respond to attack from any direction. 15 faces have been added to the PARs and the MSRs to permit a 360 degree scan.

3. While SENTINEL had *Sprints* only at the PARs, SAFEGUARD will have *Sprints* at all sites. The sites in the Minuteman fields will have considerably more *Sprints* than the other sites.

4. Work was to have begun on all of the sites in the SENTINEL system. A deployment timetable is attached to the SAFEGUARD proposal; funds requested in Secretary Laird's FY 1970 DOD budget revision are to be used to begin work on the Malstrom and Grand Forks sites and procure land for the other ten installations.

Status of Safeguard components

The PAR is in the design stage; performance will be simulated by a radar operating at the Kwajalein test site and the first PAR built directly at an operational site. The first MSR has completed factory tests and is now being tested at Kwajalein. *Spartan* is in the flight test stage. *Sprint* is in the test firing stage. The computer system is partially operational at the contractor's plant, but the "time shared" approach necessary to govern the complete computer system is still being developed by data-processing theorists. The first two SAFEGUARD sites are expected to be operational by 1973.

Cost

The cost of the complete SENTINEL system was estimated by DOD at $5.5 BILLION. The cost of SAFEGUARD is estimated at between $6.6 and $7 BILLION. However, DOD estimates do not include $1.2 BILLION for Spartan and Sprint nuclear warheads, which appears in the AEC request. Thus SAFEGUARD would cost between $7.8 and $8.2 BILLION. DOD anticipates modifications in the system as it is deployed to take advantage of technological developments and to offset advcersary improvements in offensive weaponry which would lead to additional funding requests.

The use of FY 1970 ABM monies is compared as follows:

[In millions of dollars]

	Sentinel	Safeguard
Research and development	335	401
Procurement	736	361
Construction	647	97
Operations and maintenance	70	23
Military pay and allowances		10
Total	1,788	892

In addition, a total of $235 million unobligated FY 1969 SENTINEL money will be allocated for the SAFEGUARD program.

III. THE EVOLUTION OF THE ABM—AND THE ABM DEBATE

Summary

The debate over an ABM began in the mid fifties when the Army instituted studies of the application of the NIKE AJAX and NIKE HERCULES anti-aircraft systems to defense against missiles. Rapid development of the ICBM by both the Soviet Union and the United States at the end of the 1950s provided the impetus for ABM development. By 1959 the official consensus was that an ABM system that would protect the United States from massive missile attack was unworkable. President Eisenhower therefore halted NIKE ZEUS deployment.

Pressure for deployment, however, did not abate. In 1960 Secretary of Defense McElroy rejected Army requests for $400 million for NIKE ZEUS production; when Congress appropriated the money anyway he refused to spend it. The Kennedy Administration opted for a strategy of deterrence through an "assured destruction" capability on each side and kept the ABM in the research and development phase. Technological advances and an emerging Chinese capability, however, caused the Johnson Administration to authorize deployment of a "thin" cities-protecting ABM system in September of 1967. During 1968, heated controversy over the decision to deploy developed in the scientific community, in the Senate, and in the public at large.

In March of 1969 President Nixon announced the deployment of a modified SENTINEL, to be called SAFEGUARD, and in the course of defending this proposal during March, April, and May the Administration developed a number of justifications, some of them contradictory, for going ahead with an ABM. These justifications also represented policy reversals of positions taken by the Johnson Administration.

Chronology

February 1955. DOD contracts feasibility studies for the proposed Nike Zeus ABM with Bell Telephone Laboratories.

July 1955. Research and development focuses on the ICBM as the primary target of any emergent ABM system.

January 1957. Full system deployment of Nike-Zeus is ordered by the Army.

September 1957. The Atomic Energy Commission completes a feasibility study of the Nike-Zeus warhead.

June 1959. Joint AEC-Army activities commence on development engineering for a *Zeus* missile warhead.

August 1959. First *Zeus* missile is fired at the White Sands Missile Range.

November 1959. President Eisenhower orders cessation of Nike-Zeus deployment (radar ineffective, easily overwhelmed by decoys) but authorizes continuation of research and development.

April 1961. The Kennedy Administration decides to keep United States ABM development in the research and development phase.

July 1962. First successful ICBM-*Zeus* missile intercept is conducted.

January 1963. DOD authorizes the Army to begin research and development on the Nike X ABM system, which employs two types of missile and electronically operated radars that can handle numerous targets simultaneously.

March 1963. Contract for the *Sprint* missile—short range, rapid acceleration component of Nike X—is awarded.

Summer 1963. The Senate Armed Services Committee, in an attempt to force an Executive decision for the deployment of an ABM system, seeks the addition of $196 million for ABM deployment to the defense authorization bill for FY 1964. The full Senate, however, rejects the move at the insistence of the Administration.

Fall 1963. The Soviet Union announces that it has produced a prototype of an effective anti-missile missile.

January 1964. President Johnson orders cutbacks in U.S. manufacture of fissionable materials and manufacture of arms, and urges the Soviet Union to do likewise as a step toward the "eventual abolition of arms."

July 1964. Testing of new multiple-array radar (MAR) system, a radically improved radar designed for Nike X, is initiated.

October 1964. Communist China detonates a low-yield atomic bomb—its first.

May 1965. Communist China denoates its second atom bomb, one of low-intermediate yield.

October 1965. NIKE X development study completed by the Army and presented to the Secretary of Defense.

November 1965. First successful flight conducted of the maneuverable *Sprint* missile, short range NIKE X component.

May 1966. China detonates its first hydrogen bomb.

October 1966. China tests its first missile-delivered device, equipped with a low-yield fissionable warhead.

November 1966. Secretary McNamara announces that the Soviet Union has begun deployment of the Galosh (Nike-Zeus-type) ABM defense system around Moscow.

December 1966. China detonates its second hydrogen bomb.

Congress approves $167.9 for ABM procurement without the request of the Secretary of Defense.

January 1967. President Johnson declares that no U.S. ABM deployment will be made until completion of arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union, and requests discussions for control of ABMs.

Defense Secretary McNamara, in his defense posture statement, presents a detailed argument *against* deployment of a complete, Soviet-oriented ABM system: "It is a virtual certainty that the Soviets will act to maintain their deterrent, which casts grave doubts on the deploying of the NIKE X system for the protection of our cities against the heavy, sophisticated missile attack that they could launch in the 1970s."

General Wheeler, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, expresses disagreement with the McNamara position and recommends a "measure of defense" for the country. The JCS recommends a two stage deployment plan: (a) $9.9 BILLION to provide 25 cities with ABM defense; (b) $19.4 BILLION to add 25 more cities and thicken *Sprint* defense.

February 1967. The Soviet Union announces that it has developed an ABM system capable of protecting it against attack.

Dr. John Foster, then as now DOD Director of Research and Engineering, says: "As a matter of technical judgment I believe that these larger (ABM) deployments carry with them technical risks. The likelihood of large and sophisticated attacks with the deployment of significant U.S. defense increases the technical uncertainty of the defense system.

June 1967. The House Appropriations Committee report on the DOD appropriations bill for FY 1968 states: "It would appear that the initiation of deployment of 'light' or 'thin' defense, now, may very well be a most useful first step toward whatever level of ballistic missile defense ultimately appears necessary."

At the Glassboro Conference President Johnson declares his hope to work with the Soviet Union in limiting development of strategic nuclear weapons, including ABM systems.

Summer 1967. The FY 1968 military budget, containing a total of $782.9 million for anti-ballistic missiles, is approved by the 90th Congress. Of these funds, $297.6 million are allocated for ABM procurement, $421.3 million for ABM research and development, and $64 million for ABM construction. Of this amount, $366 million is specifield for the Sentinel system, an allocation that President Johnson requested in anticipation of a decision to deploy.

Heated controversy over the question of ABM deployment develops in Congressional debate over appropriations for FY 1968.

September 1967. Secretary McNamara outlines the futility of erecting a Soviet-oriented ABM but announces that "there are marginal grounds for concluding that a light deployment against this possibility (a U.S.-Chinese nuclear clash) is prudent." Intelligence estimates a Chinese nuclear capability of 20–30 ICBMs by 1975.

November 1967. DOD announces that the ABM system to be deployed (named Sentinel) is a thin configuration of the Nike X system, and identifies the first ten areas to be surveyed as possible site locations.

March 1968. President Johnson says the Setinel program is of the highest national priority.

April 1968. In opening debate on the DOD appropriations bill for FY 1969 the Senate rejects, by a vote of 28–31, an amendment to delay deployment of the ABM until certified as "practicable" by the Secretary of Defense.

June 1968. The Senate rejects by a vote of 34–52 an amendment to delay ABM construction funds for one year.

Foreign Minister Gromyko announces Soviet willingness to engage in talks with the United States about strategic arms limitations: "The Soviet Union is ready to enter an exchange of opinions . . . (on) the mutual limitation and later reduction of strategic weapons, both offensive and defensive, including anti-ballistic missiles."

The House of Representatives rejects an amendment to the Defense Appropriations Act for FY 1969 to delete acquisitions of property and construction of related ABM facilities 37–106, on a teller vote.

August 1968. A Senate amendment to delete all funds for ABM construction is rejected 27–46.

The Soviet inavasion of Czechoslovakia serves to jeopardize proposed arms control talks and stimulates pressure for ABM deployment in the U.S.

September 1968. Secretary Clifford directs that Sentinel be exempted from the expenditures reduction program.

October 1968. The Senate rejects, by a 25–45 vote, a proposal to delay construction of SENTINEL for one year.

December 1968. Citizen opposition to proposed sites at Boston, Chicago, and Seattle becomes vocal.

January 1969. Secretary Clifford in his report accompanying the DOD FY 1970 budget request concludes: ". . . even if the Soviets attempt to match us in numbers of strategic missiles we shall continue to have, as far into the future as we can now discern, a very substantial qualitative lead and a distinct superiority in the numbers of deliverable weapons and the overall combat effectiveness of our strategic offensive forces."

President Nixon takes office and initiates a DOD review of strategic offensive and defensive priorities.

February 1969: President Nixon on the 6th says: "I do not buy the assumption that the ABM was simply for the purpose of protecting ourselves against attack from Communist China."

On the 13th Secretary Laird stresses the priority of a Chinese-oriented ABM: "I am more concerned about that defense (against the Chinese threat) than I am about any other kind of defense at the present time."

On the 20th Secretary Laird says that an ABM system is necessary because the Soviet Union is deploying a "sophisticated new ABM system."

March 1969. At at press conference on March 14 President Nixon announces deployment of a modified Sentinel, to be called Safeguard, because: "The Soviet Union has engaged in a buildup of its strategic forces larger than was envisaged in 1967."

On the 20th Secretary Laird reverses his earlier position and says the Soviet Union is not deploying a "third generation" ABM system around Moscow but is only testing such an improved system.

The following day Secretary Laird says the Soviet Union is "going for a first-strike capability, and there is no question about it."

On the 27th Secretary Laird submits his amendments to the FY 1969 supplemental and FY 1970 DOD budget to the House Armed Services Committee and requests $900 million for Safeguard procurement and construction. In addition to this, $330 million from FY 1969 could be carried over to FY 1970 for Safeguard costs. Secretary Laird estimates the total cost of the system at $6–$7 billion, an increase of $500 million to $1.5 billion over the Johnson Administration request. In the report accompanying his requests, Secretary Laird says Safeguard deployment is necessary because "the option of safeguarding our deterrent forces against this potential threat (the Soviet threat) cannot be preserved by research and development alone."

April 1969. Following Secretary Laird's "first-strike" remark, a controversy develops within the Administration over Soviet capabilities and intentions. Secretary Rogers at a press conference on the 7th seems to contradict Secretary Laird: ". . . insofar as whether they (the Soviets) are doing it (deploying the SS–9) with the intention of actually having a first strike, I don't believe that."

Spokesmen for the Administration contradict Secretary Laird's statement on the necessity for going beyond the research and development stage. On the 15th, Vice President Agnew characterizes SAFEGUARD as "really just a rather small research and development project, with two test sites, at Minuteman bases." Two weeks later, Deputy Secretary Packard echoes Agnew and calls SAFEGUARD "really a prototype deployment—a kind of research and development."

Doubt begins to arise over Secretary Laird's estimate of the Soviet threat. Former Deputy Secretary Nitze, testifying on behalf of SAFEGUARD before the Senate Armed Services Committee, declines to endorse Secretary Laird's view that the Soviet Union is working toward a first-strike capability. CIA Director Helms, testifying before a closed session of the Foreign Relations Committee, reportedly characterizes the Soviet threat as the same that faced the previous Administration.

Public and Congressional controversy continues. Governor William Guy of North Dakota, slated to receive one of the first two SAFEGUARD sites, announces his unqualified opposition to the project and concludes "our Nation is being swept along by contrived hysteria to keep the pipeline of the defense industries full." Administration and opposition head-counters agree that the decision in the Senate will hinge on how six uncommitted Senators divide on the issue.

May 1969. It is learned that the total cost of the SAFEGUARD system as announced by Secretary Laird and Deputy Secretary Packard ($6–$7 billion) does not include the costs of the nuclear warheads. The warheads are in the AEC budget and will add at least $1.2 billion to the original estimate.

Later in the month the Defense Marketing Survey, a McGraw-Hill service for defense contractors, concludes DOD costs for SAFEGUARD will be $12.2 billion.

On the 9th, Governor Forrest Anderson of Montana, site of one of the first two SAFEGUARD installations, states: "I have concluded that the proposed ABM system—called SAFEGUARD—would not be in the best interest of Montana and I seriously question whether the system would enhance our national defense posture."

On the 10th, Rear Admiral Levering Smith, Director of Strategic Systems Projects for the Navy questions Secretary Laird's evaluation of the future vulnerability of the Polaris submarine deterrent: "I am quite positive that the new generation of Russian submarines that are getting close to operational status, that are now being tested, will not be able to follow our Polaris submarines." Admiral Smith also denys that the Soviet Union has new anti-submarine warfare methods, such as superior sonar or a satellite detection capability, that would make the Polaris fleet vulnerable.

On the 12th, Dr. John Foster, DOD Director of Research and Engineering, upgrades the possible SS–9 threat as stated by Secretary Laird and Packard (500) to 600 by 1975. He takes heated issue with those scientists who question SAFEGUARD's reliability.

May 1969. On the 13th, Deputy Secretary Packard reverses an earlier position and says that SENTINEL monies are being used for production of SAFEGUARD missiles and

radars. Packard previously had taken the position that new Congressional authority was required for work on SAFEGUARD.

On the 19th, House Speaker McCormack tells the Democratic and Republican leadership that he prefers to have the House vote on SAFEGUARD after the Senate rather than first.

The nation's two largest unions, the UAW and the Teamsters, announce their opposition to SAFEGUARD deployment, and a number of city councils and big city Mayors question the need for the system.

At the end of the month, new groups supporting SAFEGUARD are founded. Dean Acheson is announced as the organizer of one and its is revealed that a second has been organized among financial supporters of President Nixon by a White House aide. These groups join the American Security Council and the Liberty Lobby in backing SAFEGUARD.

June 1969. Controversy develops over a classified Pentagon chart that reportedly shows SAFEGUARD to be a very poor defense of retaliatory Minuteman Missiles. Sources say that the chart shows the addition of only a few SS–9s would overcome the SAFEGUARD ABM.

Later in the month the Pentagon releases a White Paper that says the Soviet Union is testing MIRVs in the Pacific. The next day other intelligence sources outside the Pentagon, particularly the CIA, support Secretary Roger's contention that the Soviet warheads being tested are not independently targeted.

Secretary Laird tells the House Appropriations Committee that a projected Chinese deployment of 25 ICBMs would justify going from the two-site configuration currently requested to the complete 12-site Safeguard system.

IV. POINTS OF CONTROVERSY

A number of points of controversy have arisen in the course of the debate over the SAFEGUARD system. The following fifteen questions are those that are most often raised by supporters and opponents of deployment. Because in most cases the opposition is responding to arguments for deployment advanced by supporters, the *Con* arguments require somewhat more space than the *Pro* for elaboration.

Will the United States second strike capability be vulnerable by 1975?

Pro

Yes. Recent Soviet developments in the weapons field pose a threat to all three elements of our retaliatory mix (Minuteman and Titan, Polaris, and our manned bomber force):

1. The Soviet Union is continuing to deploy the large SS–9 missile; its present force of 200 may go to 500 by 1975.

2. The Soviet Union is testing Multiple Re-entry Vehicles and will be able to deploy them on SS–9 missiles by 1975.

3. The Soviet Union is developing a fractional orbiting bombardment system (FOBS) and serially producing Polaris-type submarines. A FOBS capability and a large Polaris-type force could neutralize our bomber deterrent in 1975.

4. The Soviet Union is developing an anti-submarine warfare capability (ASW) that by 1975 could neutralize our Polaris deterrent.

5. The Soviet Union has deployed the GALOSH (NIKE ZEUS-type) ABM around Moscow.

Con

No.

Recent developments in the weapons field were known to the previous Administration which concluded that the U.S. second strike capability was invulnerable for the foreseeable future:

1. The accuracy of the SS–9 against hard targets is very doubtful; by 1975 we will still vastly outnumber the Soviet Union in accurately deliverable megatonnage.

2. The Soviet Union is far behind the U.S. in targeting Multiple Re-entry Vehicles independently and their progress in this field is more than matched by ours.

3. The U.S. has discarded FOBS as impractical and is far ahead of the Soviet Union in ASW cabality, which will neutralize any Polaris capability they may develop. 40% of our bomber deterrent is on ground alert and could avoid FOBS or Polaris-type attack.

4. There is no evidence that the Soviet Union has made a break-through in the ASW field; on the contrary, the evidence indicates they are far behind us.

5. The Soviet Union has halted work on GALOSH. In any event, we have more than overcome whatever advantage the Soviet Union may have obtained by limited deployment.

Even granting Soviet superiority in all strategic weapons categories and assuming we did not launch on warning, it would still be impossible for the Soviet Union to reduce our second strike capability below a level that would destroy 70% of the industry and 30% of the population of the Soviet Union. A perfectly working SAFEGUARD might increase our retaliatory capability marginally, if it were not offset by Soviet MIRV deployment.

Will Safeguard deter arms control talks?

Pro

No.

The Soviet Union agreed to arms talks only four days after former President Johnson decided to deploy SENTINEL. Since June of 1968, the Soviet Union has been pressing for initiation of these talks, despite the fact that the U.S. was, until March of 1969, proceeding with the full SENTINEL program.

Further, there has been no slackening of Soviet interest during the months SENTINEL was under review by the new Administration.

Finally, the U.S. has agreed to include defensive systems in any arms control discussions and is prepared to abandon SAFEGUARD if an agreement is reached.

Con

Yes.

SENTINEL had a very minor anti-Soviet capability, while SAFEGUARD is increasingly being justified in terms of the Soviet Union.

If the U.S. deploys SAFEGUARD and MIRV, it is likely that Soviet defense planners will assume that the U.S. is going for a first strike capability and delay the start of talks until parity, in their eyes, has once more been achieved. The current Soviet line, perceived from diplomats, is that parity has been reached in offensive and defensive capability. In their eyes a major spending program on new weaponry, such as SAFEGUARD, would upset the balance and make agreement impossible because the Soviet Union refuses to negotiate from a position of inferiority. Soviet comment since March is becoming increasingly critical of SAFEGUARD.

In addition, a newly deployed ABM system and the danger inherent in that deployment seems quite contrary to the spirit and intent of the non-proliferation treaty.

Will Safeguard strengthen our bargaining position with the Soviet Union?

Pro

Yes.

SAFEGUARD will give the Soviet Union an added incentive to come to the bargaining table and enter into meaningful agreement on the limitation of both offensive and defensive strategic weapons systems.

It will also give the U.S. an additional counter to be used in the talks.

Con

No.

The deployment of SAFEGUARD ties the hands of the United States in future negotiations. To deploy the system would strengthen the position of those in the Soviet Union who argue that the U.S. is too committed by its economic system and its pressure groups to an arms race to be seriously interested in its abatement.

The Kremlin defense establishment will certainly demand a new Soviet weapons system to use as a bargaining card against SAFEGUARD. Once new systems are initiated on either side, they become almost impossible to dismantle because they create their own constituencies.

Although both President Nixon and Secretary Laird have talked about using SAFEGUARD as a bargaining card with the Soviet Union, a question on whether or not the U.S. would consider abandoning SAFEGUARD if the Soviet Union showed a similar willingness elicited the following response from the President: "The abandoning of the entire system, particularly as long as the Chinese threat is there, I think neither country would look upon that with much favor."

There is an inherent contradiction in using SAFEGUARD both as a bargaining card with the Soviet Union and as protection against the Chinese threat.

Will Safeguard escvalate the arms race?

Pro

No.

SAFEGUARD is defensive in nature and will not provoke the Soviets; the Soviets have always favored defensive systems.

Since the proposed system is designed to protect the nation's retaliatory capability it is not provocative and will require no reaction at all from the Soviet Union.

While U.S. attitudes are presently mixed with some favoring offensive systems and others supporting defensive systems, the Soviet attitude seems almost universally to favor emphasis on defense. Thus, it appears that similar U.S. emphasis on defense would probably be the most stable method of avoiding an offense-defense arms race.

Con

Yes.

We reacted to the Soviet GALOSH (NIKE ZEUS-type) deployment around Moscow by building up our multi-warhead (MIRV) capability with Poseiden and Minuteman III. On March 19, DOD requested authorization of $12.4 million to improve Poseiden's effectiveness against hard targets, or second strike missiles, thus increasing our preemptive first strike capability. $100 million has been requested for an Advanced Manned Strategic Bomber (AMSA) to counter GALOSH. These developments with the deployment of SAFEGUARD will make the Soviet Union extremely uneasy about U.S. first strike intentions and lead them to take similar actions bringing a new and dangerous degree of uncertainty into the strategic balance.

Since the most likely Soviet response to SAFEGUARD will be to accelerate their MIRV program, and ours is proceeding at a rapid pace, the time when the strategic balance can be stabilized by agreements that can be verified is rapidly disappearing. Once MIRVs are operational, unilateral policing by satellite of an arms control agreement will be impossible. It is very unlikely that either the U.S. or the Soviet Union would sign an agreement without a unilateral policing capability.

Do we need Safeguard because the Soviets have Galosh?

Pro

Yes.

SAFEGUARD is necessary to retain nuclear parity with the Soviet Union and to show that we, too, are defense-minded rather than offense-minded.

If we lose the lead time necessary to build and install a defensive system of our own, there would be no way to redress the balance. We would be subject to the Soviet nuclear blackmail we have avoided for 20 years.

If there is no ABM in the Soviet Union or in the U.S., any country with a Polaris submarine becomes a superpower. Therefore,

many countries would be tempted to acquire nuclear missiles.

Con

No.

This action-reaction reasoning will only lead to further escalation of the arms race; the U.S. currently has the capability in offensive weapons to easily overcome Galosh, which is deployed only around Moscow.

Former Secretary of Defense Clifford said in 1968 that Galosh resembles "the Nike-Zeus system which we abandoned years ago because of its limited effectiveness." We do not need to react to a Soviet ABM system by building one of our own, particularly as the Soviets have slowed down, if not actually halted, their deployment efforts because of technical difficulties scientists say our system will have.

As for the Tallinn system, which has in the past been used to justify a U.S. ABM, current intelligence shows it to be a very thin Nike-Hercules anti-aircraft defense.

Is Safeguard reliable?

Pro

Yes.

DOD states that all of the components will work and the system as a whole will work. *Spartan* and *Sprint* have both been flown. PAR is a variant of a radar in existence and a prototype MSR is being tested. The complex computer systems required to operate these components are feasible and have been demonstrated in Apollo.

The problems confronting Safeguard are no more insurmountable than those confronting the development of the hydrogen bomb.

Con

No.

The scientific community is almost unanimous in questioning Safeguard's reliability. Safeguard has the most elaborate, sophisticated, dynamic combination of rocketry, radars, computers, electronics, and other technology ever proposed; moreover, it can never be tested as a system.

With regard to the missiles, *Spartan* and *Sprint* have a probability of failure of 34% to 59%, thereby requiring at least 3 missiles to achieve 97 percent probability of destroying an incoming warhead.

As far as the radars are concerned, statistically there is a 72% chance that one or more radars will be out of service at any particular time in a system of 12 MSRs. The remaining 11 are subject to blackout, which even proponents admit has not been overcome. The MSR is ten times as vulnerable to overpressure as the silos it is defending and will therefore be targeted first because its destruction destroys the entire installation.

In the case of the computers, it is debatable whether a program could ever be written to deal with the various forms of attack that can be anticipated.

Moreover, the entire command and control network upon which the system depends is as vulnerable as any of its components.

The hydrogen bomb analogy in specious; the scientific issue over the H-bomb was whether a specific design concept could in theory be developed into a workable weapon. The questions surrounding Safeguard are not theoretrical but practical and technological.

Will penetration devices render Safeguard ineffective?

Pro

No.

Penetration devices other than real or dummy warheads of the same size and weight as the real one will fall behind or burn up in the atmosphere and expose the real warhead to *Sprint*.

By forcing an opponent to use penetration devices of weight equal to the weight of a warhead one cuts down the weight of the destructive payload each ICBM can deliver, forcing him to achieve almost pinpoint accuracy if his target is a hardened Minuteman.

Con

Yes.

Against *Spartan*, the following penetration devices could be employed:

1. Decoys and chaff clouds, which need not survive re-entry to fool *Spartan*.

2. Active radar jamming.

3. The defense radar, particularly the PAR, can be blacked out with precursor nuclear explosions. In heavy, well-timed attack the defense's radars could even be blacked out by the defense's own nuclear explosions.

Against *Sprint*, an attacker could send several warheads in the same missile and rapidly exhaust the supply of *Sprints* at a particular installation.

Will Safeguard be obsolete by the time it is operational?

Pro

No.

SAFEGUARD is expected to be effective well into the 1980s against the threats it is designed to counter. Careful study has provided reasonable assurance that the system can evolve to handle future penetration aids developed by China or the Soviet Union.

SAFEGUARD, which will be deployed in phases, takes into account the development of new weapons technology.

Neither China nor any other nation new to the nuclear missile field can leapfrog decades of development of highly sophisticated weapons systems.

Con

Yes.

By the time SAFEGUARD is even partially operational, in 1973, the Chinese will have developed penetration devices, thus rendering the system ineffective against them. It is already obsolete against the Soviet penetration capability, should they choose to deploy it.

While the defense may be able to develop more sophisticated technology which could offset some of the penetration devices, the offense is capable of the same thing. All SAFEGUARD will do is to escalate this technological buildup into a never-ending spiral.

Is SAFEGUARD necessary to meet the Chinese threat?

Pro

Yes.

While the Chinese nuclear program has slipped recently, it is anticipated that by 1975 they could have 20–30 ICBMs. Because the Chinese are more unpredictable than the Soviets, they may make an irrational attack despite such a small force.

There is also the possibility that the Chinese might, in the absence of an offsetting U.S. defensive capability, be able to exploit a limited strategic offensive capability for purposes of nuclear blackmail to the detriment of the U.S. interest in Asia.

It seems both imprudent and unreasonable for the U.S. and the Soviet Union to be completely without protection against any country with less nuclear power, such as China. If both countries have no defensive systems, any country with ten missiles is a superpower—it can destroy ten large cities.

Con

No.

Our deterrent power would certainly prevent the Chinese from launching an attack, the Chinese could penetrate the city-defense aspects of SAFEGUARD in any event, and there is no basis for assuming China would commit national suicide by launching an attack on the U.S.

We have deterred the Soviet Union's very powerful nuclear missile force for many years. There is no need for a system to deter a Chinese nuclear capability that is 1/10 of the Soviets and 1/30 of our own.

The Chinese need to deploy only a small number of ICBMs in order to penetrate SAFEGUARD and attack our cities. It is much more likely that the Chinese are developing ICBMs to be in a position to deter us—something they cannot do now.

As for being irrational, despite verbal support, China has done no more than the Soviet Union in rendering open aggressive support for foreign insurgencies and much less in risking nuclear retaliation on behalf of such insurgencies. If China is determined to attack us, there are more effective methods than ICBMs. A nuclear weapon could be smuggled aboard a neutral ship or a biological weapon carried in a suitcase, for example.

If one were to concede the possibility of blackmail, it would be more likely that China would target her ICBMs against U.S. missile bases on China's periphery or against the cities of our allies than against the continental United States.

Will Safeguard defend the United States against accidentally launched ICBMs?

Pro

Yes.

One cannot eliminate completely the possibility of an accidental launch in a world where thousands of missiles are ready to be launched on a moment's notice.

If such an accident occurred, even a thin ABM system is likely to work well since there would presumably be only one, or at most a few, missiles to destroy.

It could repay the entire cost of the missile system several times over if one accident were prevented.

Con

No.

Unless SAFEGUARD is expanded beyond the Administration's current request, it could only defend against such an accident were the missile launched at one of the two Minuteman sites currently scheduled for deployment, and then not until 1973.

Accidental launch should be controlled instead by an agreement with the Soviet Union on the installation of self-destruct mechanisms so that accidentally launched missiles can be destroyed in flight. Should this be impossible, defense against accidental launch could be obtained at a fraction the cost of SAFEGUARD by deploying a few *Spartans* and unprotected radars designed for this purpose.

Will Safeguard erode Presidential control over the launch of nuclear weapons?

Pro

No.

While specific details of the decision-making process must remain classified, the decision to fire will completely reflect the authority of the President.

While the decision to launch must be made in a short period of time, the decision to arm the warhead of the missile can be made after the missile has been fired.

Con

Yes.

The time from verification to decision to fire would not be more than a few minutes if there is to be any chance of a successful intercept. The President is therefore given only the opportunity to ratify what the computers say is inevitable, and cannot weigh evidence or consult with advisors, particularly if at the moment of attack he is away from the National Command Authority in Washington, D.C. Most proponents of the system maintain that it will not work unless the launch process is begun at the moment of detection. In the case of an accidental launch, the necessity to activate the system with no delay would be even more urgent.

Does SafeGuard give the U.S. an extra option?

Pro

Yes.

Instead of having to resort to our retaliatory force in case of attack, SAFEGUARD would give us the option of sending up anti-

ballistic missiles to destroy the incoming missiles.

The reliance on a missile to destroy another missile rather than a retaliatory force to destroy people and property is an added protection in preventing nuclear holocaust.

Con

No.

Since the system, in its entirity, can never be tested, U.S. planners would be more inclined not to trust SAFEGUARD than to wait out a first strike attack. We would in all probability fire our Minutemen at our attacker in the 10–30 minute warning time available—thus leaving SAFEGUARD defending empty holes.

Having an extra option could actually work against us. If the Soviet Union believed that we would rely on SAFEGUARD and not send up our Minutemen and they thought they could break through SAFEGUARD, they would be more confident of a successful first strike.

Defensive missile systems generally add the option of limited strategic nuclear war and thereby increase its possibility. Very few strategic planners think such an exchange could be kept limited.

Is Safeguard worth the cost—in terms of money and national priorities?

Pro

Yes.

Due to the phased deployment plan for Safeguard, the government will not ask for large sums of money at one time. Therefore, we can afford to deploy the system and still meet our domestic needs.

If the system changes in character, thereby costing more money, the decision would be based on the judgment of a conscious government and public debate.

Con

No.

The Safeguard system will almost certainly increase in cost, as has been the case with virtually every other military project. In the two years since ABM deployment was first proposed, the cost has more than doubled—from $3.5 billion in 1967 to $8.2 billion now. The 12 major systems developed by DOD since 1950 exceeded their original estimated cost by an average of 220% and as much as 700%.

U.S. expenditures can be more effectively used for domestic needs and preventing war through arms negotiations. Also, the continual buildup of armaments, of which Safeguard is a part, has caused the longest inflationary period and the highest taxes in the history of the country.

Will Safeguard eventually grow into a thick system?

Pro

No.

Safeguard does not provide the city base necessary for a thick system and the phased deployment called for preserves the option of curtailing and re-orienting the system.

Safeguard would be more difficult than Sentinel to convert to a thick system because the emphasis has been shifted from the defense of cities to the defense of our deterrent forces.

The President has directed the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board—a nonpartisan group of private citizens—to make a yearly assessment of the threat which will supplement our regular intelligence estimate. Based on the advice of this group and our intelligence agencies, the President will decide whether to halt or expand the system—but not without the proper public debate.

Con

Yes.

The forces that have been pushing for an ABM system since the late 1950s regard the two initial installations in Montana and North Dakota as just the beginning of a full system. The Pentagon this year is requesting appropriations to purchase land for all 12 Safeguard sites. Once Safeguard has been completed, these same political and economic forces will push for its expansion to a thick defense against all possible contingencies, at a cost of $100 billion.

Because Safeguard already provides some defense for our cities, the addition of more *Sprints* and some re-deployment could convert the system to a thick cities defense fairly easily. The Soviet defense planner must allow for this possibility and expand and adjust his capability accordingly. *Any* cities defense weakens the Soviet deterrent and enhances the U.S. first strike capability.

The cities defense mission of Safeguard must already be considered its primary mission because two thirds of the monies requested by the Administration are to be allocated for components for this type of defense and one third for components designed to defend our deterrent capability.

Is not Safeguard better than no system at all?

Pro

Yes.

SAFEGUARD deployment will create a basis for further improvement, innovation and growth as the threat develops.

Deployment of SAFEGUARD will allow an operating military organization to exist, manufacturers to make equipment, and serious research and development and planning of strategy to take place.

Useful, vital data will be collected, and our understanding of the problems confronting missile defense improved, including estimates of future costs, performance, deployment time, and situational impact.

In matters concerning the national security, it is better to err on the side of over-protection than in the other direction.

Con

No.

Lives are threatened because SAFEGUARD disrupts the nuclear balance, accelerates the arms race, and increases world tension—particularly if it is not effective. By raising the threshold of anxiety, SAFEGUARD will inhibit those shifts in policy necessary to a more peaceful co-existence.

Even conceding the need for defense of the U.S. retaliatory capability, SAFEGUARD is ineffective because it is made up of components designed for the defense of cities. A cost-effective defense of our deterrent would in the first place concentrate on the number of ICBMs needed for assured retaliatory capability—say two Minuteman wings—and not try to defend bomber bases. Secondly, it would not use long range PARs or *Spartans*, which are useless against a heavy and sophisticated attack, but would use cheaper, harder radars and a cheaper, lower altitude-intercept version of *Sprint* deployed in great numbers for terminal defense. Defense of hard targets does not require the range or the cost of the SAFEGUARD system. Finally, such a system could rely on simpler computer programming because the tactics available to an attacker are limited if a hard silo is his target.

V. SUMMARY OF ARGUMENTS ON EACH SIDE

The Case for SAFEGUARD

SAFEGUARD is essential to the national security of the United States. With its recent buildup in offensive and defensive strategic force, the Soviet Union could acquire a first strike capability by 1975. If we are to counter this threat to our retaliatory force in time, it is necessary to begin deployment of the SAFEGUARD system. Sufficient progress in this field cannot be maintained by research and development alone.

Should the U.S. and the Soviet Union reach agreement on the limitation of strategic weapons systems, we are fully prepared to halt deployment of the system. In the meantime, SAFEGUARD provides an added incentive for the Soviet Union to come to the bargaining table and gives us an additional bargaining card for use in the discussions. The Soviet Union generally favors defensive systems and has expressed no concern with SAFEGUARD.

SAFEGUARD will also protect us from attack by China, which is expected to have between 20 and 30 ICBMs with which to strike at the United States by 1975. In addition to guarding our cities from Chinese attack, SAFEGUARD will provide defense against accidentally launched missiles.

There is no question that the United States has the technical capacity to build SAFEGUARD. The components have been developed and tested over a period of fifteen years and there is no doubt that the system as a whole will operate effectively. The system is well within the economic resources of the country. In fact, the current deployment schedule will permit a saving in FY 1970 of $1 billion over the SENTINEL request of the previous Administration.

It is important that the President have the option of countering an attack with defensive missiles. With such an option, the decision to launch a second strike can be delayed and the possibility of nuclear holocaust avoided. Finally the SAFEGUARD system will serve to strengthen any agreement on reducing the level of offensive weaponry by reducing the temptations to cheat on such an agreement.

In sum, it is the judgment of the Administration that the initial deployment of SAFEGUARD system is the minimum step necessary to protect the national security of the United States at this time.

The case against SAFEGUARD

The proposed SAFEGUARD system is unreliable, unnecessary, uneconomical and undesirable in that it would be detrimental to the national security of the United States. The system threatens the national security because it offers no protection from our adversaries while setting off another round in the arms race and making agreement on the control of strategic weapons systems impossible to obtain.

The Soviet Union will clearly respond to SAFEGUARD by accelerating its MIRV program, just as we responded to GALOSH with Poseidon and Minuteman III. Our MIRVs are close to operational; MIRV deployment on both sides will make a unilaterally verifiable agreement impossible. Soviet spokesmen are increasingly expressing concern with SAFEGUARD, once we begin deployment, those in the Soviet Union who oppose Soviet participation in arms control talks will control Soviet defense policy. SAFEGUARD is also undesirable because there is danger it will erode Presidential control over firing of nuclear weapons. In fact, some ABM proponents say delegation of Presidential authority will be required for SAFEGUARD to be effective.

SAFEGUARD is unreliable because it can be easily overwhelmed by an enemy offense and can never be tested except under combat conditions. It is unnecessary because with its Minuteman, Polaris, and bomber forces the United States has more than sufficient power to absorb an attack and retaliate devastatingly against the Soviet Union—and this capability will be retained for the foreseeable future without SAFEGUARD. It is uneconomical because its proponents see it only as the first step toward a thick system which will cost 100 billion and seriously erode our ability to deal with our pressing domestic needs.

China will be incapable of attacking us without committing national suicide for the foreseeable future; should she wish to attack us, she will have by 1975 the capability to wipe out one or two U.S. cities in spite of SAFEGUARD. As for protection against accidental attack, such protection should be obtained by agreement with the Soviet Union on the installation of self-destruct mechanisms on all ICBMs. Finally, if the Pres-

ident had SAFEGUARD and considered it an extra option in the event of attack, an opponent might come to the conclusion that he would use it and not launch our retaliatory capability and thereby be tempted into a first strike.

SAFEGUARD, like NIKE ZEUS, will be obsolete by the time it is deployed. While research and development on ballistic missile defense should continue at the Kwajalein island facility, the decision to deploy should be deferred until the conclusion of arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union. Out national security requires that we give highest priority to bringing the nuclear arms race under control.

VI. SELECTED LIST OF SAFEGUARD SUPPORTERS AND OPPONENTS

Pro

Professor Zbigniew Brzezinski, Columbia University, political scientist.

Dr. Lee Dubridge, Science Advisor to President Nixon.

Dr. Freeman Dyson, Princeton University, nuclear physicist.

Dr. Richard Foster, former Director of Strategic Studies, Stanford Research Institute, strategic analyst.

Dr. Richard Latter, Rand Corporation, nuclear physicist.

Dr. Philip Mosley, Director of the European Institute, Columbia University, political scientist.

Dr. Frederick Seitz, President of the National Academy of Sciences, nuclear physicist.

Dr. Edward Teller, founding Director of the Livermore Laboratories, nuclear physicist.

Dr. Alvin Weinberg, Director of the Oak Ridge Laboratories, nuclear physicist.

Dr. Eugene Wigner, Princeton University, nuclear physicist.

Con

Dr. Jerome Weisner, a former Science Advisor to President Kennedy and Johnson, Provost of MIT.

Dr. George Kistiakowsky, former Science Advisor to President Eisenhower, chemist.

Dr. Donald Hornig, former Science Advisor to President Johnson, physicist.

Professor Marshall Shulman, Director, Russian Institute, Columbia University, political scientists.

Dr. Herbert York, former DOD Director of Research and Engineering, nuclear physicist.

Dr. Donald Hornig, former Science Advisor to President Eisenhower, Chairman of the Board of MIT.

Professor Allen Whiting, Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan political scientist.

Dr. George Rathjens, Director of Weapons Systems Evaluation, Institute for Defense Analysis, strategic analyst.

Dr. Wolfgang Panofsky, Director, High-Energy Physics Laboratory, Stanford, nuclear physicist.

Dr. Jack Ruina, former Director of Advanced Research Projects Agency, DOD.

VII. GLOSSARY

ABM (anti-ballistic missile).—A missile, or combination of missiles, radar, and computers designed to intercept and destroy incoming missiles before they reach their intended targets.

Area defense.—A concept of ABM defense in which areas of the country, hundreds of miles across, are given protection from attack by exo-atmospheric interception of incoming missiles by long range defensive missiles tipped with large nuclear warheads. This type of defense is effective only against small attacks.

Assured destruction.—That level and deployment of nuclear capability which serves to deter deliberate nuclear attack by an opponent by maintaining at all times a highly reliable ability to inflict an unacceptable degree of damage upon the opponent, or combination of opponents, at any time during the course of a strategic nuclear exchange, even after absorbing a surprise first strike.

AMSA (advanced manned strategic aircraft).—A Mach II-plus aircraft designed to launch a nuclear missile along a flat trajectory to avoid an opponent's defensive system.

Blackout.—The temporary disabling of defensive radar by ionizing the air at about 45 miles altitude with the beta radiation of a nuclear explosion. This radiation and the fireball itself cause reflection or absorption of radar waves for a ten minute period thereby screening the incoming missiles from the defense.

Damage limitation.—The ability to reduce the damage of a nuclear attack by deploying ABMs to defend cities and/or targeting offensive missiles on an opponent's missiles silos.

Deterrence.—A defense strategy that depends on each side having the ability to inflict unacceptable damage on the other after absorbing a surprise first strike.

First strike capability.—The ability to launch a nuclear attack upon an opponent without receiving an unacceptable loss in return.

FOBS (fractional orbit bombardment system).—A nuclear delivery system intended to deliver its warhead to a target on a trajectory about 100 miles above the earth rather than along a ballistic trajectory outside the atmosphere, in order to avoid defensive radar. A fractionally orbited missile carries a smaller payload and is less accurate than an ICBM.

Galosh.—A Soviet ABM system comparable to the NIKE ZEUS, comprising 67 missiles on launchers around Moscow. It has been partially deployed but work has now ceased on the system.

Hardening.—Re-inforcing the geological surroundings of a missile silo to withstand the overpressure of a nearby nuclear explosion. The harder the silo, the greater the accuracy required on the part of an attacker to destroy the missile in its silo.

ICBM (inter-continental ballistic missile).—A long range (6,000–8,000 miles) multistage rocket capable of delivering nuclear warheads to enemy targets.

Kiloton.—The nuclear explosive equivalent of 1,000 tons of TNT (Hiroshima bomb equals 20 Kilotons).

Launch on warning.—A concept of defense that depends on assuring an opponent that one's retaliatory capability will be launched upon detection of incoming missiles rather than absorbing the first strike and then launching the retaliatory attack.

Megaton.—The nuclear explosive equivalent of one million tons of TNT.

Minuteman.—The basic U.S. ICBM. Minuteman I yields one megaton, Minuteman II has a higher yield and/or trade off with penetration aids, Minuteman III is designed to carry MIRVs.

MIRV (multiple independent reentry vehicle).—A system of multiple warheads in which several carried by one re-entry vehicle can be maneuvered on independent courses to different targets.

MRV (multiple reentry vehicle).—A system of multiple warheads carried in one reentry vehicle but cannot be directed to different targets.

MSR (missile-site radar).—Performs surveillance and detection, target track, missile track, and command functions for the anti-ballistic missiles in the SAFEGUARD system. It is of shorter range than the PAR and takes over from it after initial acquisition.

NIKE X.—The thick U.S. ABM system, designed in 1963 but never deployed, utilizing the components of the SENTINEL and SAFEGUARD systems.

NIKE ZEUS.—A first-generation U.S. ABM system, utilizing unsophisticated radars and the *Zeus* missile, authorized in 1957 but never deployed.

PAR (perimeter acquisition radar).—A long-range detection radar designed to detect incoming missiles at a range of 1,000–2,000 miles and track them until they come into the range of the MSR.

Penetration aids.—Devices such as decoys, chaff, radar jamming, and precursor nuclear explosions used to assist the offense in overwhelming the defensive ABM system.

Polaris.—The basic U.S. submarine-launched missile, with a range of approximately 2,800 miles. 16 Polaris missiles are carried on each of 41 Polaris submarines.

Poseidon.—A U.S. submarine-launched missile, scheduled to replace Polaris missiles on 31 of the 41 Polaris submarines and, to carry up to ten independently targeted warheads.

Re-entry vehicle.—That part of an ICBM that separates from the launching stages and carries the warhead(s) along a ballistic trajectory outside the atmosphere and then back into the atmosphere, where it then continues to target.

Reprogram capability.—A system in which an offensive missile signals its launch-control point if it has launched its re-entry vehicle properly thereby allowing the offense to program a backup missile if something has gone wrong.

Sambis (sea-based anti-ballistic missile intercept system).—A concept proposed for future development by the U.S., involving a network of anti-ballistic missiles on surface and/or submarine vessels.

SS–9.—A large (20–25 megaton), reportedly inaccurate, Soviet missile, also capable of delivering a number of smaller yield warheads and capable of knocking out Minuteman missiles in their silos.

SS–11.—The basic Soviet ICBM, equivalent to the Minuteman I.

Safeguard.—An ABM system configured from the components of the NIKE X system, including PAR and MSR radars and Sprint and Spartan missiles, to be deployed in two phases, the first phase to protect U.S. retaliatory Minutemen at two sites and the second phase to protect two more Minuteman sites, seven SAC bases, and Washington, D.C., and to protect U.S. cities from Chinese or accidental attack.

Sentinel.—The Johnson Administration's deployment of the basic NIKE X components, designed to protect U.S. cities from Chinese and accidental attack and provide eventually some protection of the U.S. retaliatory force, now abandoned.

Spartan.—A long-range (400 mile) missile component of SAFEGUARD, three stage, solid fueled with a nuclear warhead in the megaton range, fired from an underground silo.

Sprint.—A short-range (25 mile) missile component of SAFEGUARD, two stage, solid fueled with a nuclear warhead in the kiloton range, fired from an underground silo, highly maneuverable and with a high rate of acceleration.

Tallinn system.—Soviet anti-aircraft defense system having no ABM capabilities, installed around Moscow and Leningrad.

Terminal defense.—A concept of ABM defense that relies on short range missiles close to the target to intercept those missiles in a heavy attack that get by the long range ABMs. This type of defense is used to protect high value targets (cities, bomber bases, Minuteman fields) tens of miles across.

Thick system.—A thick ABM system provides defense against heavy attack with long range missiles and large numbers of short range missiles located close to targets.

Thin system.—A thin ABM system provides defense for large areas of the country against light or accidental attack with long range missiles designed to intercept the incoming ICBMs outside the atmosphere.

Titan.—A large (5–18 megaton) liquid-propellant U.S. ICBM. (The Titan II, of which 54 are deployed, is to be replaced by 1970 with Minuteman II.)

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CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is concluded.

NATIONAL COMMITMENTS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the unfinished business be laid before the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the resolution.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

Senate Resolution 85, expressing the sense of the Senate relative to commitments to foreign powers.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Senate resumed the consideration of the resolution.

Mr. CHURCH obtained the floor.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator from Iowa yield, without losing his right to the floor?

Mr. CHURCH. I yield.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

OF PRESIDENTS AND CAESARS—THE DECLINE OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT IN THE CONDUCT OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, the Roman Caesars did not spring full blown from the brow of Zeus. Subtly and insidiously, they stole their powers away from an unsuspecting Senate. They strangled the Republic with skillful hands. Gibbon describes their method in this stately passage from the "Decline and Fall":

> It was on the dignity of the Senate that Augustus and his successors founded their new empire . . . In the administration of their own powers, they frequently consulted the great national council, and *seemed* to refer to its decision the most important concerns of peace and war . . . The masters of the Roman world surrounded their throne with darkness, concealed their irresistible strength, and humbly professed themselves the accountable ministers of the Senate, whose supreme decrees they dictated and obeyed . . . Augustus was sensible that mankind is governed by names; nor was he deceived in his expectation, that the Senate and the people would submit to slavery, provided they were respectfully assured that they still enjoyed their ancient freedom.

Senators of the United States may still enjoy their ancient freedom to debate and legislate, but through our own neglect, we have come to deal increasingly more with the form than with the substance of power. Again and again, the Senate has acquiesced, while American Presidents have steadily drawn to themselves much of the power delegated to Congress by the Constitution. In the process, especially in the field of foreign commitments and the crucial matter of our military involvement abroad, Congress as a whole—and the Senate in particular—has permitted a pervasive erosion of the bedrock principle on which our political system was founded, the separation of powers.

For this reason, the national commitments resolution—Senate Resolution 85—may be the most significant measure that the Senate will consider during the current session of Congress. It seeks to set in motion a process pointing toward the restoration of the vital balance in our system prescribed by the Founding Fathers. The erosion of congressional power in the field of foreign policy has gone so far that a full return of the pendulum cannot be expected with passage of a single sense-of-the-Senate resolution. But here we must make our start.

The resolution, as reported with but one dissenting vote by the Committee on Foreign Relations, speaks for itself:

> Whereas accurate definition of the term "national commitment" in recent years has become obscured: Now, therefore, be it
>
> *Resolved*, That it is the sense of the Senate that a national commitment by the United States to a foreign power necessarily and exclusively results from affirmative action taken by the executive and legislative branches of he United States Government through means of a treaty, convention, or other legislative instrumentality specifically intended to give effect to such a commitment.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUE

As crisis has followed upon crisis in these last 30 years, the concentration of power in the hands of the President has grown ever more rapidly, while the Congress has been reduced to virtual impotence in the making of foreign policy. The cause of this change has been the climate of crisis itself, each one of which necessitated—or seemed to necessitate—decisive and immediate action. As each crisis arose, the President assumed, and the Congress usually agreed, that the Executive alone was capable of acting with the requisite speed. No one thought very much about the constitutional consequences of Presidential dominance in foreign policy; we tended to think only of the crisis we were dealing with, of the assumed need for speedy action, and of the importance of national unity in a time of emergency.

Now, however, we must think about constitutional problems, because nothing less than the survival of constitutional government is at stake. Our democratic processes, our system of separated powers, checked and balanced against each other, are being undermined by the very methods we have chosen to defend these processes against real or fancied foreign dangers. There is no end in sight to the era of crisis which began some 30 years ago. We cannot safely wait for quieter times to think about restoring the con-

plaints of the historically irrelevant, mentally ill, or suicidal. We can only protect ourselves from them.

So how can a nation deal with such young people?

Some members of Congress want to cut off their federal aid. That was only the wealthy can riot.

The President of the United States asks administrators to show more "backbone."

The Attorney General says that it is clearly time to get tough.

The Deputy Attorney General suggests that those who demonstrate in a manner to interfere with others "should be rounded up and put in a detention camp."

The Director of Selective Service likes to draft them.

There were also instant theories when our cities blew up.

Then, as now, we threshed around for quick definitions and solutions.

Then, as now, there were demands to stop the disruption some way, any way, so that all of us—and our nation—could go back to sleep.

Fortunately, some sought to understand, to find out why. The Nation created a remarkable investigative body to seek an end to urban violence and keep our cities alive.

The Kerner Commission, to be sure, concluded that wise and effective law enforcement was a key to urban order. But it also exposed what is now widely accepted as the truth about our cities. And it insisted that fundamental reform is an absolute necessity if we are to avoid the disaster of two Americans—one black, one white; separate and unequal.

I do not want to give that Commission or the Nation more credit than they deserve. Our cities are not free from the threat of violence and our urban problems clearly have not been solved.

But I believe the Kerner Commission did settle a profound debate about the tactics this Nation must use if its cities are to live.

As you may know, I have proposed the creation of a similar Commission on Student Unrest. With your permission, I'd like to speculate about what such a Commission might conclude.

1. Its first conclusion will be a warning—*the nation cannot tolerate either violence or lawlessness on its campuses.*

This is not just a matter of personal safety or the protection of valuable property, important as those are. The very processes of education and humane development are destroyed when fear and hate inhibit the quality of encounter.

The business of the campus is confrontation—between minds and knowledge and ideas. There can be no real confrontation in an atmosphere of intimidation. The inevitable victims of violence are freedom of expression and open debate, mutual respect and trust, reason and communication. Violence closes doors that must remain open.

As Paul Goodman has put it, "out of the shambles can come only the same bad world."

2. But the second finding of the Commission—as important as the first—will be that *forcible suppression of unrest, without attention to its causes, is just as deadly as violence.*

Nothing is more peaceful than a cemetery. The problem is not only to stop violence, but also to preserve the vitality of the campus. The use of force on the campus is an admission of defeat, another form of intimidation that inhibits real confrontation.

The campus is much like a family.

All of us who are parents know that sons and daughters in college can't be paddled on their behinds like kindergarteners—at least not with the same effect. They've reached a degree of maturity now, when authority depends on mutual respect and trust. Resorting to force does not preserve authority. It destroys it. Young people become defiant,

as an institution destined to benefit the growth of the community.

Challenge and impossible odds are the components that make up this 38-year-young man. The image of the Hungarian Freedom Fighter comes through clearly despite the fashionably custom-tailored suit and the impeccable manner of the man.

Dr. Koltai's innate modesty commands that emphasis be placed on his present work, rather than on his past personal accomplishments—an instant insight into the man who was named in 1968 as President of Metropolitan Junior College. It is an important and sensitive position, with great import for the future of the entire urban community.

Dr. Koltai's exciting background has been recounted often, despite his obvious reluctance to dwell upon it. In 1956, he was a professor of the Russian language at the University of Budapest, when the Hungarian revolt rocked his country, as the people sought to overthrow the puppet government established by the Soviets.

Koltai promptly joined the Hungarian Revolution Radio Committee, and broadcast news of the revolt and appeals for aid to the world outside the Iron Curtain. These activities earned for him a place on the Russian's most-wanted list.

When the revolution collapsed, Koltai, with his young son Steven, who was doped with sleeping pills to keep him quiet, and his wife, Katherine, walked through mine fields to escape into Austria. There he joined the Voice of America in Vienna.

He and his family emigrated to the United States in 1957, with distant relatives in Denver helping to make a new home for the Koltais.

The following year the family moved to Los Angeles, where Koltai entered the journalism school of UCLA. He worked as a clerk by day, and attended classes at night. In his second year there, he taught the Russian language at night at Los Angeles Valley College in Van Nuys, and went to day classes.

Koltai received a master's degree from UCLA in 1960 and his doctorate in education from UCLA in 1967. He also holds bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of Budapest.

Before coming to Kansas City, Dr. Koltai served for 8 years as dean of institutional research at the Pasadena City College.

Dr. Koltai and Kansas City joined forces in July, 1968. Katherine Koltai, the truly feminine and lovely counterpart to Dr. Koltai, arrived in the city the following month.

Steven, now a tall, handsome, 14-year-old, is big brother to a blonde, pigtailed sister, Marian, age 7, and a gremlin with a "dare you" grin, Robert, 5. They attend Central South junior high, Red Bridge elementary school, and Temple B'nai Jehudah nursery school, respectively.

Mrs. Koltai is contentedly happy to be a housewife and hostess for her husband, and an understanding, available mother to her children. The entire family is actively affiliated with Temple B'nai Jehudah.

To talk with the Koltais is to talk of the junior college expansion plan. Dr. Koltai's habits of efficiency and industry take the lead even in conversation, and the topic of the hour is the teaching-oriented institution. Facts about the college seem to take on the aura of glowing compliments.

Junior colleges are considered the "wonder child" of American education, and in 1969 comprise almost one-third of the establishments of higher education.

Limited to a 2-year program, the junior college gives its graduating students an Associate in Arts degree and a feeling of success and completion. In contrast, the student in a 4-year college, who may leave at the end of his sophomore year, often feels like a dropout.

The greatest student attraction is the non-distinction between professional and tech-

Mondale - Student Unrest speech - St Olaf's

obedience requires harsher measures, and finally authority breaks down.

If the university, like the family, seeks to create independent men and women, it must take a lesson from the family. It must recognize that its authority is in direct proportion to the mutual respect and trust developed with its students. Otherwise there is no community.

3. The third conclusion of the Commission will be that *the American student generation is not irrelevant, mentally ill, or suicidal. Instead, it is fast becoming the most dynamic element of the American political system.*

During the past twenty years, enrollment on the nation's campuses has tripled. This coming fall, more than 7 million Americans will be students on our campuses. By 1976, the figure will be 10 million. There are at least twice as many college students as farmers in the United States.

These students constitute what Kenneth Keniston calls a new "youth" stage in American life. They have opportunities for intellectual and moral development which have been available to no other large group in history.

College attendance is a major part of their lives. In that environment they are free to examine the assumptions of the past and the supersitions of childhood. The campus allows them more open expression of feelings and frees them from what Keniston calls "irrational bondage to authority."

They "take the highest values of their societies as their own . . . and . . . are willing to struggle to implement them."

American affluence and education have, in Keniston's words, created our "own critics on a mass basis."

We have done much for these young people.

In our smugness about America's wealth, we have taught them not to be smug about America's poverty.

In our satisfaction with power, we have taught them to be dissatisfied with our practice of power.

In compromising our ideals, we have taught them to be firm.

In struggling to serve ourselves, we have made them altruistic.

We have given them the conviction and determination not to fail.

In our weakness, we have made them strong.

They number in the millions.

They are bright and sophisticated and economically secure.

Our young are permanent, not temporary. They are stable, not insecure. They are no passing phenomenon.

Just as our society has adjusted previously to the demands of militant farmers, organized workers, suburbanites, and ghetto dwellers, so the young will also seek and win their right to participate in the decisions of America. It is a new group, but an old process.

4. The Commission's fourth conclusion will be that *this generation of 7 million students has many legitimate complaints about campus life.*

Many of their colleges and universities are ill-equipped to cope with either their numbers or their needs.

Their classrooms are crowded. Their libraries are inadequate. Their programs of study are badly out of date.

Too many of their administrators hide behind bureaucratic barricades. Too many of their teachers are preoccupied.

Their legitimate pleas for reform are too often met with tokenism or rhetoric—or the reformers are lumped with the extremists they detest.

Though they are serious, they do not find themselves taken seriously. And while the campus exists for them, they do not feel it is theirs.

5. Finally, a responsible Commission will find that *much of student unrest has nothing to do with the campus itself. It is a reflection of the unrest, the contradictions, and the disarray of American life.*

The President of Amherst College described this manifestation of student unrest in a recent letter to President Nixon.

"Much of the turmoil," President Plimpton said, "will continue . . . until political leadership addresses itself to the . . . huge expenditure of national resources for military purposes, the inequities practiced by the present draft system, the critical needs of America's 23 million poor, the unequal division of our life on racial issues . . ."

"Unrest," he said, "results, not from a conspiracy by a few, but from a shared sense that the nation has *no adequate plans* for meeting the crises of our society."

Vietnam. The draft. Defense spending. Poverty. Racism.

This is the litany of our shared unrest.

I cannot express how deeply I believe the war in Vietnam has wounded the capacity and the spirit of the Nation. It is, as it should be, at the heart of the student unrest.

I once supported our effort there. But whatever commitment we had to South Vietnam has long since been fulfilled. We must now turn the war back to the South Vietnamese, fairly and systematically, but completely. It is clear that the nation still has no adequate plan for that.

In the meantime, our young men die—12,000 since the Paris talks began. In the meantime, the costs and inflation brought by the war strip us of our ability to deal with other problems.

And while the war takes wealth from all of us, it costs the young their bodies, lives, and souls. For it is they who must finally serve or disobey.

They suffer an outrageous selective service system over which they have absolutely no control though they make up its entire constituency. They recognize that the system draws an unfair sample of the population. They know certain privileges are available to the able, the affluent, and the befriended, while the average, the poor, and the friendless take most of the risk.

The faults of the system and its director leave the young in jeopardy for years and make federal criminals of many who profoundly question the morality of war.

But as President Plimpton says, the nation has no adequate plan.

The war, our frantic efforts to prepare for all imaginable future military contingencies, our debts for past wars and support of veterans—these will cost the nation at least 100 billion dollars this year.

That is a stupefying amount of money. Even a billion is incomprehensible. But a billion dollars would operate St. Olaf at its present budget level, tuition-free, for 125 years. A billion dollar endowment, returning five percent a year, might finance six colleges the size of St. Olaf, tuition-free, forever.

Yet a billion dollars pays for less than two weeks of the war in Vietnam. It is just one percent of the true annual defense budget for the United States.

But in spite of its tremendous size, there is no systematic examination of that defense commitment. Except in the Pentagon, there is no analysis of outmoded defense systems, troop assignments, and base commitments. There are no talks with the Soviet Union about weapons control.

We might save billions of dollars, improve our defense capability at the same time, and reduce the threat of international holocaust. But the nation has no adequate plan.

Defense spending is clearly bleeding the nation of its resources to deal with poverty and deprivation in America. As cartoonist Herb Block pointed out in his recent book, some "can hear the distant drum more clearly than the cry of a hungry child."

Well, I have heard—and seen—those hungry children. I have found housing unfit for pigs, where children and rats "live" side by side.

Millions of American children are destroyed physically and mentally by hunger and cultural deprivation before they ever enter the first grade, and even then their schools too often have nothing to offer them.

Millions of unemployed young men and women could and would hold jobs with proper education and training.

Millions of older men and women suffer on inadequate pensions because they have been unfortunate enough to grow old while the rest of the Nation was growing rich.

Many suffer because they are in large and fatherless families, or because they are physically or mentally disabled.

But the nation has no adequate plan.

A year ago the Kerner Commission concluded that we were becoming two nations—one white, one black; separate and unequal.

In its follow-up study, "One Year Later," Urban America concludes that the nation has not reversed the movement: ". . . a year later, we are a year closer to being two societies, black and white, increasingly separate and scarcely less unequal."

But the nation has no adequate plan.

This is the country so many of our young are asking us to explain. Their questions trouble us. For however we may rationalize the failures of the past, the young believe this nation has lost its excuses.

And so do I.

How can it be so?

We are as free a people as exists.

We are as educated a people as the world has ever seen.

We are now the wealthiest people in history, and perhaps the wealthiest that can be imagined.

We have proclaimed the noblest objectives of all time.

How then can we continue with "no adequate plans"?

With the candor of their young and honest eyes, our youth are telling us that we cannot. They insist that the ideals they have learned from us must be lived—now.

What makes us so uneasy is that we know that they are right, and we know that our excuses are gone.

We must face that simple truth, learned from the young.

But having said what I believe we must learn from the young, I would close by saying what I believe we must all learn about the institutions of this society. I believe, with Urban Coalition Chief John Gardner, that "demands for instant performance (can) lead to instant disillusionment." What do we do, in a free nation, when our aspirations leap ahead of the capacity of our institutions to respond?

Last year at this time, speaking at Cornell University where his words should be echoing this spring, Gardner described two great threats to the institutions of America:

Some "uncritical lovers" would stagnate our institutions in a smothering embrace, loving their rigidities more than their promises.

Other "unloving critics," skilled in demolition and untutored in the art of reform, would destroy all we have through disruption, intolerance, and violence.

Just as we reject the uncritical lovers of our institutions, so we must reject the unloving critics who preach that only destruction will do. As Mayor Lindsay says, the tactics of destruction "promise not an end to manipulation and rigidity, but only another color robe for the executioner to wear."

What we desperately need are Gardner's "loving critics"—"sufficiently serious to study their institutions, sufficiently dedicated to become expert in the art of modifying them."

But we will not make "loving critics" of our young unless we show them that we share their sense of urgency as well as their ideals.

We will not teach them to be patient, so long as patience means delay.

I think we can expect a great deal of this new, dynamic generation.

It will be no more than they expect of themselves.

They said so in the student prayer delivered at the Radcliffe College commencement a year ago. It ends this way:

"Let there be born in us a strange joy that will help us to live and to die and to remake the souls of our time."

That prayer unites us with the young of this nation, and lies at the root of the tradition that formed St. Olaf College and set it forth on its holy business.

So, let there truly be born in *all* of us a strange joy that will help us to live and to die and to remake the souls of our time.

LESSONS OF CAMPUS UNREST

In his commencement address at St. Olaf College, Sen. Walter Mondale drew some conclusions about college students that are worth noting by people both on and off our campuses.

Mondale, who has proposed the creation of a President's Commission on Student Unrest, speculated that such a commission would find that:

The nation cannot tolerate either violence or lawlessness on its campuses.

Forcible suppression of unrest, without attention to its causes, is just as deadly as violence.

The American student generation is not irrelevant, mentally ill or suicidal. Instead, it is fast becoming the most dynamic element of the American political system.

This generation of 7 million students has many legitimate complaints about campus life.

Much of student unrest has nothing to do with the campus itself. It is a reflection of the unrest, the contradictions and the disarray of American life.

The points are well taken. Violence and vandalism crushes freedom of expression, respect and communication, all of which are vital in academic life. And while there is an irrational element on some campuses that cannot be reasoned with, but seeks only acquiescence to demands that lead to anarchy, most dissatified students are willing to settle their problems through reasonable conversation.

There are now twice as many college students as farmers in this country. If all were made, as some critics imply, the chaos would be far greater than it is. Most of our young people are responsible citizens who are aware that life both on and off the campus can be improved. There would be cause for concern if they did not recognize the need for improvement.

Students who have this awareness should be encouraged to express their ideas in a reasonable manner without trampling on the rights of others. These young people are our country's greatest resource. They should not be wasted by a deaf society. Neither should they waste themselves in violence.

ADDITIONAL COVERAGE AND PROTECTION FOR NATION'S WORKERS

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, I have recently introduced two bills which I believe to be of vital importance to the Nation's working men and women.

One of them, S. 2070, would broaden the coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act so as to reach an additional 13 million workers, and increase the minimum wage to $2 an hour, in order to guarantee a decent wage to the more than 2 million Americans who, even though fully employed, do not now earn enough to meet the needs of their families.

The other bill, S. 2193, provides a workers' health and safety bill of rights, designed to stem the increasingly heavy toll being taken by occupational accidents and illnesses.

I hope that after having had an opportunity to examine their provisions, many Senators will want to join as cosponsors of either or both measures. Senators who wish to have their names appear on the next printing of the bills are invited to call extension 3674 for this purpose.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

PROPOSED SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION—COMMUNICATION FROM THE PRESIDENT

A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting proposed supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 1969 in the amount of $45,000,000 for the Atomic Energy Commission, for the restoration and replacement of the weapons production facility at Rocky Flats, Colo., which was damaged by fire, which with an accompanying paper was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

PROPOSED LEGISLATION TO AUTHORIZE IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA A PROGRAM OF PUBLIC DAY CARE SERVICES

A letter from the Commissioner of the District of Columbia, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize in the District of Columbia a program of public day care services; and to amend the District of Columbia Public Assistance Act of 1962 so as to relieve certain adult children of the requirement of support and to provide public assistance in the form of foster home care to certain dependent children (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

REPORTS OF COMPTROLLER GENERAL

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a secret report on the review of the effectiveness of the Air Forces systems for managing manpower resources at air bases in Thailand (with an accompanying secret report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the examination of the financial statements of the Virgin Islands Corp. (inliquidation), Department of the Interior, for the fiscal years ended June 30, 1967 and 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

REPORT TO CONGRESS ON THE NATIONAL VISITOR CENTER

A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, an annual report to the Congress on the National Visitor Center and all other visitor facilities authorized (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

PROPOSED LEGISLATION TO READJUST THE COMPENSATION OF THE ADVISORY BOARD FOR THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

A letter from the Postmaster General, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to readjust the compensation of the Advisory Board for the Post Office Department (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

PROPOSED ALTERATION OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS

A letter from the Administrator, General Services Administration, transmitting, pursuant to law, prospectuses which propose alteration of public buildings (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Public Works.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

Petitions, etc., were laid before the Senate, or presented, and referred as indicated:

By the PRESIDING OFFICER:

A Senate concurrent resolution adopted by the Legislature of Hawaii; to the Committee on Armed Services:

"S. CON. RES. 16

"Concurrent resolution petitioning the President and the Congress of the United States to reconsider the deployment of anti-ballistic missiles and the location of an anti-ballistic missile system in the State of Hawaii)

"Whereas, the United States is devoted to furthering world peace, and to decreasing the tensions of the world's arms race, and to preventing nuclear weapons proliferations; and

"Whereas, eminent nuclear physicists, including Nobel prize winners, science advisers to Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson, and scientists who have been active in developing the Nation's weapons system, as well as personnel of the Department of Defense have stated that no anti-ballistic missile system can adequately protect a country from sophisticated nuclear attack and that the present United States superiority is a deterrent to both sophisticated and simple offensive nuclear threats; and

"Whereas, hunger and disease are as great a danger to peace and internal security as hostile arms, and huge military expenditures for quickly obsolete weapons systems present the use of funds to alleviate poverty, thereby increasing world insecurity; and

"Whereas, the orderly development of the State of Hawaii lies in its potential to create and expand understanding and trade among diverse cultures and peoples rather than its being an armed outpost of American power; now therefore,

"Be it resolved by the Senate of the Fifth Legislature of the of the State of Hawaii, Regular Session of 1969, the House of Representatives concurring, that the President and the Congress of the United States be, and they are, respectfully petitioned to reverse the decision to deploy an anti-ballistic missile system and to locate a part of the system in the State of Hawaii; and

"Be it further resolved that the President and the Congress of the United States be, and they are, respectfully requested to explore actively all possibilities which would lead to reduction of both offensive and defensive nuclear missile systems among nations, a nuclear non-proliferation treaty and gradual multilateral disarmament, and expanded non-military efforts to alleviate poverty and hunger at home and abroad; and

"Be it further resolved that duly certified copies of this Concurrent Resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States, the President of the United States Senate Pro Tempore, the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, the

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 555 Wabasha, St. Paul, Minnesota 55101
January 1968

INTERVIEW WITH SENATOR WALTER F. MONDALE
December 21, 1967

Subjects discussed:

I. Water

Senator Mondale's Clean Lakes Bill has passed the Senate. It provides for research and demonstration projects to control lake pollution and siltation. This bill, if passed, would attack the problems of lakes such as the one at Albert Lea where the problems are how to clean up the lake, keep it clean, how to distribute costs, etc. The St. Croix Wild River Bill has passed the Senate.

The Senator is concerned about the pollution problems of Lake Superior and is urging a conference be called by Secretary Udall to locate pollution sources and force corrective action.

II. Foreign Aid and Trade

Congress' action on aid this session was disgraceful the Senator stated. He feels that the Agency for International Development is competent and is now in a position to use constructively $3-4 billion. Some nations have had to clear up their own situations first, but with this done, U.S. funds should be available. AID has a backlog of many worthwhile projects.

Senator Mondale feels that President Johnson should introduce tariff legislation, especially to do away with the American Selling Price procedure. Unless this system is abolished, the whole Kennedy Round of tariff concessions will fall apart. Senator Mondale is working up a major speech on trade tariffs. He will emphasize other, non-tariff barriers such as border taxes, wheelage taxes, quotas, etc. Many of these restrictions are unfair to U.S. business. An important trade meeting is coming up in India, and he hopes it will be able to come up with some arrangement to help developing countries.

He will oppose efforts to impose steel importing restrictions. When the steel industry's competition came from foreign ore which was owned by U.S. industry, even though it hurt miners in Minnesota, they resisted urging restrictions. Senator Mondale feels that the current pressure is because the competition is coming from fabricating companies that are owned abroad. He feels the principle of free trade should still apply. In January he is taking a trip to eastern European countries to explore trade possibilities.

III. United Nations

Senator Mondale joined in sponsoring the Senate Resolution urging the President to take the Viet Nam issue to the UN Security Council. Ambassador Goldberg is working on this; he needs nine nations. Senator Mondale is backing the President on Viet Nam.

He feels the League could be very useful in getting the Senate to pass a resolution to make the UN peacekeeping force more viable. A force like that would help avoid future situations like Viet Nam with its overtones of race against race, rich against poor, big against little, etc.

IV. Developing Human Resources

Senator Mondale feels that a change in personnel will help the Superior Area Redevelopment program make meaningful progress. He is very concerned about this program and welcomes League interest.

The Senator's Full Opportunity and Social Accounting Act is progressing; it should get subcommittee hearing next session.

V. Non-League Interests

Senator Mondale has been very much involved in the passage of a meat inspection bill. He commented that working on a bill like this is very time consuming; it has taken two months of almost full-time effort.

Senator Mondale wrote his first filibuster speech, which he never gave. It is on the welfare restrictions included in the Social Security Bill. The mood of Congress is to equate ADC mothers with immorality, and the bill seeks to punish them. Since Minnesota won't let people starve, it means that general, local welfare will have to pick up the costs. A provision that will force ADC mothers to work drew the Senator's comment that, "This is nothing but a way of reinstituting slavery."

Recent votes on issues of interest - League and non-League.

Economic Opportunity Act (EOA)
Voted to keep Head Start under Office of Economic Opportunity.
Supported "Emergency Employment Act" amendment to EOA ($2.8 billion additional funds which were removed by Senate action).
Voted to bar EOA funds for voter registration drives.
Voted for the Senate version of EOA; voted for the conference bill.

Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA)
Voted against giving control of Title III (innovative educational services) to the states instead of the Office of Education.
Voted for the ESEA; recorded as not voting on the ESEA conference report.

Foreign Aid
Voted for more money for the Development Loan Fund, Alliance for Progress and Technical Assistance Program than was approved by the Senate.
Supported the Foreign Assistance Act as amended; voted for the appropriations bill; recorded as not voting on the foreign aid appropriation conference report.

Other
Voted to allow only 10% population variation in congressional district size until 1972 instead of 35% variation.
Voted against the compromise redistricting bill which had no population provision.
Voted in the minority to abolish the Subversive Activities Control Board. Voted with the majority to abolish it unless it becomes active by December 31, 1968.

Attitude of Senator -

Senator Mondale was very cooperative. He gave us almost an hour of his very limited time. He made a note of the League suggestion that we would be happy to cooperate in a conference, community-communication type of effort on aid, trade, etc.

Kind of Interview -

The interview was held in the Senator's Minneapolis office. It was attended by the state League president, the vice-president and public relations chairman, the Board member in charge of the state government study and the Board member in charge of congressional action.

For some time a background sheet on Senator Mondale has been available to the state's congressional action people. Just prior to the interview this was updated with the Senator's activities during the just concluded session. This update was distributed to the state Board members.

Senator Walter Mondale's



SPRING,
1969



Report to Minnesota

Mondale Asks Feds:

Prepare Now For State Floods



The Indian Education Subcommittee heard testimony from Minnesota educators this month that the dropout rate among Indian youngsters in the state runs as high as 80 percent in some school systems. Committee is discussing methods to make federal funds more effective in the State's school system. From left, Senators Bellmon, Okla.; Kennedy, Mass.; Mondale, Minn.; Hughes, Iowa.

Top officials of the federal Office of Emergency Preparedness met with Senator Mondale in mid-February to discuss preparations for severe floods in Minnesota that may come with the spring thaw.

In a two-hour meeting in Mondale's Washington office, the Emergency planners confirmed that this year's heavy snows -- over 50 inches deep in places -- and a veneer of frozen ice on the ground that will speed the runoff, pose a severe flood threat this spring. In special danger, the federal officials said, are Mankato; the St. Croix from Stillwater south to its confluence with the Mississippi; Rochester on the Zumbro River; Rushford and Houston on the Root and the main stream of the Mississippi from the Twin Cities to Minnesota's southern border.

In March, Mondale visited the Red River Valley for a first-hand look at potential flood conditions in that area.

Mondale urged advance planning to meet flood danger; stockpiling of food, animal feed, and flood-fighting equipment; and the building in advance of emergency flood walls in threatened areas. He also urged information on flood damage loans be made available to threatened individuals and communities by the Small Business Administration, saying;

"This time, with advance notice of what could prove to be a repeat of the disastrous flooding of 1965, let's err on the side of prudence and build emergency flood walls now -- instead of at the last minute."

"Let's do everything possible now, while there's still time, to meet the expected danger."

OEP officials, in answer to Mondale's request, said community leaders would be notified ahead of time of federal aid programs available to disaster areas, and that federal officials would step up efforts to help the State prepare for flood damage.

WELFARE REFORM

In a major St. Paul policy address, Senator Mondale called for overhaul of the Nation's welfare system, saying "No one -- the middle class who pay for it, nor the poor who receive it -- is satisfied with our present welfare system. Reforming it must be one of our top priorities."

Other excerpts from the January 26th address:

"It is a myth that most people are on welfare because they are too lazy to work. The fact is that most people on welfare are unable to work. More than half the 8.6 million people who received public assistance in 1968 were children. Nearly a fourth were over 65. A tenth were totally or partially blind, or disabled. Of the 1.3 million mothers receiving public assistance, less than a fourth have the skills to become self-supporting even if there were some means of obtaining suitable care for their children."

*****

"Not even a majority of the poor are on welfare: A 1968 survey showed that 60 percent of the poor do not receive categorical public assistance."

*****

"We need national standards for assistance payments. Payments per person now vary from a low of $8.50 a month in Mississippi to a high of $65 in New York, and eligibility standards also vary widely. This encourages migration from states with low payments to other states, and compounds an already tremendous social problem."

*****

"We should include families with unemployed fathers in programs of aid to dependent children. Right now 28 states -- including Minnesota, despite our efforts to establish a program here--don't provide this aid to a family if a father who can work is in the home. This forces men to leave their families while they seek work, just so their children can receive aid; it destroys the family. There's no excuse for that disgraceful situation."

(cont. on page 4)

Wild Rice Dam

An act to build a flood-control dam on the Wild Rice River above Twin Valley was re-introduced by Senator Mondale this month.

The $8.3 million project would help stop floods costing nearly half a million dollars a year.



Message To Minnesota

Mondale Chairman of Committees on Migrants, Production and Stabilization

Most of the business of the United States Senate is conducted in its committees. It is here that bills receive their hearings, it is here that the research needed to uncover national problems and their solutions is undertaken; it is the committees that decide whether or not a bill shall reach the floor of the Senate for a vote.

I was named, for the first time this year, to the chairmanship of two permanent subcommittees; Production and Stabilization in the Banking and Currency Committee; and Migratory Labor in the Labor and Public Welfare Committee.

My complete assignments are:

Banking and Currency -- Production and Stabilization, Chairman; Financial Institutions; Housing and Urban Affairs; International Finance.

Labor and Public Welfare -- Migratory Labor, Chairman; Education; Labor; Employment, Manpower and Poverty; Veterans' Affairs; Indian Education.

Special Committee on the Aging -- Retirement and the Individual, Chairman; Housing for the Elderly; Consumer Interests of the Elderly; Health of the Elderly.

Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs -- Has no subcommittees.

I feel fortunate in receiving these assignments, for the committees on which I now serve will be involved with issues of vital import to both Minnesota and the Nation.

It was in the Housing and Urban Affairs Subcommittee that we did much of the work for the landmark Housing Act of 1968;and the Fair Housing Act. The International Finance Committee explored problems of East-West trade. An investigation in the Employment, Manpower and Poverty Subcommittee uncovered the dimensions of hunger in the United States and led to creation of the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, which is carrying forward the investigation and means for solving it this year.

It was in the Production and Stabilization Subcommittee that the preliminary work took place leading to Truth-in-Lending and the Area Redevelopment Act, an early attempt to deal with the disparity in jobs, educational opportunities and income between rural and urban areas.

I intend to further explore this shift from rural to urban areas as chairman of the subcommittee this year, to determine what action can be taken to increase jobs and opportunity where they are needed.

The four committees on which I serve, and the two new subcommittee chairmanships, will, I believe, give me an opportunity to further explore the human problems which have occupied much of my time during the past four years.

These problems are not confined to any one economic group or region. Thus, although the health problems and educational needs of the poor are severe, the rising cost of medical care and the staggering cost of higher education are rapidly pricing both items out of reach of many in the middle class, and answers must be found. Again, consumer fraud, although it falls most heavily on the poor, is an increasing concern of the middle class, as recent investigation and legislation concerning automobile safety, meat inspection, drug costs and other consumer problems show.

Walter F. Mondale

-consumer news-

Clean Meat

In the 12 months since the Mondale-Montoya Wholesome Meat Act was signed into law, On December 15, 1967, the Department of Agriculture has --

-- Granted 25 states a total of $4.5 million to help establish and operate state inspection programs.

--Trained 1,100 state meat inspectors at federal training facilities.

-- Hired and trained 630 new Federal meat inspectors.

-- Identified 40 meat plants as hazards to public health, and followed up to see that they were either cleaned up or closed down.

-- Granted meat inspection to 1,246 meat plants which were not federally inspected before enactment of the Wholesome Meat Act, bringing to 3,087 the number of plants operating under federal inspection.

-- Detained nearly two million pounds of unwholesome, adulterated or misbranded meat products, as authorized by the Wholesome Meat Act.

Despite progress, Mondale said "a big job remains, both on the federal and state levels, before the act is fully implemented."

Auto Recalls

A late-February callback of defective cars and trucks by the General Motors Corporation brought to over 10 million the number of vehicles recalled for safety defects under the Fair Warning Amendment sponsored by Senator Mondale in 1966.

The GM callback of 4.9 million vehicles involved faulty carburetors and a possible exhaust system defect that may have been responsible for several deaths from carbon monoxide poisoning-- and published reports by a GM inspector stating that he had called the exhaust defects to the company's attention as early as 1966 prompted a call by Mondale for a Department of Transportation investigation of the truth of these charges. At issue was whether a section in the Fair Warning Amendment that states "no person shall fail to furnish notification of any defect...." was violated, and whether or not GM acted "within a reasonable time" as also required by the Act.

In a telegram to the Secretary of Transportation Mondale said, "those of us involved in the passage of the Act realized that responsibility for notifying consumers of defects within a reasonable time after discovery had to rest primarily on the manufacturer; but we also realized that necessity of prompt enforcement of this requirement...I would appreciate it if you would report to me as soon as possible on the results of your investigation."

Legislative Wrapup

Hunger, Clean Lakes, Bargaining

As the 91st Congress convened early in January, Senator Mondale took up the unfinished business of the last session, re-introducing 5 major bills left over from the 90th Congress.

Major provisions of the bills --

Hunger

In introducing S.6, the DOMESTIC FOOD ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1969, Mondale said that "the time for a complete overhauling of our food programs for the poor is long overdue," and pointed to shocking testimony by the U. S. Public Health Service "that the American poor are crippled by malnutrition as seriously and in some cases more seriously" than the people of underdeveloped nations in Africa and Asia.

The food bill would:

-- Provide free food stamps for impoverished families;
-- Allow the Agriculture Department to switch from its present policy of distributing only surplus foods to the needy to a new one of providing those foods needed to meet human nutritional requirements;
-- Allow food stamps and commodities to be distributed in the same county, which they cannot be under present law;
-- Streamline eligibility for food help, eliminating red tape that separates many of the hungry from the food they need to live.
-- Open the way for non-profit charitable organizations to distribute food stamps.
-- Bring the resources of the private sector to bear on eliminating malnutrition by establishing a "Task Force on Hunger" composed of commercial food and grocery firms.

Full Opportunity

THE FULL OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1969, would create a Council of Social Advisers similar to the present Council of Economic Advisers (CEA). Composed of three top social scientists and a staff of experts, the new Council would analyze and compile social "indicators" and issue an annual report on the nation's social health, much as the CEA does on our economy.

In Senate remarks introducing the new bill Mondale said, "There is now much talk of establishing national priorities...but this will be empty talk until the nation has the capacity to describe conditions and define results.

"We can now measure to the penny how much the government invests in education, but we have very little knowledge of the quality of education produced. The gross national product measures the output of every factory in the land, but we have no national measure of what this production costs us in terms of polluted air, water, and other environmental deterioration."

Experts testifying on the bill last year agreed the Nation's reports were fragmented, incomplete,and, in some cases, totally lacking. Mondale's bill would give the Nation the tools to measure the explosive rate of change in the United States, and the information to deal with this change in a rational manner.

Farm Bargaining

Extensive hearings on FARM BARGAINING POWER were held in the Agriculture Committee last year, with favorable testimony by a number of farm organizations and producer-groups, but no legislation was reported out by the Agriculture Committee. In re-introducing the National Agricultural Bargaining Act this year, Mondale said, "I think we should proceed on it because the time has come to get down to the hard specifics of legislation. Without some control over the prices of his products, the farmer will continue to be the low man on our economic totem pole."

The Senator said that his bargaining bill is designed to supplement -- not replace--existing federal farm programs.

Title I of the bill would allow farmer-referendums to choose committees to negotiate prices and other terms of sale in bargaining sessions with purchasers. Machinery is provided to settle deadlocks between buyer and seller and to allow farmers a vote on production or marketing controls.

Title II takes a different approach, broadening the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act to include more commodities and again providing for referendums by farmers. Two avenues are provided; one through collective bargaining; a second through the present hearing procedures conducted by the Secretary of Agriculture.

Senator Mondale said the bill contains two approaches to the same objective -- increased bargaining power for farmers."

DAIRY

In a February letter to the Secretary of Agriculture, Senator Mondale urged a raise in the support price of manufactured milk to a full 90 percent of parity, saying: "Nationally, milk production is still declining...and farm costs are climbing.... the exodus of dairy farmers is still continuing."

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON HEALTH, SCIENCE AND SOCIETY, introduced jointly by Senator Mondale and Congressman Thomas S. Foley of Washington would establish a blue-ribbon commission of physicians, lawyers, theologians, social scientists and government officials to study and report on the social and legal implications of organ transplants and other medical research breakthroughs.

Extensive hearings on a similar bill introduced by Senator Mondale were held last year by the Government Operations Committee. Expert witnesses, including a heart transplant surgeon, a leading geneticist, a

(cont. on page 4)



THE FACE OF HUNGER: The Senate hunger committee heard testimony last month that as many as 15 million Americans may be malnourished. Domestic Food Assistance Act would provide free food stamps; cut red tape separating the hungry from federal programs that are supposed to feed them.

. . . LEGISLATIVE (cont.)

judge and others agreed that medical technology has advanced more rapidly than the social institutions and laws to deal with it, and that the time for a public review and public discussion is long overdue.

Dr. Norman Shumway, a pioneer in heart transplant surgery, testified: "I feel much can be done if such a Commission investigates and educates. . . there is much more at stake here than heart transplants. Liver, kidney, pancreas, even bowel and lung grafts are and will be feasible. We are at the threshold of a wondrous new era in medicine, and doctors will need help to realize fully its potential."

The potential -- for good or for evil --of genetic advances came in for discussion by Dr. David Kretch of the University of California who said, in support of the Commission idea, "frequently in the history of science, application has run far ahead of understanding..."

And Dr. Adrian Kantrowitz, a New York surgeon, wrote: "I fully agree that the experimental programs that are now rapidly developing in modern medicine and surgery raise grave questions of moral, ethical and legal problems which should be carefully considered..."

This is the task of the Commission on Health, Science and Society.

Clean Lakes



.....Algae growth on Lake Minnetonka

THE CLEAN LAKES ACT came within a whisker of winning approval in the last Congress but died when Senate and House conferees could not agree on final wording. Introduced again this year as part of the Omnibus Water Pollution Act of 1969, it provides for stepping up research in methods to halt the pollution which each year destroys many lakes in Minnesota and throughout the Nation. In Mondale's words: "Much attention has been directed to cleaning up our rivers but very little to the plight of our small lakes. Yet these lakes--because they cannot 'cleanse' themselves as can free-flowing streams--are even more vulnerable to excessive nutrients and other pollutants than are rivers.

"It is urgent that we devise new methods to prevent lake pollution in the first place, and to clean up these lakes that man has already partially destroyed."

REFORM (cont. from P.-1)

"We must also help the 'working poor'. In 1967, some 57 percent of the 26 million poor in America were working part or all of the year. This group simply did not earn enough to provide their families the minimum food, shelter, and medical care needed to sustain healthy life."

"We should also consider other possibilities than the present system for those who cannot work and will not be able to work -- children, the disabled, the aged, mothers--so that they can bring their families out of poverty."

'THE GENIE IS OUT OF THE BOTTLE'

"The decision to deploy an anti-ballistic missile system is a tragic mistake that will lessen our national security and cripple our ability to feed, house, teach and give hope to the hopeless of America.

"The genie is out of the bottle. The old pattern of 'you escalate, we escalate' is back in fashion again, and it is hard to tell where it will end."

Senator Walter F. Mondale, March 14, 1969.

In the 90th Congress Sen. Mondale--

. . . Introduced successful housing legislation that allows low-income families to purchase homes of their own through federally-insured mortgages and gain a bigger stake in their communities...a housing program that officials say has had the fastest takeoff in recent history and which has already exhausted available authorizations in many states including Minnesota, where 100 applications were processed in the first six weeks of 1969.

Introduced successful meat and poultry inspection legislation which, when fully implemented by the executive branch, will insure for the first time in history that these products are clean when shipped within and between states.

Introduced the successful landmark Fair Housing amendment that will eliminate discrimination in the sale of housing for over 80 percent of housing sales.

Introduced successful legislation that put the Upper St. Croix River into the National Scenic Rivers Act, assuring its preservation for this and future generations.

Introduced and conducted hearings on a resolution calling for expanded trade between U.S. businesses and the nations of Eastern Europe, with Minnesota businesses providing the bulk of effective testimony on the effects of present restriction and red tape.

Introduced and participated in hearings on a proposal to establish a Council of Social Advisers to the President, which would report regularly on the state of our nation's social progress as the Council of Economic Advisers now reports on our economic progress.

Co-sponsored and supported successful legislation that will outlaw fraud and deception in interstate sales of land and require full disclosure of all facts to buyers.

Called for talks with the Soviet Union to avoid escalation of the arms race and sought review of the proposed deployment of a "thin" anti-ballistic missile system on grounds that the danger of a spiraling arms race, the doubtful effectiveness of the system, and the drain on U.S. economic resources deserve careful consideration before the nation proceeds with a $15 billion investment that could cost $50 billion or more before it is completed.

"There is no question that many Congressmen who whoop through any and all war appropriations would not spend the same money on the home front, war or no war. This is particularly true of those...who are more ready to lay down lives than prejudices, and who can hear the most distant drum more clearly than the cry of a hungry child in the street."

-- Herb Block

area.

Mondale Calls for Resignation of Justice Fortas

Associated Press

Sen. Walter F. Mondale, D-Minn., Saturday became the first Democratic member of Congress to call for the resignation of U.S. Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas.



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Version 3
March 18, 2019

LIMITATIONS ON PAYMENTS

1. The maximum amount of payments made on sales in any calendar year shall not exceed $2,500,000.

2. Payment to any producer shall not be made in any calendar year on sales in excess of 1,200 tons of lead and 1,200 tons of zinc.

3. For the purpose of achieving stabilization on the annual rates of production, quarterly limitations will be imposed on the total amounts of lead and zinc for which payments will be made.

Quotas will be assigned on the amounts of lead and zinc for which payments will be made to individual producers to the extent necessary and in a manner designed to assure equitable distribution of the benefits of the program.

RECOMMENDATIONS

We have no recommendations at this time for changes in the program.

STATISTICAL SUMMARY

The following tables give a statistical summary of the program:

I. AVERAGE E AND MJ MONTHLY MARKET PRICES AND PAYMENTS PER POUND FOR LEAD AND ZINC DURING 1968

Metal	Price, cents per pound	Payments, cents per pound	Period
Lead	14.0000	0.37500	January to April, inclusive.
Do	13.0450	1.09125	May.
Do	13.0000	1.12500	June.
Do	12.7050	1.34625	July.
Do	12.5000	1.50000	August to September, inclusive.
Do	12.7880	1.28400	October.
Do	13.0000	1.12500	November to December, inclusive.
Zinc	13.5000	.5500	January to December, inclusive.

II. COST OF PROGRAM AS OF DEC. 31, 1968

	Program through Dec. 31, 1966	Calendar year 1967	Calendar year 1968	Total cost of program
Stabilization payments	$2,143,620	$132,853	$243,550	$2,520,023
Administrative expense	220,207	27,052	36,780	284,039
Total	2,363,827	159,905	280,330	2,804,062

III. STATUS OF APPLICATIONS RECEIVED AS OF DEC. 31, 1968, AND STATE DISTRIBUTION SHOWING MAXIMUM ELIGIBLE PRODUCTION, CALENDAR YEAR 1968

State	Applications for participation					Maximum eligible production (tons)		
	Received	Certified	Denied	Withdrawn, suspended, or disqualified	In process	Lead	Zinc	Combined
Arizona	5	2	1	2		2,400	2,400	5,800
Arkansas	2		1	1				
California	4	1		3		1,200	1,200	2,400
Colorado	4		2	2				
Idaho	19	8	4	7		9,600	9,600	19,200
Kansas	8	5		3		6,000	6,000	12,000
Montana	10	3	2	5		3,600	3,600	7,200
Nevada	11	2	2	7		2,400	2,400	4,800
New Mexico	4	2		2		2,400	2,400	4,800
North Carolina	1			1				
Oklahoma	38	21	6	11		25,020	25,200	50,400
Utah	32	14	9	9		16,800	16,800	33,600
Wisconsin	4	2	2			2,400	2,400	4,800
Total	142	60	29	53		72,000	72,000	144,000

IV. DISTRIBUTION BY STATES OF PAYMENTS FOR THE PROGRAM REPORTED IN THE PERIOD 1962 THROUGH 1966, AND OF PRODUCTION AND PAYMENTS REPORTED IN THE CALENDAR YEARS 1967 AND 1968

State	Total number of producers paid	Payments, period 1962–66	1967 Production (tons)		1967 Payments		1968 Production (tons)		1968 Payments		
			Lead	Zinc	Lead	Zinc	Lead	Zinc	Lead	Zinc	
Arizona	1	$4,613									$4,713
California	3	42,295	195.6		$1,467		550.7		$12,829		56,591
Idaho	11	494,934	1,319.0	1,468.0	9,893	$15,772	1,321.0	2,542.7	19,113	$27,968	567,680
Kansas	6	272,726	259.7	459.1	1,948	4,926	153.7	427.0	3,009	4,697	287,306
Montana	6	110,675	193.9		1,454		385.7		9,157		121,286
Nevada	5	34,322	71.7	76.3	537	796	37.5	302.3	920	4,326	39,901
New Mexico	2	1,201									1,201
North Carolina	1	19,409									19,409
Oklahoma	24	864,035	2,019.1	5,703.3	15,143	61,599	2,511.6	8,555.9	41,520	94,116	1,076,413
Utah	24	270,150	896.5	386.0	6,724	4,079	829.5	673.1	10,982	7,404	299,339
Wisconsin	2	29,160	49.4	757.7	370	8,145	86.5	650.0	1,359	7,150	46,184
Total	85	2,143,620	5,004.9	8,850.5	37,536	95,317	5,876.2	13,151.0	98,889	144,661	2,520,023

V. PRODUCTION AND PAYMENTS REPORTED IN CALENDAR YEARS AS OF DEC. 31, 1968

Calendar year	Production (tons)			Payments		
	Lead	Zinc	Combined	Lead	Zinc	Total
1962	8,206.2	12,905.2	21,111.4	$599,365	$410,429	$1,009,794
1963	9,620.3	18,221.6	27,841.9	354,270	412,460	766,730
1964	6,177.2	14,401.7	20,578.9	145,989	200,201	346,190
1965	188.1	459.1	647.2	4,254	5,337	[1] 9,591
Subtotal	24,191.8	45,987.6	70,179.4	1,103,878	1,028,427	2,132,305
1966	1,728.2		1,728.2	11,315		[2] 11,315
1967	5,004.9	8,850.4	13,855.3	37,536	95,317	[3] 132,853
1968	5,876.2	13,151.0	19,027.2	98,889	144,661	[4] 243,550
Subtotal	12,609.3	22,001.4	34,610.7	147,740	239,978	387,718
Grand total	36,801.1	67,989.0	104,790.1	1,251,618	1,268,405	2,520,023

[1] Payments on 1964 production made in 1965.
[2] Payments on 1966 production made in 1967.
[3] Adjusted for corrections.
[4] Includes payments on 1967 production made in 1968.

SENATOR MONDALE PROPOSES A JUNIOR-COMMUNITY COLLEGE "TRANSITION CURRICULUM" AND A "NATIONAL PROFESSOR CORPS" TO IMPROVE HIGHER EDUCATION OPPORTUNITIES FOR DISADVANTAGED YOUNG AMERICANS

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the distinguished Senator from Minnesota (Mr. MONDALE) spoke last week to the legislative affairs luncheon of the American Association of Junior Colleges meeting in Atlanta, Ga., for their 49th annual convention. Citing the need to expand higher education opportunities, he said that the location and flexibility of junior and community colleges make them "uniquely equipped to add a new opportunity structure if they are willing to do so." Community colleges around the Nation continue to demonstrate that they are best equipped for the job of extending and expanding much-needed educational opportunities in the country. Their low cost to students, proximity to those they are designed to serve, flexible admissions arrangements, strong counseling and advising services, and varied educational programs, are responding to the lack of relevance in traditional education.

In his remarks to the American Association of Junior Colleges, Senator MONDALE noted the growing awareness of the Americans to the problems of the disadvantaged, and he said that a renewed effort by junior and community colleges would come "just when the Nation is beginning to see that this must be done." These remarks underscore the need for the Congress to act this year on S. 1033, the Comprehensive College Act of 1969. Senator MONDALE, as one of those who joined me in sponsoring this legislation, is now proposing a "transition curriculum" and a "national professor corps" as an additional means to improve higher education.

Mr. President, this speech constitutes an important contribution to the continuing discussion of how this Nation must meet society's growing demands on the education process. I therefore ask unanimous consent that Senator MONDALE's speech before American Association of Junior Colleges at their legislative affairs luncheon in Atlanta, Ga., be printed in the RECORD.

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

REMARKS OF SENATOR WALTER F. MONDALE, LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS LUNCHEON, AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF JUNIOR COLLEGES, ATLANTA, GA., MARCH 5, 1969

"It was the best of times, it was the worst of times,

"It was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, . . .

"It was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, . . .

"It was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair,

"We had everything before us, we had nothing before us, . . .

It would be appropriate to offer these words as a judgment on what it is like to plan a program of higher education according to Federal authorizations and then have to operate that program according to Federal appropriations.

It is also tragically just to characterize them as a description of what it is to be young and poor today in America.

Dickens' words were a characterization of France before the Revolution. They were also a comment on 19th Century England and its stark contrasts in life. We know, too, that in the last third of the 20th Century we are the builders and custodians of a society in which life contrasts loom large and sometimes ominous.

We lead a society in which nearly everyone seems to agree that 14 years of education will soon be standard for all.

Still, in that some society, millions of young people have temporarily or permanently lost much of their capacity to redeem the promise of those 14 years—

Because their minds have been irreparably damaged by malnutrition in the first key years of life, perhaps even before they were born;

Because their young lives have been spent in environments of deprivation and despair that have left them unaspiring and hopeless at best, and enraged at worst;

Because their school experiences have too often helped to make it plain that they are unwanted in school as well as out—segregated, failed, selected out of the school system just as they are selected out of good food and decent homes and adequate protection under law.

It is the goal of many of us in this room to place a 13th and 14th year of education within commuting distance of every urban and rural high school graduate.

But for many of their families, there is no way for the breadwinner to commute from the centers of our metropolitan complexes to waiting jobs in the suburbs.

For many of their families, there is no way to commute to government surplus commodities, food stamps, and health care.

Since last fall I have been deeply involved in hearings before two special committees of the Senate—the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs and the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education. The testimony I have heard there describes conditions almost beyond comprehension:

Infants and children suffering from rare diseases ordinarily found only under conditions of mass malnutrition and starvation in developing countries.

Adolescent Indian children contemplating suicide and committing it, at rates many times the national average.

Insensitivity, ignorance, and clear hostility toward the special needs of young people who have been left out of the heritage that most of us take for granted.

Foolishness in an age of wisdom. Darkness in the season of Light. Cold despair amid the flowering of hope. Expectations of nothing amid the possibility of everything.

The worst of times and the best of times.

These young people, too, if they survive intact, will seek a 13th and 14th year.

A United States Senator who is a member of the Senate Subcommittee on Education must speak with that perspective today. I come to you not as a college administrator or board member, but as an elected public official.

We are all committed to an opportunity structure that works for every young American. But we are also conscious that our structure does not presently work for all of our young people.

So it is from a practical political viewpoint that I want to look briefly at junior colleges and community colleges today—assessing some information, making some tentative proposals, and seeking your help in building a workable opportunity structure that our voters will accept.

At least 650,000 able college-age Americans are not in school today. The primary reason is lack of income—they cannot finance the costs of attending college. The figure is estimated by some sources to be well over a million.

By 1972 this number will more than double—to at least a million and a half—and this is a conservative estimate.

Despite burgeoning enrollments, furthermore, the fact is that the *percentage* of high school graduates who enter college is inching forward at a snail's pace. Over the past ten years that percentage has increased by only four-tenths of one per cent per year. If figures were available to compare percentages of college attendance over a ten-year period among young people whose families had incomes at the poverty level, I wonder what kind of progress they would show.

Furthermore, the figures on able students who fail to attend college for financial reasons do not tell the whole story. Experience indicates that many more who say they are not interested in attending college might change their minds if they could hope for the money to do so.

One way to measure the loss of potential talent is to consider the dropoff in college entry by able young people at the lower end of the socio-economic scale. The figures are impressive.

According to the Project Talent studies of 1966, 92 per cent of young men in the highest achievement quartile and the highest socio-economic quartile enter college in the year following graduation. But for young men of equal ability in the lowest socio-economic quartile, the figure is only 61 per cent—a difference of 31 per cent.

The dropoff is even more dramatic for young women, from 87 per cent to 42 per cent. Put together, these percentages mean that high ability students—as measured by achievement—from families with the lowest incomes are only about half as likely to enter college as "high ability" students from families with the lowest incomes.

When the well-known facts on low achievement by able but deprived young people are taken into consideration as well, the dropoff—or dropout—is even more significant.

The long range financial loss to these opportunity structure dropouts is astonishing. The Bureau of the Census estimates that there is a $50,000 difference in average lifetime earnings of a high school graduate compared to that of a person who has attended one to three years of college. Another $14,000 can be added for those who complete four years. In this country, this country could make no better long-term contribution to economic development than an investment in making higher education more available.

The disadvantaged—the ghetto black, the poor white, the Indian, and the Mexican American, the migrant and the rest—may actually be consigned to the poverty cycle if education cannot be acquired. People with inadequate educations have poor work experiences and become the parents of children who follow in their footsteps. Moving hundreds of thousands of persons through the high school and into the college can help to break this cycle.

It seems to me that the junior or community college is uniquely equipped to take on an important part of this effort, if it is willing to do so. Its greatest advantage is not its low cost, though that is important. Nor is it the tradition of being open to all students, though that is absolutely vital to opportunity.

The real key to the door of opportunity in the junior-community college is its combination of location and program flexibility.

If we have learned anything from our poverty efforts at all, it is that we must be able and willing to go directly to those who need help and adapt to their needs. To the extent that junior and community colleges are willing to do that, they have real power to expand the opportunity structure.

We are discovering that disadvantaged young people need to be identified as early as the seventh grade in order to make sure that they do not turn away from college before they know what they can do. Going to young people where there are means reaching out, diligently and systematically, to identify potential college students and encourage them to stay in school until they graduate.

Going to young people where they are means seeking out those who have already dropped out and helping them return to school or gain high school equivalency certificates that will admit them to college. Perhaps it means special community college programs for dropouts with the cooperation of the local school system—or even without it. It certainly means counselling and selling the advantages of further education to young people who have given up or may give up on that opportunity. It probably means talking about available financial assistance, and it may mean helping young people find ways to earn and save college money—in spite of daily demands to use available money for immediate needs.

Last fall, for example, I learned of Project HELP, sponsored by the General College of the University of Minnesota. This effort serves, among others, some 175 mothers who are receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children.

The college is helping these mothers join the opportunity structure through ingenious use of counselling and small amounts of assistance from Educational Opportunity Grants and National Defense Loan funds. Project HELP has parlayed available resources into college attendance. Of the 80 who entered college in 1967, only one has withdrawn; 35 have earned "A" or "B" averages.

These women, of course, are not high school freshmen and sophomores. But the principle can be applied. This program has assessed the resources of the community and worked with them to make opportunity possible.

No institution of higher education is in a better position to do this kind of work than the junior-community college, if it wants to do so. It is located where needs and resources are. It is locally visible. It can make promises and then follow them through.

The second great advantage of the junior-community college is its program flexibility once these students are admitted.

Junior and community colleges have traditionally offered a variety of programs.

All or most of these might be suited for the individual disadvantaged students who enroll.

But an additional kind of program, perhaps combining portions of several others, is specially needed for the disadvantaged. I like to think of it as a "transition curriculum."

Bringing substantial numbers of disadvantaged to a campus carries a host of problems for both the student and the school. Some students are not "ready for freshman work." Others may find the campus a foreign and frightening environment, although a visibly community college should help in this regard. Still others find it difficult to make long-range plans, or continue to have financial difficulties.

The versatile junior-community college, under these circumstances, can combine effective counselling, experimental and exploratory course assignments, sympathetic tutoring, and "stretching out" of academic requirements—a transition curriculum for those who need it, assigned on an individual basis.

Some students may require a semester or a year of transition work before they are ready to take on a traditional two-year curriculum as ordinary freshmen.

Some may require a two-year transition curriculum which combines special programs with the first year of the regular offerings, before they take on sophomore work.

Some might need as much as three years of special and regular programming to complete a typical two-year course.

This transition may require unusual combinations of courses before the disadvantaged student makes a decision about his program. The college should be able to provide them.

This transition will require directing students into programs that are not locally available. The college should be able to provide it.

No doubt you see program and service needs for those students which I can only hint at. The college should be able to provide them.

That kind of program requires a special kind of institution. Special kinds of institutions require special kinds of faculties—free of bigotry and academic intolerance, committed to the idea that their school is an opportunity structure, sensitive to individuals in a time when the emphasis is on masses.

Some teachers—a few—are born that way. They have to be found. Other teachers—perhaps most of them—must be trained to do this work. Recruiting and training junior and community college staffs is absolutely vital to the opportunity structure.

This effort may require a "National Professor Corps"—finding talent during the late undergraduate years and early graduate years and counselling them into this special kind of work. Many of them will have few or none of the traditional academic trappings.

Teaching in junior and community colleges may be a transitional period for some graduate students, who will find junior college teaching more rewarding than working as teaching assistants in our universities.

Perhaps the junior colleges will be able to train and use the great untapped talents of thousands of men and women, old as well as young, who are seeking new careers away from the ruts of business and homemaking, or are looking for new meaning in their lives. Some of these—perhaps many of them—can be found in the communities the colleges serve, if adequate recruiting and training programs can be developed.

They might be found among the disadvantaged and formerly disadvantaged.

They must be found, wherever they are. They can be found if the community and junior colleges become visible, effective opportunity structures.

For finally, a community-junior college can do that kind of job only if it commits itself to being an opportunity structure. It can do it only if it views itself as a community resource and dedicates itself to opportunity for the people of its community.

This must be an effort to select young people in instead of selecting them out.

It will not measure its success by the size of its dropout rate—except possibly inversely.

Real opportunity for higher education is a difficult assignment. But I think some colleges in this country can succeed at it. Someone in this country *must* succeed at it. That kind of effort will win the support of the Congress and the voters who elect it.

Senator Harrison A. Williams of New Jersey is the author of the Comprehensive Community College Act of 1969, recently introduced in the Senate. That legislation takes a large step toward building an opportunity structure framework. I am happy to be a co-sponsor.

The bill provides a Bureau of Community Colleges in the U.S. Office of Education to help states update, reorganize, or create statewide plans for post-secondary education.

It will encourage the development of comprehensive curriculum programs for the educationally and economically disadvantaged.

It will assist training and development of faculty and staff. It will expand research. It will encourage tuition-free admissions or adequate financial aids programs.

In addition, I'd like to see a well-prepared proposal to use junior and community colleges to seek out able young people early in high school, tell them about opportunities for further education, and assist them in staying in school until they graduate.

This nation has the ability to provide a college opportunity structure to all who can use it. We have the resources to pay for it.

We frankly have not had the commitment to do it. But I think it is coming.

Within the past eight years more and more Americans have seen a darkness in this country that few thought existed. But television camera has focused its keen eye on the backwaters and slums of this country.

Our people know now that the problems of the poor are their problems. They may not like it, but they know it. They are responding to it partly from sheer self-interest. But basically their values are solid, humanitarian, and sound.

The developing junior college-community college movement comes along at just the right time, I believe. I hope that together we can take advantage of this climate.

SEWARD OPPOSES WHITTIER CONSTRUCTION

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, the city of Seward, Alaska, recently suffered a major blow to its economy. The Alaska Steamship Line announced that it was suspending service to the port. As a result, one of the major sources of revenue to the city was lost. The dock and rail facilities of the town will stand idle. The Alaska Railroad will obtain its freight elsewhere, by way of the ports of Anchorage and Whittier.

The Railroad is considering the construction of another slip at Whittier as a standby facility for the use of its roll-on-roll-off rail barge operation. I understand the Railroad now has available the money necessary for such construction. I oppose this construction. I take this opportunity to make clear to the Senate and to the administration that I do not believe the Alaska Railroad should add to its facilities at Whittier. Whittier is a dead end. If a standby roll-on-roll-off dock is needed, let it be built at Seward.

I have urged Mr. John Manley to delay decision on the Whittier slip. Funds have been available for its construction for several years. There is no reason why construction cannot be delayed a bit longer so that reasonable people may sit down, plan and discuss Seward's future. The Alaska Railroad has substantial investments in Seward. Seward's interests are also the Alaska Railroad's.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a resolution recently approved by the city of Seward be printed in the RECORD.

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

RESOLUTION 738, CITY OF SEWARD, ALASKA

Whereas; the United States Department of Transportation operates the dock and rail facilities at the Port of Seward through the Alaska Railroad and also operates the dock and rail facilities at the Port of Whittier through the same agency which is under its control; and

Whereas; The best information available to us at this time shows planning by the Alaska Railroad to close the facilities at Seward because of the suspension of service by Alaska Steamship Lines, and at the same time spend further public monies to enlarge and increase the facilities at the Port of

Whittier at the request of Alaska Steamship Lines; and

Whereas; Such closure at Seward and expenditure of funds at Whittier constitutes, in our judgment, a needless waste of public funds;

Now, therefore be it resolved that the Common Council of The City of Seward, Alaska, respectfully urges Congress to investigate the entire involvement of the Federal Government through its Department of Transportation in the transportation industry in South-central Alaska.

This Resolution shall be effective on the date of passage and approval. Passed and approved by the City Council of The City of Seward, Alaska, this 10th day of February, 1969.

E. G. SKINNER,
Vice Mayor.

Attest:

JAMES R. FILIP,
City Clerk-Treasurer.

THOMAS MASARYK, EXPONENT OF FREEDOM

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, last month the free peoples of the world paid tribute to George Washington, the father of this Nation. This month lovers of freedom honor another man who can be considered the father of his country—Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, of Czechoslovakia.

During World War I, Masaryk, with Eduard Benes, formed the Czechoslovak National Council, preparing for the day that there would be an independent nation, Czechoslovakia. In November 1918, Masaryk was chosen President of the new nation by acclamation. He was reelected in 1920, 1927, and 1934. He resigned from the office in 1935.

During the early days of the Republic, Masaryk gave his people an appreciation for liberty, a love for freedom that two conquering armies have not been able to eliminate. Czechoslovakia is an occupied country today, but the spirit which sustained Masaryk while he was working to establish, then build, a nation is alive in the hearts of Czechoslovakians as they work and pray for the day they will once again control their homeland.

Soviet occupation forces thought they could end the spirit of Masaryk by eliminating all mention of him in Czechoslovakia. But Masaryk had made too lasting an impression upon the people to be forgotten simply because of orders from an occupying army.

Thomas Masaryk and his son Jan Masaryk are examples for Czechoslovakians and for all who value liberty.

The present occupation of Czechoslovakia prevented the people of that nation from giving Thomas Masaryk the salutes he deserved on the anniversary of his birthday, March 7. We who live in a land that permits freedom of speech should use this freedom, for the people of Czechoslovakia, to honor Masaryk.

THE CONCORDE LOOKS LIKE A FLOP

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, if any who doubt the wisdom of delaying the U.S. development of a supersonic transport should be wavering a bit because of the recent test flight of the British-French SST, the Concorde, they have not looked at the results of that maiden flight carefully enough.

Far from coming off with flying colors, the Concorde test flight demonstrated that the noise it makes on takeoff and landing may well prevent it from using any major U.S. airports because it would not meet the noise limits set by those airports. That includes Kennedy International Airport, the most important air terminal in the country.

More important, the Concorde's range, FAA technicians believe, ultimately may turn out to be insufficient to carry it nonstop from Paris to New York, the run for which it was principally designed. If the Concorde cannot fly that route economically, it will not be anything but a total flop as a moneymaker and, therefore, not likely to be a very attractive item to the airlines.

Because of all this, we should resist the efforts now being made to use the test flights of the Concorde and of the Russian TU–144 to scare the United States into plunging full speed ahead with its own SST development. The real lesson to be drawn from the Concorde is that there is not likely to be any harm whatever in delaying our own SST development. For the Concorde, as it looks now, is going to have very little effect on U.S. dominance in world aircraft sales.

I commend to the attention of Senators an excellent article, about the Concorde's troubles, written by Spencer Rich, and published in yesterday's Washington Post. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

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

CONCORDE QUALIFICATION FOR U.S. RUN DOUBTED

(By Spencer Rich)

U.S. officials are becoming increasingly skeptical that the British-French supersonic plane Concorde will ever be able to fly the lucrative North Atlantic route. And without flying it, the plane has little chance of economic success.

Officials believe that the Concorde, which had its maiden flight test in France last week, will be unable to meet the noise limits for takeoff and landing imposed by major U.S. airports, including New York's Kennedy International, the number one terminal here.

And they also doubt that the Concorde's range will be adequate to fly from Paris to New York.

The Federal Aviation Administration has been reluctant to publicize its doubts about the Concorde for fear the U.S.—a late starter in the race to develop the supersonic plane—might be accused of trying to undermine the British-French effort.

But in a recent interview, Secretary of Transportation John Volpe let slip the fact that within his Department "there is some concern that it (the Concorde) may not be able to meet the requirements" on noise. Volpe also revealed that he expects a final study group report by the end of this week on whether the U.S. should proceed to the building of a prototype of its own supersonic plane.

Questioned about Volpe's comment on the Concorde, a responsible FAA official said there was increasingly agreement among technical people within the agency that the Concorde has little chance of being put into service across the North Atlantic route.

The Federal Government has not yet moved to set any standards to limit noise on supersonic planes, but the Concorde, the official said, appears very unlikely to be able to meet the noise limit for takeoff and landing already imposed by the Port of New York Authority for Kennedy International (Each airport in the country has the power to set its own noise limits.)

That limit is 112 PNDB (perceived noise decibels). The official explained that the Concorde's design goals for take-off and landing noise, even if fully met when the plane is finally complete, would just put it marginally within the noise limits. And on hot days, he said, when performance on noise worsens in supersonic planes, it might not be able to meet the limit at all.

But aircraft builders frequently fail to meet their design goals, and the official said FAA experts are convinced the Concorde will not meet its goal in this respect. "So from what we know the Concorde when finished simply will not be able to meet the standards already in effect in New York."

The construction of new and bigger airports in the U.S. might obviate the Concorde's problem, but such fields are not expected to be ready by the time the Concorde must begin flying the North Atlantic route in order to pay off.

The official said the proposed U.S. supersonic plane, with a different rear end design, make less noise on takeoff and landing and probably eventually could meet the current noise limits at Kennedy.

Noise is not the Concorde's only problem. The plane is designed for a range of 4000 miles and therefore theoretically can go nonstop from Paris to New York. But FAA technicians believe its actual, final range will fall far short of the design goal, ending up perhaps three-quarters as great.

In that case, the official said, the plane will barely be able to make it from Shannon to New York. "Oh, on the eastward route, with the wind at its back the plane may be able to make it to Paris, but it won't go the whole way when it flies westward into the wind," he said.

The official also said that it is generally believed within the FAA that neither the Concorde nor the proposed U.S. supersonic plane has any chance at present—because of the noise they make—of being allowed to make overland supersonic flights across the United States. "The sonic boom is just too great to be acceptable to the public," he said.

He said he expected the report being readied for Volpe to make this point clear. "I suspect that the report will take a realistic view of the chances of overland flight, which right now are essentially zero," he said.

RESCUE OF WILLIAM V. "BUCK" JONES FROM UTAH MINE

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, I was greatly relieved last night, as was the entire Nation, to hear the news report that William V. "Buck" Jones, a 61-year-old miner from Midvale, Utah, had been rescued from a caved in mine at Lark, Utah.

This dramatic rescue ended an 8-day ordeal for Mr. Jones, his wife, his 11 children, and his many fellow workers and friends.

Mr. Jones was trapped Saturday, March 1, when the lead, zinc, and silver mine caved in. Rescue workers went right to the task of digging him out, and in spite of the fact that no contact was made with him until the following Wednesday, they continued their round-the-clock efforts.

He had been without food or drink for 110 hours when a small hole was drilled

All of us hope the President's research, study and discussions with the heads of other states can move us closer to both immediate and long-range goals.

Work can be performed with great publicity. It also can be accomplished quietly. Most of our college students today proceed quietly to studies. A few do not. It is highly possible the quiet ones will have a better effect on the future of the world than will those who destroy and get notoriety in the news.

We can hope that Mr. Nixon's relatively quiet trip will result in the long-range good we expect from the quiet students. We cannot see today how long Mr. Nixon's trip will be remembered. But we can recall some words of a great President of the past, who said:

The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here.

That was a miscalculation at Gettysburg, and we would do well here to refrain from snap judgments as to the success of Mr. Nixon's European journey.

Much of the mail I have received from constituents in Wyoming, and from other States, in the past few weeks has had a new tone. It reflects a new confidence in the Federal Government. There is a feeling that a calm is spreading across our land. Mr. Nixon's quiet and efficient manner has improved the climate, and it is commendable that he proceeded in this manner through the capitals of Europe.

ST. PAUL DISPATCH SUPPORTS SENATOR MONDALE'S FULL OPPORTUNITY ACT

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I was pleased to read recently in the St. Paul Dispatch an editorial entitled "Poverty War Super Board?" The editorial pointed to something which I, myself, have long been committed to: The need for social accounting as a basis for social planning.

It is indeed difficult for me to understand how we seem to be willing to spend vast sums of money to improve the quality of every American's life; yet, simultaneously seem to have so little interest in analyzing the outcome of our efforts. As the editorial notes: "We haven't developed an overall social planning program to coordinate the efforts" of HEW and HUD. When the funds allocated to these agencies are already critically short, we certainly cannot afford the luxury of overlapping or worse still conflicting programs. Some sense of order and logic is plainly needed.

As John Gardner has remarked, we have the unfortunate tradition of "stumbling into the future." It should be obvious to all of us that if we are to win the war on poverty and realize the goal of full opportunity for every American then it is imperative that we develop a coordinated social plan. This social plan could be embodied in the Presidential Social Report which is outlined in the Full Opportunity Act, S. 5, which I introduced last month.

To formulate such a social report a set of social indicators would be needed. These social indicators would be used to critically and precisely evaluate the quality of American life and thereby enable us to know whether or not we are in reality closing the gap between present programs and urgent social needs. The President, the Congress, and the entire Nation would then be in a position to determine how successful we all were in realizing consciously selected social goals.

The Full Opportunity Act of 1969 cannot guarantee that we will realize our social goals. It is not a panacea. One can say, however, that without the enactment of the Full Opportunity Act we will be forever "stumbling into the future."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the RECORD.

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

POVERTY WAR SUPER BOARD?

A central weakness in the national war on poverty has been the failure to establish a command headquarters to plan the numerous attacks we're making on social problems.

More specifically, while we wage massive assaults on poverty through both the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development, we haven't developed an overall social planning program to coordinate the efforts of these large departments.

To meet this lack of overall planning, Sen. Walter Mondale has introduced a bill to create a social advisory council comparable in purpose to the Council of Economic Advisors. That is to say, the social advisory council would strive to present the governmental agencies with an overall view of social trends and needed adjustments, much as the Economic Council advises the government on shifts in the economy and necessary actions to meet them.

Substantiating the need for such a council, Mondale points out that the nation today lacks "a comprehensive and consistent information base upon which major decisions in social affairs may be made."

While numerous organizations are involved in studying social problems, Mondale argues that "neither the information measured nor the measurers themselves have been sufficiently precise, consistent or systematic to allow rational judgment about the gaps between present programs and urgent social needs, or even to measure satisfactorily the impact of those programs."

It might be argued that either HEW or HUD has the resources now to create such an agency. It might be said also that the newly created Council of Urban Affairs, headed by Daniel P. Moynihan, could serve as an overall social planning agency.

This might be possible, but there is something to be said for striving for a more objective approach through an independent advisory council without direct ties with the operating agencies.

Such a planning and analytical organization above the bureaus could perhaps serve a worthwhile purpose. At least the idea deserves consideration by the Administration and by Congress.

PRESIDENT NIXON'S TRIP TO EUROPE

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, the return of President Nixon to this country on Sunday night concludes the first chapter of a new era of relations with our friends of Europe. It is not a new era because the President made the trip, nor because, suddenly, as a result of the trip, there is an important change in handling our relationships with the nations of Europe.

It is a new era because the relationship today of this country with Europe is considerably different from the two decades immediately following the end of World War II.

And I think the President demonstrated, before he went to Europe, as well as while in Europe judging by the press reports, that he has long been aware of the changes which have taken place and that it was necessry for this country's leader to reestablish a dialog with the leaders of European nations.

This he has now done—admirably, in my viewpoint. He has set in motion the apparatus for this country to strengthen our ties with the European nations, not on the formula of the past in which these ties rested—in the main, on our strength to aid them in their protection—but in working together in the many, many areas in which we share the common aspiration of success, progress and liberty for our respective peoples.

The President's trip was particularly worthwhile in this latter respect in that it tends to turn our focus of attention on the positive points of our relationship with Europe and to direct our thinking to closer cooperation, to greater contacts and to a stronger association with Europe.

A number of our Presidents have visited Europe and have left with the people of those nations impressions of what our country is like on the basis of what our leaders are like.

We can all be exceedingly proud of this latest trip by an American President. I am confident that the European estimate of the character and substance of our people is immeasurably higher today as a result of President Nixon's historic visit to the European Continent.

TOWARD A SOCIAL REPORT: OUR PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, you have heard me speak often about the qaulity of American life in connection with the Full Opportunity Act of 1969—S. 5—which I introduced on January 15. It is unfortunate that so vital a matter is so difficult to talk about in a precise manner.

This, of course, points to the urgent need to develop a set of "social indicators" so we cannot only talk meaningfully about the quality of American life but also evaluate our social programs which are designed to improve that quality. Social indicators are also necessary if we are to formulate future social plans. Surely, the quality of American life can be improved faster by intelligently planning for the future rather than blindly stumbling into the future.

While it is difficult to talk about some of the factors associated with a better life, there are other factors which are relatively easy to talk about. The third chapter of "Toward a Social Report," dealing with the physical environment, isolated some of these factors. Specifically, the chapter deals with the pollution of our natural environment and the inadequacies of our manmade environment.

We now have developed, for instance, an air pollution index. We know, for ex-

ample, that New York has the worst air pollution problem in the country. Merely knowing this, of course, is no help to the asthmatic who must live and work in New York City. If we are to improve the quality of his life we must begin now to act on our present knowledge. Certainly, we can all agree that the quality of this asthmatic man's life will be improved by cleaner air.

Senators need not even look as far as New York City to see the adverse effects of pollution. Today, we do not need the social report to tell us that due to water pollution our very Potomac River is unsafe even for boating 70 percent of the time. It will not be long before we will be able to smell the effects of water pollution without so much as leaving this very Chamber. I am convinced that this would not have been allowed to happen had there been an annual social report even 20 years ago.

Mr. President, "Toward a Social Report" notes that in connection with our man-made environment there is a "more encouraging trend." Whereas in 1960, 84 percent of the housing in this country had been defined as "structurally sound," in 1966, 90 percent of the housing was considered "structurally sound." New and increased housing construction has meant better housing for most Americans.

The social report, however, points to what I consider to be an intolerable situation. I quote from the report:

> Even though the housing stock is improving, racial segregation and other barriers keep many Americans from moving into the housing that is being built or vacated. . . .

Many of our citizens—mostly black—are thus denied a "full share in the benefits of the improvement in the Nation's housing supply." Again we can all agree that structurally sound housing is a necessary condition for a better life. I am sure we can all also agree that we must concentrate our efforts on the eradication of this intolerable situation of racial segregation in housing.

If full opportunity is a birthright of every American, then this effort is imperative. Future social reports can evaluate our present efforts and redirect us where necessary.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the third chapter of "Toward a Social Report" entitled "Our Physical Environment" be printed in the RECORD.

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

CHAPTER III. OUR PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

ARE CONDITIONS IMPROVING?

In this chapter we are concerned with our physical surroundings: with the air we breathe, the water we use, the housing we occupy, the landscapes we see, and the transportation systems and urban patterns that determine the spatial dimensions of our lives.

THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

The natural environment is different for each community. In one community the air is polluted, but the water is reasonably clean; in another the reverse may be true. In a third place solid wastes—expanding graveyards of abandoned cars, or piles of trash—may be the most serious problems. In one place problems are getting worse; in another they are getting better. Programs designed to deal with pollution are as diverse as the problems themselves. Air, water, and land pollution are treated as separate and independent problems; the two Federal agencies with primary responsibilities for air and water pollution are in separate cabinet departments. Many State and local agencies also deal with one pollution problem or another.

To summarize the vast variety of environmental problems and policies we need to consider the interdependence of air, water, and land pollution, and the level and composition of the National Income. The "materials balance" framework provides an approach which can enable us to do this.

The materials balance framework

We start with the fact that the total weight of materials taken into the economy from nature must ultimately equal the total weight of the wastes discharged, plus any materials recycled. This means that a reduction in any one kind of waste, such as particulate matter into the atmosphere, must be accompanied by an increase in some other kind of waste, such as dry solids or solids discharged into waterways, or else by a continual recycling of this material. Except for respiratory carbon dioxide and water, it is technologically possible to stop most of the present discharge of wastes into the air and watersheds. But the result would be an accumulation of solid wastes that might be equally objectionable.

The economy uses almost 1.5 billion tons of fuel each year.[1] The main products of combustion are gaseous oxides or carbon, hydrogen, sulfur, and nitrogen. These plus a portion of the solid ash are normally discharged into the atmosphere. The economy also takes in about another billion tons of minerals and food and forest products. Consumers use these goods in the form they receive them, or further transform them (e.g., by eating), but must sooner or later dispose of the end product, whether it be empty tin cans, "throw-away" bottles, worn-out refrigerators, plastic toys or human excreta.

Thus we can see that the pollution problem will probably increase as the economy grows. If, for example, industrial production tends to grow at 4½ percent per year, it will have increased fourfold by the year 2000 and almost tenfold by 2020. Unless there are changes in technology or the composition of output, the total weight of materials going through the economy, and the wastes generated, will have increased by a like amount. Surely this will not be allowed to happen. The society must continuously recycle more of the materials it uses, or reduce pollution in some other way. Still, this hypothetical projection alerts us to the fact that a new type of natural resource scarcity is emerging.

Since Malthus' time, the possibility of resource scarcity has held the attention of economists and laymen alike. Available evidence today suggests, however, that resource scarcity has not posed a threat to American economic growth over the last 60 years, nor is it likely to over the next 50 years.

The same cannot be said of the new type of scarcity: nature's limited capacity to absorb wastes. The present levels of pollution are serious enough. But unless we develop new technologies of recycling, they could become much worse.

We cannot draw any direct lines from the amount of wastes discharged in an area to the damage done by pollution. Some wastes, such as carbon dioxide, are not usually considered pollutants. In some areas, especially rural areas, the level of pollution may be below the threshold at which it begins to do damage. It is also possible that some parts of the environment can specialize as receivers of waste. Certain land areas and rivers could be loaded with wastes almost without limit, and other areas and rivers kept in good condition for other uses. We must therefore look at each type of pollution in turn, along with its sources, effects, and geographic dispersion.

Air pollution

In most of our large cities today more wastes are being discharged into the atmosphere than can be dissipated. The result is air pollution. Polluted air can contribute to sickness, disability, and premature death; it can soil and damage buildings and materials of all kinds; it can injure and destroy farm crops and other vegetation; and it can blight our cities and degrade the quality of our lives. In addition, the more distant future holds the ominous possibility of radical changes in climatic conditions.

a. Major Pollutants and Their Adverse Effects

Carbon monoxide is the most important air pollutant in terms of weight emitted into the atmosphere. Generated principally from transport vehicles and combustion processes it can cause physical and mental impairment, and death.

Oxides of nitrogen and hydrocarbons (from autos and industrial sources) photochemically react to produce photochemical smog, the most irritating effect of which is eye irritation. Smog makes breathing more difficult, especially for those with respiratory diseases, and it has been known to cause serious plant damage.

Sulfur dioxide, from burning of coal and oil, damages vegetation, affects the lungs adversely, and has been associated with an increase in respiratory death rates and cardiovascular ailments among older persons. Sulfur trioxide, from the same source, converts to sulfuric acid in the air and causes corrosion and deterioration of certain fabrics and of steel and stone structures.

Particulate matter, such as lead from auto exhausts, may be directly harmful to human beings. Other particulates may magnify the adverse effects of other pollutants on the lungs, and soil structures and materials. Major sources are ash products of combustion in electric power and industrial production.

b. Air Pollution Levels

Are the levels of air pollution high enough in major American cities to create serious problems? Some idea of the significance of the air pollution problem can be obtained by comparing the actual levels of each type of pollutant in various cities with some standards for air quality, to see if air pollution exceeds an acceptable level.

It should be emphasized here that the best presently available information on air pollution problems is incomplete—hence the tentative nature of the goals. Because of the dire consequences of continued increases in pollution we have to take precautionary measures in the face of information which is not only insufficient but subject to change as our knowledge grows.

Two different sets of tentative air quality goals have been adopted. If the "tentative short range goals" were achieved, most of the undesirable effects now understood would be eliminated. The long range goals set more rigorous standards, since not all of the effects of air pollutants are known, and there is evidence which suggests that still lower levels must be reached to eliminate all of their detrimental effects.

An index of air pollution can be obtained by comparing a city's maximum pollution levels to the tentative air quality standards. There are six major American cities for which the index exists. None of the six cities meets even the tentative short range standards, suggesting that the air pollution problem is quite significant. A comparison of the maximum air pollution levels of the six cities

[1] This and the following estimates are from Ayres and Kneese, "Environmental Pollution," *Federal Programs for the Development of Human Resources*, A Compendium of Papers Submitted to the Subcommittee on Economic Progress of the Joint Economic Committee, Congress of the United States, 1968.

custodian of life on Earth. It's a big responsibility. The thought that we're in competition with Russians or with Chinese is all a mistake, and trivial. Only mutual destruction lies that way. We are one species, with a world to win. There's life all over this universe, but we are the only men.

Our business is with life, not death. Our challenge is to give what account we can of what becomes of life in the solar system, this corner of the universe that is our home and, most of all, what becomes of men—all men of all nations, colors and creeds. It has become one world, a world for all men. It is only such a world that now can offer us life and the chance to go on.

LAW AND ORDER

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, we often hear today the cry for "law and order." It seems, however, that for some people this cry is really an incantation. That is, they believe if they say "law and order" often enough and loud enough the crime problem will disappear.

What is needed more than incantations is systematic analysis. What is it we really mean when we say we want "law and order?" Do we want to double our police forces or mete out stricter sentences to lawbreakers so as to retard their activities? Do we really know that these are the most effective means to accomplish this end? Perhaps we would accomplish more be working to correct the social causes of crime rather than merely seeking to deal with crimes after they have been committed.

Mr. President, once again I invite attention to a report called "Toward a Social Report," prepared by HEW. Among other things, the report tries to analyze systematically the problem of crime as it relates to the quality of American life.

Under the Full Opportunity Act of 1969, S. 5, the President would be required to submit such a report to Congress annually. The Full Opportunity Act would also establish a Council of Social Advisers to help the President formulate the social report and a Joint Committee of the Social Report to help the Congress evaluate it. Of equal importance is the fact that S. 5 declares full opportunity for every American to be a national goal.

Let me say a few words about what the fifth chapter of "Toward a Social Report," entitled "Public Order and Safety," has to say about how crime impairs the full opportunity of many Americans. According to statistics compiled by the FBI, major crimes have increased 13 percent in 1964, 6 percent in 1965, 11 percent in 1966, and 17 percent in 1967. It is noted that the victims of crimes, as well as the perpetrators, "are more likely to be residents of the poverty area of central cities than of suburbs and rural areas."

The report notes that Negroes have higher arrest rates than whites, but that Negroes also "have higher rates of victimization than whites of any income group." Quite related to this phenomenon is the fact that it is precisely in the ghetto areas "where the prospects for legitimate and socially useful activity are the poorest." As the report states:

It seems unlikely that harsh punishment, a strengthening of public prosecutors, or more police can, by themselves, prevent either individual crime or civil disorder.

These measures do not really speak to what I consider to be one of the major causes of crime in the ghetto: powerlessness and frustration born out of the culture of poverty. What is really needed is to bring full opportunity—in all of its ramifications—to the people whose dominant cultural milieu is poverty.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that "Public Order and Safety," the fifth chapter of "Toward a Social Report," be printed in the RECORD.

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

CHAPTER V. PUBLIC ORDER AND SAFETY

WHAT IS THE IMPACT OF CRIME ON OUR LIVES?

To assess the quality of American life, we must consider the impact of crime on our society. People neither want to be the victims of crime nor to live in fear of crime. Moreover, crime challenges the basic assumptions of civilized society. A society cannot claim to be minimally civilized if greed and aggression are regularly permitted to override respect for other people.

An increase in crime has a variety of implications for the well being of a society. It is reflected in the workload of the police, the amount of harm to victims, and the prevalence of criminal behavior and attitudes. The impact of crime needs to be appraised from each of these perspectives to determine how crime can best be prevented and controlled.

For these purposes it is best to concentrate on crimes generally considered most serious. There is a set of actions which almost every society has felt it necessary to combat. These include criminal homicide, assault, rape, and different varieties of theft. Because such actions have been prohibited at almost all times and places by a nearly universal consent, the study of these crimes answers best to the needs of social reporting for data, for meaningful comparisons, and for phenomena of clear concern to our society.[1]

INCREASES IN MAJOR CRIMES

The periodic reports of law enforcement agencies to the Federal Bureau of Investigation show large and persistent increases in the numbers of known crimes. The FBI statistics show increases in major crimes generally considered serious of 13 percent in 1964, 6 percent in 1965, 11 percent in 1966, and 17 percent in 1967.[2] Major crimes have been increasing faster than the population. The FBI index of major crimes per hundred thousand population increased at an average rate of 8.7 percent per year between 1958 and 1967.

Different types of crime have been increasing at very different rates. Indeed, the homicide rate was actually lower in 1967 than in 1933. From 1958 to 1967 FBI index crimes per 100,000 population increased at the following average annual rates:

	Percent
Homicide	2.9
Rape	5.6
Aggravated assault	7.8
Robbery	10.0
Burglary	8.4
Larceny	9.9
Auto theft	8.2

The problem of underreporting

It has long been known that there has been a difference between the total number of crimes and those officially reported. In fact, sample surveys undertaken for the President's Crime Commission in 1965 indicate that several times as many crimes occur as are reported in official crime statistics. One explanation is that the victims of crime often do not report incidents because of the circumstances in which a crime occurs. Assaults, for example, commonly occur among members of the same family or among neighbors and the participants involved often prefer to make their own peace with each other. If a juvenile steals something it may seem kinder to obtain restitution through his parents rather than through the police.

THE HARM DONE TO VICTIMS

In addition to information on the number of significant criminal offenses, we need to know how much harm these offenses do to their victims. If in a given year there were 90 more murders and 100 fewer burglaries, most people would surely say that victims had suffered more, though the number of criminal offenses would be less. We need a way of "weighting" each crime that occurs according to the amount of harm it does.

So that a burglary will not count as much as a murder, property crimes could be weighted by the average amount of the dollar loss which results and murders weighted by some appropriately much greater figure. A very conservative, if not callous, figure would be the projected life-time earnings of an individual, perhaps $200,000. This weighting procedure would be crude, but it would be far less misleading than counting every crime equally as one. To illustrate, there were on average 298,661 burglaries reported in the years 1938 to 1942. There were on average 7,525 murders in the same years. In a latter 5-year period, 1952 to 1956, there were an average of 491,864 burglaries and 7,000 murders. The total number of the two crimes per year was 192,678 greater on average in the second period. But if we weight the burglaries in constant dollars and the murders by $200,000, even this crude and illustrative weighting would strongly suggest that there was less harm to victims.

Vulnerability and property risks

Information on the aggregate amount of harm resulting from crime would tell us something important from the victims' point of view, but not enough. Different people—or the same people at different times—are vulnerable in different degrees. A physical injury which represents a brief period of pain and inconvenience to a young person can be catastropic to an older one. A loss of a few dollars might hardly be missed by a rich man, but felt sorely by a poor one.

Analogously, we need to ask questions about the vulnerability of whole societies or the same society at different times. How much does crime hurt the members of a society, given their ages, activities, wealth and way of life?

If we consider only crimes of theft against property we can estimate both the amount of harm and the degree of our vulnerability. We can estimate the dollar losses from such crimes from FBI statistics going as far back as the thirties. At the same time, we can contrive a very crude dollar measure of our vulnerability over the same period. We can estimate the dollar value of consumer durables in each year together with the amount of currency in circulation in that year as the measure of our wealth exposed to theft.

[1] It should not be forgotten, however, that other sorts of crimes create an immense caseload for the police and the courts. Over half of all arrests are for public drunkenness, drunk driving, other liquor offenses, disorderly conduct, vagrancy, and gambling.

[2] The FBI Index of Crime is composed of murder and willful manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery (involving at least the threat of personal violence in an attempt to steal), aggravated assault, burglary (with or without the use of force), larceny (stealing without the use of force or fraud), and automobile theft. Arson and kidnaping are the most obviously serious crimes not included.

This makes it possible to say whether the rapacity of criminals is gaining on the growing wealth of the country, or lagging behind it.

Has a dollar in property values become safer or less safe from the common forms of theft? Table I shows that by the above calculation the overall risk per $1,000 has increased from $3.55 to $3.91 from 1938 through 1967. For robbery, larceny, and auto theft it was less than in 1938 as recently as 1965; but for burglary it was already considerably greater.

TABLE 1.—VALUE OF PROPERTY INVOLVED IN THEFT (WHETHER RECOVERED OR NOT) PER $1,000 OF APPROPRIABLE PROPERTY [1]

Year	Robbery	Burglary	Larceny	Auto theft	Total loss
1967	0.14	1.18	0.79	1.80	3.91
1966	.12	.99	.73	1.65	3.48
1965	.11	.94	.68	1.57	3.30
1964	.12	.89	[2].71	1.63	[2]3.35
1963	.11	.80	.67	1.33	2.90
1962	.09	.70	.58	1.18	2.55
1961	.11	.68	.56	1.08	2.43
1960	[2].11	[2].66	[2].54	[2]1.09	[2]2.41
1959	.07	.54	.47	1.00	2.08
1958	.07	.55	[2].46	.99	[2]2.08
1957	.06	.45	.53	1.12	2.16
1956	.06	.43	.51	1.09	2.09
1955	.07	.43	.48	1.02	2.00
1954	.08	.50	.54	1.13	2.24
1953	.08	.45	.55	1.35	2.43
1952	.08	.50	.61	1.43	2.63
1951	.07	.39	.47	1.30	2.23
1950	.10	.40	.46	1.16	2.12
1949	.09	.42	.51	1.20	2.22
1948	.11	.48	.62	1.48	2.69
1947	.12	.55	.67	1.60	2.94
1946	.13	.63	.74	1.94	3.44
1945	.12	.57	.70	2.19	3.58
1944	.08	.45	.60	1.90	3.02
1943	.07	.37	.56	1.66	2.66
1942	.08	.36	.56	1.52	2.52
1941	.13	.42	.62	1.90	3.07
1940	.13	.42	.57	1.83	2.95
1939	.15	.47	.62	1.90	3.14
1938	.15	.52	.69	2.20	3.55

[1] Appropriable property represents currency in circulation plus a rough estimate of the stock of consumer durable goods.
[2] Data not strictly comparable to previous year.

The uneven burden

There are groups in our society which bear a larger share of the harm done by crime than others. Those most likely to be victims of major crimes—poor Negroes living in the central city—appear to have a rate of victimization several times that of those least likely to be victims—middle-income whites living in a surub or rural area (see tables 2 and 3).

In general, victimization rates tend to decline as one moves outward from central cities to rural areas. This tendency is pronounced for violent crimes against the person, which seem to show a central city rate five times greater than that of small cities and rural areas. Property crimes, on the other hand, show a rate only twice as great. The rates of "white collar crimes" such as forgery, counterfeiting, and the various types of fraud do not seem to vary with the type of community.

The response to risk

How do different groups in the population respond to their different risks? Many people are seriously frightened by the risk of crime, and forego certain activities in order to minimize this risk, such as working or seeking entertainment in certain areas of cities where they live. It would be valuable to know the extent of such dislocations, for they detract significantly from the quality of life.

TABLE 2.—VICTIMIZATION BY AGE AND SEX

[Rates per 100,000 population]

Offense	Age						
	10 to 19	20 to 29	30 to 39	40 to 49	50 to 59	60 plus	All ages
MALE							
Total	951	5,924	6,231	5,150	4,231	3,465	3,091
Robbery	61	257	112	210	181	98	112
Aggravated assault	399	824	337	263	181	146	287
Burglary	123	2,782	3,649	2,365	2,297	2,343	1,583
Larceny ($50 plus)	337	1,546	1,628	1,839	967	683	841
Auto theft	31	515	505	473	605	195	268
FEMALE							
Total	334	2,424	1,514	1,908	1,132	1,052	1,059
Forcible rape	91	238	104	48	0	0	83
Robbery	0	238	157	96	60	81	77
Aggravated assault	91	333	52	286	119	40	118
Burglary	30	665	574	524	298	445	314
Larceny ($50 plus)	122	570	470	620	536	405	337
Auto theft	0	380	157	334	119	81	130

Source: 1965 survey by the National Opinion Research Center for the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice.

TABLE 3.—VICTIMIZATION BY RACE AND INCOME

[Rates per 100,000 population] [1]

Offenses	White				Nonwhite		
	0 to $2,999	$3,000 to $5,999	$6,000 to $9,999	Above $10,000	0 to $2,999	$3,000 to $5,999	$6,000+
Total	2,124	2,267	1,685	2,170	2,894	2,581	3,387
Homicide	0	0	0	0	56	0	0
Forcible rape	58	46	0	17	111	60	121
Robbery	116	91	42	34	278	240	121
Aggravated assault	146	289	147	220	389	420	121
Burglary	1,310	958	764	763	1,336	1,261	2,056
Larceny ($50 plus)	378	700	565	916	501	300	363
Auto theft	116	183	167	220	223	300	605

[1] Rate per 100,000 population of each specific race and income group.

Source: 1965 survey by the National Opinion Research Center for the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice.

Information on the character of such dislocations was obtained by the President's Crime Commission. Sixteen percent of respondents in one survey said they had recently wanted to go out but had stayed home because of fear for their own safety. One out of three Negroes had done so and one of out eight whites. Those who were worried about burglary and robbery were 50 percent more likely to take precautions (such as installing locks or bars on windows and keeping firearms) than those who were not.

The Commission also discovered, however, that there was no clear relationship between having been a victim or witness of crime and the taking of precautions. There was a similar lack of clear relationship between the relative rate of crime in a respondent's neighborhood and his perception of it.

THE DEGREE OF CRIMINALITY IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

The harm criminals do to their victims is the main reason we are concerned about crime, but it is not the only reason. The crimes that are committed call in question the decency of our society and the dependability of our social institutions.

When assessing the criminality or law abidingness of a population it is necessary to consider the age distribution of the population. Since young people commit a disproportionate share of crime at all times, it would be possible for the crime rate to increase with a growing proportion of young people even if the propensities of *both* older and younger age groups remained the same.

This possibility is pointed up by the fact that for any one-year age bracket, the greatest number of people arrested for rape, aggravated assault and robbery are age 18, for burglary probably age 15, for auto theft age 16. Crime rates for all age cohorts fall off as their members get older, the rates for the lesser property crimes as early as age 16 or 17, the rates for the major crimes considerably later.

Part of the recent increase in crime rates can thus be attributed to the growing proportion of young people in the population, since there were more adolescents and young adults in the United States in the sixties, relative to the rest of the population, than there were in the fifties. But part of the increase apparently must also be attributed to greater criminality among the young. The percentage increase in juvenile arrest rates from 1960 to 1967 was nearly a third more than that for adults. Arrest rates themselves may not be a good indicator, but they point to the possibility that the propensity of youth to crime is increasing.

If we take into account the size and age composition of the population, the rate of increase in criminality over the past decade appears to have been less than the rate of increase in the absolute number of reported crimes. In 1958, there were 1,573,210 major crimes officially reported; in 1967, there were 3,802,300 such crimes, an increase of 142 percent, for a compound annual rate of increase of 10.3 percent. The rate of such crimes per 100,000 population was 903.6 in 1958 and 1,921.7 in 1967. This crime rate increased 113

percent, for an annual rate of 8.7 percent. But if the proportion of young people, ages 13 to 20, had been the same in 1967 as in 1958, there would have been fewer crimes, a 92 percent increase in the rate, for an annual rate of increase of 7.5 percent.

CRIME PREVENTION

If "crime does not pay," it is because society tries hard to see that it does not. It hires policemen and prosecutors and punishes those convicted of crime.

It is natural that any increase in crime or fear of crime should bring forth demands to apprehend more criminals and punish them more severely. Just as higher wages should attract more labor, so harsher punishments and greater probabilities of apprehension and conviction should deter more crime.

Incentives that deter crime

There is obviously much to be said for this "deterrence" or incentive-oriented approach to the crime problem. Fear of punishment undoubtedly deters some crime. Moreover, if the legal system can, in fact, succeed in inflicting harm only on the guilty, this approach appeals to the sense of justice, in a way that police harrassment of "suspicious characters" or preventive detention do not. And unlike vengeance, it has a positive social purpose.

The implications of this approach are, however, a good deal less clearcut than they seem to be. If the theory is not properly stated and qualified it can be a disastrous guide to policy. The conclusion that an increased concern about crime demands harsher punishments is in need of distinction and qualification.

One alternative to harsher punishment is greater reward for legitimate and socially useful activity. For example, there is not much doubt that the poor have higher crime rates for the major and violent crimes than those who are well off. That there is a relationship between poverty and crime is clear, although its precise nature is not.

It is most unlikely that the greater involvement of the poor in criminal activities can be explained entirely, if at all, in terms of the relative severity of potential punishment. In law the punishment is not supposed to vary with the income of the criminal. The social and economic loss resulting from a criminal record are probably greater for those who are well off, but on the other hand, it has been observed that the well-off often receive milder sentences. The rewards for legitimate activity are, on the other hand, systematically and considerably greater for the well-off than for the poor, and this makes crime a relatively less attractive alternative for them than for the poor. Thus informal penalties and incentives to lawful and productive activity seem more likely to explain the difference between the crime rates of rich and poor than the formal deterrents of the law. Adding plausibility to this view is the fact that those with a criminal record are more likely to commit further crimes and have fewer opportunities for legitimate activity because of their criminal records.

The complexity of criminal motivation

Whether a potential criminal is tempted to commit a criminal act or not depends on his perception of the alternatives open to him. There is always a risk that the criminal may be caught, and the potential criminal may perceive such a risk. But he is not likely to be deterred from committing a criminal act by the perception that there is a small chance that he will be severely punished.

The fact that the criminal is often confident he will not be caught, and may be disposed to taking chances, does not mean that harsher punishments would not deter some crime. But if punishments are already sufficiently severe that few will commit criminal acts unless they are disposed to take chances and think the odds are good that they will not be caught, then somewhat more severe punishments can often have only a minor deterrent effect.

This line of reasoning does, however, argue that additions to police forces that are large enough to make it clear to everyone that he is very likely to get caught if he commits a crime would have a significant deterrent effect. And there is clear evidence that more intensive police deployment does, in fact, have such effects. When authorities saturate a high crime area with policemen, the crime rate in the area drops dramatically.

Most crimes are committed by the young, whose experience and knowledge are limited. The alternatives a young person considers, and his evaluation of them, depend particularly on what he learns from his family and friends. Presumably most children brought up in fortunate circumstances never even consider becoming criminals. They know crime is wrong, realize it doesn't pay, and are intellectually and emotionally prepared for legitimate careers. They are, moreover, taught to look upon the police and the system of law and order as something that helps and protects them.

For some young Americans, the situation is very different. They grow up in miserable circumstances and are given no reason to think that legitimate effort will brighten their future. The law for their forbears may have been an instrument of oppression; the police a source of rudeness or even brutality, rather than of protection. In some slum areas most young men have police records, and a readiness to risk arrest may be considered a sign of manhood.

What this means is that the social context of poverty, and the poorer prospects for those who grow up in it, both tend to make socioeconomic deprivation a major cause of crime. A crime prevention strategy which focuses only on punishment, prosecution, and policing is therefore not only insufficient in terms of the theory that is used to justify it, but in addition neglects the cultural factors that must also be taken into account.

Among those who commit crimes there are not only those whose values and perceptions are the result of the influence of deviant social groups such as teenage gangs. There are also those whose deviance is a product of mental illness. There are some people in every social class who act as though they wish to be punished or as though they have determined that their values will be the opposite of those that social authorities lay down, whatever these values may be. For those who value punishment in general or deviance in general to some degree, to a like extent the punishments generally prescribed to deter crime will be ineffective. This illustrates the importance of keeping the extraordinary complexity of criminal motivation in mind.

Crime and civil disorders

The importance of group attitudes toward the law and the police, and of the objective obstacles to legitimate success in the slum environment, are illustrated by the civil disorders. These disorders tend to center in ghetto areas whose residents regularly list police behavior—lack of service and protection as well as rudeness and brutality—as primary complaints.

It seems likely that such negative attitudes toward the police and the system of law, and pessimism about the prospects of legitimate success, cannot be remedied through harsher punishment, a strengthening of public prosecutors, or more police. Such measures may help, but they are unlikely by themselves to prevent either individual crime or violent protest. The objective opportunities for the poor, and their attitudes toward the police and the law, must also change before the problems can be solved.

The policy challenge

The crime problem confronts society with a number of alternatives. Apprehension and punishment serve as deterrents to crime, as does an increase in police strength and effectiveness. At the same time an enlargement of opportunities, and measures to improve the social context in which crime emerges, are also necessary. Crime is, in other words, an index of the health of the entire social organism.

inferior, they think the merchandise in their store is inferior, too. So, in spite of having a personal interest in the welfare of their store, they probably feel they are rising above their environment and circumstances by shopping elsewhere."

Then came a day in November, 1967. Two gunmen held up the store—and left with [illegible] in checks. The

that small co-op came to our attention, we couldn't stand idly by knowing it was going under and some 2,700 persons of limited circumstances suffer from the loss. Here was a chance for our company to really become involved in giving a hand to low-income people who are trying to better themselves.

"Yes," Reynolds said, in answer to a question, "we have a Safeway Super Market in the area—about ten blocks from this co-op. This had no bearing on our decision. There are many other competitors in the area, but there's enough business for all. But more importantly, we wanted to see this co-op succeed because it symbolizes the free enterprise system."

"Safeway's undertaking," wrote one San Francisco paper, "is a significant one nationally, for it marks the first all-out effort by a corporation of tremendous know-how to help a losing ghetto business. Other big companies have established branches of their own in Ghettoes elsewhere in the nation, but have never ventured into a Ghetto to assist a failing business."

The re-opening of the Neighborhood Co-op was scheduled for early June. Prior to that time, the store was closed for a few days "while the Safeway task-force supervised alterations inside and out, re-stocked shelves and moved in new equipment to bring the store up to the operating level of Safeway stores."

THE FORMAL OPENING

June 6 brought the formal reopening of the co-op—located at Third and Paul Streets: the turnoff point for baseball fans to Candlestick Park. San Francisco's Mayor Joseph Alioto was there to cut the ribbon. Safeway's top executives were present. Like the mayor, Safeway's Quentin Reynolds also spoke to those who had come for the event—black businessmen and leaders of the community, and many of the Hunters Point residents. "Others in business and industry throughout the United States," said Reynolds, "will be encouraged to try this effort at cooperation if the result of this work is a success."

Some weeks before, Leonard Batts had said: "It leaves me almost speechless to realize that the know-how of the vast Safeway organization is working with us to analyze our problem and help us make our dream become a reality."

And now, as Batts looked around—the co-op "glistening like a typical Safeway operation"—it was still all very hard to believe. But . . . the ribbon-cutting ceremony HAD taken place. "I'm very proud of this," Batts said slowly. "It reminds me of a ship being christened for a second maiden run."

It is now several months since that second launching. And the voyage?

"Our business has increased steadily," Batts reports. "We have received over 500 new applications for membership in the Co-op, and every day brings more.

"Safeway still stands with us at the helm, and will continue to do so until we reach our objective."

And Safeway?

"That Co-op has come along in good shape," Reynolds beamed. "We're most enthused about it."

[From the San Francisco (Calif.) Chronicle, Sept. 3, 1968]

"TRIBUTE TO KENNEDY": HUNTERS POINT CO-OP ALMOST ON ITS OWN FEET

(By Steve Pelletiere)

Safeway Stores is on the brink of creating a living memorial to the late Senator Robert Kennedy.

It was June 6—the day the Senator died—that Safeway undertook to save the dying Hunters Point Co-op.

Last week, a Safeway manager announced that "We (the Safeway personnel) definitely have doubled business since taking over. The store was doing less than $7000-a-week, and now its over $14,000."

The manager, Mel Thomas, quoted from the just completed store inventory to show that "for the first time in three years, the store has made a profit. This," said Thomas, "is sort of a tribute to Senator Kennedy."

FUNCTIONS

Safeway Stores went into the Co-op under the personal direction of its president, Quentin Reynolds. Reynolds felt that the store—which had been going bust for months—could serve the ghetto community in two very valuable ways.

First, if the store could be made to pay, Hunters Point-Bayview would have a store truly its own. And second, a soundly operated Co-op could provide jobs and apprentice training for Negro youths.

Reynolds asked Leonard Batts, the president of the Co-op's board of directors, if the giant supermarket chain could assign a Safeway team full time to the project of bringing the Co-op out of debt. Since the store had just sustained a $12,000 uninsured loss through robbery, Batts was only too willing to give the approval.

CLEANUP

Thomas said, "The most difficult thing about putting this place on its feet was getting started." Thomas, formerly manager of a Safeway store at Seventh avenue and Cabrillo street, put together a "clean-up" squad of Safeway employees.

"For three days," said Thomas, we pulled display counters apart, fumigated them; killed rats; wiped out a termite infestation and threw away five huge scavenger bins of junk."

Then Thomas bought $50,000 worth of merchandise. "We received, cut (opened), priced and marked 4000 cases of food and goods—all in three days. The deadline was killing."

According to Thomas, the old Co-op management didn't have the proper savvy in the buying end. "People would come in here, looking for nine items, and be lucky if they could get four," Thomas said.

As Thomas gradually put the store on a more efficient basis, he sent the members of his original Safeway team back to their old jobs. "I hired six replacements" the manager said, "All from the community."

And just last week, Thomas hired his own replacement, Willie L. Scott, a former assistant store manager from Hayward.

"Now that the store has shown a profit," Thomas concluded, "I'll be going back to my old Safeway job." Thomas said he will stay around just long enough to break Scott in on his new duties.

PRIDE

John L. Wilks, a public relations man and Co-op member, and he thinks the new Co-op can make it. "The original Co-op was started," he said, "by some 2700 community people who bought shares."

"Negro people are developing a fierce pride in their community. The idea of owning their own store appeals to them."

"All this store needs," said Thomas, "is for people to come in and buy."

Added Scott: "If we could do $21,100-a-week business, it would be like we were 5000 feet out of the hole."

[From the Washington Daily News, Jan. 23, 1969]

"PROJECT PROGRESS" HELPS SAVE STORES

(By David Holmberg)

A white San Francisco grocery chain representative who helped revive a dying food store in a ghetto area there—and earned the respect of militant Black Panthers in the process—has come to Washington to try to boost similar projects here.

The new effort of Cal Pond, a Safeway stores public relations man, is part of a broad new assignment here to involve his

population receiving 40 per cent of the income in Argentina, Brazil and Mexico. The bottom 40 per cent of the population received 10 to 14 per cent of total income in those countries.

Education: Enrollment of school-age children in primary schools increased by about 50 per cent between 1960 and 1967, or from 24 million to 36 million. But there were 27 million children not enrolled in primary schools in 1967—740,000 more than in 1960.

With an expansion by 1979 of primary education facilities sufficient to give all school-age children six years of schooling before their 15th birthday, the adult illiteracy rate would be reduced to about 37 per cent or some three-fifths of the 1964 rate, which was 62.1 per cent.

CIGARETTE ADVERTISING—RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY GEORGIA ASSEMBLY

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a resolution adopted by the Georgia General Assembly meeting in Atlanta be printed in the RECORD.

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

H.R. 181-470

A resolution expressing opposition to the Federal Communications Commission's proposal to ban cigarette advertising on radio and television; and for other purposes

Whereas, the Federal Communications Commission plans to ban all cigarette advertising on radio and television unless the United States Congress intervenes to prevent said Commission from carrying out said plan; and

Whereas, if carried out, this proposed ban on cigarette advertising would do violence to the principles of free enterprise which have been the source of the greatness of our country; and

Whereas, the tobacco industry has always been and still is of fundamental importance to the economy of the South; and

Whereas, the importance of the tobacco industry to our own State is demonstrated by the fact that Georgia growers produced an average of over 78 million dollars worth of tobacco per annum during the past three years; and

Whereas, the impact that tobacco has on the Georgia economy is further demonstrated by the fact that there are over 26,000 tobacco growers in this State, and many times that number of people depend on the tobacco industry, either directly or indirectly, for their livelihood; and

Whereas, at a time when further taxation of our citizens is being considered, it should be noted that over thirty-seven and one-half million dollars in cigarette and tobacco taxes was collected by the State of Georgia during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1968; and

Whereas, cigarette advertising is directed toward people who already smoke and amounts to competition among brands rather than an inducement to people to begin smoking; and

Whereas, while convincing evidence has been presented to show that cigarette smoking is harmful to health, the alleged impact of cigarette advertising on actual smoking is sheer speculation which has not been backed up by objective and factual information; and

Whereas, since no reasonable justification for banning cigarette advertising on radio and television has been demonstrated and such a ban could have far-reaching adverse effects on the economy of our county, the Federal Communication Commission's plan to implement such a ban should be abandoned.

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the General Assembly of Georgia that the members of this body do hereby express their firm opposition to the proposal by the Federal Communications Commission to ban cigarette advertising on radio and television.

Be it further resolved that all members of the Georgia delegation to the United States Congress are hereby requested and urged to use their power and influence in prohibiting the implementation of the proposed ban of cigarette advertising on radio and television.

Be it further resolved that the Clerk of the House of Representatives is hereby authorized and directed to transmit appropriate copies of this resolution to Honorable Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States; Honorable Clifford M. Hardin, Secretary of Agriculture; Honorable Phil Campbell, Undersecretary of Agriculture; each member of the Georgia delegation to the United States Congress; the Federal Communications Commission; Honorable Lester Maddox, Governor of Georgia and Honorable Thomas T. Irvin, Georgia Commissioner of Agriculture.

In House, read and adopted March 3, 1969.

GLENN W. ELLARD,
Clerk.

In Senate, read and adopted March 17, 1969.

HAMILTON MCWHORTER, Jr.
Secretary.

PARTICIPATION AND ALIENATION

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, on several occasions in the past I have spoken about "Toward a Social Report" and its relation to the Full Opportunity Act of 1969—S. 5. Today I invite attention to the last chapter of that report: "Participation and Alienation." Some of the other chapters of this report have dealt with relatively more simple topics. This is one area where, at present, it is more intelligent to concentrate on the formulation of the proper questions than it is to seek answers to irrelevant questions. The seventh chapter of "Toward a Social Report" does precisely this.

This chapter attempts to pose questions which will enable us to judge not simply whether our institutions accomplish their tasks but, equally important, how they accomplish their tasks. Such questioning will "remind us of the range of considerations we should keep in mind when setting public policy, and encourage the collection of needed data in the future." In time, perhaps, we will be in a position to know how to reform our institutions so as make certain that they respect the rights of individuals; facilitate democratic participation; provide congenial group affiliations, and insure the survival and orderly development of our society.

The chapter asks questions in three major areas. We can all agree that our institutions should function in a manner which will not unduly infringe on our individual liberties. Accordingly, the first section of the chapter "asks questions about the degree of freedom and constraint in American life." The report suggests:

We need to develop survey data that can discern any major changes in the degree of tolerance and in the willingness to state unpopular points of view, as well as information about the legal enforcement of constitutional guarantees.

We can also agree that the protection of the individual liberties of only a selected few is not sufficient. It is necessary that every American's civil liberties are protected. Therefore, the second section of this chapter "raises questions about the extent to which the ideal of equality and justice is realized." Once again we are faced with the situation where those who are least educated and who have the least income often have the least chance to make their interests known. We must ask, How can the groups with the least organized power assert their interests against those with the most? This question urgently needs to be answered.

Finally, we can agree that even if people "enjoy freedom, and a just and equal political system" they can still lack a "sense of community." That is, they can still feel alienated: from their family, neighborhood, Nation, or any other social group. It is in this section where we come face to face with a problem which most Americans are deeply concerned about: the problem of a nation divided against itself. We desperately need to know how deep or serious "are the divisions in our society." It is only after we have such information that we will be able to act intelligently to eliminate the divisions which are not socially advantageous.

I wish to stress one other point which is highlighted in "Toward a Social Report." Social reporting in not a panacea. The difficult policy decisions we face will not be solved automatically by social reporting. As the report notes:

Social Reporting cannot make the hard choices the Nation must make any easier, but ultimately it can help to insure that they are not made in ignorance of the Nation's needs.

What social reporting can do is to keep us from continually "stumbling into the future."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the seventh chapter of "Toward a Social Report," entitled "Participation and Alienation," be printed in the RECORD.

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

CHAPTER VII. PARTICIPATION AND ALIENATION

WHAT DO WE NEED TO LEARN?

The preceding chapters neglect many of the Nation's major concerns. They have, for example, scarcely mentioned the divisions in our society which separate young and old, black and white, left and right. Yet these divisions trouble many Americans, and help explain the demonstrations at universities, the disorders in cities, and the manifestations of racist and extremist strength. The preceding chapters have similarly neglected the controversies about court decisions defining our individual liberties, demands for "democratic participation" in the organizational life of the society, and the concern some Americans have about the viability and stability of family life.

The most notable of the problems that have been neglected are those that concern the functioning of our social and political institutions. To the extent that these institutions have promoted health, deterred crime, and the like, their achievements belong in preceding chapters. But we also care about *how* we combine our efforts to achieve our goals, about our loyalty toward our institutions, about our attitudes toward each other, and about the implications of our social and

political institutions for the future of the Nation, However good our health or high our incomes, we would not be satisfied with institutions that failed to respect individual rights, allow democratic participation, provide congenial group affiliations, or insure the survival and orderly development of our society.

Unfortunately, it is concerns such as these that we know least about. It is more difficult to assess the extent to which our political and social institutions satisfy democratic values, or prevent alienation, than it is to assess the level of health, income, or crime.

Therefore, we can do little more than ask the right questions. Yet it is important that these questions be asked. If assessments of the state of the Nation take account only of those variables that are readily measurable, our social priorities and public policies will be distorted. It will not be possible to obtain the needed information in the future unless the questions are asked now.

Since the primary purpose of this report is to examine the condition of American society, the questions should pertain to the basic functions our social and political institutions perform, rather than to their structures or characteristics.

One purpose our institutions should surely serve is that of protecting our individual liberties—one of the first ideals of our Nation. Democratic processes are meaningless if citizens do not have a large measure of freedom, particularly freedom to dissent from the policy of the Government and the views of the majority. Thus the first section of this chapter asks questions about the degrees of "Freedom and Constraint" in American life.

In a modern democracy, individual liberty cannot be the privilege of a few: It must be available on an equal basis to every law-abiding citizen. A system in which some stand above the law, while others are denied its protection, is repugnant to the idea of justice. Equality before the law in turn implies that every citizen have access to public services on an equal basis according to law. The citizens must also be able to influence public policy, and in the aggregate influence it decisively, or they are not truly free. There must be meaningful voting, and the vote of each citizen must count equally. The second section of this chapter therefore raises questions about the extent to which the ideal of "Equality and Justice" is being realized.

A people may enjoy freedom, and a just and equal political system, yet lack any sense of community. Many may be alienated, not only from the Nation, but also from their families, neighborhoods, and other social groups. Some degree of alienation and disunity is acceptable in a society that values individual freedom, and the alienated may be creative and bring about reforms which benefit society as a whole. But if alienation becomes so pervasive that all sense of community is lost, the result can be disaster.

The degree of alienation also depends on the functioning of all the social groups in the society. A person may be alienated because of the failure of his family, the shortcomings of his neighborhood, the lack of a congenial club, or the policies of the National Government.

Thus the third section of this chapter, on "Community and Alienation," asks how strong are the bonds which maintain our relationships to social institutions, from the family to the National Government. Here we encounter what many Americans find the most worrisome questions of contemporary life: How serious are the divisions in our society? How can we bridge the generation gap that divides families and universities, and the racial and ideological differences that divide neighborhood and Nation?

QUESTIONS ABOUT FREEDOM AND CONSTRAINT

It is a sign of the profound value placed on freedom that many use this word to describe a great many of the things they want. Better education, more goods and services, and higher incomes give people the freedom to do things they could not have done before. But we are discussing freedom here in its most ancient and basic sense: those rights that allow an individual to use his time, talents, and resources in whatever way he pleases, so long as this does not interfere with the rights of others.

Freedom of expression

Democracy cannot be meaningful if those who disagree with the policy of the government have no opportunity to persuade their fellow citizens to vote it out of office. Thus freedom of expression, both for individuals and for groups, is absolutely indispensable to a democratic society.[1] We must therefore ask particularly about the freedom to express dissenting and unpopular views.

There can be little doubt that court decisions in the recent past have expanded the legal protection for free speech. Important as these legal developments have been, they are by no means the whole story. Freedom of expression can be restricted not only by government officials, but also by popular intolerance. However, the extent of such intolerance is not known.

There is some evidence that a majority of Americans on occasion have wanted to deny free speech to their fellow citizens, and that this disposition has been more prevalent among the rank and file than among community leaders. In the period of the Red scare of the early fifties, only 27 percent of Americans thought that an admitted Communist should be allowed to make a speech in their communities; but 51 percent of community leaders felt such a speech should be permitted. Among the general population, only about 37 percent thought that a person who wanted to speak against religion should be allowed to speak in their communities. Again, community leaders were more tolerant; 64 percent of them believed such a speech should be allowed.[2]

There is a need for tolerance not only in national political forums, but also in daily life. How much tolerance of dissent is there in our schools, factories, and offices? We do not know, but some approximate answers could be obtained, as one study shows.

In this study, representative samples of persons in the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, Italy, and Mexico were asked about the extent to which they had as students felt free to discuss unfair treatment in school or disagree with the teacher, and whether they had participated in school debates on political and social issues. As tables 1 and 2 reveal, American respondents were more likely than those in any of the other countries surveyed to say that they had felt free to disagree with their teachers, discuss unfair treatment with them, and participate in school discussions and debates. Americans were also more likely to be consulted about job decisions and to protest job decisions than those in most of the countries surveyed.

The lack of information about the extent of our liberties may suggest that we are not as vigilant about the state of our freedom as we purport to be. Here we can do little more than pose the question of how well the Nation is protecting the individual rights its rhetoric emphasizes. But the question is itself important. If it is asked more often, we will in time be able to provide better answers.

TABLE 1.—FREEDOM TO DISCUSS UNFAIR TREATMENT IN SCHOOL OR TO DISAGREE WITH TEACHER, BY NATION

[In percent]

Percent who remember they felt—	United States	United Kingdom	Germany	Italy	Mexico
Free	45	35	34	29	40
Uneasy	23	18	24	19	16
Better not to talk to teacher	25	41	30	36	39
Don't know, don't remember, and other	8	6	12	16	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Total number	969	963	953	907	783

Source: Almond and Verba, "The Civil Culture," p. 332.

TABLE 2.—FREEDOM TO PARTICIPATE IN SCHOOL DISCUSSIONS AND DEBATES, BY NATION

[In percent]

Percent who remember they felt—	United States	United Kingdom	Germany	Italy	Mexico
Could and did participate	40	16	12	11	15
Could but did not participate	15	8	5	4	21
Could not participate	34	68	68	56	54
Don't know and other	11	8	15	29	10
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Total number	969	963	953	907	783

Source: Almond and Verda, "The Civic Culture," p. 333.

QUESTIONS ABOUT EQUALITY AND JUSTICE

Equal treatment is a cornerstone of our society. We believe in equality before the law: The judicial system must deal equally with the great and the small, or there is no justice. We believe in the right to equal access to public services: The administrative apparatus should treat all citizens in the same way, according to law. We believe in the one-man-one-vote ideal: The political system should give each citizen equal access to the electoral process so that no group can wield political power disproportionate to its numbers. These ideas of equality and justice are not only enshrined in our rhetoric; they are essential to the viability and integrity of our democratic processes. If those who oppose the existing leadership cannot depend on the protection of the courts, or equal access to public services, or voting power comparable to their numbers, democracy is threatened.

[1] If there is freedom of expression and organization, there is automatically a good deal of religious freedom as well.

[2] Samuel Stouffer, *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1954), pp. 26–44.

Justice in the courts

A democratic society must always ask whether everyone accused has a right to counsel and all of the other requisites of a fair trial; whether justice is so long delayed it is in effect denied; whether every citizen has equal access to publicly provided services.

The American system of justice with its ancient roots in the common law, its elaborate rights of appeal, and thoroughgoing system of judicial review, is properly a source of national pride. Yet there is evidence that some suffer rough and ready justice at the hands of the police; that some are tried without adequate counsel; that publicity and prejudice may sometimes prevent a jury from rendering justice. In some parts of the country, the punishment of those accused of rape has varied with their race and the race of their victims.

One reason why so little is known about the exact extent of such inequities in our system of justice is that virtually *any* such wrong is a matter of great seriousness. It can result in the impeachment of a judge, or the expulsion or loss of pay of a policeman. Because so much is at stake, it is extremely difficult to collect information on shortcomings as a matter of statistical routine. Yet, if we believe in justice, we are obliged to ask to whom it has been denied.

Access and redress in large organizations

A growing group of Americans, especially among the young and the black, are intensely concerned about the relationship between the individual and the large bureaucracies. They are concerned about the relationship between the citizen and the police force, the student and the university, the claimant and the insurance company, the welfare client and the public assistance office, the tenant and the housing authority, the employee and the hierarchy.

The concern about the relationship between the individual and the bureaucracy is coming from diverse segments of the political spectrum. Historically, those on the right have been most anxious about the evils of bureaucracy and most enthusiastic about decentralization. But recently, the "new left" seems on its way to putting democratic participation in large organizations, including some forms of decentralization, above the left's traditional advocacy of central planning and the nationalization of industry.

The problem is this: How can the individual citizen, especially the citizen who is lacking in education, influence, and self-confidence, get the services he should expect from large bureaucracies, or get redress from the wrongs they may commit against him? The person accused of a crime has recourse to an elaborate system of justice replete with features designed to protect those unjustly accused. But the citizen who cannot get the police protection he needs, or who suffers rude treatment from the police, may find that the courts are irrelevant, or so costly and cumbersome that they are of no use. The man who can't get a license to work, or get a public utility bill corrected, or have an insurance claim processed promptly, may not have the option of turning to the courts. He may know that "you can't fight city hall," or influence a large corporation.

It is always possible to complain, and complaints sometimes help. Yet all too often complaints get lost in a snarl of red tape. This is especially true for the person who lacks education, or experience with large organizations, or who lacks the stamina, resources, and gall needed to make a large issue out of what the bureaucracy may take to be a small matter.

Today, as never before in our history, people seem to be at the mercy of huge, impersonal bureaucracies. Even when large bureaucracies function efficiently, there still may be resistance and resentment. People want to be treated personally and humanely. They do not want to be only a cog in a machine. The courtesy of an explanation, or a sympathetic ear, may make all the difference.

The expansion of government services, both at Federal and local levels, has increased the multiplicity of offices and agencies with which the citizen must deal. Millions of Americans think of their government as distant and unresponsive, though paradoxically many seem to think the city government more remote than the Federal.

The decline of the political machine typical of the 19th century city may also be a factor. Corrupt as these machines were, they nonetheless were responsive to the needs of many of the immigrants from Europe, and helped assimilate them into American life. The mid-20th century immigrants to the city are mainly Negroes from rural areas of the South who have not been assimilated into the political structure nor had the personal relationships with the city government that the political machines afforded earlier immigrants.

The difficulty of the relationships between bureaucracies and Negroes is illustrated in table 3. Whereas 87 percent of the whites expect "equal treatment" by administrative officials, only 49 percent of the Negroes do. Negroes are also less likely to feel that administrative officials will pay attention to their point of view, less likely to expect equal treatment from the police, and less likely to think the Government or the Congress pays much attention to what people think.

TABLE 3.—RESPONSIVENESS OF GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

	Total	White	Negro
Percent who expect equal treatment in administrative office [1]	83 (970)	87 (866)	49 (100)
Percent who expect equal treatment from the police [1]	85 (970)	88 (866)	60 (100)
Percent who expect administrative official to pay attention to their point of view [1]	48 (970)	50 (856)	30 (100)
Percent who expect police to pay attention to their point of view [1]	56 (970)	58 (866)	36 (100)
Percent who feel elections make the Government pay much or some attention [2]	89.2 (1,450)	90 (1,291)	83.8 (148)
Percent who feel most Congressmen pay much or some attention to what people think [2]	79.2 (1,450)	79.3 (1,291)	78.4 (148)

Note: Numbers in parentheses refer to the bases upon which percentages are calculated.

[1] Source: Almond and Verba, "The Civic Culture," 1960.
[2] Source: Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, Election Survey, 1964.

A study of the attitudes of Southern whites and Negroes, on what they would do about the problem of a dangerous school crossing, again shows the Negro's sense of uneasiness in dealing with officialdom. Though Negro responses indicated they would be about as likely to take action about a dangerous school crossing as whites, they were less likely to deal with the official directly, and more likely to speak to "influential" private persons. Whereas 49 percent of the whites would talk to the school officials, only 33 percent of the Negroes would. Though only 1 percent of the whites would talk to an influential private person, 8 percent of the Negroes would.

We need to consider a wide variety of new options that will improve participation and help individuals to deal with bureaucracies. Many things can be done. We must consider the merits of ombudsmen or independent investigators who can look into citizen complaints against administrative actions; neighborhood city halls that can bring local government closer to the people; neighborhood service centers that help people find their way to the right agency; consumer protection units; expanded legal aid for the poor; improvement in administrative law, so that the protection of the courts can be broadened; decentralization of police forces, schools, and other governmental functions; effective employee grievance procedures; councils of student representation in university communities, so that student reactions can effectively reach faculty and administration; and informal networks of communication that tell the administrator what his clients are thinking.

Large organizations are a fixture in today's world. How to keep them from colliding with the individual need for identity and participation is a complex problem. It will take a great deal of study to understand this problem, and probably a wide variety of policies to deal with it.

Political inequities

Universal suffrage, with one vote for each citizen, is one of the requisites of a system in which every individual, whatever his economic or social status, has an equal voice. As recent Supreme Court decisions about "reapportionment" suggest, there is in our constitutional and democratic ethic a concern that each group of citizens have the opportunity to play a role proportionate to its numbers.

Are any groups denied the role in the political system to which their numbers should entitle them?

In some Southern States, most Negroes have historically been denied the right to vote, and the proportion of Negroes registered in these States is still often a great deal smaller than the proportion of whites that are registered. Such inequities are an affront to democracy. Yet it is also significant that these differences in registration rates are steadily getting smaller, partly because of the Civil Rights Acts of recent years, and that in the Northern States Negro registration rates are not much different from those of whites.

There are also distinct differences in the proportion of the *total* population that is registered in the Nation's major cities. A study of 104 major cities showed that rates of voter registration were greater than 90 percent in some cities (such as Detroit, Seattle, and Minneapolis), and less than 70 percent in others (such as Baltimore, Newark, and New York). If literacy tests, methods of purging registration rolls, and inconvenient arrangements for registration are among the factors that account for these differences, they have distinct implications for the distribution of power among different socioeconomic groups.

There is also the question of the fairness of the apportionment of state legislatures and state congressional delegations, but again there is a clear trend toward more equal representation. Gerrymandering also appears to be declining, though this defies accurate measurement.

Insofar as the right to vote and apportionment are concerned, the situation is one of distinct, if not rapid, improvement.

Political power, however, involves more than the right to vote. It can require, among other things, money to finance campaigns, effective political organization, and lobbying or other pressure on the officeholder between elections. In many cases a group will have a major influence on public policy only if it is organized.

Although America has been called a nation of joiners, the fact remains that most Amer-

icans do not belong to any organization that represents them in the political system. Only one American in 25 reports membership in an explicitly political club or organization, and only 24 percent report belonging to any organization that they consider to be involved in political or governmental affairs. Only 57 percent report belonging to a voluntary association of any kind, including religious groups. A number of surveys indicate that less than 8 percent attend any political meetings or rallies.

Thus most Americans are without any organizational affiliations that would give them an organized voice in the governmental process.

The frequent lack of significant organized representation for major groups should not be surprising. When a large group of citizens has some common interest of purpose to seek in the political arena, the typical *individual* in that group often finds that it is *not* in his self-interest to contribute his money or time to an organization that attempts to further that common interest. He would get the benefits of any legislation that the organization succeeded in getting passed whether he contributed to that organization or not. And the typical individual in a large group could not by himself be decisive in determining whether or not the desired legislation would be passed. Thus he has little incentive to support an organization working in his political interest, and may very well not do so. The voluntary association seeking favorable legislation for a large group is in a position analogous to that of a government, in that it produces a service that cannot usually be sold in the market, yet it lacks the power to collect taxes, which governments (however popular their policies) require. Accordingly, we cannot assume that every large group of citizens will organize whenever its interests are threatened.

Industries with a small number of large firms will, because the resources are great and the number that need to be organized is small, usually be able to establish trade associations to further their political and other interests. Similarly, some professions, such as medicine, are well organized in part because each doctor can get professional advantages from joining his medical association. Labor unions can sometimes confer some similar benefits through grievance procedures and shop stewards, and often have the benefit of "union shop" provisions as well. Some farm organizations restrict the benefits of their cooperatives and mutual insurance companies to their members, thereby making it more advantageous for farmers to join.

Whereas some groups have the benefit of organization for reasons such as these, other groups, whose interests should have as much claim to attention, do not have these organizational advantages. This introduces an important inequality into our political system, which explains some of the unevenness in governmental attention to different problems.

This inequality particularly affects those with the least income and education. A survey by the National Opinion Research Center found that 52 percent of those with an income over $7,000 belonged to some voluntary association, but only 24 percent of those with an income under $2,000 did. Some 53 percent of the professionals, proprietors, managers, and officials belonged to voluntary associations, but only 32 percent of the skilled laborers, and 21 percent of the unskilled. Forty-two percent of farm owners, belonged to such organizations but only 13 percent of farm laborers.

Organizational inequities such as these help us understand the paradoxical strength of "special interests" in a democratic system formally designed to treat everyone alike.

How can the groups with the least organized power assert their interests against those with the most? Enlightened public officials can help. A government can set up an office of consumer affairs, or an agency for migrant workers, and so on. But, in the end, can the problem be solved unless we organize the weak, or weaken the strong?

QUESTIONS ABOUT COMMUNITY AND ALIENATION

The concern about social division and alienation in American society seems greater now than it has been for some time. The rising tempo of protest, especially among the young and the Negro, and the recent manifestations of right-wing discontent, have prompted some Americans to ask why the Nation faces these divisions now.

There are undoubtedly many reasons. The sharp differences about the war probably explain some of the division. Another factor is our growing affluence and new social legislation which lift the expectations of some people and, at the same time, arouse resentment and fear of change among others. A complete analysis of social cohesion would also have to consider, among other things, the ways children are brought up and educated, and the effectiveness of society's mechanisms for mediating and resolving disputes. It would also have to do justice to the positive functions of alienation and division, as sources of innovation and reform.

The alienation from the university, neighborhood, and family may well be of greater concern than the national political divisions. This alienation suggests one of the most fundamental causes of national division—the lack of satsifactory group relationships. People need a sense of belonging, a feeling of community, in some small social group. If such associations are lacking, they will feel alienated; they will have a tendency either to "cop out" of the central life of the society, or else try to reverse the direction of the society by extreme or even violent methods. The more numerous and stronger the social ties that bind an individual to the social order, the more likely he is to feel an attachment to the society, and work within existing rules to improve it.

We then need to ask questions about some of the principal social relationships in the society, and particularly the family, the neighborhood, and the voluntary association.

The effects of marital status

The need for social relationships may be seen in the association between marital status and health. Married people have distinctly lower death rates and lower rates of suicide, alcoholism, and mental illness than those who have never married or whose marriages have been disrupted by death or divorce.

With the important factors of age, race, and sex accounted for, differentials in death rates by marital status are very great. For every age, race, and sex, married persons have the lowest death rates. This cannot be explained by any difficulties those who are ill might have in getting or keeping a spouse, for the death rates for widowed persons, at all ages and for both sexes, exceed those of the married. Nor are the differences in suicide rates large enough to account for the differences in mortality rates.

Such statistical associations are particularly important here because they illustrate the pervasive and far-reaching consequences close social relationships can have. They add plausibility to the observations which suggest that alienation from society often reflects a lack of satisfactory relationships in small, primary groups, rather than solely global or national developments, and they show the need to inquire into the functioning of all types of social groups.

The condition of the family

The family has undergone profound changes in modern times. It was once the basic unit of society—the source of cohesion and security, the unit of economic activity, the means of education and recreation. Today, many of the functions of the family are performed by other institutions, from the Social Security Administration to the school.

The change in the structure and role of the family has had two important consequences. First, young but unmarried adults have had less family affiliation in recent times than in earlier periods. For many Americans now between 18 and 22, the college or university is *in loco parentis*. For some others, a hippie community may play the role the extended family served in earlier periods. Neither the college nor the communities of drop-outs bring different generations together on the intimate terms the extended family once did, nor do they provide the same kind of emotional security and support.

The second consequence is that changes in the family as an institution are sometimes read as signs of the collapse of family life. Thus, increases in divorce rates suggest to some that the value put upon family life is declining, yet the proportion of the population that is married has been increasing.

Between 1940 and 1965 the proportion of the population, after age-adjustment, that is married increased by 7.5 percent, but the proportion divorced increased only 1.3 percent. Those with disrupted marriages tend to marry again, and fewer stay single. Longer life expectancy means that marriage partners have a longer life together, much of it without the obligations of young children. We need much better information on what such changes mean for our well-being and the strength of our institutions.

The Negro family has suffered adversities going back to the days of slavery. A large percentage of Negro children live in disrupted families. In 1965, about 38 percent of the Nation's Negro children did not live with both parents, whereas only 10 percent of white children were in that situation. About twice as many nonwhite children were living with their fathers only, four times as many with their mothers only, and five times as many with neither parent.

A substantial part of this difference is due to the greater rate of illegitimacy in the Negro population. In 1965, 1.2 percent of single white women had a child, but 9.8 percent, over eight times as large a proportion, of the nonwhite women did. This difference can, however, easily be misinterpreted because white couples are more likely to use contraceptive techniques, or to marry after the discovery of a premarital conception. Moreover, the illegitimacy rate among whites appears to be increasing, whereas that of nonwhites is, if anything, going down.

Still, Negroes are much less likely to belong to intact families than whites. This fact adds interest to the question of whether there is more alienation among the Negro population than the white.

Voluntary associations

There is some evidence that membership in voluntary associations reduces an individual's sense of powerlessness and alienation. One survey[3] attempted to measure the extent to which a sample group felt they had control over the events that affected them. The responses, especially those of manual workers, suggested that members of a labor organization consistently had lower "powerlessness" scores than those who did not belong to any organization. The results are given in table 4.

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[3] From A. Neal and M. Seeman, "Organizations and Powerlessness: A Test of the Mediation Hypothesis," *American Sociological Review* (1964), 29, 216–226.

TABLE 4.—MEAN SCORES ON POWERLESSNESS FOR UNORGANIZED AND ORGANIZED MANUAL WORKERS, WITH INCOME CONTROLLED (N EQUALS 244)

Income	Unorganized	Organized
Under $3,000	2.50 (14)	2.20 (5)
$3,000 to $4,999	3.20 (46)	2.81 (52)
$5,000 to $6,999	3.20 (25)	2.55 (75)
Over $7,000	3.00 (4)	2.65 (20)
Total (mean)	3.08 (89)	2.64 (153)
S.D.	1.5	1.8

Note: Scores on the powerlessness scale ranged from 0 to 7.

Though the evidence is ambiguous, those with the most pronounced sense of powerlessness and alienation often seem to display an ambivalent attitude toward political participation. On the one hand, they are less likely to vote, keep track of political issues, and the like. On the other hand, there is also some evidence that they are disproportionately active in particular circumstances. Some studies have suggested, for example, that alienated and powerless voters are especially likely to be vigorous opponents of fluoridation and school bond issues.[4]

These results are consistent with a theory advanced by a number of sociologists: alienation usually leads to political apathy; yet alienated people become easily aroused in certain circumstances, such as when extremist and totalitarian forces are gaining strength. We need to continue seeking further evidence on this and other explanations.

The neighborhood

The immediate neighborhood, though not so important as a social unit as it once was, still has some significance. The slum neighborhood is of particular interest, since it generally has less organization and social structure. Slums have disproportionate numbers of people who suffer from social pathologies, and slum communities lack the internal structure to deal with these problems.

In fact, social problems—from family disruption to suicide—cluster in the slum. This does not necessarily mean that the problems could disappear if there were no slums. It is logically possible that people with problems gravitate to the slum.

However, there is evidence that suggests that personal and social pathologies are contagious, and that slums *generate* many problems which they have no way of controlling.

If the probability of falling victim to a social pathology is greatly increased if one is brought up in a slum, then the slum is more than a private problem. It is a public and social problem. Private action cannot be expected to cure the social contagions of the slum environment any more than it can deal adequately with contagious diseases. They demand organized action, and organization is what many slums above all lack.

The lack of organization and social structure in the Negro slum therefore appears to be a major problem, and probably one that is related to the recent civil disorders. Cohesion or solidarity would be a great asset for it would give Negroes collective strength both in making external demands (e.g., on city government, or employers), and in enforcing internal constraints (e.g., against delinquency and crime). Its relative absence leaves the individual Negro particularly vulnerable to the unrestrained predations of persons within his community or outside it. The examples of the solidarity of other ethnic groups, such as Jews and Chinese, indicate the tangible assets community solidarity provides: political power, aid to those in trouble, and lending arrangements for those establishing or expanding businesses.

Alienation

The net effect of an individual's praticipation can be partially revealed by surveys which seek to find out whether the individual feels he has control over his own destiny, an intelligible part to play in social life, and values he shares with others. According to such surveys the degree of alienation is substantially different for different groups.

Negroes are much more likely to feel powerless and alienated than whites. A comparison of white and Negro employed men in Los Angeles, for example, showed the following results:

[In percent]

	Negro choices (N=312)	White choices (N=390)
1a. Becoming a success is a matter of hard work; luck has little or nothing to do with it	58	77
1b. Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time	42	23
2a. By studying the world situation, one can greatly improve his political effectiveness	58	70
2b. Whether one likes it or not, chance plays an awfully large part in world events	42	30
3a. Wars between countries seem inevitable despite the efforts of men to prevent them	69	66
3b. Wars between countries can be avoided	31	34

Studies have also indicated that the difference in the sense of powerlessness between Negroes and whites is not explained solely by differences in education. When a sample of whites and Negroes were asked to react to the statement that "There is not much I can do about most of the important problems that we face today," the proportions responding affirmatively, at different educational levels, were as follows:

	Percent
Negroes:	
Less than 12 years education	73
12 years or more	60
Whites:	
Less than 12 years education	57
12 years or more	34

Most other minorities also show a high degree of powerlessness, though the Jewish minority appears to be an exception.

Some surveys have suggested that Negroes in integrated areas, or with relatively integrated life styles, tend to feel less powerlessness than Negroes in highly segregated circumstances. The willingness to use violence, by contrast, appears to be greater among Negroes with a high degree of powerlessness, at least according to one survey of the Watts area of Los Angeles.

Among white Americans, alienation is apparently less likely to show up as a feeling of powerlessness and more likely to show up as a conviction that socially disapproved means must be used to attain objectives. Alienation in this sense is greatest among those with lower socioeconomic status. Those who are the most alienated, moreover, tend to have considerable prejudice against members of minority groups.

Alienation accordingly appears to play a role both in the discontents of the black minority, especially those who feel violent means are necessary, and also among those in the white population who show most prejudice against minority groups. Its importance among disaffected young people is not in dispute.

Conclusion

A sense of community, which would do a great deal to lessen alienation, is only one of our social and political objectives. We also cherish individual freedom and equality which too much cohesion in our social groups can sometimes restrict. Some alienation may also be related to intellectual and artistic creativity, and thus socially desirable. Moreover, it often strengthens the forces of reform, and enables the society to change with the times.

Thus a sense of community is not the only good. But, as the present divisions in our society reveal, it is very much worth asking whether we have as much as we need.

[4] J. S. Coleman, *Community Conflict* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957); W. A. Eamson, "The Fluoridation Dialogue," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 1961, 24, pp. 527–537; J. E. Horton and W. E. Thompson, "Powerlessness and Political Negativism," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1962, pp. 485–493.

PROTECTION OF CERTAIN SPECIES

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I have joined the Senator from Texas (Mr. YARBOROUGH) in cosponsoring S. 335, a bill to prohibit the importation of species which are in danger of extinction and to protect certain species in the United States.

Mr. President, this is a good piece of proposed legislation. We in Alaska know and value the beauty and pleasure that are derived from our wild animals, and anything the Federal Government can do to help to preserve this priceless natural heritage is for the better.

I hope that S. 335 can be passed quickly; every day of delay will mean further loss to the world's dwindling irreplaceable supply of wild creatures.

RELOCATION FROM KANSAS CITY NOT JUSTIFIED

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, for some time rumors have been circulating that the administration was considering reorganization in several of the most important departments, with a possible relocation of regional offices. We had heard reports that this relocation would involve moving the regional offices of the Department of Labor, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Office of Economic Opportunity from Kansas City, with a consequent transfer of hundreds, if not thousands, of career employees from that community, all for the commendable objective of improved service.

The possibility of transferring these offices from Kansas City has been advanced several times in the past, but was always tabled after careful study revealed the superb transportation and communication facilities at Kansas City, as well as its central location for the majority of the people to be served.

Only yesterday, the Kansas City Star, in a story by Mr. Joe Lastelic of the Washington bureau of that newspaper, gave what appeared to be a more authoritative report than we had previously been able to obtain from the administration about this possible relocation.

Immediately, Senator EAGLETON, Representatives BOLLING, HULL, RANDALL, and I joined in a telegram to the President asking that before any such change is made, the civic and business leaders of Greater Kansas City, representing both Missouri and Kansas, be given an opportunity to present the facts as to what

that metropolitan area has provided over the years and will continue to provide in outstanding services for these Government functions. I ask unanimous consent that our telegram be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

MARCH 26, 1969.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.:

The Kansas City Times this morning reports the administration is considering reorganization of Labor, HEW and OEO regional offices with transfer of 825 employees from that community.

With its central location and unexcelled transportation and communications facilities centered in the Kansas City area, it is impossible for us to understand how such a move would add to Government efficiency or save money.

Before any such change is made we would appreciate opportuntiy for civic and business leaders of Greater Kansas City, Missouri and Kansas, to present the facts as to what this metropolitan area provides and will continue to provide in outstanding services for these Government functions.

Senator STUART SYMINGTON,
Senator THOMAS F. EAGLETON,
Congressman RICHARD BOLLING
Fifth District.
Congressman W. R. HULL, Jr.,
Sixth District.
Congressman WILLIAM J. RANDALL,
Fourth District.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, we understand that members of the Kansas delegation who represent the western part of Metropolitan Kansas City area have made a similar request to the President.

This morning, however, we learn that the President does plan to issue a directive to the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare and the Office of Economic Opportunity to move their regional offices from Kansas City.

A telegram yesterday afternoon from the mayors of Kansas City, Mo., and Kansas City, Kans., and the presidents of the chambers of commerce of the two cities reports they also wired the President offering their cooperation in further study of the facts. I ask unanimous consent that that telegram be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

KANSAS CITY, MO.,
March 26, 1969.

Hon. STUART SYMINGTON,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Following telegram has been sent to the President, White House, Washington, D.C.

"We are concerned in the national interest at local press reports this date alleging relocation in Denver of regional offices of Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare and Office of Economic Opportunity.

"We commend your desire to effect economy in government and increase efficiency. Respectfully urge delay in final decision by Budget Bureau and your personal study of all facts. Some factors for consideration follow.

"Nineteen hundred and sixty-eight task force studying same proposal found it more economical to operate from Kansas City than from Denver. Subsequent transfer of some Department of Labor operations from Denver to Kansas City and recommendation that regional office of HUD be located in Kansas City are consistent with task force findings.

"States involved are Colorado, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Mexico, North Dakota, Utah, Wyoming. Functions of all offices are concerned basically with people and population center are found mainly in States of Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota and Missouri.

"Strong orientation of Department to urban problems suggests better service may be provided from Kansas City's closer proximity to population centers than in Denver nearer to more sparsely populated States.

"Travel costs and time of Department employees traveling from Denver back through Kansas City to population centers certain to increase with proposed relocation.

"Kansas City air service superior and current development of Kansas City International Airport sure to achieve cost and time reductions in future.

"Departments now located in Federal facilities in Kansas City. Denver relocation would require Federal Government leasing space from private sector. Estimate eight hundred employees at one hundred and thirty square feet per employee at Denver rate of four dollars and fifty cents per square foot indicates conservative estimate of four hundred and sixty eight thousand dollars per year continuing additional cost to Federal Government for space alone.

"Relocation of Federal employees and families taking into account number of homes owned and inevitable commission on sale of homes, actual movement of individuals and personal belongings estimated conservatively at four thousand dollars per employee resulting in additional three million, two hundred thousand dollar cost to Federal Government.

"No estimate of moving supplies in equipment of various offices available at present but again certain to be additional cost to Federal Government.

"Relocation constitutes personal hardships to many competent, dedicated and loyal Federal employees.

"Once again respectfully urge reconsideration and further study. We stand ready to assist.

"Appreciate all immediate assistance you can give.

"ILUS W. DAVIS,
"Mayor, Kansas City, Mo.
"JOSPEH H. MCDOWELL,
"Mayor, Kansas City, Kansas.
"BERT BERKELEY,
"President, Chamber of Commerce, Greater Kansas City.
"JAY DILLINGHAM,
"President, Kansas City, Kansas Area Chamber of Commerce."

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, the purported objective of this proposed relocation is decentralization of authority from Washington through centralization in eight cities away from Washington. It is our understanding that the headquarters for our region would serve 11 States—Colorado, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah, and Wyoming—and would be located in Denver, Colo.

On a map of this region, without any consideration for the distribution of population, Denver would appear to be centrally located, at least geographically. In that the mission of these Federal agencies is to serve people, however, we believe the greatest service at the lowest cost can be given by continuing these offices in the city nearest the center of population. According to 1967 census estimates, 11 million people reside in Missouri and the three States adjacent to Missouri in the proposed 11-State region, whereas 6 million people reside in the other seven States.

It is difficult to understand how relocation of the regional offices to a point more distant from the major concentration of population is going to aid the quality and promptness of service. Surely it would be better to keep these three regional offices where they are and put the proposed subregional offices at the point of lower population density.

According to newspaper reports, city mayors have been asking for this relocation. This would not appear to hold true in our region, as I have received wires from the mayors of the two largest metropolitan areas, from affected Federal employees, and from business groups served through these offices. They are uniform in expressing their opposition to removal of the regional offices from Kansas City and their belief that such a move would, in fact, impair the services that can be rendered our region.

The largest metropolitan area to be served in this region is also disturbed about this possible move. I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD a telegram received this morning from Mayor A. J. Cervantes of St. Louis, Mo.

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

ST. LOUIS, MO.,
March 26, 1969.

Hon. STUART SYMINGTON,
U.S. Senator,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Urgently request you to assist in delaying any decision regarding the moving from Kansas City, Missouri, to Denver of the regional offices of the Department of Labor, HEW and OEO. Kansas City business and civic leaders are preparing economic and professional facts and figures concerning this matter. The move would be a severe blow to St. Louis programs.

ALFONSO J. CERVANTES,
Mayor, City of St. Louis.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a telegram from Efton A. Stanfield, manager of the National Electrical Contractors Association of Kansas City, expressing the views of that organization.

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

KANSAS CITY, MO.,
March 27, 1969.

Hon. STUART SYMINGTON,
U.S. Senator,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Re proposed relocation of regional offices of U.S. Department of Labor, HEW and OEO from Kansas City, Missouri to Denver, Colorado. Urgently request that you oppose the proposed relocation of regional offices, U.S. Department of Labor, HEW, and OEO, from Kansas City. Cost of such relocation would, in opinion of membership of this large trade association, result in exorbitant expenditures in these austere times. Furthermore, due to mid America location of Kansas City, relocation would, obviously, result in added travel and per diem expenditures above and beyond that now in force. Relocation expenses of families, per diem and travel wise,

S. 1788—INTRODUCTION OF THE STUDENT ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1969

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I introduce, for myself and Senators BAYH, CRANSTON, DODD, HARRIS, HART, HARTKE, HOLLINGS, HUGHES, INOUYE, MCCARTHY, NELSON, PACKWOOD, RANDOLPH, SCOTT, WILLIAMS of New Jersey, and YOUNG of Ohio, the Student Assistance Act of 1969.

This legislation has several purposes:

First. It will remove the financial obstacles to college attendance by providing direct grants to students, based solely on need, and by greatly expanding Federal grants available to students from needy and lower-middle-income families.

Second. It will increase the flexibility of student loan resources by chartering a private, nonprofit bank to assure availability of loan funds.

Third. It will greatly expand Federal aid available for graduate and profes-

sional education by permitting graduate and professional students to obtain grants based upon need, loans from the bank chartered by this bill, and fellowships for the third and fourth years of graduate study for those who qualify on the basis of ability and need.

Fourth. It will augment existing efforts at student "outreach" to identify and encourage high school students who otherwise might not seek further education, dealing with the blended motivation and financial difficulties which impede college attendance.

Fifth. It will greatly expand Federal assistance to higher education by providing direct grants to institutions attended by students who receive assistance under this act.

Sixth. It will provide for new and expanded efforts for providing college outreach programs during the early years of high school.

None of those who join in support of this proposal are wedded to its specific and detailed language. Our purpose is to find the best possible legislation for dealing with the problems of providing assistance to college students and institutions of higher education.

Mr. President, the case for a substantial increase in Federal support of colleges and college students is a compelling one.

THE NEED FOR NEW FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

Increased costs: The primary need for this bill is the vastly increased cost of attending college. Officials from the Office of Education have testified that the estimated average cost of attending a public university this school year is $1,740. For a private university the estimated average cost this year is $2,640. Allowing for the expected yearly increases during the next 3 years, the average cost of a 4-year college education for a freshman who entered a public university last fall is $7,260. If he entered a private university, the total cost is estimated at $10,990.

These costs are high. Hard-working parents with moderate incomes find that the cost of educating their children is becoming increasingly burdensome. This is especially true if they have more than one child in college, as many of them do. For the poor, these costs are completely out of reach.

College costs are rising much faster than prices for other goods and services in the American economy. The Consumer Price Index increased 44.6 percent between 1948 and 1968. During the same period the cost for attending a public college for 1 year increased 72.3 percent, and for private universities, the cost increased 91.3 percent. The percentage increase in the cost of college has been almost double that of the increase in the Consumer Price Index.

I ask that the following table be inserted in the RECORD at this point.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

TABLE 1.—INCREASE IN THE COST OF ATTENDING PUBLIC AND PRIVATE COLLEGES FOR 1 YEAR COMPARED WITH THE INCREASE IN CONSUMER PRICE INDEX, 1948–68

	1948	1958	1968	Total, 1948–68
Consumer Price Index (1957–59=100)	83.8	100.7	121.2	
Percentage increase		20.2	20.4	44.6
Public colleges (current dollars per year)	$1,010	$1,330	$1,740	
Percentage increase		31.7	30.8	72.3
Private colleges (current dollars per year)	$1,380	$1,950	$2,640	
Percentage increase		41.3	35.4	91.3

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, these costs have increased because the cost of providing higher education has increased. There is some evidence, however, that public institutions—which now educate 70 percent of all college students—are passing these increased costs on to students faster than the cost of providing this service increases.

According to Students and Buildings, a Department of Health, Education, and Welfare publication, between 1955 and 1965 the average revenue of public colleges, exclusive of research funds, increased 34 percent. The average student charges increased 38 percent. This means that the public subsidy of higher education has been decreasing relative to the cost of providing the service. At private institutions during this 10-year period, average revenue, exclusive of research funds, increased 83 percent while average student charges increased 70 percent.

Another way to measure the increased burden posed by the cost of higher education is to look at the cost of higher education as compared with the gross national product. According to the Office of Education, in 1957 expenditures by institutions of higher education comprised 1.2 percent of the gross national product—GNP. In 1967, the most recent year for which information is available, the comparable figure was 2.4 percent.

I ask that the following table be inserted in the RECORD at this point.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

TABLE 2.—EXPENDITURES BY INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION RELATED TO GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT: UNITED STATES, 1959–60 TO 1975–76

[Dollar amounts in billions]

Calendar year	Gross national product [1]	School year	Expenditures by institutions of higher education	Percent of GNP
1957	$141.1	1957–58	$5.3	1.2
1958	447.3	1958–59	6.2	1.4
1959	483.7	1959–60	6.7	1.4
1960	503.7	1960–61	7.7	1.5
1961	520.1	1961–62	8.5	1.6
1962	560.3	1962–63	10.3	1.8
1963	590.5	1963–64	11.3	1.9
1964	632.4	1964–65	13.1	2.1
1965	683.9	1965–66	15.0	2.2
1966	743.3	1966–67	16.9	2.3
1967	785.1	1967–68	18.8	2.4

[1] Economic Report of the President, 1968, p. 209.
[2] Projections of Educational Statistics to 1975–76, updated by Office of Education, Jan. 3, 1969.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I have already indicated that the cost to students is generally rising somewhat more rapidly than the cost of providing education in public higher education institutions. This fact, coupled with the figures above, means that students and their parents are spending an increasing proportion of their income for college education.

The geographic mobility of the educated: Higher education is a national resource. It is used nationally. It is trained nationally. We must increasingly begin to pay for it nationally.

First, many college students do not receive their education in the State of their residence. I ask inclusion of the following table in the RECORD at this point.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

TABLE 3.—RESIDENTS ENROLLED AS STUDENTS IN HOME STATE AND OUT OF STATE: UNDERGRADUATE, GRADUATE, AND PROFESSIONAL, 1963

	Undergraduate	Graduate
In home State	2,967,313	448,016
Out of State	668,514	182,121
Percent who live in State	81.6	71.1
Percent who live out of State	18.4	28.9

Source: U.S. Office of Education, Residence and Migration of College Students, Fall 1963.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, in 1963, the last year for which geographic information is available, there were 4,265,864 students working for a bachelor's or higher degree. Of these, 850,715 were receiving their education in a State other than the one of their residence. This means that approximately 20 percent of all college students in 1963 were enrolled in institutions of higher education located outside of their State of residence.

There is no information which accurately shows how many college graduates choose to reside in the State in which they receive their degree. There is no doubt, however, that many of these graduates choose to live and work in other States. The growth of a national economy, the decreasing strength of home ties, and the general willingness of many Americans to move in search of opportunity, means that trained persons who readily qualify for positions throughout the country are likely to work in jobs either outside of their State of residence or outside the State in which they receive their college education.

The table above shows that students are more likely to go to other States for their graduate education than for their undergraduate education. Graduate education, moreover, is the most costly type of education to provide. And persons with graduate degrees are especially likely to move into a national job market that will lure them from the State in which they graduate. This means that many States provide an especially costly graduate education to many students whose families live and pay taxes in

other States. These same students are then the ones most likely to move outside the State when they graduate.

For all these reasons, States are becoming more and more reluctant to pay the full costs of higher education. Rightly of wrongly, they tend to view the provision of such education as beyond their responsibility. Graduates who receive their education and then go elsewhere are viewed as a net loss to the State's economy. Students from other States are often viewed as unnecessary burdens upon State resources.

States have also traditionally relied upon taxes which respond somewhat more slowly to economic growth than the national tax structure. This, coupled with a growing reluctance to accept the responsibility for providing education to students from out-of-State, means that States are becoming increasingly hesitant to support higher education. Some States already limit out-of-State enrollments. Other States are either imposing new limits or making present limits more stringent. It is, thus, not surprising that the State and local government share of higher education cost has decreased from 33 percent in 1957–58 to 25 percent in 1967–68.

Opportunity for higher education: At least 650,000 able, college-age Americans are not in school today. The primary reason is lack of income. They cannot finance the cost of attending college. This figure is estimated by some sources to be well above 1 million at the present time.

By 1972, this number will more than double—to at least a million and a half—and this is a conservative estimate.

College attendance is very highly related to socioeconomic status—which is primarily a measure of family income. All studies show that the higher a family's socioeconomic status, the more likely that children of that family will attend college. This is true even when children have the same ability. The tables from several studies indicate this to be the case. I ask permission to include the following tables in the RECORD at this point:

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

TABLE 4.—PROBABILITY OF A HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE ENTERING COLLEGE IN THE YEAR FOLLOWING GRADUATION BY FAMILY SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS QUARTILE, STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT QUARTILE, AND SEX: HIGH SCHOOL CLASS OF 1961 (NATIONAL)

MALE

Socioeconomic quartile	Achievement quartile: High	2d	3d	Low
High	0.92	0.76	0.52	0.38
2d	.81	.55	.38	.21
3d	.77	.45	.22	.17
Low	.61	.31	.19	.10

FEMALE

High	0.87	0.72	0.43	0.37
2d	.75	.44	.26	.09
3d	.75	.32	.13	.13
Low	.42	.26	.13	.08

Source: Project Talent.

TABLE 5.—PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS ENTERING COLLEGE DURING THE 1ST YEAR FOLLOWING HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION BY SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS QUARTILE AND HIGH SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT QUARTILE: HIGH SCHOOL CLASS OF 1961

Socioeconomic status quartile	Achievement quartile: High	2d Q	3d Q	Low	Total
Males:					
High	57	25	12	6	100
2d	46	32	15	7	100
3d	40	33	16	11	100
Low	26	30	23	21	100
Females:					
High	56	28	11	5	100
2d	54	27	15	4	100
3d	48	27	13	12	100
Low	28	29	22	21	100

Source: Project Talent.

TABLE 6.—PROBABILITY OF FRESHMEN WHO ENTER COLLEGE (FULL-TIME) IN THE YEAR OF HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION, RECEIVING A BACHELOR'S DEGREE AFTER 4 YEARS, BY ABILITY AND SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

Ability	SES: (High) 1	2	3	(Low) 4
1 (high)	78.1	63.0	66.4	65.9
2	59.1	55.9	56.8	65.3
3	47.7	51.6	47.0	54.1
4	43.9	35.3	37.0	38.3
5 (low)	30.4	44.8	23.4	28.7

Source: Project Talent.

TABLE 7.—PROBABILITY OF STUDENTS WITH BACHELORS' DEGREES ENTERING GRADUATE SCHOOL IN YEAR AFTER RECEIPT OF DEGREE, BY ABILITY AND SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

Ability	SES: (High) 1	2	3	(Low) 4
1 (hign)	54.0	50.6	41.8	30.5
2	41.7	40.8	29.4	49.2
3	43.1	39.6	33.7	17.6
4 [1]	39.6	25.7	30.2	24.5
5 [1] (low)	45.8	14.0	33.3	12.8

[1] The number of observations in these cells is very small.

Source: Project Talent.

TABLE 8.—PERCENTAGE WITH COLLEGE PLANS, BY SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS AND INTELLIGENCE, SEPARATELY FOR MALES AND FEMALES [1] (TOTAL COHORT)

Socioeconomic status levels	Intelligence levels (males): Low	Lower middle	Upper middle	High	Total	Intelligence levels (females): Low	Lower middle	Upper middle	High	Total
Low	4.7 (363)	12.0 (267)	23.3 (193)	33.6 (149)	14.8 (972)	2.7 (411)	4.4 (316)	11.0 (236)	26.1 (138)	7.9 (1,101)
Lower middle	9.3 (300)	19.8 (324)	33.5 (275)	49.4 (253)	26.8 (1,152)	10.2 (335)	17.3 (342)	24.4 (291)	35.0 (226)	20.4 (1,194)
Upper middle	17.2 (273)	25.6 (277)	47.8 (316)	64.0 (289)	39.3 (1,155)	14.0 (250)	24.7 (324)	27.4 (332)	49.8 (289)	29.3 (1,195)
High	28.4 (134)	48.3 (232)	68.6 (299)	85.8 (442)	66.3 (1,107)	30.2 (126)	44.4 (223)	65.1 (324)	72.7 (458)	60.2 (1,131)
Total	12.2 (1,070)	25.4 (1,100)	45.5 (1,083)	65.2 (1,133)	37.4 (4,386)	10.5 (1,122)	20.9 (1,205)	33.7 (1,183)	53.3 (1,111)	29.5 (4,621)

[1] All χ^2s for each column and row in this table are significant beyond the 0.05 level. Effect parameters: Males: Socioeconomic status 0.131, intelligence: 0.144; females: socioeconomic status 0.140, intelligence: 0.105.

Source: William H. Sewell and Vimal P. Shah, "Socioeconomic Status, Intelligence, and the Attainment of Higher Education," Sociology of Education, 40, No. 1.

TABLE 9.—PERCENTAGE WHO ATTENDED COLLEGE, BY SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS AND INTELLIGENCE, SEPARATELY FOR MALES AND FEMALES [1] (TOTAL COHORT)

Socioeconomic status levels	Intelligence levels (males)					Intelligence levels (females)				
	Low	Lower middle	Upper middle	High	Total	Low	Lower middle	Upper middle	High	Total
Low	6.3	16.5	28.0	52.4	20.5	3.7	6.3	8.9	27.5	8.5
	(363)	(267)	(193)	(149)	(972)	(411)	(316)	(236)	(138)	(1,101)
Lower middle	11.7	27.2	42.6	58.9	33.8	9.3	20.2	24.1	36.7	21.2
	(300)	(324)	(275)	(253)	(1,152)	(335)	(342)	(291)	(226)	(1,194)
Upper middle	18.3	34.3	51.3	72.0	44.6	16.0	25.6	31.0	48.1	30.5
	(273)	(277)	(316)	(289)	(1,155)	(250)	(324)	(332)	(289)	(1,195)
High	38.8	60.8	73.2	90.7	73.4	33.3	44.4	67.0	76.4	62.6
	(134)	(232)	(299)	(442)	(1,107)	(126)	(223)	(324)	(458)	(1,131)
Total	15.0	33.5	51.0	73.8	43.7	11.4	22.5	34.7	54.9	30.7
	(1,070)	(1,100)	(1,083)	(1,133)	(4,386)	(1,122)	(1,205)	(1,183)	(1,111)	(4,621)

[1] All χ^2's for each column and row in this table are significant beyond the 0.05 level. Effect parameters: Males, socioeconomic status, 0.134; intelligence, 0.166. Females, socioeconomic status, 0.146; intelligence, 0.105.

Source: William H. Sewell and Vimal P. Shah, "Socioeconomic Status, Intelligence, and the Attainment of Higher Education," Sociology of Education, 40, No. 1.

TABLE 10.—PERCENTAGE WHO GRADUATED FROM COLLEGE, BY SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS AND INTELLIGENCE, SEPARATELY FOR MALES AND FEMALES [1] (TOTAL COHORT)

Socioeconomic status levels	Intelligence levels (males)					Intelligence levels (females)				
	Low	Lower middle	Upper middle	High	Total	Low	Lower middle	Upper middle	High	Total
Low	0.3	7.9	10.9	20.1	7.5	0.2	1.3	2.5	13.8	2.7
	(363)	(267)	(193)	(149)	(972)	(411)	(316)	(236)	(138)	(1,101)
Lower middle	2.3	7.4	16.7	34.4	14.2	0.9	5.3	8.9	20.8	7.9
	(300)	(324)	(275)	(253)	(1,152)	(335)	(342)	(291)	(226)	(1,194)
Upper middle	4.4	9.8	24.4	46.7	21.7	2.4	9.3	12.1	24.9	12.4
	(273)	(277)	(316)	(289)	(1,155)	(250)	(324)	(322)	(289)	(1,195)
High	10.5	23.3	38.5	64.0	42.1	7.9	15.3	36.4	51.1	35.0
	(134)	(232)	(299)	(442)	(1,107)	(126)	(223)	(324)	(458)	(1,131)
Total	3.2	11.5	23.9	47.2	21.8	1.8	7.1	16.1	33.5	14.5
	(1,070)	(1,100)	(1,083)	(1,133)	(4,386)	(1,122)	(1,205)	(1,183)	(1,111)	(4,621)

[1] All χ^2's for each column and row in this table are significant beyond the 0.05 level. Effect parameters: Males, socioeconomic status, 0.081; intelligence, 0.123. Females, socioeconomic status, 0.077; intelligence, 0.083.

Source: Same as table 9.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, all of these tables except the last three are figures taken from a nationwide sample. The last three are from a large sample of Wisconsin high school graduates for a given school year.

The message is clear: Children of rich parents are much more likely than equally able children of poor parents to attend and finish college. As shown in table 4, which relates figures for a national sample of high school graduates, a male child of poor parents has only from one-quarter to two-thirds the chance of enrolling in college as a child with the same achievement level and rich parents. Clark Kerr, who recently headed the Carnegie Foundation's inquiry into the needs of higher education, has said:

> Today a young man or woman whose family's income is in the top half of the national income range has three times the chance to get a college education as one whose family is in the bottom half.

The reason that children from poor families attend college at significantly lower rates than those from rich families is in part motivational. They may not receive encouragement from their families. They often attend inferior elementary and secondary schools. Their peer-group does not lend them to think about attending college since most of their friends do not plan further education after high school.

But much of the difference in attendance rates is due solely to money. Children of low-income parents have often suffered deprival. Making future plans often seems futile. And some students a $10 bill is a great deal of money. Raising the $1,700 necessary to attend school for a year may pose what seems to be, and usually is, an insurmountable task.

This is why there are hundreds of thousands of bright high school graduates in this country who do not continue their education. It is a tremendous waste in human resources. No nation—no matter how rich or well developed—can long afford to waste its human resources. This Nation, with its vast wealth, cannot continue this waste. This Nation, with its belief in opportunity for all, cannot continue this glaring inconsistency of bright, able, high school graduates denied the opportunity to continue their education because of lack of finances. All who can benefit from postsecondary education should have the opportunity to do so. We must end this inequality now.

The impact of low family income upon low rates of college attendance manifests itself concretely in the low rates of college attendance of some segments of our population.

Minority groups—Indians, Negroes, Mexican Americans, and Puerto Ricans—have notably low rates of college attendance. Sometimes this is because some minorities live in isolated sections without ready access to institutions of higher education. But the most important determinant is low family income.

Significantly fewer rural children attend college than do their urban and suburban counterparts. One study of Wisconsin high school graduates found that students who lived in medium-sized and large cities were more than twice as likely to plan to attend college as were students with equal ability who lived on farms. Again, part of the reason is that children of farm families are often isolated from institutions of higher education where they can readily obtain a college education. But the overriding factor is again income. Farmers as a group tend to make less income than do city dwellers.

Finally, some States have significantly lower rates of college attendance than other States. In 1965, for example, 46.5 percent of the college age population was enrolled for degree credit. In the 12 States served by the Southern Regional Education Board the comparable figure was 34.9 percent. This was not because the States served by this board were not making a valiant effort to educate their citizens. But the South has a less developed economic base. Family income in the South is lower than family income elsewhere. Because of this, the impact of income on college attendance is likely to be especially noticeable in this region of the Nation.

Growth in higher education opportunity structure: We know that a good many of the hundreds of thousands of able students who do not go to college do not do so because of cost. As these costs become higher, more and more students, as measured in absolute numbers, will be denied the opportunity of a college education. I think that many people fail to recognize the dimensions of the opportunity structure in higher education. We are lulled into a false sense of progress. We see burgeoning enrollments—they have more than doubled in the last decade. What we fail to see is that the percentage of high school graduates who attend college has not grown appreciably during the last decade. I ask that the following table be included in the RECORD at this point.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

TABLE 11.—NUMBER OF HIGHSCHOOL GRADUATES COMPARED WITH NUMBER OF 1ST-TIME COLLEGE DEGREE CREDIT ENROLLMENT, 1955, 1965

	1955	1965
Number of highschool graduates	1,414,800	2,672,000
Number of 1st-time degree credit enrollment	668,064	1,411,822
Percentage of highschool graduates attending college	47.3	52.8

Source: Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Digest of Educational Statistics, 1968.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, it is difficult to determine with certainty the percentage of high school graduates who attend college. The figures noted above compare the number enrolled in college for the first time for degree credit with the number of high school graduates in a given year. This measure gives some idea about the progress being made in providing educational opportunities to the youth of our Nation.

The rate of progress is not encouraging. The 5.5-percent increase of 10 years means that the percentage of high school graduates who attend college has increased at an average of only 9.5 percent per year.

I think that these deficiencies in our opportunity structure must be repaired. The loss of human talent and the effect

on the quality of life are beyond calculation. The economic loss is almost incomprehensible.

In recent years this country has become increasingly aware of the problems of the poor. We have not always liked what we have seen. But there is now a greater awareness that problems exist. There is a greater honesty in admitting that all is not as we have sometimes pretended it to be.

We have also come to recognize that there is a large group of Americans who have not been able to participate in the opportunity structure of our society. This is not because they don't try. They are fortunate enough to find jobs. But their jobs are often low-paying ones. Their savings are eaten up by increased medical costs, increased taxes, and increased costs in providing the necessities of life. Family emergencies sometimes set them back. This large group, though, live their lives quietly. The burdens they bear are heavy. Their struggle is incessant.

Because these "working poor" live their lives in incessant struggle so quietly, they are sometimes called the "forgotten Americans." It is time that they be forgotten no longer.

Many of these parents dream of sending their children to college. Some, through fantastic sacrifice, are able to do so. Most are not. It is time this Nation do something to help them realize their dreams. It is time to relieve them of some of their struggle. After all, it is not just the individual family or child that benefits from postsecondary or higher education. The benefit to society is just as large. And it is time for this Government to assume a larger share of the cost of college educations.

The poor and the low-income working man—these are the people this bill will help. Both are caught in a vicious cycle of poverty. Their low levels of training lead to low-paying jobs—or to no job at all. There is no money to pay for education. And this is passed from one generation to another and another and another.

We must break this cycle now. We have the resources to do it. What we have never done is use them in a really massive way to attack them through higher education.

We are beginning to ask: How do we end poverty? What better first step than permitting 650,000 to 1,300,000 young people to obtain a college education? This country could make no better investment in economic development than in higher education. The increased earnings made possible by a college education would produce enough additional tax revenue to pay the entire cost of this program. And the benefits of the program are transgenerational. Once the cycle is broken, future generations will have access to more resources to pay for the education of their children.

According to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare publication "Expanding Opportunities for Higher Education," the lifetime differential in earnings between a college graduate and a high school graduate is $136,187.

According to the Internal Revenue Service about 67 percent of taxpayers pay 15 percent or more of their income in Federal personal income taxes. At this rate the minimum tax return on the additional $135,000 made possible by a college education would be $20,428. In all likelihood the return would be even greater since the additional income would probably put these taxpayers into higher tax brackets. But even these conservative estimates indicate that this program will more than pay for itself through the increased tax revenues made possible by it.

Another way of predicting the likely impact of this program on tax revenue is to look at the GI bill. It is one of the most successful education programs ever undertaken by the Federal Government. The educational benefits available through this law made it possible for millions to return from war duty and complete their education; 7,800,000 World War II veterans and 2,391,000 Korean conflict veterans participated in the first two GI bills. Among these, according to the last count of the Veterans' Administration, were 11 U.S. Senators and 116 U.S. Representatives. I am one of those who was fortunate enough to qualify for this assistance. The total cost of these programs was $19 billion. The benefits of the first two GI bills ended in 1965 after approximately 20 years of operation. At that time, the Veterans' Administration concluded:

> An analysis of incomes of veterans and nonveterans in the same age groups, made with the help of the Department of Labor and the Department of Commerce, shows that incomes of veterans who received G.I. bill help in education averaged from $1000 to $1500 a year more than of those who did not. On this basis, we estimate that the trained and educated veterans paid additional income taxes in excess of $1 billion a year. The G.I. Bill provisions for education covered a period of 20 years; the estimate of $1 billion annually in added taxes totals a $20 billion return in taxes alone on the $19 billion cost of the program.

One billion dollars in added tax revenue per year. And this is continuing. By the time the generations who participated in the first two GI bill programs complete their work life the added tax return will more than double that of each tax dollar originally spent for the program.

The benefits of the GI bill can also be measured in other ways. In human terms, the education provided by this program has permitted many to achieve their full potential who otherwise would not have been able to. Many people fail to find personal fulfillment in what they are doing. They are often capable of doing more demanding work but lack the skill to do so. They are often frustrated in their present jobs but lack the inner security and perhaps training to change to new ones. Education has permitted many to move upward and outward to higher levels of skill and salary. It has given a flexibility to millions who have been able to move out of dead-end slots and into positions which they find challenging and relevant to their interests.

Other benefits—some really incalculable—have also been generated by the GI bills.

This education provided teachers, engineers, doctors, skilled technicians, and so on. It permitted raising the skill levels of millions in this country. And it did so just at a time when the skilled manpower needs of this Nation were increasing by quantitative leaps. This permitted the technological development of this country to forge ahead unfettered. And it facilitated the growth of the economic structure of this Nation. Industry was able to develop faster than it would have otherwise. And this, too, resulted in increased revenues for the governments of this country.

When new tax revenues are generated it means that new spending power has been created. This new spending power has a multiplier effect which reverberates throughout the economy. Its impact is far reaching.

It means that millions have been able to enjoy a higher standard of living and more comfortable life than they would have otherwise.

It means that millions have spent more on homes, automobiles, appliances, and clothing than they would have otherwise.

It means that millions have been able to make larger contributions to worthy causes than they would have otherwise.

It means that millions of children are reaching high school graduation now who have the desire and motivation to attend college, because their fathers attended college. Otherwise they would not have the firsthand experience which is important in deciding whether or not to go to college.

And it means that there are millions who can afford to send their children to college today who otherwise would not have been able to.

For all of these reasons, this monetary infusion has had an almost unmeasurable effect on the economic development of this country—and its total impact on tax revenues is much greater than the simple increase in income it has provided to participants in the program.

This country still has changing manpower needs. In fact, education is more important than ever before in meeting the qualifications for skilled jobs today. This country still has millions who could absorb a new spending power and who could benefit from a more comfortable life. And we must not fail now—in sheer economic self-interest, if nothing else—to provide educational opportunities for all who can benefit from them.

Mr. President, these needs are still present. People want to engage in interesting and lively work. They want positions which challenge them. They want the flexibility to change as conditions change. They want to enjoy higher standards of living. And the skill level of our manpower needs keeps increasing. The millions who have been fortunate enough to qualify for education assistance under the provisions of the GI bill have proved—in concrete ways—for all to see, what a national commitment to education can mean. We have seen how a Federal program which provides assist-

ance directly to students has worked. This task before us now is to extend this successful approach.

WHAT THE BILL WILL DO

Direct grants to students: This bill will provide student opportunity grants, based on need, directly to students who attend postsecondary and higher education institutions at least half time. The amount of aid will range from $200 to $1,500 for each academic year. Proportional amounts will be available for half-time and three-quarter-time study. The student will be eligible to attend the school of his choice. Specific details concerning grant eligibility, the formula which determines the amount of the grant, and the duration of the grant are discussed in a summary of the provisions included below.

The primary purpose of providing direct aid to students is to achieve equality of opportunity for higher education in this country. Making this money available on a national basis, regardless of where a student lives or where he wants to attend college, is the single most effective way to remove the financial obstacle to college attendance by needy and lower-middle-income students.

First, direct student assistance permits funnelling the money directly to those students who need it most without the influence of structures which might direct this money into other channels. An equivalent amount of money spent on aiding institutions of higher education—as opposed to students—would not have the same impact of easing the financial burden of college attendance on families or reducing this obstacle to college attendance. That kind of aid would help institutions meet their mounting costs. It would ease the pressures for increases in tuition. But it would not provide specific assistance for those who would not decide to attend college without assurance of financial aid. The prospects for raising the money they need for attending college would be as hopeless as ever.

Second, making this money available on a national basis permits students to know that if they have certain income characteristics they will be eligible for college assistance. They would not have to search out a given institution which will have money available. They would not have to go through the time-consuming—and often costly—process of applying to several places in hopes that one will provide assistance. This knowledge in itself is likely to increase higher educational opportunity in this country. The recent Department of Health, Education, and Welfare report to the President entitled, "Toward a Long-Range Plan for Federal Financial Support for Higher Education" suggests that—

> There is some evidence that changes in the cost of college have a greater impact upon college attendance if these changes are made known to students early in their high school careers. If there were a fundamental improvement in the method of financing students' education, it is likely that the long range impact of this change would be to remove some of the barriers to college attendance which we identify as motivational in the short run.

The knowledge that a national program is available, for which the student can apply—regardless of where he lived or where he wanted to attend college—will give many a hope for a higher education that they do not now have.

Third, there are many who do not attend school today because of financial barriers. I spoke of this earlier. Although it is difficult to know the precise impact of present student assistance programs, the Office of Education has estimated that each $100 decrease in tuition cost—or increase in student aid—would increase the proportion of high school graduates who attend college by 5 percent.

With the number of high school graduates now approach 2.7 million per year, each $100 average increase in assistance represents higher education opportunity for 135,000 additional students. Although the intensity of the response for each increment of assistance would probably diminish, an average increase of several hundred dollars would still increase college attendance by several hundred thousand.

One of the great advantages of providing aid directly to the neediest students is to make certain that those who are neediest will benefit the most by a decrease in their educational costs. For example, if we were to provide enough aid to decrease the cost of college attendance by $100 for all of the 6 million students enrolled in college the cost would be $600 million. The impact of this would be to make college available for 135,000 additional students. But a program which would make $100 available to each of the neediest students would only cost $13.5 million and would have an impact on college attendance similar to that of a much more costly program of $600 million.

The Office of Education also estimates that—

> A $500 subsidy offered to all high school graduates in the lowest half of the income distribution would increase first-year enrollment of this group by over 25% in 2 years.

Mr. President, there is no question but that lower income groups are much more responsive to cost of attending college in making their decisions to further their education after high school graduation. This bill will help to make it possible for all to attend college, if they want to and have the ability to do so, regardless of their famiy income.

I would like to point out that making direct grants to students is not a new concept in providing Federal assistance to higher education in this country. Several present programs already do this. They include: Benefits are paid to college age dependents of deceased and disabled parents covered by programs of the Veterans' Administration, social security, and railroad retirement. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has a grant program for persons of Indian descent. The GI bill provides assistance to veterans, and the National Science Foundation makes fellowship awards to graduate students. I ask inclusion in the RECORD at this point of the following table which indicates the number of students receiving aid through these programs during the most recent month for which figures are available.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

TABLE 12.—FEDERAL PROGRAMS PAYING AID DIRECTLY TO POST-SECONDARY STUDENTS

	Number	Average yearly benefit
Social Security	341,000	$864
Railroad Retirement	8,000	1,140
GI bill	346,861	[1] 809
Veterans' Administration sons and daughters program	27,423	[1] 980
Bureau of Indian Affairs	2,660	863
NSF graduate fellowship program	2,255	[2] 5,128

[1] Includes part-year students.
[2] Includes cost-of-education allowance.

Note: Except for the NSF program, all of these programs pay aid to students studying in the field of the student's choice.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, this bill takes the basic concept behind these programs and applies it to a larger number of students who do not meet the eligibility requirements of present direct-aid programs. What this bill does that present direct-aid programs do not do, however, is to include an institutional cost-of-education allowance to each grant. This allowance, discussed below, will be paid directly to the institution in which a student chooses to obtain his education.

Aid to postbaccalaureate degree students: Graduate and professional degree students will also be eligible for the student opportunity grant program based on need. In addition, this bill will create a Federal fellowship program which will provide fellowships to graduate students for their last 2 years of work on the Ph. D. or equivalent degree.

The rationale for extending eligibility for the student opportunity grants to graduate and professional degree students is the same for making this aid available to postsecondary vocational and undergraduate students: to remove the financial barrier to higher education. The cost of attending graduate or professional school is often higher than that of attending undergraduate school. The student, moreover, often cannot count upon family support for graduate school. Table 7 shows that students from high-income families are more likely than student of equal ability from low-income families to attend graduate school. This bill will seek to remove this inequality.

The new fellowships are provided for several reasons.

First, graduate enrollments are increasing at a faster pace than undergraduate enrollments. According to the "Digest of Educational Statistics 1968," graduate enrollments increased by 70.3 percent between the fall of 1960 and 1965. During the same period of time, undergraduate enrollments increased 54.3 percent. This is putting an increasing strain upon present sources of graduate support, many of which are supported by State governments, private endowments, and foundations. We must assure that the flow of this highly trained talent will continue.

Second, most of the present aid provided by the Federal Government for graduate education is tied to the field of study or the type of research a given graduate student undertakes. The effect

of this has been to encourage graduate education in some areas while discouraging it in others. According to the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare publication entitled "Students and Buildings":

In the natural sciences, of the 1958 bachelor degree recipients who attended graduate school, 55 percent held a stipend, and 35.6 percent obtained a graduate degree by 1963. By contrast, in social sciences and education, where the percentage of graduate students receiving stipends was only 36 and 17 percent respectively, the percentage of graduate degree recipients during the 6-year period was lower: 29 and 16 percent for the two disciplines. The availability of stipends was also closely correlated with the percentage of students engaged in full-time study. Natural sciences, with the highest proportion of students benefiting from stipends, had the highest percentage of full-time students, and education and business were in the cellar in terms of both the share of students supported and the share of students who studied full-time.

Third, many of the present federally aided graduate benefits are available only through specific universities which have received the authority to grant these aids. This means that the student must be registered in an institution which participates in a program that dispenses graduate aid.

This bill will eliminate many of these deficiencies. It will not replace present federally aided graduate assistance. Many of these programs have performed successfully and will no doubt continue to do so. But this bill will make eligibility dependent upon ability and need, rather than the field of study or the particular institution in which a student is registered.

Several points I made earlier in this statement are particularly relevant when considering the amount of Federal support which should be directed toward graduate education. It is a particularly costly item in any university's budget. Persons with graduate training are especially mobile geographically. States are becoming reluctant to undertake this responsibility and to support it at adequate levels. I think that the Federal Government will have to take much more initiative in this area, and this bill provides a good basis for a new thrust in support for graduate education.

Higher education loan bank: The bill charters a private, nonprofit bank with the power to sell securities and lend money to students. The securities and loans will be guaranteed by the Federal Government. Interest and repayment will be deferred—at Federal expense—until after the student finishes school—and for a period of up to 3 years after that for such service as the Peace Corps, VISTA, and the Armed Forces. The charter will permit students to take up to 30 years for repayment. Specific details of this bill are discussed in a summary of the provisions included below.

This bank is needed for several reasons.

First, it will make money available on a national basis to students. At the present time the guaranteed loan program makes it possible for a student to go to his local bank to borrow money, if the money is available there. Very often, it is not. And the student can usually get this credit only in the context of the credit rating of his family at local lending institutions. Some students with academic promise fail to receive these loans because of their family's credit rating.

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

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

Institutional assistance: This bill provides direct, noncategorical assistance to postsecondary and higher education institutions in the following ways:

First. It provides a cost of education allowance for each student who receives a student opportunity grant. The school will receive $100 per student aided, plus an amount equal to 25 percent of the excess over $200 awarded to each first-year student, 30 percent of the excess over $200 awarded to each second-year student, 35 percent of the excess over $200 awarded to each third-year student, and 40 percent of the excess over $200 awarded to each 4 or higher year undergraduate student, and 50 percent of the excess over $200 awarded to each graduate or professional degree student.

Second. It provides a cost of education allowance for each student who receives a graduate fellowship under the Federal fellowship program. The amount of this allowance will be equal to an amount of 150 percent of the basic fellowship grant.

The reasons for these cost of education allowances are as follows:

First, the effect of the other provisions of this bill will be to increase college attendance. At the present time, despite the high cost of attending college, student charges do not nearly meet the cost of providing this education. Each student, in effect, receives a subsidy from the college he attends, whether it be public or private. Increasing the number who attend college by new programs of student financial aid would raise the cost to those who would attend without student aid because these subsidies would have to be spread over a larger number of students. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare publication "Students and Buildings" explains:

For the current college population, tuition and fees average about $500 per year, and the cost of instruction averages about $1500. Thus, one can easily speculate that if the total class hours of instruction increased by about 40 per cent—roughly what would be involved if all potential students attended full time—average tuition and fees would have to be raised to about $780 per year or about 56 percent. This assumes that the average cost of instruction would remain at roughly $1,500, and that additional instructional expenses would have to be met through increases in tuition.

We must include a cost-of-education allowance to cover the additional cost of educating the persons who receive these Federal benefits.

Second, the cost to colleges of providing education is increasing each year. They need additional funds which each college can use in its area of greatest need. This is a decision which can best be determined by the individual institution. The categorical grants which presently operate will not be replaced by this bill. But the direct cost-of-education grant provided by this bill will obviate some of the deficiencies of categorical grant programs. Categorical grant programs often unduly alter the priorities set by individual institutions. They sometimes influence the university to engage in activities which do not concide with their greatest needs.

The aid provided by this bill will be spent where local education institutions best believe it should be spent. And they are most capable of making that decision.

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

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

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

Second, we must provide aid to the colleges for their recruitment efforts. Many sensitive educators have long remarked that if the colleges of this country would emphasize academic recruitment of students from low-income families as much as they emphasize the recruitment of athletes, the opportunity disparities between rich and poor students would be much less today. But I want to take advantage of the skill and know-how of universities in recruitment efforts. This bill will provide Federal assistance for this purpose to colleges

which develop especially effective efforts at recruitment.

Third, when students and their parents are making postsecondary educational plans they need ready access information about financial aid career and college possibilities. This bill will establish higher education opportunity centers throughout the country for this purpose. Most can use existing Federal facilities. Some can use roving recruiters. All can make printed information available at all times.

Fourth, I have been appalled while working on this bill to discover how amazingly little is known about those who do not attend college. We know little about how they can be identified. We know little about what needs to be done to get them positively oriented toward postsecondary education. We know little about the mix of motivation, lack of finances, and ability in determining who does and does not go to college. As a result I think it would be well to establish a special Council on Educational Opportunities within the Office of Education which would have independent responsibility for examining and recommending improvements in this area. With the advice of this Council the Commissioner of Education would first fund research projects—either institutional or individual—designed to develop better ways to identify and motivate students who might potentially benefit from postsecondary education; and, second, develop measures designed to monitor the change in the postsecondary and higher education opportunity structure. This structure should be defined broadly, but it should include measures of the improvement we are making in assuring a college education of all who can benefit from it. We know, for example, that the percentage of high school graduates who attend college each year is increasing. But we do not know whether it is improving as fast—or improving at all—for the poor and lower income groups as it is for the upper income groups, whether it is increasing as fast for our rural youth as for our city youth, and so on.

Finally, the bill establishes an interagency coordinating committee composed of representatives from agencies administering student aid programs. I think we need a structure through which these agencies can regularly exchange information. I think they should have the opportunity to discuss their programs with each other. I believe that they should explore possible ways that they can identify individuals potentially able to benefit from further education and encourage them in this direction.

As a result of just such a meeting I had with representatives from these agencies recently I introduced S. 1638 and S. 1639. These bills respectively amend the social security and railroad retirement programs which provide benefit payments to children of deceased and disabled parents if they remain in school after their 18th birth date. One provision of these bills permits these agencies to notify potential eligibles of these benefits near their 14th birth date. The Veterans' Administration has a similar benefits program and this agency already notifies potential eligibles of their coverage early in the high school years. This is an excellent practice. Students make the decision to attend college early in the high school years. It is then that they must make financial calculations and course decisions which are crucial to the decision to attend college. I think the Railroad Retirement Board and the Social Security Administration should adopt this practice. This is but one example of how various agencies can learn from each other. I want to see it continued.

Mr. President, this is a comprehensive bill. It seeks to attack various problems of higher education in a number of different ways. I think that the need in this area is evident. We must act now to bring fuller educational opportunity to all of our people.

I ask that a summary of the provisions of the bill be included in the RECORD at this point.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the summary will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 1788) to assist in removing the financial barriers to the acquisition of a postsecondary education by all those capable of benefiting from it, introduced by Mr. MONDALE (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

The summary, presented by Mr. MONDALE, follows:

SUMMARY OF THE MAJOR PROVISIONS OF THE BILL

STUDENT OPPORTUNITY GRANTS

The bill authorizes a new program of Student Opportunity Grants. Half-time, three-quarters-time, and full-time students will be eligible for these grants for a period of up to four years (or its part-time equivalent) study for post secondary vocational or undergraduate study. If a student is enrolled in a program which normally requires longer than four academic years for the baccalaureate degree he may receive a grant for a longer period of time, although this will not exceed five academic years or its part-time equivalent.

Graduate and professional students will also be eligible for these grants for a period of time not to exceed four academic years, or its equivalent in part-time enrollment, beyond the baccalaureate degree.

These grants will be awarded solely on the basis of need according to a formula which is discussed below. The student will generally make his application to non-profit agencies authorized by the Commission of Education. These agencies, using the formula contained in this bill, will make the determination of the amount of award for which the student is eligible and notify him of that fact. The only requirement for eligibility in applying is enrollment or presumed admission to a post secondary (including vocational) or higher education institution. The student may opt to attend the institution of his choice, with his award being dispensed through the institution he finally chooses to attend.

Provision for part-time study is included to increase the flexibility of this program as it responds to the needs of students. There are some students whose family finances require that they engage in heavy part-time work loads in order to make enough money to attend school. With part-time work, plus the aid available through this program, a student may be able to attend college who otherwise could not. If he were required to attend full-time he might not have the financial resources to do so.

Students will be able to apply for these grants as early as the 11th grade of high school. Although grants made at that time will be reviewed when the student graduates from high school, it is necessary that the student have an early indication of the amount of aid which will be available to him if he chooses to undertake education beyond the high school level. All accounts suggest that the decision to attend college is made in the early high school years. Attending college requires long term course and finance planning. It is, therefore, necessary to inform the student as early as possible in his high school career as to the availability of money to finance his postsecondary education.

Under the formula, the amount of grant for each student will be a sum equal to the difference between: (a) the national average college attendance cost; and (b) the family contribution plus expected student savings. This grant will not exceed $1500 or the actual cost for an academic year for a given student at a given university—such costs to include tuition, fees, room, board, books, plus a given amount permitted for such incidental expenses as the Commissioner of Education deems to be reasonably related to the student's educational experience. The minimum grant for a full-time student will be $200 per year. The Commissioner of Education will also be permitted to provide reduced grants for half-time and three-quarter time students. The basic parts of this formula are dfined as follows:

1. The *National Average College Attendance Cost* is an average of undergraduate tuition, fees, room, board, books, and such other expenses as may be reasonably assumed to be related to the student's educational experience, as determined by the Commissioner of Education. This sum would be recomputed every two years or at a shorter interval if the Commissioner of Education determines this to be appropriate.

2. The *Family Contribution* means the amount the family of a given student may be expected to contribute toward the cost of his postsecondary education for the academic year in question. The criteria used in this calculation will be determined by regulations prescribed by the Commissioner of Education. These criteria will inlcude: effective family income (as defined below), the number of dependents in the student's family, and the number of dependents attending or likely to attend institutions of higher education. These regulations will be reviewed, and if necessary, revised, annually. A family's effective income is the annual income minus Federal income tax paid; and minus special categories of expenses arising from unusual family circumstances as defined in the guidelines approved by the Commissioner of Education.

3. *Expected Student Savings* is the amount that students on the average may be expected to save from summer, vacation, or part-time employment which can be applied toward the cost of his postsecondary education for a given year.

The Commissioner of Education can also prescribe special rules determining family contribution in the case of students who are determined to be self-supporting. When a student is determined to be self-supporting, the student will receive, in addition to his grant, an allowance for supporting any dependents. This allowance will be $300 per dependent, not to exceed a total of $1,500. This provision will be especially useful for students, who have not received support from their families for several years, to return to school. It will also be helpful in encouraging mothers who head families to return to school.

A cost-of-education allowance will be paid to the educational institution attended by

recipients of these grants. This will help to cover the difference between student charges and the actual cost of providing the services connected with the student's educational experience. Institutions attended by students receiving grants will receive for each student aided an amount of $100 plus a sum equal to: 25 percent of the excess over $200 awarded to each first year student, 30 percent of the excess over $200 awarded to each second year student, 35 percent of the excess over $200 awarded to each third year student, 40 percent of the excess over $200 awarded to each fourth year student, and 50 percent of the excess over $200 awarded to each graduate or professional student. The amount the student receives for his dependents will not be included when determining the amount due the educational institution.

The increase in percent of the amount received by the educational institution as the aided student moves through the years of his educational experience recognizes that it costs more to educate students for each additional level they attain.

Educational institutions will also receive an administrative cost allowance for the grants they administer to pay for the cost they incur.

The Student Opportunity Grants will replace the present Educational Opportunity Grants program. The bill provides for a transitional coupling as the program begins and the old one is phased out.

FEDERAL FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

The bill also authorizes a Federal Fellowship Program which will provide awards to assist graduate students of exceptional ability, who also demonstrate financial need, to complete their final two years of study toward the Doctor of Philosophy, or equivalent degree. The number of fellowships authorized is 15,000 for fiscal year 1971, 25,000 for 1972, and 35,000 for 1973. These fellowships will be awarded directly to the student, to study in the institution of his choice.

The stipend of the fellowship will be determined by the Commissioner of Education in accordance with prevailing practices under comparable federally supported programs, except that the stipend will not be less than $2,800 nor more than $3,500 for each academic year of study not to exceed two years. An allowance of $300 per dependent, not to exceed $1,500, will be paid to the student if he has dependents.

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

These fellowships will be based solely on ability and need. They will not be awarded on the basis of the student's field of study.

HIGHER EDUCATION LOAN PROGRAM

The bill also charters a Higher Educational Loan Bank as a private, non-profit corporation. The purpose of this bank will be to provide loans to postsecondary vocational, undergraduate, graduate, and professional students. Students will be eligible for these loans for a period of up to five years for undergraduate work and for up to five years of graduate or professional study, or for an equivalent period of part-time work. They must be enrolled in at least one-half of a normal full-time course of study in order to receive a loan. The student is eligible to borrow an amount which will not exceed the cost of attending school at the institution he attends, less any other federal aid received.

These loans will be guaranteed against default, death, and disability by the Federal Government. Interest payments and repayments of the principal will be deferred until a student has completed his schooling and for a period of time up to three years after that time for such services as the Peace Corps, VISTA, or the Armed Services. There will be no "forgiveness" features similar to those of the National Defense Student Loan program. The Bank, however, will be eligible to establish for each year a low earnings cancellation provision providing for cancelling, in whole or in part, of annual repayment in any year in which the borrower's income fails to reach a minimum level or in which the repayment exceeds a maximum percentage of income. This will encourage persons who might be reluctant to undertake these loans, because of their fear of failure in college work, or because of their hesitation to undertake the obligation of large sums, to do so. Then if their income is very low, part of their loan will be cancelled.

These loans will be collected by the Internal Revenue Service. This will reduce the cost of collecting these loans, and thereby reduce the interest charge on them.

The borrower will be permitted to take up to thirty years to repay his loan.

COLLEGE OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE DISADVANTAGED

The bill provides for several programs which will supplement present outreach programs designed to identify and motivate individuals potentially able to do college level work, but who heretofore have not been a part of the higher education opportunity structure.

The bill authorizes new incentive grants to educational institutions which provides a program which gives unusual promise in assisting youths to initiate, resume, or complete their postsecondary education. This will provide these institutions with money to undertake imaginative recruitment efforts.

The bill authorizes new training grants for high school teachers *and* student leaders to equip them to counsel high school students about the availability of financial assistance and post-secondary educational opportunities.

The bill also establishes Higher Education Opportunity Centers throughout the country. These easily accessible centers will make information available, including appropriate application forms, and furnish guidance and counseling services with respect to all federally assisted programs designed to provide opportunities for education beyond high school, and with respect to attending vocational schools and institutions of higher education.

A Council on College Opportunities is also established by the bill. This Council shall:

a. Review and evaluate, on a regular basis, the effectiveness of programs designed to identify, motivate, and provide financial assistance to low-income youth who are potentially able to attend college but who usually do not do so.

b. Develop administrative procedures to coordinate all federal programs offering opportunities for education beyond high school, particularly with respect to coordination at the local level of informational services on these programs and to establish procedures for exchanging information among departments or agencies of the Federal Government which administer programs designed to provide educational opportunities beyond high school.

c. Report to the Congress its findings annually, including recommendations for changes in the law. With the advice of this Council, the Commissioner of Education is authorized to:

(a) Fund research projects (either institutional or individual) and pilot demonstrations designed to develop better ways to identify and motivate students who might potentially benefit from postsecondary education.

(b) Fund programs in secondary schools to identify students who are not now motivated to undertake education beyond high school and to determine the means by which such students might be encouraged to begin further educational experiences.

(c) Establish means to monitor the change in the post-secondary and higher education opportunity structure.

S. 1789—INTRODUCTION OF A BILL TO AMEND THE INTERNAL REVENUE CODE OF 1954

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I introduce, for reference to the proper committee, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to increase the individual income tax personal exemption from $600 to $1,200.

There can be little question that the present $600 tax exemption for each dependent is totally unrealistic for the times. The $600 figure was established in the Revenue Act of 1948—more than 20 years ago—and has not been revised since that time. During these same two decades, however, the cost of living has risen 48.1 percent, based on the level of consumer prices indexes in 1948 and in January 1969. Obviously, the present figure is obsolete and grossly unfair.

An exemption of $600 per person provides a total exemption of only $2,400 for a family of four. However, a recent study by the Department of Labor shows that in order to maintain a moderate standard of living today, a family of four needs about $9,191. Certainly, then, the personal exemption for this family should comprise a greater percentage of their total financial need than the present $2,400.

Congress is presently considering ways of achieving equity in the tax structure in order that the burden of financing our Government may be distributed more fairly upon all our citizens. The enactment of the measure I propose would be of particular benefit to those in the low- and middle-income brackets and would relieve what many consider to be an undue burden upon these groups.

I believe it is vitally important that we act now to remove the glaring inequities from the tax system, and, in my view, the enactment of the proposal which I introduce today would be an important step in our overall effort to revise the American tax structure.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be printed at this point in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 1789) to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to increase the amount of the deduction for each personal exemption to $1,200, introduced by Mr. BAKER, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Finance, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 1789

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) the following provisions of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 are amended by striking out "$600" wherever appearing therein and inserting in lieu thereof "$1,200":

(1) Section 151 (relating to allowance of deductions for personal exemptions);

sure the American people that they have a defense against nuclear war because the U.S. has not allowed its military to provide such defenses.

The Soviet Union officially describes P-R-O's mission as the "interception and destruction of enemy missiles or rockets in space, preferably at distant approaches to their objectives and far from national territory."

The commander-in-chief of P-V-O is Marshal P. F. Batitsky who took over in 1966. His responsibility for P-R-O and the conventional P-S-O anti-aircraft defenses has been expanded to include the establishment of an entirely new field mentioned earlier by Marshal Zakharov as anti-space/cosmic defense.

This subdivision of P-V-O is labeled P-K-O (protivosmicheskaya oborona, Russian for defense against space-orbiting combat missiles or intelligence [spy] satellites).

Such space defense may have three objectives—first, to be able to neutralize or destroy U.S. reconnaissance satellites which presently are our prime source of information about Soviet missile and space developments and/or second, to develop a means of neutralizing or destroying our intercontinental ballistic missiles shortly after they are launched. The third objective is one stated repeatedly by the Soviet Union's top officials—to gain control of Space. Our intelligence gathering agencies have come across numerous references in Soviet speeches and official documents in support of such an objective.

RECENT SOVIET TEST

Evidence of a Soviet test of anti-space defense was provided by a report, just released, from the U.S. Air Defense Command's "Satellite Situation Report." That document discloses that between October 19 and the first of November, three space vehicles were launched by the Soviet Union from their Cape Kennedy—known as the Tyuratam Space Center. Cosmos satellite 248 was sent into orbit on a trajectory that would carry it to an angle of 62.2 degrees over the equator. On practically the same course, Cosmos 249 and 252 were sent after it. About 300 miles above earth, the three satellites were in close proximity. Suddenly, 249 and 252 exploded into lots of little pieces, according to the U.S. Report. Cosmos 248, unharmed, continued on its way.

The explosion of the two satellites was non-nuclear, according to press reports.

The educated speculation of many of our military and space experts is that Cosmos 248 may have been a new military space vehicle designed to neutralize or destroy "enemy" satellites.

Neutralizing a satellite makes its camera inoperable so that it is "blinded". It has long been the view of specialists in space research that our best early-warning of a Soviet first-strike decision would be our reconnaissance satellites. The Russians have said they would try to develop a means of putting such an intelligence gathering space vehicle out of commission.

It now appears that the Russians may be doing just that.

The full impact of the Soviet Union's emphasis on an ABM system was demonstrated for the world to see on April 14, 1969 when Warsaw Pact forces conducted their first Spring maneuvers.

Marshal Batitsky, who holds the post of Air Defense Commander for the Warsaw Pact as well as that of Chief of P-V-O, was placed in charge of the maneuvers which were described as an effort to improve "anti-aircraft" defenses, but reportedly involved much more than a defense against conventional weapons or vehicles.

It is clear that P-V-O, structured to include P-R-O, P-S-O and P-K-O, enjoys a high priority in Soviet military planning.

One may fairly assert, as some U.S. critics of an ABM system have, that just because the Soviet Union has devoted so much attention to a Russian ABM there is no reason why America must follow suit. But those same critics owe it to themselves and to the American people to ask, as well, why the Soviet leadership considered it to be desirable or necessary to develop such an elaborate defense. If the ABM is so "costly", "useless" or "meaningless" as critics of the American plan are wont to charge, then why have the Russians pushed so hard, so fast in the past decade to reach the point where today they are rapidly building their own ABM and more?

Until that question is answered convincingly, supporters of the ABM defense concept in the United States have a right to keep asking: why should the Russian people have a monopoly on defense against nuclear war?

STUDENT ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1969

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, on April 14 I introduced S. 1788, the Student Assistance Act of 1969. The bill, if enacted, would do much toward expanding the higher education opportunity structure in this country. It would also be one of the most efficient ways to help millions break out of the cycle of poverty.

Since the bill has been introduced, a number of persons have asked questions about the bill. I ask unanimous consent that a questionnaire be printed in the RECORD.

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

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ABOUT THE STUDENT ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1969

1. How many students will be affected by the bill when fully implemented?

The bill provides grants to students under the provisions of Student Opportunity Grants and the Federal Fellowship Program. Loans will be provided through the Higher Education Loan Bank. Three to four million students might eventually borrow money from the bank to pay a part of their college expenses. At least 1,500,000 students would receive aid under the two grant programs, if they were fully funded.

2. Is the Student Opportunity Grant program similar to any present federally supported student aid programs?

Yes, it is. It is very similar to the G.I. Bill, a program that is familiar to many Americans. Both pay money directly to the student and let him attend the educational institution of his choice. Both make this aid available to students attending postsecondary vocational schools as well as colleges and universities. Both permit aid to half-time and three-quarter time students in addition to full-time students.

3. How do Student Opportunity Grants differ from the G.I. Bill?

There are two primary differences. First, Student Opportunity Grants will be based on need with the size of the grant ranging from $200–$1500, depending on the students' financial need. The G.I. Bill pays a flat sum to eligible veterans who qualify as a result of service in the military. To full-time students this G.I. Bill grant amounts to $130 per month. Second, universities attended by students receiving Student Opportunity Grants will receive a cost-of-education allowance for each student receiving a grant. The G.I. Bill does not pay a cost-of-education allowance to the educational institution.

4. How does the Student Opportunity Grant program compare with the present Educational Opportunity Grant program?

There are several differences:

(a) The E.O.G. program requires colleges to match funds they receive through this program on a 50–50 basis while the S.O.G. program requires none.

(b) The E.O.G. assistance goes only to the most needy students, with some institutions imposing a very low family income restriction. The S.O.G. program will aid these needy students. But it will also reach students from middle income families, particularly those with several children, more than one of whom is attending college.

(c) The S.O.G. program will pay a cost of education allowance to the school attended by those who receive grants; the E.O.G. program does not pay such costs.

(d) The S.O.G. award will go directly to the student who will have the choice of attending the institution he wants to attend; the E.O.G. award is dispensed by individual educational institutions. Before the student can get this aid he has to find an institution which has it available. Such an institution may not be the one he would prefer to attend and it may be difficult to find an institution with available money.

(e) E.O.G. awards can go only to full-time students. S.O.G. awards (proportionally reduced) can go to half-time and three-quarter-time students. Some students with heavy financial responsibilities may not be able to attend school full time. By carrying a heavy work load, with the money they could receive from a S.O.G. they may be able to attend school part-time.

(f) The S.O.G. program will provide an additional allowance for any dependents a student receiving a grant may have, if the student is determined to be self supporting. The E.O.G. program makes no provision for dependents.

(g) The maximum amount of the E.O.G. grant is $1000. The maximum S.O.G. grant will be $1500.

5. How does the Student Opportunity Grant program improve upon the Educational Opportunity Grant program?

It does so in several ways:

(a) To get an E.O.G. a given student must first find an institution with money to which he can apply. Institutions located near him, or ones that he would prefer to attend, may not have the money available for making the grant. Finding an institution which does have money may require several applications. This is a costly and time-consuming process which, in itself, erects certain obstacles to attending college.

(b) If a student knows that he will qualify for a grant, regardless of where he intends to go to college, he can begin planning to attend college early in his high school years. Veterans Administration psychological consultants and Office of Education studies indicate that the crucial decisions related to attending college are made then. The knowledge that this assistance is available will encourage low-income students to attend college.

(c) The formula which allocates E.O.G. money to institutions sometimes does not allocate the money where the greatest financial need is.

6. Why pay a cost-of-education allowance?

Although college costs are very high, the charge to the student does not cover the cost to the institution for educating him. Students at both private and public institutions receive a subsidy. If this bill increases college attendance, as it is designed to do, then it will require these institutions to stretch their subsidy over a larger number of students. This would increase the pressures to increase charges to all students. The cost-of-education allowance will ease this pressure.

7. Why is the bill needed? Aren't present programs working?

It's not a question of present programs working. Their results have been promising. It's a question of making improvements, and of making more needed aid available. This bill is needed for two reasons. First, the cost

of American life, as well as its protection, should be of great concern to us. Indeed, I believe that an emphasis on the arts and humanities during the next few years should be maintained.

During the last campaign, there were many appeals made by those interested in the arts to support Mr. Nixon. Nationally, some artists and actors and many patrons of the arts supported the Republican nominee. In my own State of Rhode Island—a very distinguished group of citizens—alined themselves as "People in the Arts for Nixon."

Interestingly enough correspondence has since come to me out of this same group decrying the lack of support for the arts, evidenced by the Nixon administration. But the reason for taking the floor at this time is to say that I believe it is a disgrace that the position of Chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts is being left vacant.

The former excellent Chairman, Roger Stevens, had received a great deal of bipartisan political support for reappointment and, far more important, was tremendously respected and approved of in artistic circles. However, he was not reappointed, the reason being given, that he had once raised funds for the Democratic Party. That was in early March. My understanding is that the White House is now searching for a person suitably acceptable to the world of arts but who presumably has also a high Republican profile. Perhaps such a combination is hard to find.

While recognizing that President Nixon is fully occupied with the problems of the day, I do wish that the White House would hurry up in pressing this search or that it would at least be delegated to some individual so that a decision made which might in part fulfill the expectations of so many people who are members of "People in the Arts for Nixon."

EXPRESSION OF SOVIET ABM INTENTIONS

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, in the days leading up to the vote on the anti-ballistic-missile system, I think that it is wise for us to hear from all sources.

Much has been made, by opponents to the ABM, of the apparent intention of Soviet forces. They say that if we do not deploy our defensive system, then that will give the Soviet leaders no reason to develop a weapon to use against us. I admit that this kind of argument is too sophisticated for me to grasp. For the life of me I cannot see how our defensive capability can be considered provacative, while their defensive capability is not.

However, casting that argument aside for the moment, let us look at what the Soviets themselves say about their intentions. Early this month a copy of the book "Fifty Years of the Armed Forces of the U.S.S.R.", by Marshal M. V. Zakharov, arrived in the Library of Congress. This Russian officer was Chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces. In the book he recalls that in 1958 the Russian equivalent of our ABM began taking shape. The Russian initials designating their defense system are PVO. This defense group became equal with Army, Navy, or Air Force.

Marshal Zakharov writes that in 1958 the PVO began taking on new dimensions. He says:

The creation of ballistic missiles and space vehicles required a modern air defense system, to respond not only against the aircraft threat but also—and first of all—to provide anti-missile and anti-space (specifically in Russian, anti-cosmic) defense.

Thus it is clear that as long as 15 years ago the Russian high command decided that an ABM was needed and apparently work has proceeded full steam ahead since then.

The question I put then to the ABM critics is—If ABM is so costly, or meaningless, or valueless as claimed, then why have the Russians pushed so hard and fast in these past years to reach a point where they are already deploying their ABM and more? Why is it all right for the Russians to have a defense against nuclear ballistic missiles and not all right for the United States to claim the same defense?

Mr. President, I am indebted to the newsletter of the American Security Council for this information, and I ask unanimous consent that the entire text of the news letter be printed in the RECORD.

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

THE SOVIET ABM MONOPOLY

While the United States conducts a great national debate over whether or not to begin construction of an anti-ballistic missile defense, it is important to note that the genesis of a Soviet ABM system occurred 15 years ago.

In fact, with its own ABM well advanced, the Soviet Union today is apparently testing the far more sophisticated problems of defending against space weapons.

This would give Russia great additional lead time, even if the United States plan for a Safeguard system around some of our Minuteman silos is approved immediately.

Since 1954, when the Kremlin's top military and political planners decided to create a new branch of military service equal in status to the Army, Navy and Air Force, the Soviet Union has been moving ahead in the development of nuclear age defenses.

That new service was named P-V-O Strany for the Russian word *protivovozdushnaya oborona* meaning "anti-air defense".

Initially, P-V-O consisted of little more than anti-aircraft defense units and their equipment, anti-aircraft artillery, jet fighters and radar. Its first commander was World War II hero of the defense of Leningrad, Marshal L. A. Govorov.

Early this month a copy of a new book—*Fifty Years of the Armed Forces of the U.S.S.R.*—arrived in the United States for registration at the U.S. Library of Congress. Published last year, it was written by Marshal M. V. Zakharov Chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces. In it, he recalls that in 1958 P-V-O began taking on new dimensions.

"The creation of ballistic missiles and space vehicles required a modern air defense system, to respond not only against the aircraft threat but also—*and first of all*—to provide anti-missile and anti-space (specifically, in Russian, anti-cosmic) defense.

THE SOVIET ABM SYSTEM

Soviet scientists, engineers, designers and industrialists were mobilized to provide a new subdivision called P-R-O (protivoraketnaya oborona or ABM, literally anti-rocket defense) while the original responsibilities of P-V-O were turned over to a new subdivision, P-S-O (protivo-samoletnaya oborona or anti-aircraft defense).

P-R-O missiles were first deployed in 1963 and have since been steadily increased in number and improved. P-R-O first relied on a so-called "point defense" not unlike (but far less sophisticated than) the *Safeguard* system requested by the Nixon administration for protection of a few selected sites where our Minuteman retaliatory intercontinental ballistic missiles are installed.

As the Russians viewed "point" defense, P-R-O was set up around their ICBM strategic weapons centers, key military command centers and the most vital industrial complexes. This system was soon enlarged to provide regional defense rather than just point defense.

Lately, the Soviet Union has begun installation of a line defense ranging down the Baltic Coast and named for one of the anchors in the line—the city of Tallinn, capital of Estonia.

P-V-O has set up regional command centers throughout the Soviet Union and the border areas of its satellites where both P-R-O and P-S-O units are stationed. However, the only known regional deployment of P-R-O missiles in heavy concentration is around the metropolitan complex of Moscow. Recent news accounts indicate there are some 67 P-R-O missile sites around the Russian capital.

THE P-V-O MISSION

P-V-O has established six command centers in the Eastern European satellites—one each in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland and Rumania. These are primarily early-warning stations. (Incidentally, Soviet military journals often cite the existence of such bases in the satellites as the reason for stationing Russian or Warsaw Pact troops on satellite territory.) In addition, there are fourteen command center in the Soviet Union.

P-V-O operations with the satellite countries are completely integrated under a Warsaw Pact three-star Russian general who operates from the headquarters of the Russian national P-V-O command. Thus, P-V-O, like all other military operations in the Soviet bloc, is totally integrated under Russian control. So much for Communist satellite independence.

Marshal Zakharov writes:

"The troops of P-V-O . . . consist of surface to air missile units, fighter aviation, radiotechnical troops, and missile carrying aircraft. Surface to air missile troops are the new branch (P-R-O) of P-V-O troops . . . equipped with combat missile complexes of differing purpose and capability.

"The characteristic element of these missiles is the fact that they are guided in flight which permits directing the missile to the target area and homing it on the target for its complete destruction. The aiming of missiles is accomplished by means of complex automatic computerized guidance systems. The target is destroyed as a rule by the first launched missile. The modern surface to air missile complexes are capable of destruction of all existing types of planes and missiles the enemy possesses at this time . . .

"The surface to air missile troops are constantly undergoing developmental improvements. New families and generations of missiles are created with improved and perfected combat qualities and alert capabilities. The range of operations, speed of launching, and all other operational characteristics of P-R-O missiles are constantly being improved."

Thus, with pride and assurance to the Russian people does the Soviet Chief of Staff claim ABM progress over the past ten years in the Soviet Union. It may be discarded by critics of ABM as mere braggadocio but the fact remains they have ABM forces in being and we do not. No U.S. commander can as-

of attending college has vastly increased over the last several years. Between the years of 1948 and 1968, the cost for attending a public college for one year increased 72.3%; attending a private college increased 91.3%. During the same period of time the Consumer Price Index increased 44.6%. This means that the percentage increase in cost of attending college has almost *doubled* that of the increase in the Consumer Price Index. Since the cost is increasing so fast, there is a need to provide assistnce from needy and middle income families. Second, there is evidence that there are still a number of able but needy students not reached by the present programs—the size of this group is at least 650,000.

8. What has been the difference in cost and tax return on the G.I. Bill?

The first two G.I. Bill, which covered veterans of World War II and the Korean conflict terminated in 1965. The total cost of these programs was $19 billion. Veterans Administration and Department of Labor studies suggest that the education made possible by these programs generated higher incomes for veterans who participated in the programs. The tax return on the income added was estimated at $1 billion per year. This means that during the lifetime of these men, the tax revenue on the added income will more than double the cost of the original program. At the present time the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare estimates that the lifetime differential in earnings between a college graduate and a high school graduate is $136,187. If this differential were taxed at the rate of 15% the added tax revenue would be $20,428.

9. Why does this bill emphasize direct aid to students?

It is the most efficient way to focus Federal resources on the neediest students who without this aid might not attend college, and it maximizes the choice of the student.

10. Why does the bill emphasize graduate as well as undergraduate education? Shouldn't the government's resources be concentrated on undergraduate education first?

The resources of this country are great enough to finance both undergraduate and graduate portions of this bill. Graduate enrollments are growing faster than undergraduate enrollments. Between 1960 and 1965 graduate enrollments increased by 70.3% while undergraduate enrollments increased 54.3%. This is putting increased strain upon present forms of graduate support which is not increasing as fast as enrollments. In addition, graduate students are somewhat more likely to attend schools in states other than that of their residence. Although no precise figures are available, it is also plausible that they are more likely than undergraduates to move to other states upon receipt of their degree. For these reasons, many state legislators are becoming increasingly reluctant to support graduate education, which is the most expensive of all education.

11. How does this fellowship program differ from present graduate fellowship programs?

It differs in several ways:

(a) Awards are based on both ability and need while present fellowships are based only on ability.

(b) As long as the student is in his last two years of working toward the Ph.D. or equivalent degree, he is eligible for the award regardless of his field of study. Present programs require the student to study in federally approved fields of study.

(c) The new program will be awarded directly to the student for study in the institution of his choice. Presently, only National Science Foundation Fellowships are awarded on this basis.

(d) The cost-of-education allowance paid the institution under this program will be greater (and more realistic) than that of most present fellowship programs.

12. Why should the awards be given to a student, regardless of his field of study? Shouldn't Federally supported fellowships encourage graduate students to study in fields where there are pressing national needs?

There may be a need for special federal fellowships designed to provide special assistance in areas where there is a national shortage. The Federal Fellowship Program will not replace present graduate support programs, many of which are designed to encourage students to enter fields of study in which there is a national need. At the same time, present programs provide disproportionately small support to training in education, social sciences, humanities, and business.

13. Who will make the determination of awards of money for students receiving Student Opportunity Grants and Federal Fellowships?

The Commissioner of Education will contract with private non-profit corporations to make this determination. All rules and regulations used to make determinations will be approved by the Commission of Education. These regulations will be published in the *Federal Register*, so that all can see them. When the student decides what school he will attend, he will inform this agency and his award will be dispensed through the institution he attends. His educational institution will also certify his course load, his progress toward the degree, and any change which might affect the amount of the student's award. Educational institutions will be reimbursed for their administrative expenses.

14. How does the Higher Education Loan Bank differ from the Guaranteed Loan Program and the National Defense Student Loan Program?

The bank will be a private non-profit corporation chartered by the government. It will make loans directly to students. These loans, like those in the Guaranteed Loan Program and the N.D.S.L. program, will be guaranteed by the Federal Government, and interest and repayment will be deferred until after the student completes his education. The chief difference is that the Bank will make loans directly to students. At the present time Guaranteed Loans are dispensed through local banks and National Defense loans through educational institutions.

15. What is the advantage of the Bank over the N.D.S.L. program?

There is no intention of replacing the N.D.S.L. program. But it has two disadvantages. It requires appropriations for much of the capital. The Bank will make it possible to tap the private sector for this. Also, the ability of the student to get the money hinges on whether it is available at the institution he attends. It may not be. The ability of a student to obtain a loan from the Bank would not hinge on the institution he happened to attend.

16. Why does the bill permit students to take 30 years to repay their loans? Isn't that a long time?

It is true that N.D.S.L. program permits only 10 years for repayment and the Guaranteed Loan program permits 15 years. However, this is a burden to many people, particularly to those who have to borrow large amounts. The thirty-year limitation spreads this burden over a longer period of time. It will make it easier for those who have to borrow large amounts to repay their loans. Earlier repayment will also be permitted.

17. Will the student be obligated to assign a certain percentage of his income to repay the loan?

No, the student will be obligated to repay only the principal and interest of his loan. Interest will be paid by the Federal Government as long as the student is still in college. The charter of the bank is sufficiently flexible so that the repayment could be a fixed amount each year or could start with lower amounts during the first few years and rise over the years as income increased. The only requirement is that the student pay all the interest after he has finished his education (except for up to three years for such service as the Peace Corps, VISTA, or the military), and that repayment be made within thirty years.

18. Where will the Bank get the money it lends?

The bank will get its loan funds from securities (or bonds) which it sells. In this way it will be able to tap private capital. At the present time, capital for the National Defense Student Loan program must be appropriated from public funds—although as loans are repaid these funds also become available for loans.

19. What are the advantages of the Bank over the Guaranteed Loan Program?

To get a guaranteed loan a student must apply to a local bank. The decision to grant the loan is made in the context of the credit rating of the student's family. Sometimes, students with academic promise fail to qualify for these loans on this account. In addition, money may not be available at the local bank, where the student would ordinarily apply, for educational loans. The law limits the amount of interest which the bank can charge for loans insured by the Guarnateed Loan Program. As a result, banks are becoming increasingly reluctant to make these loans. Many of these sources may be willing to make large amounts of money available for this purpose. But they are not willing to make it available for a loan-by-loan basis. Finally, the Bank will isolate these loans somewhat from the private capital market. The federal guarantee of the security coupled with the guaranteed of the loan itself should reduce the interest rates. Moreover, the use of the Internal Revenue Service to collect the loan should reduce collection costs which could also be passed on to the student. It should make a large pool of money available on a national basis to which a student could apply for a loan. The greatest advantage of the Bank is that it would make a maximum amount of capital available for education loans with a minimum amount of Federal funds required. It should also facilitate the availability of loans for educational purposes.

20. Why is a cancellation provided when a borrower's income does not attain a certain level?

This will keep the repayment of the loan from becoming an unnecessary burden on low income persons who find that their income is not as high as they expected. It will also encourage certain individuals with a high risk of not completing their education by giving some incentive for trying, or at least starting their education.

21. How do the provisions concerning student outreach differ from outreach provisions?

The main differences are:

(a) The bill provides training grants to high school teachers and student leaders to equip them to counsel high school students about college, finance, and career possibilities.

(b) The bill sets up 500 Higher Education Opportunity Centers across the country to provide accessible places where students and parents can obtain information, application blanks, and other items concerning financial aids and college possibilities.

(c) The bill funds new projects designed to identify students potentially able to benefit from college work and encourage them to attend college. It also funds new research efforts which will throw light on the blended motivational and financial difficulties associated with low college attendance rates.

BALTIMORE'S JOB BANK PROVES VALUABLE IN HELPING THE UNEMPLOYED

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. President, one of the most frustrating aspects of the unemployment problems of our cities has

been the difficulty of bringing together the people who are seeking work and the jobs which need to be filled. In many cases, gaps in education or training may separate men from jobs. But in all too many instances, the failure is one of information and counseling.

For several years, many of us have discussed the possibility of creating computerized job banks to match people with available positions. I am glad to be able to report that this concept has now been put into operation in Baltimore, where a very exciting and promising program is being run by the Maryland State Employment Service and local antipoverty agencies.

Under the Baltimore system, an up-to-date list of several thousand job openings in the metropolitan area is prepared by computer every evening, and printouts are delivered each morning to neighborhood employment and counseling offices. Armed with this comprehensive, current list, counselors can direct men and women to appropriate jobs without delay or confusion.

This new efficiency and broader service has enabled the job bank to find employment for thousands of Baltimoreans who had formerly been numbered among the hard-core unemployed. During the last 3 months of 1968, for example, the job bank helped 2,184 poor persons to find work, more than triple the placements made in the same period in 1967.

One of the most impressive aspects of the Baltimore job bank is the high degree of cooperative and teamwork which has been sustained by State and local agencies. Some 18 antipoverty and social service agencies now participate day to day in the job bank program, which thus provides a coordinated citywide service for both employers and jobseekers.

The Baltimore job bank is already serving as a model for similar efforts in other cities, and is being studied closely by Federal officials interested in the possibility of expanding such services to entire urban States or, ultimately, nationwide.

In an excellent article published in the Wall Street Journal of April 9, Richard J. Levine summarized the Baltimore experience and the promise it offers for finally bridging the gap between men and jobs. Because I feel that this important project deserves wide attention, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Levine's article be printed in the RECORD.

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

HELP FOR THE JOBLESS: COMPUTERIZED JOB BANK PROVES A VALUABLE TOOL IN A TEST IN BALTIMORE—IT LISTS OPENINGS EACH DAY, SPEEDS PLACEMENT OF POOR—NEIGHBORHOOD OFFICES HELP—GETTING TO WORK IS A PROBLEM

(By Richard J. Levine)

BALTIMORE.—Unemployed slum-dwellers seeking work in this city have a new ally—the computer.

The Maryland State Employment Service is testing a computerized job bank that Federal officials believe may prove a potent weapon in the nationwide war against poverty. In 10 months of operation, the experiment has shown high promise.

Developed locally, the Baltimore job bank is a simple computer system that prints an up-to-the-minute list of some 9,000 job openings in the metropolitan area each weekday evening. The following morning copies are distributed to placement counselors with the employment service and Baltimore antipoverty agencies—giving them a current and complete list of openings for the first time.

On a typical day, the bank offers a broad array of openings. It lists jobs for teachers, mechanical engineers, maids, clerk-typists, secretaries, steel-mill laborers, auto mechanics, porters, cooks and lathe operators.

Baltimore officials say the job bank has been crucial in helping the hard-core unemployed, particularly in Negro areas. The bank has enabled the employment service to decentralize by increasing the number, size and efficiency of its neighborhood "Outreach" offices.

A FACTORY JOB

Among the beneficiaries is Mrs. Nannie Gregory, who now packs bottles of bleach in boxes for $2 an hour at Owens-Illinois Inc. Mrs. Gregory, who previously scrubbed floors at a hospital, went to an Outreach office and told the interviewer, "I want factory work." Next day the employment service called to inform her about the Owens-Illinois job.

Howard Mitchell, a 23-year-old laborer at Allied Chemical Corp., also got quick help from an Outreach office located just two blocks from his home after he lost his construction job. The job bank produced the $2.56-an-hour Allied Chemical opening a day and a half after Mr. Mitchell visited the Outreach office.

Some needy people are being reached for the first time. "We knew there were potential job applicants in the ghetto we weren't serving," says J. Donn Aiken, director of the Maryland Employment Service. "Many slum-dwellers who never visited our main office have been willing to walk up four flights to a neghborhood office located six or eight blocks from their home."

Mainly as a result of the job bank, Mr. Aiken says, the employment service was able to place 2,184 poor persons in jobs in the Baltimore area during September, November and December 1968, more than triple the placements a year earlier. (October was excluded from the comparison, the latest available, because of a bus strike then.)

MORE JOB BANKS PLANNED

Labor Department officials in Washington are enthusiastic about the Baltimore experiment. They are moving to establish job banks in St. Louis, Chicago, Atlanta, Hartford and Portland, Ore., by mid-year. By July 1970, they hope to have banks operating in 30 more cities.

Spurring this effort is the knowledge that President Nixon is a strong proponent of automating the U.S. Training and Employment Service so it can better serve the poor. He favors a national computer job bank capable of automatically matching men and jobs located anywhere in the country. Such a system is viewed as a logical outgrowth of the Baltimore-type bank, in which the matching is still done by skilled interviewers.

"This is an area in which modern technology can serve human needs," Mr. Nixon has said. "If computers can match boys and girls for college dates, they can match job-seeking men with man-seeking jobs."

Experiments in computerized job matching are already in progress.

The most advanced test is being conducted by the Utah Employment Service, which since January has operated the first computerized statewide matching system covering the full range of jobs. Labor Secretary George Shultz says the project "has broad implications beyond the state of Utah." It is still too early to evaluate its performance, however. Before the end of the year, experimental matching systems are scheduled to be working in Florida, Michigan and the New York City area.

A TRICKY TASK

However, Federal officials caution that major problems remain.

First, it is extremely difficult to design an effective matching system. A computer, manpower experts stress, can't duplicate the subtle judgments a skilled interviewer often must make about an applicant's abilities and interests to place him in a job. "We are years away from a sophisticated search strategy that is sensitive to the needs of the hard-core unemployed," declares Charles Odell, a high-ranking Labor Department official.

Moreover, a national matching system would require sophisticated, expensive computer equipment. The Federal Government spent about $500,000 to set up the Utah experiment, and officials estimate a nationwide matching system would cost from $60 to $180 million.

Finally, it's not at all certain there is an urgent requirement for a national matching operation. Even with substantial Government assistance, the poor may be loath to move hundreds or thousands of miles for a job. "The major need," Mr. Odell says, is for a matching system covering each metropolitan area.

At the moment, the Federal Government is working hardest on duplicating the Baltimore job bank—because it is relatively free of hitches and has proved its usefulness.

"Some computer experts sneer at the Baltimore project" because they feel the computer is being used simply as a printing device, observes Joshua Levine, a Federal aide who oversees employment automation efforts.

He stresses, the job bank "licks the overriding problem" today in many big-city employment service offices: How to provide job interviewers with up-to-date listings of job openings for the entire metropolitan area. A growing flood of paperwork frequently makes this impossible where lists are kept manually.

Actually, the Baltimore job bank was designed to meet a particular local need rather than to solve a national problem.

In late 1967, many large employers in the Baltimore area were complaining to Mr. Aiken of the Maryland Employment Service and to city officials that they were being harassed by a multitude of agencies seeking jobs for the poor. Mr. Aiken turned for help to John Allen, a computer expert with the Maryland Department of Employment Security, which is housed in the same building as the employment service and uses computers to run the state's unemployment insurance program.

In six weeks, Mr. Allen and three other computer specialists came up with the design for the job bank. It works this way:

Information on job openings, placements, referrals of applicants for interviews and employer cancelations of orders is punched on computer cards. Each night the cards are fed through an IBM computer, which prints out a revised list of job openings. Copies are made, bound into big books and distributed by messenger.

To establish the bank, the Maryland Employment Service has received $150,000 from the Federal Government, mainly for rental of a copying machine and the salaries of 10 additional employes. No computer equipment beyond that used for the unemployment insurance system was needed.

Because the most isolated Outreach office now can have the same information on job openings as the main downtown office, the employment service has increased its neighborhood offices from three to 15—five of which are located in the heart of the Negro ghetto—and is planning to add 10 others.

While many job-seekers who have benefited from the bank remain unaware of its existence, they are pleased with the help they have received.

Harold Adams, a 19-year-old Negro, was drawing unemployment insurance after be-

March 1969

CONGRESSIONAL INTERVIEW

Senator Walter F. Mondale - DFL

Committees:

Banking and Currency - Chairman, Production and Economic Stabilization Subcommittee

Financial Institutions and International Finance Subcommittee

Labor and Public Welfare

Chairman, Migratory Labor Subcommittee

Employment, Manpower, Poverty Subcommittee

Indian Education Subcommittee

Special Panel on Aging, Chairman, Subcommitte on retirement and the individual.

Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs

Steering committee, Members of Congress for Peace through Law

Electoral College:

The present system of giving the total state vote to the candidate winning that state does give a weighted voice to urban minorities in the large population states. Candidates recognize this by doing most of their campaigning in these states, not the low population states. It also gives minority groups a more important voice in candidate selection and platform at party conventions. In spite of this, electoral reform should be in terms of the philosophical ideal rather than a current, perhaps temporary, benefit to one group. Senator Mondale favors the direct popular election of President-Vice President. He strongly objects to the plan which would give one vote per Congressional district winner plus two for the state winner. This would mean a much more conservative outcome in Presidential elections. (Nixon would have defeated Kennedy in 1960 under that system.)

Human Resources:

Senator Mondale is concerned about the failure to withhold defense contracts from the southern textile mills that are in violation of the Labor Department's Office of Federal Contract Compliance (OFCC) regulations. These were issued by President Johnson in 1965. Mr. Mondale feels that the country needs to be made aware of the unequal racial treatment that exists at these plants. He may push for subcommittee hearings on this in the Labor Committee. Giving OFCC regulations the status of law could be the next major effort in the civil rights field. He is also concerned that funds

not be released to school districts unless they comply with desegregation guidelines.

The future of OEO programs is uncertain. It will make a real difference where the Job Corps and Head Start programs go within the Labor and HEW Departments. Until their future is decided, it is hard to predict what the transfer will mean. Senator Mondale doesn't see any effort being made to reverse the legislation that gave local governments the right to take control of Community Action Programs. Very few have actually been taken over, perhaps five or so. Most local governments are reluctant to get involved.

Indians:

The hearings on Indian education are showing the terrible disgrace of government efforts in this area. In Minnesota there are school districts with high reservation Indian enrollment, supported by up to 60% federal funds for Indian education ~~education~~ with no Indians on the school board, no Indian say in how the schools are run. These schools have high drop out rates and are not doing a good job educating Indian students.

Senator Mondale is aiding Red Lake Reservation make arrangements for a furniture factory. The way is now cleared for this business to be established.

Foreign Policy:

China: There may be a chance for better US - China relations. It is being noted that Chinese ~~diplomats~~ officials are being more friendly in countries where they have diplomatic relations. The United States did not cause the defection which was used as the excuse to call off the scheduled Warsaw talks. It is not known why China did cancel them. Senator Mondale feels the United States should make every effort to not appear threatening toward China. We should allow trade, allow travel, etc. if China wants it.

Trade: The pressure for trade quota legislation is real rough. The United States does have legitimate complaints in some areas, especially agriculture where European countries are dumping some products at well below cost. Senator Mondale was instramental last session in defeating a dairy quota bill. He voted against it, and since the it ended in a tie vote, the bill failed to pass. Following this, the administration has imposed some dairy quotas. The industry is in trouble again. Senator Mondale is the only senator in the dairy

states who is not an author on a new dairy quota bill for the 91st session. He views this kind of legislation as a real disaster for the country and has great fear of it getting started. There are strong political pressures in Minnesota for quotas from the dairy and steel industries.

East-West Trade: Since the Export Control Act which restricts trade with communist countries expires this June, there will be new legislation ~~on this issue~~. The Senator feels that limits on this trade should apply to war goods only. This is the version that will pass from the subcommittee on Financial Institutions and International Finance, of which he is a member. Communist diplomats in Washington are expressing interest in greater trade.

Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty: This will pass. It is to be hoped that the world can now get working toward peace by begining the arms reduction treaty talks soon.

Water: ~~The~~ While the new Secretary of the Interior has the power to cancel the conference called to establish federal standards of polution for Lake Superior. Senator Mondale doesn't ~~feel~~ he would do that. The conference, to be held this spring, will collect evidence on pollution and take testimony from all governmental levels concerned with Lake Superior. Federal standards will be the ultimate result.

The Senator feels that there is real citizen interest in stopping polution. A poll that asked about pollution vrs jobs showed that 90% would put polution prevention ahead of jobs. This citizen concern has helped ~~him~~ Mr. Mondale get votes in areas where he has spoken against strong industry pressure for greater pollution allowance.

The Honorable Walter F. Mondale
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20500

March 17, 1969

Dear Senator Mondale:

We appreciate your having made time available in your busy schedule to meet with the League. These interviews are very useful to us in our understanding and approach to Congressional issues.

Enclosed for your information are two recent League publications on housing which our members are now studying. The other sheet, "What Any White Woman Can Do" has just been published. We feel it is an excellent tool, filling a real need. We would like to call it to your attention.

The Congressional Records are now arriving. Thank you for making this possible.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. O. J. Janski, President

Mrs. Ralph Ebbott, Congressional
Action Coordinator

Enclosures

March 14 11— Fed Bldg. 124 Mike Berman

Tom Flores

TO: BOARD MEMBERS
FROM: IRENE JANSKI

February 22, 1969

Additional Background on Senator Mondale--as an aid in the League interview February 28, 1969, 10 a.m. Federal Building, Minneapolis (see also his "Congressional Record", LWV of Minnesota, October, 1968 and check the National Board Report. January, 1969, page 6--"Key Legislation the League will support."

Senator Mondale is now on the following committees: (he has dropped Agriculture).

Banking and Currency--Chairman, Subcommittee on Production and Economic Stabilization (Senator Douglas used this chairmanship to launch "Truth in Lending" and "Area Redevelopment" legislation).
--Member, Subcommittee on Financial Institutions and International Finances.

Labor and Public Welfare--Chairman, Subcommittee on Migratory Labor.
--Member, Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, Poverty (will be concerned with the fate of Job Corps).
--Member of Subcommittees on labor, vets' affairs and Indian education (this latter group, chaired by Senator Kennedy recently heard Mr. Antell testify on Indian education in Minnesota).

Non-legislative committees:
Special panel on aging--Chairman, Subcommittee on retirement and the individual.

Select committee on Nutrition and Human Needs

Members of Congress for Peace through Law--Member of the steering committee.

Electoral College: Senator Mondale has joined in sponsorship of the proposed Constitutional Amendment offered by Senator Bayh. (Direct popular elections of President and Vice President. If no candidate received at least 40% of the popular vote, a run-off would be held between the two top candidates).

Human Resources: He asked Secretary of Defense Packard to rescind approval of military contracts with 3 southern textile mills; he criticized handling of federal funds in 5 school desegregation cases (allowing a 60 day reprieve).

Commenting on the Head Start transfer, the Senator indicated he would withhold judgment until he sees how HEW handles the program. He wants them to keep the "positive aspects"--willingness to experiment, use of non-professionals, involvement of parents and communities.

He should be informed on the urban Indian hearings in Minneapolis in March or at least able to get answers.

Aid and Trade: He was involved in hearings on East-West Trade June 4-July 25, 1968 (printed record available, 3 volumes) on his Senate Joint Resolution 169. The Export Control Act expires June 30, 1969, so there will be new legislation in this area soon.

Water: On the vote to confirm Hickel, he did not vote, was paired against. He should be informed on the upcoming hearings on Lake Superior. (At the interview a year ago, he indicated that if the governors didn't act to call a hearing, Senator Nelson (Wis.) and he would ask Secretary Udahl to call the hearing.)

Miscellaneous: He voted, in effect, for the Congressional pay raise. He voted for a Senate cloture rule. It received 50 votes, but needed 2/3 to pass.

Senator Mondale is very interested in his bill "Full Opportunity Act". The proposal "declares full social opportunity a new national goal and provides specific mechanisms--including a Presidential Council of Social Advisors, an annual Social Report and a Joint Congressional Committee --designed to facilitate achievement of that goal." Hearings were held on this bill last year. He has reintroduced it this session, S. 5.





Judy Fridges
373-3177

Electoral – Lobby both House Congress – like due benefit now – big states, little state – Federal control of elections –

House Rooms –

EEOC – cease & desist powers.
Enforcement of employment discrimination
" " hiring –

Voting – Congress –
OEO – Foster grandparent, Health Centers

Green amendment?

Indians – President Civil or Indian Opportunity?
Upward Bound – violation of Civil Rights Act –
? change Act.; Policy, Atty Gen Policy – Chris Carencho – Sioux
Indian Ed – Rough Rock.

Foreign Policy –

China –

Aid. Hassock – AID –

IDA – Int. Development Association – World Bank.
Asian Develop Bank.
UN greater role? – Non-proliferation treaty.

Trade – expiration of. Export Control Act – June 30 – E-W?

Water –

Reclamation – lake study, border guarantee –
AEC standards.
Lake Superior.

Mike Barman - assistant - (Tom Florin / Keith)

Indians - ~~Cannot [illegible]~~ show discrim - Minn - Cass Lake, 60% Fed funds - no I control, no say, on school board - elected - / Indians, Govt - no Indians - 200 +. (School Boards)

check Red Lake & Leech Lake - Upward Bound - should it be handled w/ Civil Rts Act.

Furniture factory - M's out on limb. Le Vanda pressure against - bedding co - pressure against. Is - risk co, but will come in. Colonial furniture - killed as they trying to get some contractor -

Will Antell very impressive - kennedy would like him - ask for Minn E for committee work.

China - U.S. should not be threatening - allow trade if they want - They are xenophobic - wi E contrive come to portray a scowl - now almost smile. - open trade

E-W Trade - Senate sub - comm for restoring to most goods - Romania, Czech. want it - Ehrlichman - Russians saying - Czech invasion a mistake -

Textile Mill discrimination - Dept. regulations - case pressed, poor housing, etc. - Bemis Bag spent $1,000 to comply - now additional contracts, no compliance - sent Wilkins, etc. on it - Sub-Com. on labor Leagues - next civil rights push, to get their regulations as law -

School case - releasing funds. ~~Sec~~

"He's not going to let Nixon get away playing the Southern game" -

but EEOC reg

Trade question - real weight of he didn't support the dairy leg - tie vote - his stuff. (do have problems w/ changing - agg. protect. in GATT) - there were administrative regulations - trouble again. -
real fear of getting started - disaster -
But political problems - in Minn to lose dairy + steel workers, - real trouble.

Superior meeting - means all govt. levels testify - evidence, discuss standards. Out of this will come Fed standards. -

? Hanley - party on Interior report standards not being accepted - within 2 hrs - Congressmen, Agency, Gov. all out with statements objecting.
Feels real citizen interest in solution -
Poll 90-10 - solution vrs. jobs. Campaigned in Washington County - eaten alive in Bayport - yet did well - Earth taken it up, Scenic River Bill - did well.

Where are the issues pushers? - disappointed in liberals. To get something, don't work quietly - the special interests will clobber you, undermine your group - so distrust. Come out w/ charges - bring it out to the public - make the issue debated. (Nobody has come around wanting the governors job - nothing to offer). Fears Minn. will fall behind in leadership in being a good well-run

state.

OLEO- Nixon vague on transfers - sold out on his campaign promises. - Will make real difference when J.C. & H.S. go within digits.

Hope to get on toward peace - pass the treaty & on to arms reduction treaty -

Dear Senator Mondale;

We appreciate your having made time available in your busy schedule to meet with the League. These interviews are very useful to us in our understanding of and approach to Congressional issues.

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The Congressional Records are now arriving. Thank you for seeing to the arrangements that have made them possible.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. O.J. Janski, President

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Action Coordinator

Mondale Has Key Posts to Battle Administration

By RICHARD P. KLEEMAN
Minneapolis Tribune
Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON, D.C. — conflict with the new GOP administration, however, are perhaps more likely in subcommittees of which Mon-

OEO and a lot of human programs, they're going to have trouble on others."

Mondale also will sit on



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Version 3
March 18, 2019

being attracted to organizations—public and private—working in this area. It is a stimulating and satisfying experience to be a member of the team responsible for improving the quality of life in our urban areas. Today's high school students should consider pursuing a career which will enable them to play a key role in this growing and extremely important field of improving the urban environment.

Interested young people or their parents may obtain a free booklet which gives the basic facts about engineering. The booklet, "Engineering . . . A Career of Opportunity," is available from the National Society of Professional Engineers, 2029 K Street, NW., Washington, D.C. 20006.

PRESIDENT NIXON CONGRATULATED ON HIS PLEDGE FOR WORLD PEACE

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I invite attention to the joint statement by 50 Senators and Representatives on February 8, in which they congratulated the President of the United States on his pledge for world peace and assured their support for four specific measures designed to realize this goal. This timely statement which was endorsed by other distinguished Members of Congress demonstrates the willingness and desire of members of both parties to work toward world peace. The four specific measures for which we pledged our support are:

First. Prompt ratification of the Nonproliferation Treaty;

Second. Meaningful steps to begin talks with the Soviet Government for the purpose of achieving agreements to curb the arms race;

Third. Immediate reconsideration of the ABM system;

Fourth. A thorough analysis of defense spending to locate responsible cuts.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the joint statement and the list of Senators and Representatives who signed it.

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

THE JOINT STATEMENT

As Members of Congress who share a commitment to the development of international cooperation, a strengthened United Nations, and the realization of the United States foreign policy of 'general and complete disarmament under enforceable world law,' we congratulate President Nixon on his pledge to consecrate his administration to the cause of world peace.

We add our own pledge to his. As immediate steps in this direction, we assure our own support for the following:

1. Prompt ratification of the Non Proliferation Treaty, which represents an important safeguard against the spread of nuclear weapons.

2. Meaningful steps to begin talks with the Soviet Government for the purpose of achieving agreements to curb the arms race and reduce nuclear missile stockpiling.

3. Immediate reconsideration of the Anti Ballistic Missile system, the effectiveness of which is questionable and the deployment of which may lead to further intensification of the arms race.

4. Thorough analysis of Defense Spending to locate responsible cuts, and to bring the important contribution of our military into reasonable perspective.

The anxieties of the Nuclear Age have caused an emphasis on military spending which is out of proportion to our security requirements and has inhibited our efforts to meet human needs, both at home and abroad. As Members of Congress, we will seek to bring leadership to these vital issues, and urge all Americans to share in the quest.

ENDORSING MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Senators Edward Brooke (R., Mass.), Philip A. Hart (D., Mich.), Vance Hartke (D., Ind.), Mark Hatfield (R. Oreg.), Harold E. Hughes (D., Iowa), Jacob K. Javits (R., N.Y.), Eugene J. McCarthy (D., Minn.), George McGovern (D., S. Dak.), Walter F. Mondale (D., Minn.), Frank E. Moss (D., Utah), Edmund S. Muskie (D., Maine), and Gaylord Nelson (D. Wis.); and Representatives Brock Adams (D., Wash.), Thomas L. Ashley (D., Ohio), Jonathan B. Bingham (D., N.Y.), Edward P. Boland (D., Mass.), John Brademas (D., Ind.), George E. Brown, Jr. (D., Calif.), Phillip Burton (D., Calif.), Jeffery Cohelan (D., Calif.), John R. Dellenback (R., Oreg.), Don Edwards (D., Calif.), Donald M. Fraser (D., Minn.), James G. Fulton (R., Pa.), Jacob H. Gilbert (D., N.Y.), William J. Green (D., Pa.), Gilbert Gude (R., Md.), Seymour Halpern (R., N.Y.), Augustus F. Hawkins (D., Calif.), Henry Helstoski (D., N.J.), Robert W. Kastenmeier (D., Wis.), Edward I. Koch (D., N.Y.), Allard K. Lowenstein (D., N.Y.), Richard D. McCarthy (D., N.Y.), Paul N. McCloskey, Jr. (R., Calif.), Abner J. Mikva (D., Ill.), F. Bradford Morse (R., Mass.), Richard L. Ottinger (D., N.Y.), Thomas M. Rees (D., Calif.), Ogden Reid (R., N.Y.), Henry S. Reuss (D., Wis.), Benjamin S. Rosenthal (D., N.Y.), Edward R. Roybal (D., Calif.), William F. Ryan (D., N.Y.), James H. Scheuer (D, N.Y.), Fred Schwengel (R., Iowa), Frank Thompson, Jr. (D., N.J.), Morris K. Udall (D., Ariz.), James W. Symington (D., Mo), and Charles R. Whalen, Jr., (R., Ohio).

TELEV

February 22, 1969

Additional Background on Senator Mondale - as an aid for the League interview February 28, 1969, 10 a.m. Federal Building, MPLS

(see also his "Congressional Record", LWV of Minn., October 1968)

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The gulf between those who participate in the promise of America and those who cannot cries out for a bridge, but we still do not know how long a bridge we need, or what it must be built of, or how to anchor it on either side of the abyss.

- Senator Walter F. Mondale

United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 91st CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 115 WASHINGTON, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 15, 1969 *No. 9*

SENATE

S. 5—INTRODUCTION OF BILL—FULL OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1969

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I introduce, for myself and Senators ANDERSON, DODD, EAGLETON, GRAVEL, HART, HARRIS, INOUYE, JAVITS, KENNEDY, MCCARTHY, MCGEE, MCGOVERN, METCALF, MONTOYA, MUSKIE, NELSON, RANDOLPH, WILLIAMS of New Jersey, YARBOROUGH, and YOUNG of Ohio, a bill entitled "The Full Opportunity Act of 1969." Since the bill was referred in 1967 to both the Government Operations Committee and the Labor and Public Welfare Committee and has now had hearings before the Government Operations Committee, I ask that it be referred at this time to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

Mr. President, it is nearly 2 years since I first proposed the rationale and structure incorporated in this measure. Hearings on the bill and the events of the past 2 years have strengthened the case for this bill. Today we are more frank to admit both our ignorance of many of the Nation's social needs and the necessity for better social information on which to base our decisionmaking and our experiments in providing opportunity for all Americans.

In introducing the Full Opportunity and Social Accounting Act of 1967, I pointed out how little we know about the interrelationships of social programs and the disastrous consequences of our ignorance. In building highways, rebuilding urban areas, developing transportation systems, for example, we have created a tremendous collection of social problems—relocation, displacement of communities, movement of employment opportunities out of central cities, and others—that we are only beginning to recognize and deal with.

Since 1967, new and compelling—and sometimes violent—social phenomena have underscored our lack of knowledge and insensitivity to the human tragedies in our midst. Not only do we lack prediction of the social consequences of individual program decisions; beyond that, our means of measuring results are so primitive as to be practically nonexistent. So how do we measure the gap between vague social goals and our supposed performance as a society in meeting them?

Why were the riots of 1967 such a surprise, and why were we so unprepared? One of the reasons is that none of us—policymakers, program directors, citizens—knew how close we were to explosion.

And in the wake of discovering our ignorance about the state of hunger in America, there is now much talk of establishing priorities, of making choices among programs and means of spending the money that is available to further our national social effort.

Until we can describe the conditions we have, until we can define the results we want, until we can speak in terms of what has happened to a human being instead of how much money has been spent on him, this will be empty talk. Our measures so far have been measures of effort when what we need are measures of change.

Our hearings, the journals of social science, and the experimental social report soon to be released by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare all tell us that it is becoming more and more possible to speak in terms of results in social analysis. Instead of changes in real dollars per person spent on health care, for example, we can describe the change in years of expectation of a life free from bed care or institutionalization. Instead of changes in dollars per pupil in title I or number of students per teacher, or years of education, we must be able to talk of change in achievement.

Until we are able to do this, make these real measurements, we risk the probability of remaining sadly limited in our ability to gather public support and public funds for our social efforts.

Like the bill introduced in 1967, the Full Opportunity Act of 1969 establishes a council of social advisers patterned after the council of economic advisers created by the Employment Act of 1946.

The act would create a three-member council of social advisers, to be assisted by an adequate staff, require an annual social report to the Nation, and establish a joint congressional committee on the social report.

Perhaps most important of all, this act declares full opportunity for all Americans to be a national goal. In the troubled times of 1946, we made a great step forward in declaring a national goal of full employment for all Americans. Today, amid our unprecedented wealth, it is fitting to establish a new national goal of opportunity for every American. And it is none too soon to do so.

Hearings on the previous bill are instructive in regard to this proposal. Informal seminar hearings were held on the measure in June 1967, followed by formal hearings in July. Among those who testified favorably on some aspects of the bill were Dr. Daniel Moynihan, soon to be the President's Assistant for Urban Affairs; Bertram Gross, professor of social planning at Wayne State University in Detroit, and one of the architects of the Employment Act of 1946 which created the council of economic advisers; Dr. Amitai Etzioni, professor of sociology at Columbia University, and others. Many of their helpful suggestions have led to changes in the legislation as presently presented.

Participants in the seminar were overwhelmingly in favor of the principles of social measurement and institutionalization within the Government. Almost all agreed with John Gardner, director of the Urban Coalition and former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, that we are currently "stumbling into the future" and that establishing a more appropriate gait would take better descriptive information, the development of predictive tools, and careful analysis of both our problems and our resources.

Among the specific matters discussed in those hearings were such present efforts to rationalize decisionmaking as the program-planning-budgeting system; possible beefits for both the Government and the social sciences of the involvement of social scientists in planning and evaluation of public social policy and programs; the differences between measurement in social matters and measurement in economic matters; the importance of preserving individual privacy; and some alternative organizational possibilities.

From the hearings and from examination of the social health of the Nation, it is apparent that—

First. The Nation presently lacks a comprehensive and consistent information base upon which major decisions in social affairs may be made.

Second. Scattered, fragmentary efforts are underway within the Government, in the universities, and elsewhere to develop indices of social progress. Although sophistication in social measurement techniques is growing, as evidenced by the the forthcoming social report of the Department of Health, Education, and

Welfare, neither the information measured nor the measures themselves have been sufficiently precise, consistent, or systematic to allow rational judgments about the gaps between present programs and urgent social needs, or even to measure satisfactorily the impact of those programs.

Third. Present efforts in the development and collection of social data and predictive tools suggest that significant improvement is possible in the gathering analysis and interpretation of social information needed to establish priorities among competing social and other alternatives.

Fourth. Enactment of legislation creating a structure like the one proposed in the Full Opportunity Act would provide the institutional and procedural framework to first, coordinate attempts to measure the Nation's social health; second, stimulate research geared to the development of more informative social indicators; third, focus public attention on developing social problems; and, fourth, provide policymakers with the information and analysis needed to make rational allocations of resources.

It has become clear in the past 2 years, as it was not clear before, that some such effort is vital to the national welfare. Furthermore, the attention that has been given to the question of social indicators during this period of time has essentially eliminated any doubts about the usefulness of social indicators to help in the task.

The forthcoming social report of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, for example, contains a measure of years of expectancy of a healthy life for Americans. It defines healthy life as life free from institutionalization or bed care, and measures the difference over a period of years to try to shed some light on the question of whether our national public and private health efforts are making a difference in the daily health of Americans.

In this report, in our hearings, in developments in the social sciences, in the establishment of the Social Indicators Panel and appointment of an Assistant Secretary for Social Indicators in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare—the case has been made. Indicators can be and have been devised which reveal certain social facts.

What remains before us is the determination of the kind of structure within the government that can best direct the gathering and analysis of information and recommendation of priorities, goals, and programs for the Nation. It is my hope that early hearings on this act in the Labor and Public Welfare Committee will direct themselves specifically to that subject.

In proposing the structure of a Council of Social Advisers, a Joint Social Committee of the Congress, and an annual Social Report to the Nation in the initial draft of the Full Opportunity Act, I leaned heavily on the Nation's experience with the Council of Economic Advisers created by the Full Employment Act of 1946.

This is not to say that economic analysis and social analysis are directly comparable. The previous hearings and discussion of the Full Opportunity Act have made it clear that they are not. But there is nothing in the proposal for a Council of Social Advisers that depends on a parallel between economic and social analysis.

Where the parallel does come in the urgent demand for excellence in quality, direction, and level of visibility of the advice the Nation needs.

Any structure for advising the President, the Congress, and the Nation on its social conditions and needs must meet the following criteria if it is to be effective:

First. It must provide an arms-length perspective on the Nation's social conditions and needs, free from the vested interests and channel vision of individual agencies and pressure groups.

Second. It must attract nationally recognized members of the social science community who can bring both their expert knowledge and their prestige to the task of developing social information and advising the President, the Congress, and the Nation.

Third. It must create a highly visible public forum, capable of attracting the attention of the Nation and situated with direct access to the President.

Fourth. Its analyses and recommendations must be subject to the review of the legislative branch, the academic world, and the private sector.

Fifth. It must devote itself to using the most sophisticated techniques of social research available to develop effective social indicators to identify areas of social need and illustrate our progress—or lack of it—over periods of time.

All of our efforts so far fail to meet one or more of these criteria. They are limited to single units or to a single branch or level of government, or they are limited to describing and analyzing only Federal efforts or only governmental efforts, or they are structured so that they fail to achieve—and possibly they even avoid—public attention.

The establishment of the Council of Urban Affairs in the executive branch headed by Dr. Daniel P. Moynihan of the White House staff, for example, is certainly a step toward the coordination of our efforts at a high level of the Government, and we are much better off for having it than we would be without it.

But it is limited to the executive branch and it is limited to the efforts of the Federal Government and to urban affairs. Its members will represent individual agencies and be responsible to those agencies as well as the President. They can be forgiven if they try to protect either the general efforts or the individual programs of their agencies, or both. If this Council limits itself to analyzing and coordinating the programs in urban affairs of the agencies, it will be contributing a great deal to our national social effort.

But it will not be enough. The time has come for this Nation to devote the same intense effort to analysis of its social trends, and recommendations of techniques to deal with them, as it now devotes to economic description, analysis, prediction, and recommendation.

The gulf between those who participate in the promise of America and those who cannot cries out for a bridge, but we still do not know how long a bridge we need, or what it must be built of, or how to anchor it on either side of the abyss. Perhaps we will need more than one kind of bridge.

We have made some beginning attempts to build a bridge, but we do not really know whether people are moving across. It may be that we will find some who must be taught to walk before they can cross.

We will never find out unless we devote our best resources to a broad, systematic effort on a continuing basis, until we define what it means to have crossed that bridge, until we have measured the capacities and weaknesses of those who must cross, until we really know whether the bridges that have worked so long and so well for most of us need only minor repairs, must be completely rebuilt, or can serve side by side with new ones built to carry their special loads.

Something like the structure proposed in the Full Opportunity Act is absolutely essential to such an effort. Perhaps the present Council of Economic Advisers is the best example of the effects it can have.

I believe it is fair to say that over the years the Council of Economic Advisers has had at least the following effects:

It has sensitized the Nation to the importance and effects of changes in our economic growth.

It has helped make possible sustained economic progress, and has helped to eliminate the traditional pattern of periodic recession or depression in the Nation.

It has helped to demonstrate that our national economy can be manipulated to some extent, and has built public support for Government intervention in the economy.

It has provided a forum where economists, Presidents, Members of Congress, academicians, and leaders of business and labor in this country can speak and be heard and understood on questions of our national economic health.

It has educated all of us—some more than others—on the stake we have in steady economic progress.

It has greatly sophisticated our economic measurement techniques as the need for economic indicators emerged and forced sweeping changes in the kinds of statistics gathered by the Government.

And there is also something which the Council of Economic Advisers has not done. It has not diminished the authority of the Congress or the executive branch or the businessman or the individual citizen to make decisions for himself. Instead, it has changed the level of discussion involved in the decisionmaking of everyone.

The recent debate over the imposition of an income tax surtax is a good example of this. It became quite clear in that debate that the decisionmaking had not left the hands of the Congress. The debate was over whether this means should be employed in cooling off an overheated economy. There was disagreement over whether the proposal was too severe or not severe enough, or even whether it was relevant. The traditional interplay between Congress and the President went on as usual.

In short, the Council of Economic Advisers has helped to change the Nation's attitude toward its economy. It has been able to do so partly because it could attract prestigious and sophisticated experts to the economic debate. Their views attracted the attention of the President, the Congress, the business community, and the people. And I believe we are all better off for installing this structure at the highest, most visible level of our Government.

I believe that we can hope for similar results in social analysis, reporting, and discussion from the establishment of a structure like the Council of Social Advisers I propose in this act. And I believe we have every indication that it is none too soon to start.

Mr. President, a very interesting article which establishes the need for the creation and the adoption of the proposed legislation was published in the New York Times on Sunday, under the name of Daniel Bell. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed at this point in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill and article will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 5) introduced by Mr. MONDALE for himself and other Senators was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare by unanimous consent, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD.

S. 5

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Full Opportunity Act."

DECLARATION OF POLICY

SEC. 2. In order to promote the general welfare, the Congress declares that it is the continuing policy and responsibility of the Federal Government, consistent with the primary responsibilities of State and local governments and the private sector, to promote and encourage such conditions as will give every American the opportunity to live in decency and dignity, and to provide a clear and precise picture of whether such conditions are promoted and encouraged in such areas as health, education, and training, rehabilitation, housing, vocational opportunities, the arts and humanities, and special assistance for the mentally ill and retarded, the deprived, the abandoned, and the criminal, and by measuring progress in meeting such needs.

SOCIAL REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

SEC. 3. (a) The President shall transmit to the Congress not later than March 20 of each year a report to be known as the social report, setting forth (1) the overall progress

and effectiveness of Federal efforts designed to carry out the policy declared in section 2 with particular emphasis upon the manner in which such efforts serve to meet national social needs in such areas as health, education and training, rehabilitation, housing, vocational opportunities, the arts and humanities, and special assistance for the mentally ill and retarded, the deprived, the abandoned, and the criminal; (2) a review of State, local, and private efforts designed to create the conditions specified in section 2; (3) current and foreseeable needs in the areas served by such efforts and the progress of development of plans to meet such needs; and (4) programs and policies for carrying out the policy declared in section 2, together with such recommendations for legislation as he may deem necessary or desirable.

(b) The President may transmit from time to time to the Congress reports and supplementary to the social report, each of which shall include such supplementary or revised recommendations as he may deem necessary or desirable to achieve the policy declared in section 2.

(c) The social report, and all supplementary reports transmitted under subsection (b) of this section, shall, when transmitted to Congress, be referred to the joint committee created by section 5.

COUNCIL OF SOCIAL ADVISERS TO THE PRESIDENT

SEC. 4. (a) There is created in the Executive Office of the President a Council of Social Advisers (hereinafter called the Council). The Council shall be composed of three members who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and each of whom shall be a person who, as a result of his training, experience, and attainments, is exceptionally qualified to appraise programs and activities of the Government in the light of the policy declared in section 2, and to formulate and recommend programs to carry out such policy. Each member of the Council, other than the Chairman, shall receive compensation at the rate prescribed for level IV of the Executive Schedule by section 5315 of title 5 of the United States Code. The President shall designate one of the members of the Council as Chairman who shall receive compensation at the rate prescribed for level II of such Schedule.

(b) The Chairman of the Council is authorized to employ, and fix the compensation of, such specialists and other experts as may be necessary for the carrying out of its functions under this Act, without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and without regard to the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates, and is authorized, subject to such provisions, to employ such other officers and employees as may be necessary for carrying out its functions under this Act, and fix their compensation in accordance with the provisions of such chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53.

(c) It shall be the duty and function of the Council—

(1) to assist and advise the President in the preparing of the social report;

(2) to gather timely and authoritative information and statistical data concerning developments and programs designed to carry out the policy declared in section 2, both current and prospective, and to develop a series of social indicators to analyze and interpret such information and data in the light of the policy declared in section 2 and to compile and submit to the President studies relating to such developments and programs;

(3) to appraise the various programs and activities of the Federal Government in the light of the policy declared in section 2 of this Act for the purpose of determining the extent to which such programs and activities contribute to the achievement of such policy, and to make recommendations to the President with respect thereto;

(4) to develop priorities for programs designed to carry out the policy declared in section 2 and recommend to the President the most efficient way to allocate Federal resources and the level of government—Federal, State, or local—best suited to carry out such programs;

(5) to make and furnish such studies, reports thereon, and recommendations with respect to programs, activities, and legislation to carry out the policy declared in section 2 as the President may request.

(6) to make and furnish such studies, reports thereon, and recommendations with respect to programs, activities and legislation as the President may request in appraising long-range aspects of social policy and programing consistent with the policy declared in section 2.

(d) Recognizing the predominance of State and local governments in the social area, the President shall, when appropriate, provide for the dissemination to such states and localities information or data developed by the Council pursuant to subsection (c) of this section.

(e) The Council shall make an annual report to the Preesident in February of each year.

(f) In exercising its powers, functions, and duties under this Act—

(1) the Council may constitute such advisory committees and may consult with such representatives of industry, agriculture, labor, consumers, State and local governments, and other groups, organizations, and individuals as it deems advisable to insure the direct participation in the Council's planning of such interested parties;

(2) the Council shall, to the fullest extent possible, use the services, facilities, and information (including statistical information) of other Government agencies as well as of private research agencies, in order that duplication of effort and expense may be avoided;

(3) the Council shall, to the fullest extent possible, insure that the individual's right to privacy is not infringed by its activities; and

(4) the Council may enter into essential contractual relationships with educational institutions, private research organizations and others as needed to fulfill its duties and functions enumerated in section 4(c).

(g) To enable the Council to exercise its powers, functions, and duties under this Act, there are authorized to be appropriated (except for the salaries of the members and officers and employees of the Council) such sums as may be necessary. For the salaries of the members and salaries of officers and employees of the Council, there is authorized to be appropriated not exceeding $900,000 in the aggregate for each fiscal year.

JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE SOCIAL REPORT

SEC. 5(a) There is established a Joint Committee on the Social Report, to be composed of eight Members of the Senate, to be appointed by the President of the Senate and eight Members of the House of Representatives, to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. In each case, the majority party shall be represented by five Members and the minority party shall be represented by three Members.

(b) It shall be the function of the joint committee—

(1) to make a continuing study of all matters relating to the social report; and

(2) as a guide to the several committees of the Congress dealing with legislation relating to the social report, not later than June 1 of each year to file a report with the Senate and the House of Representatives containing its findings and recommendations with respect to each of the main recommendations made by the President in the social report, and from time to time make such other reports and recommendations to the Senate and House of Representatives as it deems advisable.

(c) Vacancies in the membership of the joint committee shall not affect the power of remaining members to execute the functions of the joint committee, and shall be filled in the same manner as in the case of the original selection. The joint committee shall select a chairman and a vice chairman from among its members.

(d) The joint committee, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized to hold such hearings as it deems advisable, and, within the limitations of its appropriations, the joint committee is empowered to appoint and fix the compensation of such experts, consultants, technicians, and clerical and stenographic assistants, to procure such printing and binding, and to make such expenditures, as it deems necessary and advisable. The cost of stenographic services to report hearings of the joint committee, or any subcommittee thereof, shall not exceed 25 cents per hundred words. The joint committee is authorized to utilize the services, information, and facilities of the departments and agencies of the Government, and private research agencies.

(e) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated for each fiscal year the sum of $425,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to carry out the provisions of this section to be disbursed by the Secretary of the Senate on vouchers signed by the chairman or vice chairman.

The article presented by Mr. MONDALE, is as follows:

THE ART OF FORECASTING SOCIAL CHANGE

(By Daniel Bell)

At periodic intervals, the Central Intelligence Agency prepares for the National Security Council a "national estimate" of the Soviet Union. This is an assessment of intentions and capabilities, a characterization of national will, the health of the economy, the military strength, the loyalty or disaffection of the population and the like.

Such national estimates are also made for a five-year period in order to forecast longer-range build-ups and capabilities of the Soviet society. Presumably, the Russian counterpart of the C.I.A. makes a similar forecast about the United States. Each side needs these forecasts to act intelligently against the other's political intentions and maneuvers.

Paradoxically, the United States Government does not have any central institution to gather the varied economic, sociological and technological information into one central set of forecasts and projections, a national estimate about itself and its future. Most large corporations plan ahead 5, 10 and 20 years.

DEFENSE AGENCIES' WORK

The American Telephone and Telegraph Company has estimates to the year 2000, to gauge its capital needs, new technologies, new product markets, manpower needs and the like. The United States Government does not even have a "capital budget" to allow for long-term commitments; each budget must be voted each fiscal year.

What is not done for the whole is, however, done by many parts. The Defense Department, inevitably, is engaged in long-range technological forecasting. The Air Force has Project Forecast, which makes projections for 15- to 20-year periods. Since 1963, annual classified Army Long-Range Technological Forecasts have been prepared by a special full-time group in the Army Materiel Command. And since 1967, a Navy Technological Forecast has been prepared by a full-time group in the Advanced Concepts Branch of the Navy Material Command. Given the rapid revolutions in military technology in recent years, and the need to anticipate lead times for production, such forecasting has become a necessity.

WHAT CAN WE PREDICT?

And yet, there is no social forecasting, though the needs are as great. With the growth of modern communications and transportation, we are more quickly aware of the linked consequences of change and the need to anticipate and to plan for them from the community to the national level. The rebuilding of American cities, for example, involves a a 35-year cycle. The expansion of medical services involves a minimum of 15 years' planning. The planning of airports, the recycling of our physical environment (e.g., the need to conserve water as an increasingly scarce resource), the extension of education beyond the graduate level as a continuing training to keep persons abreast of new knowledge and techniques—all involve a statement of coordinated national goals and long-range forecasting. And this we do not have.

What kind of phenomena are predictable? For one, certain broad historical trends. Take, for example, the remarkable forecasts made in 1793 by one of the remarkable philosophers, a mathematician and a moderate member of the French Revolutionary movement, the Marquis de Condorcet.

While hiding from the Jacobin squads of Robespierre, this remarkable man wrote a "Sketch for a Historical Picture of the Human Mind." In it he forecast that the principles of the French Revolution would inspire reform in many nations, that all European colonies in the Americas would become politically independent, that social insurance for the aged and the needy would be established, that education would become public and universal, that inequality between persons would be reduced, that women would gain legal rights.

In what sense was Condorcet able to make these predictions? Why did he possess a sense of the future while few of his contemporaries displayed such imagination? What Condorcet did was to determine crucial changes in three areas: in the basic *values* of society which are the legitimatizing agents of behavior; in the *processes* which facilitated the diffusion of these values, and in the modes of thought which shape the fundamental responses of society. It could be said that Condorcet seized on three irreversible keys that were to transform the nature of his time.

The first, in the realm of values, was in the idea of equality. Believing that equality had caught the imagination of the people of the time, Condorcet worked out the consequences of this belief on the customs and practices of society. The second, the means whereby this idea could take hold, was the invention of printing. Previous movements, he pointed out, could not disseminate their ideas.

Finally, the third key was the method of science. Condorcet, as a mathematician, believed that the quantitative mode of thinking would spread through society. He himself constructed some rough actuarial tables and on the basis of these calculations worked out the principle of "social insurance" so that the social monies of those who died "before their time" could be used to pay income for those who lived longer.

MULTIFOLD TREND

Thus, in the area of values and rationality, Condorcet sought to work out the logical consequences of the new commitments in the realm of ideas and method that society was making.

To the changes in the areas of values, means of diffusion and modes of thought, sociological theorists add a fourth dimension, that of *structural changes*, or the change in the character of fundamental social arrangements which determine the kind of work men do and the nature of the primary institutions of the society.

If one looks ahead to the end of the century, it seems clear that the United States is entering into what I have termed a "post-industrial society."

How does one make such a prediction? By observing certain key indicators of the economy and of the class structure, but more important, by being aware of a change in the basic paradigm of social organization.

The first indicator is the fact that the United States is no longer concerned primarily with the production of goods but with services.

The second indicator deals not with *where* people work but the *type* of work they do. The largest single growing class in the society is the technical-professional. Its growth rate, projected from 1960 to 1975, is double that of the labor force as a whole. By 1975, there will be 14 million such persons in the society, making it the second largest of eight occupational classes, with the semiskilled group being, numerically, the largest, though the semiskilled are shrinking relative to other classes.

But the most significant element of change is that in the "skeleton structure" of the society. Western society, historically, has been organized around property, and most social institutions and legal arrangements cluster about the perpetuation of property. But the post-industrial society is primarily a knowledge society, in which skill and education become paramount. Now every society, to some extent, is based on knowledge, but the singular characteristic of the post-industrial society, particularly in the new relation between science and technology, is that innovation and invention become increasingly dependent on the codification of theoretical knowledge.

ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY

Theoretical knowledge is rooted in the university, because it is there that it is sought and tested in a disinterested way. For this reason, in the next 50 years, the university—and the other centers of research—will become the primary institutions of society, not in the sense of wielding political power, but as possessing the scarcest and most necessary resources in the society.

Finally, in the area of social forecasting, one can, with some high degree of accuracy, predict shorter-run trends, based on the simple extrapolations of population and the knowledge that citizens in this kind of society will have expanded social needs and new expectations of services and levels of living.

What distinguishes the art of forecasting of today from the past is a significant difference in methodology and in intention.

But what is most distinctive about the middle of the 20th century is the awareness of the need, and of the possibility, of deliberate intervention by government, to control change for specified ends. All of this puts us on the threshold of an ancient and persistent human quest: to choose our future. What is central, therefore, to "futurist studies" is not simply the effort to "predict," as if the future were a foreordained point in time, but to sketch "alternative futures."

THE ELEMENT OF CHOICE

All social change today involves social policy and social choice. A large part of America since the end of World War II, for example, has been reshaped by the desire of individuals to own their own homes, a desire made possible largely by the tax and credit policies of the government. Yet such choices were made without any awareness of the additional social costs of such changes: the needs for such new services as schools, water, police, roads.

It would have been possible, for example, not to accept such a choice, uncritically, but to sketch alternative choices: Communities could be built as single-unit detached homes, or as cluster developments, or as high rise in the suburbs with large open spaces. Each of these have different social costs. It may well be that, in the end, Americans would have chosen the pattern they did, but then it would have been done more consciously than in the past.

The art of forecasting, then, is primarily an awareness of consequence, and only by knowing consequences can one make full rational and moral choices.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, I am glad to rise in support of the legislation introduced by the distinguished Senator from Minnesota. The Full Opportunity Act, which I also cosponsored when it was first introduced some 2 years ago, is an important piece of legislation which deserves early and favorable action by the Senate this session.

The act declares full opportunity for all Americans as a national policy and declares that every citizen has the right to live in decency and dignity.

New mechanisms would be established, somewhat similar to the Council of Economic Advisers and the Joint Economic Committee. A Council of Social Advisers, making social policy recommendations to the President, would annually prepare a social report for the President who would transmit it to the Congress. A newly created Joint Committee on the Social Report would scrutinize the Nation's social priorities, goals and trends as outlined and discussed in the report.

The act would encourage the development of a set of social indicators, or "yardsticks," designed to measure the progress of our national programs, and of a system of social accounting to determine the cost-benefit ratios of these programs with an emphasis on the human side of the ledger.

Altogether the mechanism and the approaches employed to gage social progress should give more visibility to social policymaking in the Federal Government. The publication of the Social Report would generate interaction between the legislative and executive branches. The continuous exercise of the congressional oversight function would foster a dialog on the question: "How well is our country doing?" and serve to sharpen social issues and provide more and better social data upon which sounder judgments on setting priorities and goals could be made.

In addition a more viable and visible national debate would educate and involve the public to a much greater extent. As a result Americans would be sensitized to present and impending social problems and would be more responsive to the urgent needs of our times.

Finally the Full Opportunity Act would tend to enhance the status and prestige of social scientists much as the Full Employment Act did for economists. The proposed act would place at the right hand of the President a select group of social scientists upon whom he would look for advice on social affairs, both short term and long range.

The National Foundation for the Social Sciences, a bill I authored in the 89th Congress and plan to reintroduce shortly, also has the enhancement of the status and prestige of the social sciences as one of its main objectives, and I believe the two bills obviously complement and mutually reinforce one another.

SUBCOMMITTEE ACTIVITY

The Senate has already spent considerable time and effort on this bill. The Subcommittee on Government Research, of which I am Chairman, held an unprecedented seminar and followed through with an extensive set of hearings during the 90th Congress. The overall result of the subcommittee's activities was to make a strong case for the passage of the bill.

Why an informally structured seminar before a regular set of hearings? The scope of the proposed act was so broad that it was felt that a seminar format would be the best method by which the thinking of the Subcommittee and all those concerned might be sharpened and refined prior to actual hearings on the legislation.

The seminar was an innovative approach to dealing with legislation pending before a committee of the Senate, and the 18 experts assembled participated in a rather historical event in the national legislative process.

The distinguished panel was composed of many nationally known figures in public affairs including Dr. Gerhard Colm, former member of the Council of Economic Advisers and an architect of the Full Employment Act of 1946, whose unfortunate death occurred just weeks ago. Among the other participants, to name a few, were Dr. Howard Bowen, president, the University of Iowa, and former Chairman of the National Advisory Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress; Dr. Irving L. Horowitz, professor of sociology, Washington University, St. Louis, and editor of Transaction magazine; Mr. Francis Keppell, former Commissioner of Education and now chairman, board of directors, General Learning Corp.; and Dr. Joseph Kraft, syndicated columnist.

The roundtable discussion, focused periodically by the delivery of prepared statements on the bill, produced a lively and stimulating exchange of ideas and points of view and, as a result, the nature and scope of the bill were more carefully delineated.

The subsequent hearings, held in July 1967, were conducted at a time when an incredible wave of civil disorders was sweeping the Nation, leaving many cities scarred by acts of flaming violence. Testimony given during the hearings poignantly pointed out our inability to predict or prevent social disruptions, and how ill prepared we were to deal effectively with the resulting lawlessness and disorder. The creation of the President's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders near the climax of the hearings highlighted the intensity of national concern and made arguments in favor of the Full Opportunity Act even more compelling.

Twenty-eight distinguished witnesses from the public and private sectors testified during the hearings and addressed their remarks to a set of questions concerning the following six areas:

First. The possibility of establishing a national social accounting system and designing a set of social indicators.

Second. Methods to prevent an invasion of privacy while securing necessary social data.

Third. The role of State and local governments in formulating and implementing national social policies.

Fourth. Whether data collection should be a State, regional, or national responsibility.

Fifth. The suitability of a Council of Social Advisers to achieve the objectives of the bill.

Sixth. What can and should be done to excite, involve and commit the American people to social goals?

The fruitful hearings helped to identify many issues including the deficiencies and fragmentation of present social accounting efforts. Several witnesses suggested modifications to increase the utility of the bill. In summary, the hearings were highlighted by expressions of deep concern for devising better ways to predict and prevent civil disorders, to discover and correct social inequities and to gage improvements in the quality of life in America through an interlocking framework of social indicators and a coordinated system of social accounts.

THE CASE FOR THE FULL OPPORTUNITY ACT

Several compelling arguments in favor of the proposed Act evolved during the seminar and the hearings. I will not go into each one in detail but will discuss the utility of a system of social accounting and a set of social indicators and briefly cover other salient features of the bill that makes swift passage imperative.

Once passed into law the Full Opportunity Act would declare as a national policy the promotion and encouragement of such conditions as will give every American the opportunity to live in decency and dignity. The creation of a Council of Social Advisers, complemented on the legislative side by a Joint Committee on the Social Report, will give more visibility and urgency to all efforts designed to achieve this objective.

These new mechanisms will serve as forums which would stimulate debate, comment and criticism on how well our Nation is doing in improving the quality of American life. The debate will sharpen and rationalize decision-making on social policy and result in greater accountability to the public for the rate of social progress we are making.

A system of social accounts and a set of social indicators will not be established by this act of Congress. They have to be developed, designed, tested, and perfected. Regardless of how successful these attempts may be, the resulting accounting techniques and social yardsticks will not be so precise as to freeze our priorities, goals, and overall national strategy for social betterment. The intent of the legislation is to improve our capabilities to chart our way toward reaching the goal of equal social and economic opportunity.

Social accounting can offer a better idea, on an input-output basis, of how well we are using manpower, funds, and facilities to expand the opportunities available to the deprived and disadvantaged.

A set of social indicators would constitute a set of tools to arrange social data in certain patterns so as to discern trends, both favorable and unfavorable,

and take action as appropriate. In this sense the Council of Social Advisers would function very much like the Council of Economic Advisers.

The Full Opportunity Act will stimulate new and better social data gatherings. Many shocking instances that illustrate the primitive state of data collection can be given. For example, as Dr. Harvey Perloff, dean, School of Architecture and Urban Planning, University of California, stated at the seminar:

> It is striking that it wasn't until OEO asked the Census Bureau to collect data on neighborhoods—communities, such as Watts and Harlem—that we really came to know how difficult the situation was in these various neighborhoods in terms of income and employment.

Also, the shocking fact was recently discovered that about 6 million Negroes were not counted during the 1960 census. Six million people, in effect, were considered nonexistent. Can alienation from our society be any more complete? These typical situations are deplorable and demand immediate attention.

With more and better data and indicators to trace social trends problems will be forced to the surface more quickly. Dr. S. M. Miller, program adviser in social development, Ford Foundation, made the observation that—

> I think one of the interesting things about poverty is that it took so long to discover it. There were pieces of discussions but the issue didn't emerge; economists weren't really centrally concerned about it until the sixties.

He might have added that it took the shocking revelations of Michael Harrington's "The Other America" to sensitize the Nation to realities that had prevailed for decades. We cannot afford such tunnel vision in the future. We should be able to deal with problems as they arise and act to prevent rather than react to repair.

The Council of Social Advisers with its congressional mandate would have the power to upgrade and coordinate present social accounting efforts. It would be in a position to advise the President on social issues including the social impact of economic decisions. In this manner it would serve as a complimentary and countervailing force to the Council of Economic Advisers.

More attention to social consequences of policymaking and priority setting would result. For example, while a tax increase or a Federal budgetary cutback might have the same economic impact, the social impact of each would be dramatically different. I believe matters such as this are not now receiving the fullest possible attention in the inner circles of Government.

The invasion of privacy issue came up repeatedly before the subcommittee. Undoubtedly there can be conflict between the need to gather more social data and the rights of an individual to privacy. This is an area where progress in information acquisition has to be accompanied by caution and circumspection.

Data collection on a large scale is not just in the offing but is underway and, therefore, invasion of privacy is already an issue. Because of its visibility, the Council of Social Advisers would be a good agency for the collection of such data. Its position of power would tend to expose any manipulation that might be underway. Bureaucratic secrecy and the tendency to use self-serving and self-fulfilling statistics would be minimized.

The Joint Committee on the Social Report, performing the traditional legislative oversight function, would serve as another check on the methods employed to acquire data and the purposes for which they are used.

Regardless of these built-in safeguards the area remains very sensitive and all precautions should be taken to guarantee that the nature of the social data required for the work of the proposed Council be of a generalized nature; individual as opposed to societywide behavior is of no utility in developing information indicative of social trends. Also, every effort must be taken to insure that methods of acquiring data are ethically and legally sound.

The role of Federal, State, and local governments—as well as the private sector—in relation to the collection and use of social data was another salient topic of discussion before the subcommittee. This legislation would encourage the acquisition, exchange, and use of social information by all governmental jurisdictions and interested private organizations.

The function of the Council to foster more relevant, timely, and accurate information was squarely addressed by those who testified. Dr. Robert P. Abelson, professor of psychology, Yale University, saw the Council of Social Advisers serving "as a lightning rod to focus national attention on problems of common concerns to disparate locales. A series of review and new studies of ghetto conditions, in particular, would be a matter of national urgency."

Dr. Howard E. Freeman, professor of social research, Florence Heller Graduate School for Advanced Studies in Social Welfare, Brandeis University, observed that—

> We have a very bizarre form of government from the standpoint of gathering statistics. We have a city, country, state, regional and Federal establishment, all of which make figures available. These figures differ greatly in their validity, reliability, and precision. It seems to me it is an important mandate of the Council of Social Advisors to coordinate and exert influence and pressure to permit a more integrated type of approach in terms of the various available data.

In both cases the Council is portrayed as playing a decisive role in stimulating and coordinating the acquisition of data, and upgrading its quality. Specifically it is a function of orchestration without domination.

Many changes in the bill have been proposed and some already adopted. I agree with the Senator from Minnesota that the case for passage already has been made before the Subcommittee on Government Research. What is left are possibly a few structural changes which can be made during further committee hearings, which I hope will soon be held. My statements in the public record compiled before the subcommittee reveal my concerns for modifications in the bill as it was originally introduced.

As I have stated, the invasion of privacy issue demands the consideration which I believe the Senator from Minnesota has given to it. I would heartily recommend that in the final report on the bill the intent of Congress in this matter be clearly and forcefully elaborated. In this way any unforeseen gaps in the legislation will be covered by the congressional report.

Staffing is also a crucial factor upon which the success of the Full Opportunity Act depends. Again, I would suggest including a section in the final report on the staffing of the joint committee. It should emphasize the need for a cadre of high-caliber professionals who could ably assist the members of the Committee to carry out their responsibilities. Such a staff is essential if a thorough assessment of the social report is to be made.

Also, I believe some guidelines on an agenda for the social report should be given in order to provide the proposed Council with a better starting point for preparing the report.

Finally, I want to say that this is a propitious time for the passage of the Full Opportunity Act. Because the setting of social goals and priorities is both difficult and complex, it is even more incumbent upon us to undertake such efforts on a more systematic basis. Mr. Whitney Young, executive director of the National Urban League, underscored the need for this legislation when he asserted that—

> Just as we once floundered in the area of economic policy for lack of hard factual information, so today we are floundering in the area of adequate social policy due to lack of hard factual information.

He continued by citing an event in mid-1967 that vividly demonstrated the desperate need for reliable social indicators, namely the sudden official discovery that there was human starvation in our country, a matter that will be the subject of considerable attention this session.

Young pointed out that—

> Irrefutable testimony to the suffering in Mississippi was introduced into the record of hearings before the Senate Subcommittee on Manpower, Employment and Poverty by doctors at work in Mississippi; and we were treated to the incredible sight of a parade of public officials who, shamefacedly, had to admit their ignorance of the situation. Nobody, it turned out, knew the extent or degree or geographical distribution of hunger and malnutrition in America.
>
> The Secretary of Agriculture, who runs the food programs, did not know. The Surgeon General of the United States did not know. The Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity did not know. The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare did not know.

Mr. President, America the wealthiest and most powerful Nation in the world cannot permit this type of situation to continue. We must get down to the root causes of our social problems. An active Council of Social Advisers will not only tend to prevent sudden shocking discoveries, those such as associated with widespread hunger and malnutrition, but will offer a better assessment of the social health of the Nation and will give us a fighting chance to provide full opportunity to all Americans.

United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 91st CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 115 WASHINGTON, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 22, 1969 No. 14

Senate

S. 508—INTRODUCTION OF BILL—A NATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Mr. HARRIS. I hope, Mr. President, that with the enactment of this legislation those questions can be answered by the newly created National Social Science Foundation.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the remarks of the junior Senator from Minnesota (Mr. MONDALE), who is a cosponsor of the bill concerning the National Social Science Foundation, be inserted at this point in the RECORD.

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

SENATOR WALTER F. MONDALE COSPONSORS NATIONAL SOCIAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION ACT

Mr. President, only months before his tragic death, Dr. Martin Luther King made the following observation about the historic human rights struggle he led:

"One reason some advances were made in the South during the past decade was the discovery by northern whites of the brutal facts of southern segregated life. It was the Negro who educated the nation by dramatizing the evils through nonviolent protest. The social scientist played little or no role in disclosing truth."

Just six months after Dr. King's assassination, in a rather remarkable address on "The Social Responsibilities of Business to Urban America," Mr. David Rockefeller made this statement:

"Direct liaison with academics and intellectuals could help business to identify looming social problems before they reach such proportions that they can be remedied only by expensive and often inefficient 'crash programs'. Advanced thinkers will not always tell us what we want to hear, and social prediction is a chancy art. But let's face an awkward truth: had the businessmen of 20 years ago heeded the voices of sociologists concerned with the lot of the Negro in America, much might have been done to forestall the racial tensions that currently torment the nation. Equally, had business listened more closely to conservationists and ecologists in decades past, we might not now find ourselves waging quite so desperate a battle against pollution."

Those two statements concerning the utility of social research knowledge in coping with the major social and environmental disorders of our time are clearly worlds apart. To some these statements undoubtedly represent extreme judgments; I frankly believe that they also represent the truth. For the fact is that the growing body of social science knowledge developed in recent years by sociologists, psychologists, political scientists, anthropologists, and members of all the other disciplines which comprise modern social science has been applied very unevenly and with mixed results to the process by which public attitudes and policies are formulated in America.

I rise this afternoon, Mr. President, to join in the sponsorship of the legislation which my distinguished colleague and friend, Senator Harris, has just introduced. I am very pleased to do so—principally because I believe its enactment would resolve the seeming paradox between the statements cited above in a most fruitful way.

As Senator Harris recalls, I joined with him in 1967 when his proposal to create a National Foundation for the Social Sciences was first brought to the attention of the Senate. I thought it was an excellent and creative suggestion at the time and today, mindful of the turbulent months through which we have just passed, I am convinced that the creation of such an institution is not only desirable but urgently necessary. I am delighted to once again lend my support to Senator Harris in his efforts to develop a functional, flexible institution designed to stimulate greater progress in all forms of social science research, scholarship and training.

There was a time when the social sciences were held by many to be graceful, humane disciplines eminently suited to cultivating the more noble instincts of man. Though useful in liberal educations, such disciplines were considered of minimal value in making the practical judgments required daily of Government policy-makers. More recently, especially in the years since 1965, members of both the Governmental and academic communities have indicated growing interest in developing a more mutually rewarding relationship. Statistics tell only a small portion of any story, of course, but they are particularly revealing in appraising the growing ties which link the social sciences and the Federal Government. One estimate suggests that in 1961 Federal funds for psychological and social research totalled $95 million while total expenditures for similar activities were set at $333 million in 1968.

Far more impressive than such tremendous increases in the Federal support of the social sciences is the flurry of recent activity aimed at stimulating more reliable social science research and in making use of that knowledge to improve Federal social policies. Senator Harris' introduction of S. 836 in the 90th Congress, the precursor of the bill introduced here today, was one such event which signalled a new age of creativity in the relationship of the social and behavioral sciences and the Federal Government. All who are curious about the present status of the Government—Social Science relationship or of the needs and promises of the social sciences, or of the significance of the work being done in these disciplines today, or of the type of social research which is urgently needed by policymakers, will find informative responses in the Hearings conducted by the Senate Subcommittee on Government Research, chaired by Senator Harris, in 1967. The hearing record on S. 836 is an unusually persuasive document; in my judgment, none who read it can fail to recognize the urgent need which exists for early Congressional approval of Senator Harris' proposal.

On the same day Senator Harris first proposed the National Foundation for the Social Sciences, I introduced legislation in the Senate designed to systematically utilize the findings of the social research generated by such a Foundation in the identification, understanding and resolution of our country's social disorders. That bill, the proposed Full Opportunity Act, would have created a Council of Social Advisers in the Executive Office of the President composed of and staffed by eminent social scientists and charged with the on-going responsibility for keeping the President, the Congress and the country apprised of the progress—or lack of it—being made in the attainment of full social opportunity for every American.

Preparation of the Annual Social Report required by the bill would have necessarily strengthened the bonds between the Federal Government and the social sciences, as would evaluation of the Report by the Joint Congressional Committee on the Social Report created by the bill. I have had Senator Harris' enthusiastic support for this proposal from the day it was introduced and I reintroduced the Full Opportunity Act in the 91st Congress because I sincerely believe that creation of a National Foundation for the Social Sciences will generate the harder, more reliable social data which a Council of Social Advisers could use to assist the President and the Congress in shaping enlightened, practical policies for combatting America's social shortcomings and for fulfilling her promise.

Subsequent to the introduction of these proposals early in 1967, a variety of as-yet unconnected impulses related to utilization of the social sciences in the policymaking process have appeared: among these are—

The work of the Social Indicators' Panel in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare culminating in the issuance of a prototype Social Report, as well as similar efforts now underway in a host of private research-oriented foundations;

Increased support of the social and behavioral sciences by the National Science Foundation; and

Intensified efforts by the Department of Defense to seek ways to apply its expertise in social technology to ameliorate problems in education, urban housing and manpower training.

Mr. President, I am greatly encouraged by all of these developments. Yet my encouragement does not diminish my concern about all of the desperate, life-demeaning conditions which Senator Harris and I have spoken about so frequently in the past several months. I believe now—as I believed on February 6, 1967, when both the National Foundation for the Social Sciences Act and the Full Opportunity Act were first introduced in the Senate—that America's hour for making good on her promises is late, but not over. I believe still that the steps Senator Harris has suggested for encouraging and supporting research, scholarship and training in the behavioral and social sciences are well designed and worthy of support. I believe, too, that the creation of a National Social Science Foundation will provide proper recognition for the social sciences at the Federal level of Government, enlarge the applied research effort to meet the burgeoning need for new knowledge on the full range of social and political processes, and promote the widest circulation of new research conclusions.

Similarly, I am today more convinced than ever that we stand very much in need of a formal Federal structure capable of ingesting all available and relevant social research data, examining it with arms-length detachment, and producing a cogent, circumspect, and critical report annually summarizing progress actually being made in providing minimal conditions for the fullest possible development of every individual in America. I will, therefore, continue my efforts to gain approval for the Full Opportunity Act and I am delighted to have Senator Harris' continuing support in this endeavor.

Mr. President, I enthusiastically endorse Senator Harris' proposal to create a National Foundation for the Social Sciences. I urge other members of the Senate who share my concern—and Senator Harris' concern—about present conditions, and my hope—and his—for the future, to join with Senator Harris, myself and other co-authors in the sponsorship of this urgently needed, unusually promising, carefully prepared, and innovative proposal.

WALTER F. MONDALE
MINNESOTA

COMMITTEES:
BANKING AND CURRENCY
AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY
AERONAUTICAL AND SPACE SCIENCES

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C.

January 30, 1969

Mrs. Ralph D. Ebbott
Congressional Action Chairman
League of Women Voters of Minnesota
409 Birchwood Avenue
White Bear Lake, Minnesota

Dear Mrs. Ebbott:

On January 15, 1969 I reintroduced the Full Opportunity Act in the United States Senate. As you will recall, the proposal declares full social opportunity a new national goal and provides specific mechanisms -- including a Presidential Council of Social Advisers, an annual Social Report and a Joint Congressional Committee -- designed to facilitate achievement of that goal.

The present version of the legislation is very similar to the Full Opportunity and Social Accounting Act originally introduced in 1967. Minor changes have been made and some are rather significant. Nonetheless, the major burden of the legislation remains unchanged. Unfortunately, the urgent need the bill is designed to meet remains largely unchanged since 1967.

Twenty-three members of the Senate, including most Democratic members as well as the ranking Republican member of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, have joined in the sponsorship of the bill, S. 5. Senate interest in the bill, coupled with other indications I have received, suggests that conditions may be favorable for early action on the bill this year. I hope that is the case, and I would certainly welcome any suggestions you may care to make toward that end.

I am enclosing, for your consideration, a copy of the statement I made at the introduction of S. 5, as well as a copy of the bill itself. In addition, I am enclosing a reprint of my remarks concerning the reintroduction of legislation establishing a National Foundation for the Social Sciences. I am hopeful that these materials may be of interest to you.

From time to time throughout the next several months developments on the Full Opportunity Act will be communicated to you and others who have indicated an interest in the legislation. If you know others who would like to receive such periodic mailings, please forward their names to me at Suite 443, Old Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C., 20510.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

Walter F. Mondale

Walter F. Mondale

Enclosures

LWV of Minnesota, State Organization Service, U. of Minn., Minneapolis, Minn. 55455
September 1967

SENATOR WALTER F. MONDALE - DFL

Washington Address:
443 Old Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20510

Home Address:
110 South 4th Street
Minneapolis, Minn.
Phone: 334-2041

Biography (from Minnesota's Legislative Manual, 1965-66)

Born at Ceylon, Minnesota, January 5, 1928. Attended Macalester College. Graduate of University of Minnesota with BA in political science (cum laude). Received LL.B. degree from U. of M. Law School in 1956. Served in Information and Education Division of US Army 1951-53. Special Assistant Attorney General for the state for two years. Practiced law in Minneapolis 1956-60. Appointed Attorney General on May 4, 1960; elected in November 1960. Re-elected in 1962. Appointed US Senator on December 30, 1964. Elected in 1966. Married to the former Joan Adams of St. Paul; three children: Theodore, Eleanor Jane, and William.

Current Committees: Committee on Agriculture and Forestry
Committee on ~~Aeronautical and Space Sciences~~ Labor & Public Welfare
Committee on Banking and Currency
Special Committee on Aging

On Senate roll call votes on key issues in 1966 he:

Voted against the proposed constitutional amendment to permit states to apportion one legislative house on factors other than population (Dirksen Amendment which was defeated 55 to 38)
Voted for appropriations for the rent supplement program
Voted for two-year authorization of the foreign economic aid program
Announced for minimum wage increase and extension of coverage.
Voted for the Food for Peace Act
Voted to invoke cloture on civil rights debate

Is author of the St. Croix Wild River Bill in the Senate.
Is the chief author of Full Opportunity and Social Accounting Act of 1967.
An act to 1. establish a Council of Social Advisers who would establish priorities and evaluate effectiveness of social programs
2. provide for an annual report by the President on the state of the nation's social health
3. establish a joint Congressional committee to review these activities

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 555 Wabasha, St. Paul, Minnesota 55101
October 1968

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

SENATOR WALTER F. MONDALE - DFL

Committees: Labor and Public Welfare, Agriculture, Banking and Currency

Congressional Activity - 1968

Key: X: for - 0: against - NV: not voting

Human Resources: Education, Employment, Housing, Civil Rights

1. Civil Rights to Bill - 1968:

Lead fight to get 2/3rds vote on cloture.

X Chief spokesman for the bill - preventing discrimination in housing.
Spoke against the HUD appropriation bill, conference report as it contained no funds for enforcement of the anti-discrimination legislation.
Testified before the Senate Appropriations Committee to restore more than $87 million for low cost housing, $8 million for enforcing open-housing legislation and other provisions.

2. Education and Employment:

0 Tabling $52 million for summer jobs for underprivilege youth (tabled 44-32) Supplemental Appropriation Bill, deleating.
0 Head Start funds.
X Supplemental Appropriation Bill, conference report, cutting $20 million from Head Start.
0 Transferring Head Start to Department of Health, Education and Welfare (passed 60-29).
Authored amendment to Manpower Development and Training; act on construction industry.

Water and Natural Resources:

0 Amendment to land and water conservation authorization funds to cut $300 million for 1972 and 1973 and to authorize funds for 3 years rather than 5. (Passed).
Scenic Rivers Bill authored inclusion of the St. Croix River.

Foreign Trade:

0 Textile import quota amendment to the excise tax bill (Passed 55-31).
0 Dairy import quota legislation; spoke against (Defeated 38-37).
May 1968 - Introduced Czechoslevakia Trade Act to give President authority to negotiate most favored nation status.
Introduced joint resolution indicating that the Senate favors East-West trade in peaceful goods. Pushed committee hearings. SJ Res. 169.
International Coffee Agreement - Not voting.
Repealing anti dumping code - spoke against.

Other Issues of Interest:

X Tax increase.
Fortas nomination - signed cloture petition. Voted for cloture (defeated 45-43)
0 Limits on individual payments under the agricultural bill, $25,000 limit.
0 $75,000 limit.

Bills Introduced and Other Special Activities:

Member of an informal bipartisan congressional group meeting with the poor people's campaign.
Named to a select committee on Nutrition and Human Needs.
Supports the idea of a Constitutional Amendment passed before 1972, to abolish the Electoral College with election of the President by Nationwide popular vote.
Authored: Resolution to establish a committee to explore the problems of hunger.
Bills to make housing programs more responsive to local needs.
Bill to strengthen neighborhoods by stronger code enforcement to prevent deterioration.
Bill to exclude from gross income certain allowances paid to state legislators.
Bill to establish a commission on Negro History and Culture.
Bill to establish a commission to study executive branch operation.
Bill to establish a commission on air traffic control, gun control bill.

Appointed to the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee filling the vacancy created by the death of Senator Kennedy. Gave up membership on the Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee.

February 6, 1969

The Honorable Walter Mondale
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator:

First, our good wishes to you for a productive and satisfying session.

I should like to repeat an invitation made earlier. Would it be possible for you to set aside forty-five minutes or an hour of your time to meet with members of the state Board of the League of Women Voters of Minnesota? Except for Tuesday, a meeting could be set up on very short notice, either at your Minneapolis office or our state League office. We know that your time in Minnesota is limited, so we will plan to suit your convenience.

Mrs. Ralph Ebbott, who heads our Congressional Action Committee, would appreciate receiving copies of the Congressional Record. They were sent to her by your office regularly in the past, but for some reason this service was discontinued. The Record was a great help to us. Thank you for your help and consideration.

Cordially,

Mrs. O. J. Janski,
President

Mrs. Ebbott's address: 409 Birchwood Avenue
White Bear Lake, Minnesota 55110



Majority in State Like Mondale

Copyright 1969 Minneapolis Star and Tribune Company

Sen. Walter Mondale (DFL) remains one of Minnesota's more personally popular elected officials, according to measout the remainder of Hubert Humphrey's term after Humphrey was elected vicepresident. In 1966, Mondale was elected to his first full term over Republican chal-



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Version 3
March 18, 2019

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CHARLES H. PERCY, ILL.

LEWIS G. ODOM, JR.,
STAFF DIRECTOR AND CHIEF COUNSEL

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

February 6, 1969

Mrs. Ralph Ebbott
409 Birchwood Avenue
White Bear Lake, Minnesota

Dear Mrs. Ebbott:

Thank you for your letter of the 30th. I am indeed sorry that you have not been receiving the Congressional Record.

I contacted the Congressional Record Clerk immediately upon receiving your letter inasmuch as your name is on my list of those to receive the Record daily.

Unfortunately, they did not have any reasonable explanation of why you were not receiving the Record, but I have been assured that it will be remedied immediately.

I'm sorry that you have been inconvenienced.

With warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Walter F. Mondale

Walter F. Mondale

409 Birchwood Ave.
White Bear Lake, Minn. 55110
January 30, 1969

The Honorable Walter Mondale
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Mondale;

More than two weeks ago I wrote to see if it would be possible for the League of Women Voters of Minnesota to continue to receive the Congressional Record through your office, with the issues mailed to:

Mrs. Ralph Ebbott
409 Birchwood Ave.
White Bear Lake, Minn. 55110

If this cannot be arranged, would you please let me know so we can try to make other arrangements.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ralph Ebbott
Congressional Action
Chairman, League of Women Voters

MONDALE

Bills Introduced & Other Special Activities:

Member of an informal bipartisan congressional group meeting with the poor people's campaign.
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Bill to exclude from gross income certain allowances paid to state legislators.
Bill to establish a commission to Negro History & Culture.
Bill to establish a commission to study executive branch operation.
Bill to establish a commission on air traffic control, gun control bill.

Appointed to the Senate Labor & Public Welfare Committee filling the vacancy created by the death of Senator Kennedy. Gave up membership on the Aeronautical & Space Sciences Committee.

****

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD SENATOR EUGENE J. MC CARTHY - DFL

Committees: Finance
Foreign Relations

Congressional Activity - 1968

NV 1. Civil Rights Bill - 1968 (Announced for)

X 2. Dairy Product Quota legislation (defeated 37-38)

X 3. Fortas nomination, vote on cloture (defeated 45-43)

Bills Introduced & other special activities:

Involved in other areas of public service.

****

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD SENATOR WALTER F. MONDALE - DFL

Committees: Labor & Public Welfare, Agriculture, Banking & Currency

Congressional Activity - 1968

Key: X: for O: against NV: not voting

Human Resources: Education, Employment, Housing, Civil Rights

1. Civil Rights to Bill - 1968:

Lead fight to get 2/3rds vote on cloture.

X Chief spokesman for the bill - preventing discrimination in housing. Spoke against the HUD appropriation bill, conference report as it contained no funds for enforcement of the anti-discrimination legislation. Testified before the Senate Appropriations Committee to restore more than $87 million for low cost housing, $8 million for enforcing open-housing legislation & other provisions.

2. Education & Employment:

O Tabling $52 million for summer jobs for underprivilege youth (tabled 44-32)
Supplemental Appropriation Bill, deleating.

O Head Start funds.

X Supplemental Appropriation Bill, conference report, cutting $20 million from Head Start.

O Transferring Head Start to Dept. of Health, Education & Welfare (passed 60-29)

Authored amendment to Manpower Development & training; act on construction industry.

Water & Natural Resources:

O Amendment to land & water conservation authorization funds to cut $300 million for 1972 & 1973 & to authorize funds for 3 years rather than 5. (passed).
Scenic Rivers Bill authored inclusion of the St. Croix River.

Foreign Trade:

O Textile import quota amendment to the excise tax bill (Passed 55-31).

O Dairy import quota legislation: spoke against (Defeated 38-37).
May 1968 - Introduced Czechoslavakia Trade Act to give President authority to negotiate most favored nation status.
Introduced joint resolution indicating that the Senate favors East-West trade in peaceful goods. Pushed committee hearings. SJ Res. 189.
International Coffee Agreement - Not voting.
Repealing anti dumping code - spoke against.

Other Issues of Interest:

X Tax increase.
Fortas nomination - signed cloture petition. Voted for cloture (defeated 45-45)

O Limits on individual payments under the agricultural bill, $25,000 limit.

O $75,000 limit.

409 Birchwood Ave
White Bear Lake, Minn.
55110
January 14, 1969

Honorable Walter Mondale
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Mondale;

During this past year, you have been kind enough to have a copy of the Congressional Record made available to the League of Women Voters of Minnesota. This issue has come to my home and has been of great value in my work and to the League!

On behalf of the League, I hope we may continue to receive the Congressional Record during the 91st Congress. I have received no issues yet and since last Monday, January 6th is of great interest to us for its debate on the electoral college, I would appreciate it if the issues could start from the begining of this session.

Thank you for checking on this. The issues should be sent to: Mrs. Ralph Ebbott
409 Birchwood Ave.,
White Bear Lake, Minnesota 55110

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ralph Ebbott
Congressional Action
Chairman

Mondale Asks Restoration of Housing Cuts

By Minneapolis Tribune
Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Restoration of more than $87 million in cuts from low-cost housing appropriations was urgently sought Tuesday by Sen. Walter F. Mondale.



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Version 3
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Latin America is going thru a time of extreme uncertainty because of the increasing tendency among the industrialized countries where our neighbors sell their exports to close doors against those exports. This includes the U.S., where the tendency is strong.

Latin America in very recent weeks has been shocked thruout by the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia.

For years, our country has been in competition with Russian ideology and with a two-pronged communist penetration attempt in Latin America. Latin American governments were already alert to Castro's overt subversion out of Cuba. But many Latin Americans have tended to distinguish sharply between Castro and an image of Russia as an essentially peace-loving nation basically interested only in trade expansion among smaller nations.

OPPORTUNITY

The rape of Czechoslovakia rudely jolted many Latin Americans. Never in recent decades has the United States had a better opportunity to consolidate its political, defense and economic relations in the New World.

Then along came a Know-Nothing House of Representatives to slaughter the aid program that our entire government—including the House—has spent years building up as a symbol of friendship and good intentions in the hemisphere.

A great nation cannot behave this capriciously to its allies and not suffer for it.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I wish to commend the committee for three recommendations in the foreign aid bill now pending before the Senate.

The first is the restoration of funds for the Alliance for Progress.

The second is the restoration of funds for the development loans.

The third is the restoration of funds for travel under the Partners of the Alliance program.

Mr. President, 7 years ago we joined with the Latin American States in an Alliance for Progress to help defeat hunger, ignorance, and disease. We formed this Alliance to build dignity, hope, and freedom. The goals set at Punta del Este were ambitious. But the gains have been significant.

In the past 4 years, average per capita growth rates in Latin America have averaged 2.2 percent per year, a level significantly above the 1-percent average of the first 2 years of the Alliance. Gross domestic investment in Latin America has been over $100 billion in the past 7 years, with Latin Americans putting up nearly 90 percent of this themselves. Inflation also is being brought under control.

The deep slashes in the Alliance for Progress appropriation made by the House represented a turn backward, a retreat to the old isolationist ideas.

The argument for continuance of the Alliance can be made in moral terms—for certainly our responsibilities to aid other countries is a moral one.

But there is a political dimension as well. More than a dozen major presidential and legislative elections will be held in Latin America between now and 1970. The question that most of them will pose is how to meet the pressing economic and social demands made by the people of Latin America. Abandonment of Latin America at this point would give further fuel to those working toward a revolution of repression rather than one of peaceful economic and social change.

The action of the committee with respect to development loans also speaks to the continuing need for peaceful economic and social change. Development loans are the primary instrument of development to such important countries as Turkey, India, Pakistan, and Indonesia. They finance the basic implements of economic development—fertilizer, farm implements, industrial machinery, pharmaceuticals, textbooks, laboratory equipment, and other critical materials.

Economic development loans are predicated upon hard-nosed self-help measures which must be undertaken by recipient countries prior to approval. They are not giveaways. Because of the requirement that, except by specific waiver, development loan recipients must buy goods and services in the United States from funds appropriated under the Foreign Assistance Act, economic development loans increase income here. Further, the associations and friendships built up help assure continuing access to the future markets of the development world. Such loans also help us influence leaders of the developing countries so that they can prevent political unrest by meeting the economic problem that cause discontent.

The level authorized for development loans will permit a limited but significant level of development momentum in key countries to be maintained. In a time of national crisis, we can ill afford to create other trouble spots by failing to support the committee's recommendation on Development Loans.

I believe the same generalization applies to the third committee recommendation I wish to discuss: the restoration of travel funds under the Partners of the Alliance program. Travel funds permit Partner volunteers to travel to countries in need of technical assistance in developing self-sustaining programs in education, health, and other areas. I recently received a letter from one of the participants in the program which explains the need for travel funds. I ask unanimous consent to the inclusion in the RECORD at this point excerpts from a letter I received from Stanley N. Graven, M.D., of the University of Wisconsin.

I commend the committee for its actions.

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

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN,
DEPARTMENT OF PEDIATRICS,
Madison, Wis., September 23, 1968.

Hon. WALTER MONDALE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MONDALE: Wisconsin is aligned with Nicaragua under the Partners of the Alliance Program. We have during the past six months made significant strides towards the development of a number of projects in the areas of medicine, education and community development in Nicaragua. While the project and the expense of the personnel involved in the project are being funded through private sources within the State of Wisconsin, we have relied upon travel funds from the Partners of the Alliance Office in Washington. The availability of limited travel funds under the Alliance for Progress Program has been essential to the development of our program.

We have just been informed that the Line Item for Travel under the Partners of the Alliance Program was stricken by the United States House of Representatives. My purpose in contacting you is in the hope that you might consider restoring at least a portion of the travel budget when the measure comes up for consideration in the United States Senate. We fully recognize the problems inherent in the present budget squeeze. While we anticipated a serious curtailment in the availability of travel funds to coordinate the projects under the Partners of the Alliance, we did not anticipate their total disappearance. Since our project is still in the early development phase, the non-availability of travel funds will certainly delay and could curtail the development of a number of much needed projects in Nicaragua.

Sincerely,

STANLEY N. GRAVEN, M.D.,
Director, Neonatal Center, Department of Pediatrics, University of Wisconsin.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on passage.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill having been read the third time, the question is, "Shall it pass?"

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. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS], are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Alaska [Mr. BARTLETT], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BREWSTER], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. HARTKE], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. HOLLINGS], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUYE], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. LONG], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. MCCLELLAN], the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MCGOVERN], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. MONTOYA], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], the Senator from Maine [Mr. MUSKIE], the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING] and the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] would each vote "nay."

I also announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Alaska [Mr. BARTLETT] would vote "yea."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Vermont [Mr. AIKEN], the

Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BAKER], the Senator from Utah [Mr. BENNETT], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER], the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. COTTON], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. HATFIELD], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA], the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS], the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY], the Senator from Maine [Mrs. SMITH], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON] is detained on official business.

If present and voting, the Senator from Vermont [Mr. AIKEN], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. HATFIELD], the Senator from Maine [Mrs. SMITH], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] would each vote "yea."

I further announce, if present and voting, the Senator from Utah [Mr. BENNETT] would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] is paired with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND]. If present and voting, the Senator from Kentucky would vote "yea" and the Senator from South Carolina would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] is paired with the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN]. If present and voting, the Senator from Illinois would vote "yea," and the Senator from Arizona would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK] is paired with the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY]. If present and voting, the Senator from Colorado would vote "yea," and the Senator from California would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] is paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA]. If present and voting, the Senator from New York would vote "yea," and the Senator from Nebraska would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 44, nays 13, as follows:

[No. 319 Leg.]

YEAS—44

Allott	Holland	Pastore
Anderson	Jackson	Pearson
Boggs	Kennedy	Pell
Brooke	Kuchel	Percy
Cannon	Lausche	Prouty
Case	Magnuson	Proxmire
Dodd	Mansfield	Randolph
Fong	McGee	Scott
Goodell	McIntyre	Sparkman
Gore	Metcalf	Spong
Griffin	Miller	Symington
Harris	Mondale	Williams, N.J.
Hart	Morton	Yarborough
Hickenlooper	Moss	Young, Ohio
Hill	Mundt	

NAYS—13

Burdick	Hansen	Talmadge
Byrd, Va.	Jordan, N.C.	Williams, Del.
Byrd, W. Va.	Jordan, Idaho	Young, N. Dak.
Curtis	Russell	
Ervin	Stennis	

NOT VOTING—43

Aiken	Bayh	Brewster
Baker	Bennett	Carlson
Bartlett	Bible	Church
Clark	Hayden	Morse
Cooper	Hollings	Murphy
Cotton	Hruska	Muskie
Dirksen	Inouye	Nelson
Dominick	Javits	Ribicoff
Eastland	Long, Mo.	Smathers
Ellender	Long, La.	Smith
Fannin	McCarthy	Thurmond
Fulbright	McClellan	Tower
Gruening	McGovern	Tydings
Hartke	Monroney	
Hatfield	Montoya	

So the bill (H.R. 19908) was passed.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed.

Mr. ALLOTT. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I move that the Senate insist upon its amendments, request a conference with the House of Representatives and that the Chair be authorized to appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Acting President pro tempore appointed Mr. PASTORE, Mr. HOLLAND, Mr. MCGEE, Mr. PROXMIRE, Mr. YARBOROUGH, Mr. ALLOTT, Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota, and Mr. MUNDT conferees on the part of the Senate.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the swift, yet very thorough manner in which the Senate disposed of this extremely important and complex funding measure again speaks abundantly for the remarkable skill and ability of the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE]. As the chairman of this important Appropriations Subcommittee, Senator PASTORE has once again displayed his usual high standard of excellence in guiding the foreign aid appropriations measure to overwhelming acceptance by the Senate.

Joining Senator PASTORE in such a clear and concise presentation of this bill was the distinguished Senator from Colorado [Mr. ALLOTT]. He, too, deserves our commendation for the fine manner in which he, as the ranking minority member of the subcommittee, added to the discussion, and to our understanding.

The Senate has once again exhibited splendid cooperation, giving full yet swift consideration to an important measure. I wish to commend each Senator for his participation and cooperation.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate go into executive session to consider the nominations of UNESCO Conference delegates.

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

UNESCO CONFERENCE DELEGATES

The bill clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations of UNESCO Conference delegates.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the nominations be considered en bloc.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, reserving the right to object—while Senators are in the Chamber——

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senate will be in order.

Is the Senator going to inquire about the program?

Mr. KUCHEL. May I ask, under reservation of objection, whether or not the distinguished majority leader has any further chores in mind which would require answering a rollcall?

Mr. MANSFIELD. My best guess is that there will not be a rollcall, but I should like a leeway of 1 percent out of 100.

Mr. KUCHEL. If there is no objection to that, I will withdraw my objection.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the request of the Senator from Montana is agreed to.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, what are we voting on?

Mr. MANSFIELD. The UNESCO delegation.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. I desire to be reported as voting "nay" on Executive Calendar No. 1171, message No. 320, the nomination of James H. McCrocklin, of Texas. I desire to be recorded as voting "nay."

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the Senator is so recorded.

With that vote, in accordance with the request of the Senator from Montana, the nominations of all the UNESCO Conference delegates are confirmed.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore subsequently stated: Because an objection was made with respect to the nominations of the UNESCO Conference delegates, the Chair feels that the matter should be put to a vote.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Yes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the nominations of UNESCO Conference delegates. [Putting the question.]

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I vote "nay" on the nomination of James H. McCrocklin. I vote "yea" on the other nine of that delegation.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The nominations are confirmed en bloc.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be immediately notified of the confirmation of these nominations.

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

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate resume the consideration of legislative business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate resumed the consideration of legislative business.

CENSUS QUESTIONS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 1599, S. 4062.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be stated by title.

The BILL CLERK. A bill (S. 4062) to amend title 13, United States Code, relating to census questions.

Fortas - Cloture

I am thinking also of a sentence in the national platform of my party which I helped to shape. It is very simple. It reads:

We must re-establish the principle that men are accountable for what they do, that criminals are responsible for their crimes.

We have had this abracadabra for 8 years, almost 9 years. In the case which was decided in June, and now in 24 others, the defendants will ask for a review. That is true also in the case of this man Speck, who was found guilty of murdering eight student nurses.

There was no question about the testimony. When defendants are tried and found guilty under the laws of my State and when a jury recommends the death penalty and when the high court of my State unanimously affirms the conviction and the penalty, I accept it. Abraham Lincoln accepted the Dred Scott decision, but he did not agree. It had to be undone.

This is one of the most challenging issues of the moment. We can imagine the dilemma it presents. On some occasions, I would go along with the nomination. Under these circumstances, however, I can scarcely do other than vote to impose cloture unless and until this matter has had far better scrutiny than I have been able to devote to it.

I would not like to see the Senate gag itself under those circumstances, because there are other things here that need exploration. That requires time.

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

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum with the understanding that we suspend further proceedings on the quorum call at 1 o'clock.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

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

Pursuant to rule XXII, the hour of 1 o'clock having arrived, the Chair lays before the Senate the pending motion, which will be stated by the clerk.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

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 pending motion to proceed to the consideration of Abe Fortas, of Tennessee, to be Chief Justice of the United States.

PHILIP A. HART.
MIKE MANSFIELD.
CLAIBORNE PELL.
BIRCH BAYH.
MARK O. HATFIELD.
JOSEPH M. MONTOYA.
GALE W. MCGEE.
FRANK E. MOSS.
QUENTIN BURDICK.
CHAS. GOODELL.
EDWARD W. BROOKE.
JENNINGS RANDOLPH.
WALTER F. MONDALE.
JACOB K. JAVITS.
CHARLES H. PERCY.
JOSEPH D. TYDINGS.
WARREN G. MAGNUSON.
STEPHEN M. YOUNG.
LEE METCALF.
HARRISON WILLIAMS.
THOMAS H. KUCHEL.
WILLIAM PROXMIRE.
CLIFFORD P. CASE.
VANCE HARTKE.
HUGH SCOTT.
CLINTON P. ANDERSON.

CALL OF THE ROLL

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Pursuant to rule XXII, the Chair now directs the clerk to call the roll to ascertain the presence of a quorum.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

[No. 299 Ex.]

Allott	Hansen	Montoya
Anderson	Harris	Moss
Baker	Hart	Mundt
Bayh	Hartke	Murphy
Bennett	Hatfield	Muskie
Boggs	Hayden	Nelson
Brewster	Hickenlooper	Pastore
Brooke	Hill	Pearson
Burdick	Holland	Pell
Byrd, Va.	Hollings	Percy
Byrd, W. Va.	Hruska	Prouty
Cannon	Inouye	Proxmire
Carlson	Jackson	Randolph
Case	Javits	Ribicoff
Clark	Jordan, N.C.	Russell
Cooper	Jordan, Idaho	Scott
Cotton	Kennedy	Sparkman
Curtis	Kuchel	Spong
Dirksen	Lausche	Stennis
Dodd	Long, La.	Symington
Dominick	Magnuson	Talmadge
Eastland	Mansfield	Thurmond
Ervin	McCarthy	Tower
Fannin	McClellan	Tydings
Fong	McGee	Williams, N.J.
Fulbright	McIntyre	Williams, Del.
Goodell	Metcalf	Yarborough
Gore	Miller	Young, N. Dak.
Griffin	Mondale	Young, Ohio
Gruening	Monroney	

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER] is absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Alaska [Mr. BARTLETT], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. LONG], the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MCGOVERN], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] are necessarily absent.

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Vermont [Mr. AIKEN], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MORTON], and the Senator from Maine [Mrs. SMITH] are necessarily absent.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. A quorum is present.

VOTE

The question is, Is it the sense of the Senate that the debate on the pending motion shall be brought to a close? The yeas and nays are required under the rule, and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GRUENING (when his name was called). On this vote I have a pair with the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] and the senior Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH]. If they were present and voting, they would vote "yea." If I were permitted to vote, I would vote "nay." Therefore, I withhold my vote.

The assistant legislative clerk concluded the call of the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Louisiana, [Mr. ELLENDER] is absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Alaska [Mr. BARTLETT], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. LONG], the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MCGOVERN], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER] and the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE] would each vote "nay."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Vermont [Mr. AIKEN], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MORTON], and the Senator from Maine [Mrs. SMITH] are necessarily absent.

If present and voting, the Senator from Vermont [Mr. AIKEN] and the Senator from Maine [Mrs. SMITH] would each vote "nay."

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 45, nays 43, as follows:

[No. 300 Ex.]

YEAS—45

Anderson	Hayden	Moss
Bayh	Inouye	Muskie
Brewster	Jackson	Nelson
Brooke	Javits	Pastore
Burdick	Kennedy	Pell
Case	Kuchel	Percy
Clark	Magnuson	Proxmire
Cooper	Mansfield	Randolph
Dominick	McCarthy	Ribicoff
Goodell	McGee	Scott
Gore	McIntyre	Symington
Harris	Metcalf	Tydings
Hart	Mondale	Williams, N.J.
Hartke	Monroney	Yarborough
Hatfield	Montoya	Young, Ohio

NAYS—43

Allott	Fong	Mundt
Baker	Fulbright	Murphy
Bennett	Griffin	Pearson
Boggs	Hansen	Prouty
Byrd, Va.	Hickenlooper	Russell
Byrd, W. Va.	Hill	Sparkman
Cannon	Holland	Spong
Carlson	Hollings	Stennis
Cotton	Hruska	Talmadge
Curtis	Jordan, N.C.	Thurmond
Dirksen	Jordan, Idaho	Tower
Dodd	Lausche	Williams, Del.
Eastland	Long, La.	Young, N. Dak.
Ervin	McClellan	
Fannin	Miller	

PRESENT AND GIVING A LIVE PAIR, AS PREVIOUSLY RECORDED—1

Gruening, against.

NOT VOTING—11

Aiken	Ellender	Morton
Bartlett	Long, Mo.	Smathers
Bible	McGovern	Smith
Church	Morse	

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Two-thirds of the Senators present and voting not having voted in the affirmative, the motion is rejected.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I have voted to terminate debate on this nomination because it has been adequately discussed and the business of the Senate should not be further delayed.

Though I do not know Mr. Fortas personally, he is highly respected by those who know him—both Republicans and Democrats.

Nevertheless, there is a sharp division in the Congress and the country on the

an unjustified and unnecessary diversion of the Senate's attention and energy from the only real question of concern: Is Mr. Justice Fortas qualified to be Chief Justice of the United States? Weighing the evidence considered by the Judiciary Committee and the arguments presented here on the floor, I believe that the answer to that question is emphatically "Yes." But regardless of the Senate's opinion on the final issue of confirmation, surely we should be permitted to reach that issue and to vote upon it. Let us then, in good conscience and on full reflection, invoke the rules we have made for ourselves. Let us conclude this procedural discussion and move on to the weighty matter that should properly be before us. I urge the Senate to support the cloture proposal.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I yield such time as remains, or as much thereof as he desires, to the Senator from Tennessee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee is recognized. The proponents have 5 minutes remaining.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, the responsibility of the Senate, under the advice and consent clause of the Constitution, is at test. The President of the United States has exercised his duty and responsibility by submission to the Senate of a nominee to be Chief Justice. Shall the Senate consider that nomination? That is the question.

Is not a nomination by the President of a Chief Justice of the United States a matter of sufficient moment to justify consideration by the Senate? I think it is. But what if the Senate determines it is not? What are the consequences of a decision by the Senate to decline to consider a nomination—not a decision to reject or withhold its consent, but a decision to refuse to consider? Would not there be an invitation for the President of the United States, after Congress adjourns without taking action, without the Senate exercising its responsibility to advise and consent to a nomination to such a high office, to proceed to fill the vacancy?

Senators might find that offensive. Indeed, the Senate has passed a resolution expressing the sense of the Senate that the President not engage in the practice of making recess appointments. But that is merely a sense of the Senate resolution that we passed. The Constitution of the United States places responsibility upon the President and upon the Senate.

Mr. President, I do not suggest that the President proceed to fill a vacancy after Congress adjourns, in the event the Senate refuses to consider this nomination. But if he decides to do so, he could certainly cite the Constitution as authority. Moreover, he can cite actions of other Presidents as precedents.

I plead here with the Senate to give consideration to this nomination, and to vote on it upon the basis of merit.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired. Who yields time?

Mr. HART. Has the time of those in opposition been exhausted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The opponents of the motion have 14 minutes remaining.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I find myself in a strange dilemma. It had been my intention to vote for cloture, assuming, of course, that there had been ample debate, even on the procedural motion that is before us.

There has been ample reason for that course. The charge of cronyism seems to have vanished. The alleged violation of the doctrine of the separation of powers is not too persuasive to me. The seminar fee from American University was at most an indiscretion. The factual question of pornography was, I thought, actually not an issue, when I saw the analysis of the case before the Court. The principal question was whether the ordinances and statutes of the State were sufficiently precise and specific and unambiguous, and could survive the test of constitutionality. It did not involve the character of the films.

But now a different problem has arisen for me. Strangely enough, it did not arise during the hearings. It deserves attention. It springs from the Witherspoon case, decided by the Supreme Court in June of 1968. It has been in the courts for 9 years. Its substance can be simply stated:

Witherspoon killed a young Chicago policeman in 1959. A jury found him guilty beyond all reasonable doubt, and the death penalty was imposed. He was tried under an Illinois statute which reads:

> In trials for murder, it shall be a cause for challenge of any juror who shall, on being examined state that he has conscientious scruples against capital punishment or that he is opposed to the same.

Those holding such views were excused from jury service. At long last the case went to the Supreme Court. The opinion was written by Justice Stewart. A disenting opinion by Justice Black was joined in by Justices Harlan and White, with an individual dissent by Justice White and a separate opinion by Justice Douglas. The sentence of death was reversed. The majority opinion referred to a jury so selected under Illinois law as a "hanging jury."

The opinion also stated that—

> The State of Illinois had "stacked the deck against the petitioner."

Meaning the defendant. It also stated that—

> No defendant can constitutionally be put to death at the hands of a tribunal so selected.

The Court was silent on the issue of guilt of the accused, so the opinion went mainly to the penalty.

In the dissenting opinion written by Justice Black and concurred in by Justices Harlan and White, these Justices point out that the case had gone to the Supreme Court of Illinois three times. They further point out that the opinion of the Illinois Supreme Court was written by Justice Walter Schaefer, a judge nationally recognized as a protector of the constitutional rights of defendants charged with crime.

It pointed out also that the petitioner was represented by very able, competent counsel. It also refers to the majority opinion as semantic camouflage. That is pretty strong language.

Since the Court held that the sentence of death cannot be carried out, the question arises as to what will be done with the convicted defendant. This in itself is serious business.

It becomes more serious—a lot more serious—when one is reliably advised—and I am—that 24 persons are now in Illinois prisons, found guilty of murder and sentenced to death. I am further advised that these convicted murderers may each have their cases reviewed in light of the Court's holding in the Witherspoon case.

Justice Fortas participated in the majority decision. So did other Justices. What protest I make must in fairness be directed at the other five Justices who share that majority opinion. But they are not before us and as to them the protest would appear moot. But it leaves me in a rather bewildering position in order to make some kind of a protest.

If as a result of the Court's decision in the Witherspoon case the 24 convicted murderers are to have their sentences reviewed or set aside, what do I say to the people of Illinois and to its legislature and to the members of the Illinois Supreme Court who unanimously affirmed the death sentence recommended by the jury in the lower court? What do I say when they allege that I had this one chance to protest and failed to do so?

Mr. President, parenthetically with respect to the time involved, probably not more than 25 hours have been devoted to this debate. And virtually all of it has been directed to the qualifications of the nominee. However, now an even more aggravated situation arises.

A man named Speck has been found guilty and sentenced to death for the murder of eight student nurses. He was tried in Peoria, Ill. He was convicted partly on circumstantial and fingerprint evidence, and on the testimony of one Filipino nurse who witnessed the heinous crime. That witness has now returned to her home in the Philippines and cannot be compelled to return here as a witness in any new trial.

How could there be a new trial? How could the death penalty invoked by the jury be reduced? Does this hardened criminal either go free or get a reduced sentence under the decision in the Witherspoon case? And who shall say what is going to happen to this multiple murderer in that light. These questions must be answered.

If such should be the outcome, the people of Illinois would be ready to rebel. Already a motion has been filed in court in the Speck case to secure the release of this multiple murderer and the Witherspoon case has been cited in the defendant's brief.

The nominee, whose name is presently before this Senate, participated in and concurred in the opinion in the Witherspoon case. I need not be reminded that other Justices concurred. My attitude toward them would be the same as toward the nominee before us. But the names of those other Justices are not before us.

Several times the opinions used the expression "the conscience of the community." I, too, am thinking of the "conscience of the community" where the crimes were committed and the conscience of the larger community of the State of Illinois.

much less for the rest of the world community. Certainly the work of the Commission is more than to preside over the celebration of a basically hollow festival.

Clearly much needs to be done. And what remains to be done is so vital that the various functions of the President's Commission must be continued. Indeed, they should be expanded if events in Nigeria-Biafra and Czechoslovakia have taught us anything about the ease with which human beings revert to uncivilized treatment of their fellows.

Mr. President, I urge the President and the Commission to consider various means for continuing the work of the Commission. We have had a number of international conferences during this International Year for Human Rights. All have unanimously called for continued efforts in the field of human rights.

The United States must reassert its leadership in this single, most important area. The work of the Commission must be continued and intensified. Unless the area of basic human rights for all men is made secure, nothing else, including a truly inviolable national sovereignty for all nations, will ever be secure.

DEATH OF FORMER SENATOR WILLIAM H. McMASTER

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, it is my sad duty to inform the Senate of the death of Hon. William H. McMaster, former Governor of South Dakota and U.S. Senator from 1925 to 1931, at the age of 91, in Dixon, Ill.

Born in Sioux City, Iowa, Senator McMaster moved to Yankton, S. Dak., in 1901, where he entered the banking business. He served in the State house of representatives in 1911 and 1912 and in the State senate from 1913 to 1916. He was elected Lieutenant Governor of South Dakota in 1917 and Governor in 1921.

The people of South Dakota honored him with every office he sought, and William H. McMaster in turn always worked for the best interests of "his people."

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article published in the Washington Evening Star of September 17 and an article published in the Washington Post of September 18, relating to the death of former Senator McMaster.

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

[From the Washington Evening Star, Sept. 17, 1968]

W. H. McMASTER, FORMER SENATOR FOR SOUTH DAKOTA

William H. McMaster, 91, a retired banker who served in offices ranging form state representative to U.S. senator from South Dakota, died Sunday at his home in Dixon, Ill.

A native of Iowa and a 1899 graduate of Beloit College in Wisconsin, he moved to Yankton County, S.D., in 1901 and began his banking career.

Mr. McMaster, a Republican, held elective offices beginning as a state representative in 1911 until 1931 when he was defeated for re-election to the U.S. Senate.

He was also a state senator, lieutenant governor and governor before election to the Senate in 1924.

He moved to Dixon in 1933 and continued his banking career, retiring several years ago as president and board chairman of the Dixon National Bank.

Services were to be today in Dixon.

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 18, 1968]

SOUTH DAKOTA EX-GOVERNOR AND SENATOR

DIXON, Ill., September 17.—William H. McMaster, former Governor of South Dakota and U.S. Senator from that State, died yesterday in his home in Dixon at the age of 91.

Mr. McMaster, a Republican, was Governor of South Dakota for two terms from 1920 to 1924. He was Senator from South Dakota from 1926 until 1932. Previously he had been a banker in South Dakota.

From 1933 until his retirement several years ago, Mr. McMaster was president and board chairman of the Dixon National Bank.

MONDALE ASKS YOUTH FOR CRITICISM WITH AFFECTION

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, the junior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MONDALE] helped to welcome new students to the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis earlier this week. I believe his remarks are worth noting.

Senator MONDALE described a Nation of opportunity and despair, of power and impotence, of free criticism and irrational rage, of human rights and growing racism, of dedication to peace and immense waste in war, of compassion frustrated by rigidity and persecution.

He remarked on the growing gap between what we want and what we are willing to do, and our disappointing tendency to seek easy excuses for our failures.

Then Senator MONDALE spoke of the hope so many of us have that the bright, committed young people of today will help us to do better. Simply living a decent and humane life is not enough, he told them; achieving political power is essential.

Senator MONDALE also spoke directly to the questions of protest and violence that are before us so much today. He said:

The right to demonstrate, protest, picket, and in other peaceful ways to dramatize one's viewpoint—including peaceful civil disobedience if one is willing to pay the price imposed by law—ths right must be an accepted and protected part of American life. And those few law enforcement officers who disagree must just learn to live with this indispensable right of a free people. . . .

But there is another tactic I hope you will reject; that is, the effort to impose opinion by force. Some will tell you that violence will more quickly and effectively achieve your goals. They tell us that "democracy is in the streets"; meaning that issues must be settled by violent conflict. They would substitute the law of force for the force of law.

Those who resort to such tactics will not only lose personally but will greatly injure their cause. Undoubtedly the growing strength of the right-wing repressive movement in this country is partly attributable to the violence we have seen.

For I do not believe that a society can be both free and violent. A free society must maintain itself in love and hope, not hate and fear.

Mr. President, Senator MONDALE's appropriate remarks deserve the attention of all Senators. I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the RECORD.

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

REMARKS OF SENATOR WALTER F. MONDALE AT THE WELCOME WEEK CONVOCATION, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, MINN., SEPTEMBER 16, 1968

I am delighted to participate in Welcome Week, particularly since your theme is "When no one is aware." By now you know that you are welcome; let us pray that you are also aware.

We always begin speeches like this one by saying that youth has never been more needed; the only difference is that right now it is undeniably true. If there was ever a generation of American adults who should feel the need for the help of the young, it is ours.

What a strange, confused, disoriented, and in some ways embittered nation this is! Indeed, we may be on the verge of being two Nations, as one official report puts it: one white, one black; separate and unequal.

For most of us—for almost all of us in this auditorium this morning—this is a Nation of unprecedented wealth, employment, and opportunity. But for millions of other Americans this is another nation—impoverished, under and unemployed, poorly housed, ill and undernourished, and, perhaps worst of all crippled by frustration, despair, and rage.

We have produced a nation of unparalleled power, but we have proved our impotence in our cities and in Vietnam.

We have produced a nation whose devotion to liberty and justice and free criticism is both fundamental and historic, and yet we recently saw, as one analyst put it, "a sudden convulsion of irrational rage directed by some of us against others of us, a devastating tantrum of armed and uniformed adults against a youthful, helpless, and largely innocent rabble."

Our nation, proud of its commitment to human rights, reads public opinion polls which show one of our top racists building such a following for President that he could conceivably become a fundamental force in setting the future direction of this country.

While we declare our commitment to peace, more than 27,000 Americans have died in Vietnam and the cost of the war—now near $30 billion annually—sharply diminishes our capacity to deal with our human problems here and abroad.

I believe we have tried for peace and sincerely want peace. But I do not believe we have been willing to take as great a risk to achieve a settlement as we once took to win the war through escalation.

We are a nation proud of our institutions—churches, schools, governments, and business, labor, and other cooperative organizations. But for all they have done, our institutions have still too often become, as one of our chief social critics puts it, an "enormous potential source of arbitrary impersonal power which folds, bends, spindles, and mutilates individuals but keeps IBM cards immaculate."

We are a nation proud of our compassion—the story of the good Samaritan is almost an American folk tale. But we have built and maintained a deeply entrenched welfare system that shatters pride and discourages effort. It provides so little help for so many that what should be their temporary need for assistance and hope has become a permanent dependence and despair.

Whether the acknowledged objectives be decent education, housing, nutrition, health, or employment, there is a growing gap between what we want done—what we favor,

the dreams we endorse, the hopes we arouse—and what we are willing to do. The gulf between our goals and our willingness to spend to achieve them has created a political environment that enables a critic to claim: "The rhetoric of public men . . . abounds in big ideas with small price tags. Or big ideas with no price tags at all."

And, ominously, some are now intensifying the old attempt to portray the human problems of this nation as the result of one single, simple cause: the lazy attitude of the mythical man who is able, but unwilling, to work.

Since the problem is so simple, so is the proposed solution: more "law and order" (whatever that means); a change in attitude that is free because it requires only an act of will; a willingness by courts and police to get tough.

Despite our commitment to human improvement, we defend Khesanh and abandon Job Corps camps; we head for the moon while men cannot afford to commute to work.

We say we oppose violence, and yet we cannot pass legislation to reduce the toll of 18,000 lives a year lost by gunfire. In the past five years, the victims have included President Kennedy, Martin Luther King, and a young man who entered the freshman class of the Senate with me—Robert Kennedy, a man who truly did "dream of things that never were and wonder why not?"

If I sound disappointed, I am. If I sound discouraged, I am not.

I am not discouraged for many reasons, but none is more important than my faith in you and the other young people of this country.

Many of us hope we are correct when we say we believe you are different; that something new is afoot; something qualitatively different is occurring.

Your generation appears to us to be more idealistic, more human, more concerned with personal honesty and commitment than any previous generation.

The quality of personal relationships seems to concern you more than it did the activists of my campus days, or than it does those in my political environment today.

I sense in you a healthy reaction from the impersonality of the institutions facing you; I see a strong desire for a society which is humane.

If this observation is accurate, then I hope you never grow up. I hope instead that you are able to infect the rest of us with your kind of maturity.

Having said this, I must add that I see some disturbing tendencies among some of your generation—disturbing in that they are wasteful.

The first tendency is perhaps best illustrated by a long and frustrating conversation I had in Washington with one of our nation's most gifted student leaders. I was trying to discover what it was that caused him to believe that existing institutions, particularly government, could not be reformed.

Finally in despair I asked him what he thought I could do as a United States Senator to help. I'll never forget his answer. He said, "There isn't much you can do here."

I believe this comment reflects a belief that, first of all, it is impossible to reform the system very much from the top, and second, that the fundamental problems of our society are those involving person-to-person relationships, which can only be dealt with at a level closer to the people.

The conclusion seems to be that politics at the center—particularly in Washington but also in the state capitols and city halls—isn't really that important or relevant to the major concerns of your generation.

One result of that conclusion appears to be that some of the brightest of your generation are "opting out" of the political process. Many young people organized brilliantly to change our national life in the area of civil rights. Many of you organized brilliantly to change our national policy in the area of foreign relations. And you have won.

But others now seem to be limiting their actions to the range of their perceptive selves.

What bothers me is the fear that the young may be threatening their high values with some lousy strategy.

Working out one's identity and trying to live as a decent human being is a crucial goal. But I believe that the political system is such that it cannot forever be ignored; it must be used, molded, wrenched, or even fought.

And if you don't make the effort to influence or capture political power at the center, then I just don't see how the plan of simply living a decent and human life will work.

You won't be able to climb a hilltop and enjoy the flowers—or even the grass—because we will have polluted the air and killed practically everything that grows.

You won't have a view from that hill, because we will have blocked it off with billboards.

And you won't be left in peace by a hungry world that we won't help feed.

And the process of dehumanization will continue as our institutions and our society pass entirely out of your control.

What I'm saying is this: I'm glad you are experimenting, both organizationally and personally, to solve problems in ways more imaginative than before and on many more levels than before. I am simply suggesting that these experiments should not be accompanied by rejection of the effective use of political power.

If you accept my suggestion that you are important to the political process, may I make a few closing observations about the tactics and attitudes I believe to be needed.

The right to demonstrate, protest, picket, and in other peaceful ways to dramatize one's viewpoint—including peaceful civil disobedience if one is willing to pay the price imposed by law—this right must be an accepted and protected part of American life. And those few law enforcement officers who disagree must just learn to live with this indispensable right of a free people. The objective here is to persuade, to make one's point of view more visible and dramatic.

But there is another tactic I hope you will reject; that is, the effort to impose opinion by force. Some will tell you that violence will more quickly and effectively achieve your goals. They tell us that "democracy is in the streets"; meaning that issues must be settled by violent conflict. They would substitute the law of force for the force of law.

Those who resort to such tactics will not only lose personally but will greatly injure their cause. Undoubtedly the growing strength of the right-wing repressive movement in this country is partly attributable to the violence we have seen.

For I do not believe that a society can be both free and violent. A free society must maintain itself in love and hope, not hate and fear.

Long ago William Butler Yeats described a declining society in phrases that should haunt us today:

"Things fly apart; the center cannot hold. The best lack all conviction, and the worst are filled with passionate intensity."

He was describing another time, and another kind of passionate intensity. But his words are a warning to us now.

Let us turn away from that kind of passion, and let me close with some final thoughts about this society. One of the exciting things about living now is that John Gardner, former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, is living and writing, too. He must be one of America's great citizens.

In his commencement address this year at Cornell University, Gardner reported on his discovery of a system by which one could look three centuries ahead and evaluate the quality of life today by hindsight.

His 23rd century scholars discovered that in the last third of the 20th century "the rage to demolish" American institutions succeeded "beyond the fondest dreams" of the "dismantlers."

Following the destruction of our culture, "there followed less than a century of chaos and disorder," unlike the long dark years of the Middle Ages.

When society had rebuilt, a study was commenced to determine what caused the downfall of civilized society in our time. They asked: "Why did men turn on their institutions and destroy them in a fit of impatience?"

They found that our "demands for instant performance led to instant disillusionment, for while aspirations leapt ahead, human institutions remained sluggish—less sluggish to be sure, than at any previous time in history, but still inadequately responsive to human needs."

The 23rd Century scholars, looking back on us, made a very telling osbervation, Gardner reports.

"They pointed out that 20th Century institutions were caught in a savage crossfire between uncritical lovers and unloving critics. On the one side, those who loved their institutions tended to smother them in an embrace of death, loving their rigidities more than their promise, shielding them from life-giving criticism. On the other side, there arose a breed of critics without love, skilled in demolition but untutored in the arts by which human institutions are nurtured and strengthened and made to flourish.

"Between the two, the institutions perished."

And then the scholars concluded something which I would like to make my conclusion, too. I do so as one who has spent his entire adult life trying to reform our institutions; one who has been privileged to be your Attorney General and one of your Senators; one who believes with Gardner that our institutions desperately need reform *and* affection.

The scholars decided this:

". . . where human institutions are concerned, love without criticism brings stagnation, and criticism without love brings destruction."

What we need are loving critics; persons "sufficiently serious to study their institutions, sufficiently dedicated to become expert in the art of modifying them."

The 23rd Century scholars discovered that in our time there were men who tried to "redesign their own society for continuous renewal."

But no one was listening. In words that fit the theme of Welcome Week, no one was aware.

May those 23rd century scholars learn instead that you here matched your idealism with your learning at this great University and that you not only became aware but committed yourselves to a lifetime of service in the cause of "continuous renewal of human institutions."

May they learn that because of you both the advice of the uncritical lovers leading to stagnation and that of the unloving critics leading to destruction, was rejected, and that in this place at this time we developed a nation of loving critics who so reformed human institutions that freedom, hope, opportunity, and fulfillment became a reality for all of our people.

Or, finally, to come back once more to what it means to be aware in the 20th Century, let us work in all our ways—let us work together above all—so that all of us

8/6/68

Mondale Moving Up Quickly on Senate Productivity Lists

By WILLIAM J. EATON
Chicago Daily News Service

WASHINGTON, D.C. — A Senate but is barely in the

around," he says. "But you can, quietly and persistently, urge your point of view."



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Version 3
March 18, 2019

NASA to move forward with the development of the nuclear rocket engine, NERVA I, and other basic programs to assure that this Nation will have a preeminent position in space during the years ahead.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I am most disappointed that this conference report does not contain any money for enforcement of the recently adopted fair housing law. The Senate had included in committee, and approved on the floor, $9 million for enforcement by the Department of Housing and Urban Development. That at least a reasonable compromise could not have been agreed upon is a serious blow to the cause of human rights in this country.

We see once again that Congress does not mean what it says when it passes substantive legislation, and that Congress can and does speak with two voices when it comes to appropriating the funds to carry out laws already on the books.

This is a repudiation of the will of the Congress which passed the fair housing law by a very large majority in both Houses. The Civil Rights Act of 1968 was a hard-won, but overwhelming congressional mandate to make economics and not race the sole determinant of purchase in the housing market. It also contained a mandate to the Department of Housing and Urban Development to participate in its enforcement through conciliation, mediation, and broadly based educational activities.

A decision not to appropriate funds to fulfill this mandate, in effect repeals that part of the law. This is a breach of faith with those in the black community who preached moderation and reliance in the Congress. It is a breach of faith with all of them who pursued their remedies in Congress and were told by Congress that their cause was just and right.

This cannot be permitted to stand. We simply must appropriate the money required.

I know that Senator WARREN MAGNUSON, chairman of the Senate conferees, fought hard to keep this in the conference bill. I commend him and support him wholeheartedly.

If we are to make any progress at all toward a unified society—and prevent what the Kerner Commission predicts—we simply must live up to our commitments. We have made a commitment in passing that law, a commitment which says that every man has a right to buy the house he wants regardless of his race or color. Not to appropriate funds to enforce, means that we have ignored and nullified our earlier commitment. I simply do not believe that the Congress wishes to go on record as repealing the Civil Rights Act of 1968 less than a year after substantial majorities in both Houses voted for it.

I, therefore, urge every Member of Congress to work for a decent level of appropriations, and live up to our word.

Mr. President, in re-

The Electoral College system of naming a President is a horse and buggy structure which served its purpose in days of relatively small population, and slow communication. It is not a useful tool in the space age.

Senator Mondale suggests that well before 1972 Congress should initiate a Constitutional amendment abolishing the Electoral College and providing for election of our President by nationwide popular vote. And we wholeheartedly agree!

THE 15TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION—A MILESTONE FOR FREE ENTERPRISE

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, this year will be marked by two anniversaries: today, July 30, is the 15th anniversary of the Small Business Administration, and August 21 will be the 10th anniversary of the Small Business Investment Company Act. These dates deserve to be celebrated by businessmen and small communities from coast to coast, and to be recognized here in the Senate as milestones in the development of the free enterprise system.

By way of history, small business institutions had their beginnings in an effort to utilize the capacity of small factories during World War II. This resulted in the establishment of the Smaller War Plants Corporation in mid-1942. By the time the SWPC was abolished in 1946, its 3½ years of activity helped small firms obtain about 54,000 prime Government contracts valued at over $6 billion, and made loans and leases of approximately $½ billion.

During the fighting in Korea, Congress again created a similar organization called the Small Defense Plants Administration, which provided some three-quarters of a million dollars in assistance in the form of contracts, loans, and a limited amount of technical assistance.

These experiences made it increasingly clear that small firms were making a vital contribution, not only to the defense effort, but to the basic economy as well.

Today there are about 5 million small businesses across this country. They provide fully half of all the jobs in our economy and produce 40 percent of the Gross National Product.

CHANGES IN THE U.S. ECONOMY

It seems to me also that these businesses on Main Street felt, before the general public realized, that the nature of our economy was changing. With a population approaching 200 million, separated by great distances and susceptible to national advertising, and with the onset of the new technology, the American economy, especially since World War II, has been putting a premium on king-sized business. Through a combination of these and other factors, many industries were coming to be overshadowed by a few giant firms. The automobile, locomotive, and turbine industries, where two or three companies account for about 97 percent or more of the output, are the most salient examples.

Between World War II and 1958, the gross national product doubled, and in the past 10 years it has doubled again.

The figures developed by the Census Bureau and the Federal Trade Commission indicate that, between 1950 and 1965, the 200 largest corporations increased their share of productive assets from 46.7 to 55.4 percent. The 100 largest corporations increased their share of assets from 38.6 to 45.4 percent. Furthermore, the 10 largest corporations possessed a greater total of productive property than did the 400,000 smallest.

IMPACT ON THE AVERAGE BUSINESSMAN

As a result of this increasing scale of our financial affairs, as well as the increasing concentration, the ordinary businessman felt that it was becoming progessively more difficult to achieve success with a small business at any stage. Whether the problems involved the establishment of a company, or its early expansion, or later growth, or transition to permanent health and independence, ordinary owners of firms felt the increasing complexities and pressures of the modren era. The needs for capital, management, and every kind of expertise continued to grow in proportion to the numerical indicators.

Against the current of these trends, it was impressed upon the Congress over and over again that the contributions of our small businesses were invaluable in keeping American industry dynamic, competitive, and attuned to the desires of the consuming public, as well as the needs of national security.

SMALL BUSINESS AS A SOURCE OF PROGRESS

In the field of innovation, for example, the following are some of the contributions of independent inventors and very small companies in recent years:

The helicopter, by Igor Sikorsky, Heinrich Focke, and Juan de la Cierva;

Titanium metal, used in high performance aircraft, developed by W. J. Kroll;

Jet engines by Frank Whittle and Hans Von Ohain;

Automatic transmissions, by H. F. Hobbs; and

Catalytic cracking of petroleum, by Eugene Houdry.

In the field of health, we live longer because of the following discoveries:

Insulin, by Frederick Banting;

Streptomycin, by Selman Waksman; and

Penicillin, by Alexander Fleming.

Polio vaccine, by Jonas Salk.

And we live life more comfortably because of these others:

Air conditioning, by Willis Carrier;

Polaroid cameras, by Edwin Land;

The Xerox process, invented by Chester Carlson;

Self-winding wristwatch, invented by John Harwood;

FM radio, invented by Edwin Armstrong;

Dacron polyester fiber, invented by J. R. Whinfield and J. T. Dickson; and

The zipper, invented sometime earlier by Whitcomb Judson and Gideon Sundback.

An intensive study by the U.S. Department of Commerce published in 1967 indicated that, despite the approximately $100 billion spent on research and development in this country in the past two decades, much of it by big business with advanced facilities and organized teams

the present national debate on the morality and political wisdom of the war in Vietnam.

BARRY COMMONER.
GERALD HOLTON.
H. BURR STEINBACH.

(2) We consider that the use of 2,4-D and 2,4,5-T for defoliation of forest cover probably represents a military device for saving lives that has an unprecedented degree of harmlessness to the environment. We consider that the material in the Midwest Research Institute report in general supports this view.

WALTER ORR ROBERTS.
KENNETH V. THIMANN.

(3) We do not agree that the Board of Directors should recommend that the United Nations assume responsibility directly for making the proposed study. While we would agree that the U.S. government should propose that the United Nations sponsor the study, we believe that in case such a course of action is not politically feasible for the United Nations, the U.S. government should reserve the option of initiating and supporting such a study through some private institution or special panel of independent observers.

H. Bentley Glass, Hudson Hoagland, Gerald Holton, Paul E. Klopsteg, Don K. Price, Mina S. Rees, Leonard M. Riesler, Walter Orr Roberts, H. Burr Steinbach, Dael Wolfle.

ELECTORAL DEADLOCK

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, any reader of the latest polls, be he Republican, Democrat, or Independent, cannot fail to be concerned over the very real possibility of a deadlock in the electoral college this November, one that could leave the Nation rudderless at a time of peril at home and abroad.

The pernicious effects of such a deadlock are discussed in detail this week in two very fine editorials, one published in the Wheaton, Minn., Gazette; the other in the Richfield, Minn., Sun. I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objecton, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Richfield (Minn.) Sun]

SENATORIAL CONCERN

Sen. Walter Mondale this week warns of the possibility of a bizarre sequence of events possible under the electoral college system which could install a president who would *not* be the choice of the majority. Sen. Byrd added his weight last week, also, to the growing number of Americans concerned lest circumstance make a travesty of what we proudly point to as a democracy.

These columns on June 27 noted the advantages voters would gain through a system of national presidential primaries. Certainly before the 1972 elections action should be taken to amend the Constitution both to abolish the electorial college and institute national primaries.

[From the Wheaton Gazette]

HOW ABOUT ONE MAN, ONE VOTE?

The Democratic way is one man, one vote! This, at least, is what the rural segment of America has been tossed to refute its objections to a continued loss of representation over the past several years because of realignment.

But the logic doesn't quite stand up under close study if you care to consider so inconsequential a matter as the election of a President of these United States.

Lawmakers are rather concerned today because of the gain in strength being shown by George Wallace as a third party candidate for President. As one senator pointed out this week, the Electoral College system of choosing a President could break down this year simply because of Wallace. If this were to happen, it would be the first time since 1824.

Before going into the matter, it may be well to explain just how the Electoral College functions, in the event that you've forgotten your textbook explanation. Each state gets one "elector" for each Senator and Congressman from that state. The electors are required to cast their ballots for thep residential candidate who received the most votes in their respective states. Thus, whichever candidate gets the most popular votes in Minnesota, that candidate gets all ten Minnesota Electoral College Votes.

The winning candidate is that one who gains a 270 vote or more majority of the 538 electoral votes.

In a letter this week, Senator Walter Mondale points out that Wallace could possibly carry a number of states in the November election, and if he were to do so, he could toss the Electoral College into a deadlock in that no candidate could receive the required 270 vote majority. Senator Mondale points out that Wallace has already made the statement that should this occur, he would try to swap his electoral votes to one of the major party candidates in exchange for a voice in policy—and as the Senator puts it, "If he succeeded, we would face the unhappy situation of George Wallace choosing our next President.

If this situation arose, but with both major party leaders refusing to deal with Wallace, the Presidential election would go to the newly elected House of Representatives—and this would create more problems.

The biggest roadblock would be that no President could be named until Congress reconvened, and this would not come until at least January 3. In addition, the Constitution provides that each state would get one vote—which would mean that Delaware's one Congressman would have as much to say about naming the President as Minnesota's eight.

And finally, it is even possible that no man could be named President. This could occur because the Constitution states that a candidate must get a majority of the House votes—which is 26. Now under present House rules, a state can lose its vote if the representatives from that state fail to reach a majority decision. In Minnesota, for instance, with eight Congressmen, if they split four and four, Minnesota would lose its vote. If this happened in enough states, it is even possible that no candidate would gain the necessary 26 votes.

The Senate would select the Vice President, and this would be no major problem, but if a new President were not named by January 20, the Vice President would then take over as acting President. And he would hold that office until the House did pick a President.

This could really result in a lulu of a situation. As Senator Mondale points out, it is even possible for a Vice President named by the Senate to go into the White House as acting President, later to be replaced by a House-elected President—and the net result could well be that the two men, President and Vice President, could be from different political parties.

That such a sequence of events could take place is highly unlikely, but not entirely impossible.

And in any event, the Electoral College today is not a true representation of the voice of the people. Twice already a man has won the popular vote of the nation, but has lost the Presidency in the Electoral College.

Mondale Named to Senate Panel on Cure for Poor

By Minneapolis Tribune
Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Sen. Walter F. Mondale, D-Minn., Friday was named to a special committee of 13



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MATTHEW HALE, CHIEF COUNSEL

United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

May 17, 1968

Mrs. Ralph Ebbott
League of Women Voters of Minnesota
555 Wabasha
St. Paul, Minnesota 55101

Dear Mrs. Ebbott:

Thank you so much for your wonderful letter of the 10th.

I want you to know that your letter absolutely made my day!

It is just so important for the future of legislation aimed at providing equality of opportunity in housing as well as education and employment to receive the endorsement and support of strong and influential organizations such as the League of Women Voters.

I am very proud of the League and I look forward to our continued work together.

With warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Walter F. Mondale

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United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

April 15, 1968

Mrs. Ralph Ebbott, Chairman
Congressional Action
Minnesota League of Women Voters
555 Wabasha Street
St. Paul, Minnesota 55101

Dear Mrs. Ebbott:

Thank you for your kind letter concerning my vote against the Textile Quota Amendment; I also opposed the Dairy Import Quota bill.

I voted against this legislation because I believe that in the long run import quotas will have an adverse effect on our world trade, even on the very industries they are designed to protect. The Kennedy Round negotiations resulted in increased world trade; if we now enact import quotas it will only put our world trade position and bargaining strength in question. The enactment of U.S. trade barriers--which would send us back to the days of Smoot-Hawley tariffs--can provoke retaliation by our trading partners and put in jeopardy our economic interest.

Again, thank you for your expression of interest.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Walter F. Mondale

Walter F. Mondale

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555 Wabasha
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With warmest regards.

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Walter F. Mondale

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LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

STATE ORGANIZATION SERVICE, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55455

May 10, 1968

The Honorable Walter F. Mondale
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Mondale,

At our national convention this past week, the League of Women Voters of the United States adopted the following program in the human resource area: "Support of equality of opportunity for education, employment and housing. Evaluation of means of achieving equality of opportunity for housing and of further measures to combat poverty and discrimination."

This was unusual procedure for the League in that throughout the nation we now agree to support the principle of equality of opportunity in housing as well as education and employment. The League has not previously investigated the issue of fair housing legislation on the national level. In Minnesota, the League has been a leader in building support and lobbying for open occupancy legislation. We are very pleased with our national League action.

That our organization was able to affirm this basic right in this way, is due in great measure to the recent passage of the Fair Housing Bill. We are aware of your capable, determined leadership that saw this bill through to final passage by insisting upon cloture in the face of several negative votes and by withstanding repeated attempts to weaken and defeat the bill. We wish to thank you for this law; your efforts are appreciated.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. Ralph Ebbott
Congressional Action
Coordinator

TELEPHONE 373-2959

By Mr. MONDALE:

S. 3255. A bill to amend the Housing Act of 1949 and the Housing Act of 1964 to strengthen the existing programs of code enforcement and financial assistance in deteriorated or deteriorating urban areas; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

(See the remarks of Mr. MONDALE when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. BREWSTER:

S. 3256. A bill to provide for the regulation of political activities of public employees, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

(See the remarks of Mr. BREWSTER when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. MAGNUSON:

S. 3257. A bill for the relief of George Lagos, his wife, Helen A. Lagos, and their two sons, Demetrious Lagos and Anastasios Lagos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JAVITS:

S. 3258. A bill for the relief of Sue-Hyunne Har; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SCOTT:

S. 3259. A bill for the relief of Dr. Tsung-Chu-Chou; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 3250—INTRODUCTION OF BILL RELATING TO BENEFITS FOR PERSONS WHO SERVED IN THE LOCAL SECURITY PATROL FORCE OF GUAM DURING WORLD WAR II

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, shortly after the liberation of Guam in July of 1944, the U.S. military command organized among the male residents of Guam a military unit known as the Local Security Patrol Force of Guam. This group had as its task the routing out and extermination of hundreds of armed and dangerous Japanese stragglers who were then still holding out in jungles and back-country areas of Guam. This local security patrol force performed its task in an outstanding manner, killing and capturing a large number of the enemy and pacifying the large areas of the island in which these stragglers had been operating prior to the establishment of the patrol.

The patrol was strictly a military venture. The men wore American uniforms, carried American weapons, and acted under the overall command of officers of the Armed Forces of the United States. Many in the patrol were killed or wounded in the course of the campaign against the Japanese holdouts. In recognition of their services, the military authorities in Guam gave official military recognition to this unit and its men by awarding its participants military medals including the Bronze Star and the Purple Heart. Subsequent to the war, the local government has accorded the members of this patrol veterans status in the form of civil service credit and low-cost housing priorities.

The measure I am introducing would entitle these men to receive all benefits now available to the regular veterans of our military forces. The bill specifically states that no benefits will be paid to any person for any period prior to the date of enactment of this act. An estimated 40 members would be affected.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 3250) authorizing veterans' benefits for persons who served in the Local Security Patrol Force of Guam during World War II, introduced by Mr. INOUYE, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

S. 3255—INTRODUCTION OF BILL RELATING TO STRONGER NEIGHBORHOODS

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, today I introduce legislation designed to change the emphasis of our urban redevelopment efforts by strengthening the code enforcement program by amending it to "stronger neighborhoods" program. My distinguished colleague in the House, Congressman DONALD FRASER, of Minnesota, devoted many hours in drafting this bill. I was pleased to work with him on this bill, and I am proud to be the sponsor of it in the Senate.

This legislation would improve the existing code enforcement program in two ways. First, it would better enable the local community to improve public facilities in a code enforcement neighborhood. It would give the community additional authority to be a more dynamic force in preventing deterioration within the neighborhood. Second, the bill would give the individual property owner increased financial assistance to improve his property.

At present, efforts in code enforcement are too often just patchwork, remedies to meet immediate deficiencies. These efforts are not sufficient. A holding action is only a temporary solution. Our emphasis must be to make these neighborhoods strong and viable; not neighborhoods which will have to be cleared a few years later.

To accomplish this objective, the bill would amend the code enforcement program, section 117, of the National Housing Act, in three major ways:

First, it would change the name of the program from "code enforcement" to "stronger neighborhoods." This would reflect the change in the program from one which emphasizes regulatory policy to one which concentrates on neighborhood revitalization.

Second, it would broaden the activities which a community could undertake in such a neighborhood. Specifically, the public agency would be able to purchase and demolish a limited number of deteriorated properties when it is not economically feasible to save these properties.

Third, it would expand the public improvement projects which would be eligible for Federal assistance in a code enforcement neighborhood to include water, sewer, and storm drainage projects.

In addition, the bill would modify the rehabilitation grant program, section 115 of the National Housing Act. Presently, this program provides grants to low-income families who own and occupy property in a code enforcement area. These grants are limited to property improvements to bring the dwelling up to code standards, and cannot exceed $1,500. This bill would amend the program in the following ways:

First. Raise maximum grant limit to $2,500.

Second. Raise the income limits to $3,500.

Third. Give the Secretary the authority to increase the maximum grant above $2,500 in high-cost areas.

Finally, the home improvement loan program, section 312 of the National Housing Act would be amended to permit loans for general property improvements. The present language restricts these loans only to improvements which will bring the property up to code standards.

Mr. President, these amendments are necessary to insure that our efforts in neighborhood improvement will be effective. We cannot skimp in our attempts to revitalize neighborhoods. We must make sure our programs will create lasting neighborhoods. Thus we must give the communities tools to accomplish this task.

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

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 3255) to amend the Housing Act of 1949 and the Housing Act of 1964 to strengthen the existing programs of code enforcement and financial assistance in deteriorated or deteriorating urban areas, introduced by Mr. MONDALE, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 3255

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) section 117 of the Housing Act of 1949 is amended by striking out the first sentence and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "Notwithstanding any other provision of this title, the Secretary is authorized to enter into contracts to make, and to make, grants as provided in this section (payable from any grant funds provided under section 103(b) to cities, other municipalities, and counti for the purpose of assisting such localit in carrying out programs for the strengthe ing of neighborhoods in deteriorated deteriorating areas in which such progra together with those public improvement be provided by the localities involved, be expected to arrest the decline of the Any such program (1) shall include centrated code enforcement activities, (2) may also include the acquisition by the appropriate local public agencies of residential property in the code enforcement area for the purpose of the demolition and removal of buildings and improvements on the property, or for the purpose of the repair and rehabilitation of such buildings and improvements for guidance purposes or for resale for dwelling use or as related facilities; except that activities described in clause (2) in any code enforcement area may be carried out only to the extent necessary to eliminate unhealthful, unsanitary, or unsafe conditions, lessen density, eliminate obsolete uses of any other uses detrimental to the public welfare, or otherwise prevent the spread of blight or deterioration, and the total property acquired in such activities may in no case include more than 5 per centum of the total number of dwelling units in the code enforcement area."

Senate

THURSDAY, MARCH 28, 1968

(Legislative day of Wednesday, March 27, 1968)

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the President pro tempore.

Bishop W. Earl Ledden, D.D., Wesley Theological Seminary, Washington, D.C., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we bless Thy name that Thou art near—near enough to hear us when we call to Thee. Our need is great, and we pray that Thou wilt cleanse and empower us to do that which is acceptable in Thy sight this day.

Especially do we seek divine blessing upon Thy servants in this Chamber, now confronted with responsibilities so massive and so many. We know not what a day, or a decision, may bring forth; but before this day is done, or its decisions made, we pause in Thy presence to open our hearts to Thy truth.

Grant that here may be spoken a word heard 'round the world: a word of such elevation and enlightenment as shall lift men's hearts and strengthen their hands to rid the world of the sin and obscenity of the war system, and to establish, by Thy grace, a human habitation of justice and compassion fit for the family of man for whom Christ died.

In His name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Journal of the proceedings of Wednesday, March 27, 1968, be approved.

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

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

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

TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the order of yesterday, there will be a brief period for the transaction of routine morning business.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that statements in relation to the transaction of routine morning business be limited to 3 minutes.

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

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following committee and subcommittees be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today:

The Committee on the Judiciary.

The Subcommittee on Housing of the Committee on Banking and Currency.

The Subcommittee on Government Research of the Committee on Government Operations.

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

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

The PRESIDENT pro tempore announced that on today, March 28, 1968, the Vice President signed the enrolled bill (H.R. 1308) to establish the Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site in the State of Massachusetts, and for other purposes, which had previously been signed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

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

H.R. 7325. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to exchange certain Federal lands for certain lands owned by Mr. Robert S. Latham, Albany, Oreg. (Rept. No. 1041).

By Mr. SYMINGTON, from the Committee on Armed Services, without amendment:

H.R. 5785. An act to authorize the disposal of magnesium from the national stockpile (Rept. No. 1042); and

H.R. 14367. An act to authorize the disposal of beryl ore from the national stockpile and the supplemental stockpile (Rept. No. 1043).

By Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, without amendment:

S. 1000. A bill for the relief of Jack Nam Yee (Rept. No. 1044);

S. 1749. A bill for the relief of Dr. Enrique Jose Catasus Soto (Rept. No. 1045);

S. 1960. A bill for the relief of Dr. Alfredo Aucar (Rept. No. 1046);

S. 2250. A bill for the relief of Dr. Hugo Vicente Cartaya (Rept. No. 1047);

S. 2311. A bill for the relief of Dr. Evelio Francisco Diaz (Rept. No. 1048);

S. 2371. A bill for the relief of Dr. Herman J. Lohmann (Rept. No. 1049);

S. 2378. A bill for the relief of Dr. Julio P. Amable (Rept. No. 1050);

S. 2383. A bill for the relief of Dr. Francisco J. Menendez (Rept. No. 1051);

S. 2448. A bill for the relief of Dr. Gilberto Hedesa de la Campa (Rept. No. 1052);

S. 2469. A bill for the relief of Dr. Carlos Hernandez (Rept. No. 1053);

S. 2491. A bill for the relief of Dr. Antonio Pinera (Rept. No. 1054);

S. 2501. A bill for the relief of Dr. Fernando Rafael Boudet-Esteban (Rept. No. 1055);

S. 2504. A bill for the relief of Dr. Martiniano L. Orta (Rept. No. 1056); and

S. 2581. A bill for the relief of Dr. Edmee Serantes (Rept. No. 1057).

By Mr. McCLELLAN, from the Committee on the Judiciary, without amendment:

H.R. 11254. An act for the relief of Jack L. Good (Rept. No. 1064).

By Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, with an amendment:

S. 1069. A bill for the relief of Dr. Chung Chick Nahm (Rept. No. 1058);

S. 2165. A bill for the relief of Rene E. Montero (Rept. No. 1059); and

S. 2506. A bill for the relief of Dr. Julio Epifanio Morera (Rept. No. 1060).

By Mr. BAYH, from the Committee on the Judiciary, with an amendment:

S. 2409. A bill for the relief of the estate of Josiah K. Lilly (Rept. No. 1063).

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

S. 2585. A bill for the relief of Kim Kap Rai (Rept. No. 1061); and

S. 2720. A bill for the relief of Heng Liong Thung and Yvonne Maria Thung (Rept. No. 1062).

By Mr. ERVIN, from the Committee on the Judiciary, without amendment:

S. Res. 113. A resolution to refer the bill (S. 1671) entitled "A bill for the relief of Bernard J. Campbell" to the chief commissioner of the Court of Claims for a report thereon (Rept. No. 1065).

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. JAVITS (for himself, Mr. PROUTY, Mr. ALLOTT, Mr. BROOKE, Mr. CASE, Mr. HANSEN, Mr. HATFIELD, Mr. KUCHEL, Mr. MORTON, Mr. PEARSON, Mr. PERCY, Mr. SCOTT, and Mr. COOPER):

S. 3249. A bill to provide a comprehensive national manpower policy, to improve the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, to authorize a community service employment program, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

(See the remarks of Mr. JAVITS when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. INOUYE:

S. 3250. A bill authorizing veterans' benefits for persons who served in the Local Security Patrol Force of Guam during World War II; to the Committee on Finance.

(See the remarks of Mr. INOUYE when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. RIBICOFF:

S. 3251. A bill for the relief of Howard Staub; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CLARK:

S. 3252. A bill for the relief of Peppino Campus; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HART:

S. 3253. A bill for the relief of Minoo Bomanshaw Chinoy and his wife, Jeroo Minoo Chinoy; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BIBLE (by request):

S. 3254. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, relating to conflicts of interest, with respect to the members of the District of Columbia Council; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(b) Section 117 of such Act is further amended by striking out "and similar improvements within such areas" and inserting in lieu thereof "water, sewer, and storm drainage, systems, and improvements of other public facilities within such areas".

(c) The heading of section 117 of such Act is amended to read as follows:

"STRONGER NEIGHBORHOODS"

SEC. 2. (a) Section 115(b) of the Housing Act of 1949 is amended—

(1) by striking out "$1,500" and inserting in lieu thereof "$2,500";

(2) by striking out "$3,000" each place it appears and inserting in lieu thereof "$3,500"; and

(3) by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "Notwithstanding the preceding provisions of this subsection, the Secretary may by regulation increase the maximum amount of the grants authorized by this section by an amount not to exceed 45 per centum in any geographical area where he finds that cost levels so require."

(b) The second sentence of section 115(a) of this Act is amended—

(1) by striking out "a structure" and inserting in lieu thereof "property"; and

(2) by striking out "such structure" and inserting in lieu thereof "such property".

SEC. 3. (a) Section 312(a) of the Housing Act of 1964 is amended—

(1) by striking out "of concentrated code enforcement activities" in the first sentence;

(2) by striking out "to finance rehabilitation" and all that follows in the first sentence and inserting in lieu thereof "to finance improvements required to make the property conform to applicable code requirements or to carry out the objectives of the urban renewal plan for the area and, in addition, to generally improve the condition of the property."; and

(3) by striking out "rehabilitation" in the second sentence and inserting in lieu thereof "improvement".

(b) Section 312(b)(1) of such Act is amended to read as follows:

"(1) the term 'improvement' means conservation, repair, restoration, rehabilitation, conversion, alteration, enlargement, or remodeling of any real property;".

(c) Section 312(b)(3) of such Act is amended by striking out "rehabilitation".

(d) Section 312(c) of such Act is amended—

(1) by striking out "rehabilitation" in the matter preceding paragraph (1); and

(2) by striking out "rehabilitation" in paragraph (2) and each place it appears in paragraph (4) and inserting in lieu thereof "improvement".

6—INTRODUCTION OF BILL TO EVISE THE HATCH ACT

LEWSTER. Mr. President, dur-, a distinguished group of citizens it many months in work, study, and esearch on the problems associated with he political activity of public employees. refer to the Commission on Political ctivity of Government Personnel. And oday I am introducing a bill which is the esult of that work. It will, in my judgnent, bring long overdue reform to the olitical Activities Act of 1939, generally eferred to as the Hatch Act, by providng effective protection from political oercion to all public employees, while at he same time permitting a measure of political freedom heretofore denied our civil servants.

Let me take just a minute and describe the Commission on Political Activity and the mandate under which it operated. It was established by Congress in October 1966, and directed to "make a full and complete investigation and study of the Federal laws which limit or discourage the participation of Federal and State officers and employees in political activity with a view to determining the effect of such laws, the need for their revision or elimination, and an appraisal of the extent to which undesirable results might accrue from their repeal."

The Commission carried out its mandate, Mr. President. The distinguished junior senator from California [Mr. MURPHY] and I had the honor of serving with the other commissioners in all phases of the work. The other commissioners were able and informed citizens. Dr. Arthur Flemming, a former member of the Civil Service Commission, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and now president of the University of Oregon, served as chairman. Congressmen NELSEN, of Minnesota, and OLSEN, of Montana, were members. Mr. Robert Ramspeck and Mr. Roger Jones, both former chairmen of the Civil Service Commission, served on the commission, as did two distinguished political scientists, Prof. Austin Ranney, of the University of Wisconsin, and Prof. Charles Jones of the University of Arizona. Mr. Frank Jace, Jr., former Director of the Budget Bureau and Secretary of the Army; Assistant Attorney General Frank Wozencroft; and Dr. Malcolm Moos, president of the University of Minnesota; all participated in the work of the Commission. It was bipartisan, it was knowledgeable, it was hardworking, and its report merits serious consideration.

Mr. President, I cannot improve on the commission's own language when it comes to stating the problem to be resolved. Let me quote briefly from volume 1 of the commission's report:

The overriding problem confronting this commission was to accommodate and reconcile two vitally important, but sometimes competing objectives.

On the one hand, in our democratic society it is important to encourage the participation of as many citizens as possible in the political processes which shape our Government.

All citizens must have a voice in the affairs of government.

On the other hand, it is equally important to assure integrity in the administration of governmental affairs and development of an impartial civil service free from partisan politics.

In attempting to accommodate both of these important principles to a maximum degree, the commission recognized that any restrictions on the freedom of government empolyees to engage in political activity must be consistent with the rights of free speech and association guaranteed to all persons by the Constitution. At the same time, it recognized that protection against coercion and official pressure is essential if the government is to succeed in attracting and retaining capable, dedicated, and impartial employees.

In the opinion of this commission, the best protection that the government can provide for its personnel is to prohibit those activities that tend to corrode a career system based on merit. This requires strong sanctions against coercion. It also requires some limits on the role of the government employee in politics. It was the unanimous view of the commission members, however, that these limits should be clearly and specifically expressed, and that beyond those limits political participation should be permitted as fully as for all other citizens.

Mr. President, I submit that the bill I introduce today accommodates those competing aims as equitably as humanly possible. To assure itself of this, the Commission undertook a nationwide study of Federal employee attitudes in the political area. That study, done for the Commission by the survey research center at the University of Michigan, was the first attempt ever made to determine just how Federal employees really feel about political activity. I want to discuss that survey in more detail later, but let me list some of the other research the Commission did in assuring itself that all opinion was fully considered.

It held public hearings in six cities across the country; conducted a mail survey of all State political party chairmen and nearly 500 county party chairmen; conducted a case study of State employee opinion and attitudes in four States; analyzed all prosecutions brought under the Hatch Act; performed a comparative analysis of the political activity restrictions in all 50 States and in the major industrial nations of the world; and it solicited statements from Federal and State officials, community leaders, union officers, Congressmen, legislators, civic organizations, and businessmen. In short, the Commission sought facts form every source which might reasonably be expected to yield pertinent information on the effect the Hatch Act has had on American life over the past 29 years. The Commission's proposed legislation was drafted accordingly.

Mr. President, let me now list the 10 recommendations made by the commission on political activity, and very briefly discuss the reasons for and implications of each.

Recommendation I.—Public employees should be permitted to express their opinions freely in private and in public on any political subject or candidate.

One of this country's proudest traditions is that of free speech; yet under the present law, nearly 5 million public employees, Federal, State, and local, are prohibited, under pain of dismissal, from publicly expressing their views, even to friends and neighbors, about any partisan political issue or candidate. The research done by the commission indicates clearly that, as a group, public employees are both interested in and well informed about public issues. Their voices should also be added to the public debate. To deny them that voice is to deny the public generally of the collective wisdom and experience of nearly one-twelfth the total electorate. This free nation cannot afford such a muzzle.

Recommendation II.—The law regulating political activity of Government personnel should specify in readily understandable terms those political activities which are prohibited, and specifically permit all others.

Mr. President, this is one of the most basic recommendations the Commission makes. The present law incorporates, by reference, all Civil Service Commission rulings and decisions since 1907. The effect has been to establish a lengthy series of administrative definition of "permitted" and "prohibited" activities.

From this lengthy list of "do's and don't's" stretching back 60 years, an employee must determine where he stands if he wants to do almost anything politically, other than vote. The Commission's survey of Federal employees disclosed that not a single respondent was able to answer correctly 10 simple questions about permitted and prohibited activities. No one got more than eight correct answers, and only 35.8 percent of the employees questioned got more than five out of the 10.

No matter what changes may be made in the substance of the law, it is, in my judgment, imperative that the law be stated in terms of specific prohibitions, easily understandable by all.

Recommendation III.—The distinction between local political offices which can be campaigned for and held by Federal employees, and those which cannot, should be based on the nature of the office itself, without reference to a "partisan" or "nonpartisan" distinction or to the geographic area where the employee lives.

The removal of the "nonpartisan" distinction which exists in the present law was one of the two issues upon which the Commission was not unanimous. A substantial majority, however, agreed that the "nonpartisan" distinction was a fiction. We believe that, in reality, there is no such thing as a nonpartisan campaign or nonpartisan election. One need only look at the counties surrounding Washington to see "nonpartisan" candidates competing in partisan elections. If we are to prohibit public employees from running for certain offices, we should do so because of the nature of the office and not because of the label on the ballot.

Recommendation IV.—At the Federal level, the U.S. Civil Service Commission should have the sole responsibility for enforcement. And its jurisdiction should be extended to cover not only merit system employees, but also excepted employees over whom the employing agency presently has enforcement jurisdiction.

This is another simple, yet essential change. At present, virtually every Federal agency is involved in enforcing the Hatch Act for certain of its employees, while the Civil Service Commission is charged with enforcement for the balance of the employees. This results in uneven enforcement and inevitably gross inequities.

For example, a schedule C employee in an administrative position in a department may request, or even require a lower level employee in the competitive service to undertake some political task—selling dinner tickets is a familiar illustration. If the two employees are discovered in their violation, the lower level employee is disciplined by the Civil Service Commission—and will be at least suspended, if not dismissed—while the schedule C employee will be disciplined by the Secretary of the department. Occasionally, Mr. President, that discipline is not forthcoming. The employee who was coerced into performing the prohibited act is punished, while the basic offender continues without even a reprimand. There are, unfortunately, indications that the illustration I have cited does occur. The adoption of this recommendation will confer an additional protection against coercion upon the rank-and-file Federal employee by serving as a deterrent to those excepted employees who may, on occasion, be tempted to take advantage of their positions.

Recommendation V.—Enforcement of the act should be strengthened and made more flexible by adding to the present criminal penalties administrative sanctions and procedures. These should be designed to insure timely investigation and adjudication of complaints, while preserving adequate protection for persons charged with violations of the law.

Adoption of this recommendation will also lead to further protection of public employees from coercion and pressure to perform political acts against their wills.

Although the evidence of coercion established by the survey is not substantial, the Commission believed that any evidence of coercion is a serious matter. We felt, therefore, that the existence of effective administrative sanctions against coercion would protect Federal employees more effectively.

Three provisions of the Hatch Act relate specifically to the problem of coercion. Both the Federal-related and State-related provisions prohibit the use of "official authority or influence for the purpose of interfering with the result of an election." There is an additional provision applicable only to State and local employees which prohibits coercion for political purposes. Another prohibition applicable only to Federal employees provides that they "may not request or receive from, or give to, an employee, a Member of Congress, or an officer of a uniformed service a thing of value for political purposes."

Other sections give the President authority to prescribe rules prohibiting coercion and involuntary political contributions.

These provisions should be made equally applicable to Federal, State, and local employees. The language needs to be clarified to eliminate vagueness. Moreover, convictions have been rare under the provisions of the criminal code involving intimidation, coercion, and improper use of Government funds since their passage in 1939.

The Commisson was persuaded that adequate administrative procedures and sanctions are essential, even though the criminal provisions remain. New provisions will encourage reporting of violations, allow greater dispatch in processing cases and complaints, and permit more equitable enforcement by the Civil Service Commission through administrative sanctions. This will not only strengthen the law but make it more flexible:

Recommendation VI.—At the State level, employees administering programs financed by Federal funds should be subject to the same prohibitions against political coercion, abuse of official authority, fundraising and campaigning for Federal office which apply to Federal employees.

Recommendation VII.—The several States should be encouraged to develop systems for controlling political activities which are comparable to the system prescribed by Federal law. With the approval of the U.S. Civil Service Commission, those States which develop such a system would have the responsibility for enforcement of all political activity restrictions applicable to State employees within that jurisdiction, including those working on programs financed by Federal funds.

Both these recommendations treat with State and local employees working on projects funded with Federal money. Over 1.75 million such employees are currently covered by the Hatch Act. While there is little doubt of the legality of such regulation. the Commission questioned the wisdom of Federal regulation of State and local employees. And so the proposed bill provides a device for permitting States to adopt rules and regulations which, while meeting a certain standard, would be enforced by the States. In the absence of such regulations, however, the civil service would apply the Federal law, as is now the case:

Recommendation VIII.—The U.S. Civil Service Commission should study and report on the feasibility of establishing a plan of voluntary political contributions patterned after similar programs in private industry.

Recommendation IX.—The U.S. Civil Service Commission should study and report on the feasibility of establishing a new office of employees' counsel within the Civil Service Commission to which individual Federal employees can report instances of political coercion, intimidation, misuse of official authority, and other alleged violations of the law.

These recommendations are directed toward vital areas the Commission did not have time to explore fully. But I believe the Civil Service Commission should be directed to study and consider a procedure, within the Federal establishment, for voluntary political contributions. The practice in private industry is increasing and seems to have the wholehearted support of employees, management, political parties, and the public generally.

As to possible additional protection for employees, the Commission felt that a single, specific office within the Civil Service Commission might be established to receive reports of political coercion or other violations of the law. This new office would clearly be oriented toward the protection of rank-and-file employees—in effect, an "ombudsman" for Federal employees:

Recommendation X.—Up to $1 million should be appropriated annually for enforcement of the law, in contrast to $100,000 or less appropriated annually since 1939.

This recommendation is essential. We cannot expect the Civil Service Commission to enforce the law with the resources we have, in the past, made available. The appropriations have not been adequate even to inform employees about the law, let alone enforce it. An appropriation of $1 million would provide about 21 cents per employee.

One final point should be made. The Commission members divided evenly on the matter of public employee participation as ward or precinct committeemen and committeewomen. Alternative language was provided which would, as the Congress decides, permit or deny that privilege. The bill I introduce today necessarily states but one of the alternatives. It would permit such service as ward or precinct committeemen.

of the disaster loan program which it can implement. It appears the disturbances and resultant losses in some of this country's largest cities were not quite disasterous enough for the SBA to act. Just how much damage is required before SBA will act remains unclear. Perhaps a city must be leveled?

The Administrator's only offer has been to use the SBA's regular loan program. Contrasted with the disaster loan program, the regular loans would be at substantially higher interest rates with shorter time for repayment. For example, the Economic Opportunity Act loan program, considered SBA's most liberal lending program, is limited to $25,000 loans at 5½ percent at a maximum of 15 years as compared with a disaster loan which may be up to $100,000 at 3 percent for over 30 years.

While I deplore SBA's unwillingness to make a determination that a disaster exists in many of these areas, such a decision would at best allow for only repair of the buildings involved. Insofar as badly needed working capital or credit is involved, this would only be available at advantageous disaster loan rates if the President were asked by the Governor—or District of Columbia Commissioner—to declare a "disaster" area. This type of decision too often cannot be obtained for political or other reasons.

Another complication in the present law is my understanding that the Office of Emergency Planning has interpreted the existing disaster loan program in such a way that the President cannot make a disaster determination unless there is actual damage to public buildings and facilities in the area.

The new proposal in the bill I am introducing today together with two pieces of legislation already before the Congress, can begin the job of restoring these areas of our cities. They will also restore the confidence of the businessman and the resident that there is still hope for a better environment.

The urban insurance bill (S. 3028) has been reported out by the Senate Banking and Currency Committee as a separate title of the 1968 Housing Act. The bill would use private insurance companies, individual States, and the Federal Government to insure that businesses will be able to obtain and/or retain their insurance even though they may be located in a disadvantaged area. Senator SMATHERS and I have both introduced proposals on this subject. I will support the bill as reported and hope for its expeditious consideration.

The other bill already introduced is my amendment to the Housing Act, which would encourage cities to take over ownership of the many abandoned properties in sections of our cities. The cities, or a private nonprofit or cooperative buyer, could then obtain up to $10,000 per unit loans for rehabilitation of property in any deteriorated or deteriorating area. I have received support of this proposal from cities such as Pittsburgh, Atlanta, Boston, and New York City, among others. I am hopeful this provision will be also included in the Housing Act of 1968.

S. 3506—INTRODUCTION OF BILL TO ESTABLISH A JOINT COMMISSION ON THE GOLD RESERVES

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, during the recent floor debate on the bill to remove the gold cover from our currency, I was prepared to introduce an amendment creating a Commission on the Gold Reserve.

Senator SPARKMAN, our very able chairman of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency and manager of the gold bill on the floor, requested that various amendments be withheld in order that the gold bill could be acted upon with all possible haste.

I know that many of my colleagues are concerned, as I am, with regard to this Nation's balance-of-payments deficit. I am also greatly concerned over the recent report by the Department of Commerce which indicates that the United States experienced in the month of March its first merchandise trade deficit in 5 years. This country's exports fell 11.5 percent from February and imports rose 0.4 percent, resulting in a trade deficit of $157.7 million.

The problem, of course, is caused by pressures at home, and, more specifically, the problem is one of cost. The cost of goods produced, cost of money, cost of services—all are on the rise and at an alarming rate. Inflation has forced a strong cost factor which is negative to achievement of equilibrium in our balance of payments, and I fear that the March trade deficit is only a beginning of what may be expected in the months ahead.

Furthermore, I have been disturbed by many reports which have left the impression that the special drawing rights approach is the answer to this Nation's balance-of-currency transfers. It must not be forgotten that as long as the United States has an ounce of gold in its reserves, this gold will be jeopardized by our international trade position regardless of the success or failure of the special drawing rights system. It must also be remembered that the SDR's are tied to gold, expressed in terms of gold, and will only be issued to the various members of the International Monetary Fund in relation to the amount of gold they have previously deposited with the IMF.

For these reasons, Mr. President, I am introducing a bill to establish a joint commission to examine the gold policies of the United States, including, but not limited to, a study of the means for maintaining adequate reserves in gold to meet present and foreseeable needs, the role which gold plays in achieving liquidity in world trade, and the alternatives to the present reliance on gold in the settlement of international balances. The Commission should, from time to time, give the President and the Congress its advice and recommendations with respect to matters falling within the purview of its study.

The Commission established by the bill I am offering would consist of the Secretary of the Treasury as chairman; the Secretary of Commerce; the Director of the Bureau of the Budget; six Members of the Senate to be appointed by the President of the Senate; six Members of the House of Representatives to be appointed by the Speaker; and eight public members to be appointed by the President.

This Commission would be charged to study our gold policies generally and to give the President and the Congress its advice and recommendations with respect to matters falling within the purview of its study.

In fact, Mr. President, the creation of the Commission under this bill would follow the same pattern and purpose as the Joint Commission which was provided by S. 2080, passed by the Congress in 1965, which provided for a study of the problems then existing in our silver currency. The House Members of that Commission were appointed July 26, 1965, and the Senate Members on July 30, 1965. The President activated the Commission on May 1, 1967.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 3506) to establish a Joint Commission on the Gold Reserves, introduced by Mr. TOWER, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

S. 3507—INTRODUCTION OF BILL ENTITLED "DOMESTIC FOOD ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1968"

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I today introduce, for appropriate reference, the Domestic Food Assistance Act of 1968. This measure would enable us to launch a new attack on malnutrition, hunger, and starvation in this country, meeting one of the needs the Poor People's Campaign today dramatizes.

Mr. President, what welfare mothers, rural farmers, Senate subcommittee hearings, and the report by the Citizens' Board of Inquiry all have told us can no longer be ignored: Hunger stalks this country. Malnutrition shames this Nation.

Mr. President, many are the paradoxes in this country. But to me none is more appalling, or less forgivable, than the paradox of hungry poor in this land of plenty.

This Nation of voluntary dieters has thousands condemned to forced fasting every day;

This Nation of food fads has thousands sick for lack of protein and vitamins they cannot afford;

This Nation that spends billions to keep food off the market has perhaps 10 million people whom the choice is beans and biscuits, or no food at all.

And part of the paradox is that we do not even know the true dimensions of the problem. For this Nation that knows much about the nutritional status of the underdeveloped countries has never done a complete study of itself.

Nevertheless, the information now available is more than sufficient to show us the nature, if not the scope of the hunger problem in this country.

Like poverty itself, hunger is a pervasive phenomenon. The look of hunger

can be seen; the cry of hunger can be heard in every State in the United States. In the rural South, in the Appalachian North, on Indian reservations, in migrant camps, in urban ghettos live men, women, and children for whom each day represents a new horror, and to whom the malnutrition, disease, and death associated with Asia and Africa are a daily threat in America.

The baby is suffering from chronic malnutrition compounded by acute dehydration—

Said Dr. Christian M. Hansen, Jr., U.S.P.H.S. doctor servicing at the OEO-funded Tufts Delta Health Center in Mound Bayou, Miss., of a baby he examined. What is more, this month-old child was but one of hundreds of Negro children found already by the health center grotesque in shape, permanently stunted, and damaged in growth, due to lack of adequate food. This child was receiving only one-fifth the milk he should have had. And according to the pastor of the Catholic church of the area:

There is widespread malnutrition, especially among the children.

The findings at the Tufts center in the last few months simply confirm and reinforce the findings reported by the board of physicians that visited Mississippi and reported to the Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty last summer. The findings are always the same:

Infant mortality rates much higher for Negro children than for white. For Negroes in the northern half of Bolivar County, the rate is three times that of whites. The cause: acute, persistent malnutrition.

Severe anemias. Thirty cases of iron deficiency anemia had already been found by March, just the beginning of the numbers of children suffering from a condition that leads to chronic fatigue and possibly brain damage.

Widespread malnutrition, especially among the children, with attendant long-term and immediate damage to the brain, to muscles, bones, skin, and to general growth and development.

Prevalence of bacteria and parasitic disease: 1,800 of 6,000 Headstart children in one survey were carrying worms in their intestinal tracts.

And this is but a sampling of the population, and a small number of the problems.

The Citizens' Board of Inquiry Into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States heard the litany of "Hunger, U.S.A.," the litany of physical, social, and psychological damage caused millions in the United States by lack of food, or inadequate nutrition. They heard of anemic children in Massachusetts, in South Carolina, in Kentucky, in Alabama; of anemic and protein and vitamin-deficient pregnant women in Texas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Alabama, and Tennessee; of retarded growth—low heights and weights—in urban and rural areas; of the most severe protein deficiency diseases on Indian reservations in Arizona and South Carolina, and among migrant children in Florida; of parasitic diseases associated with malnutrition in South Carolina, Florida, Mississippi, Alabama, and on Indian reservations; of nutritional problems among the aged in New York State; of pervasive and persistent malnutrition among migratory farmworkers, Indians, and the urban poor of Boston, Baltimore, Cleveland, and New York City.

The study of the committee exhausted the scant literature of the field. It confirmed the fears and updated the information of those who read the results of the closest approximation to a national study of nutritional status listed by the National Library of Medicine, "The Cooperative Nutritional Status Studies," conducted in the early 1950's by USDA and PHS in four regions of the United States. Even in the period from 1947 to 1952, the western region sample of 69 children, 1,134 adolescents, 41 adults, and 664 older adults showed significant percentages having less than two-thirds the recommended National Research Council dietary standards. Even averaging rich and poor, one-third and more of the teenaged boys and girls were low in calcium, thiamine, and ascorbic acid. And when one group of the poor, Spanish-American boys of New Mexico, were studied, the list expanded to include deficiency in calories and vitamin A as well. Again, even averaging in rich and poor, as the study did, 9 to 17 percent of adults, and 14 to 25 percent of children, consumed less than two-thirds the calories recommended, and after age 50 the percentage of men, more than 20 percent underweight, shot up appreciably.

And these findings were corroborated by the studies in other regions. In the northeast region, a study of 854 males and 950 females in New York, Maine, Rhode Island, West Virginia, New Jersey, and Massachusetts found diets low in vitamin C, calcium, vitamin A, and riboflavin. In the north central region, 1,188 schoolchildren were studied. One-half to two-third were eating poor breakfasts, and many got insufficient milk, meat, and eggs. Again, these were overall averages which probably masked much greater problems in the poor segments of the populations of States studied.

We must wait for more current data for the studies to be released this summer by the Public Health Service, and the USDA.

Hunger means different things to different people. To the desperate mother, it is children who "go to bed hungry and get up hungry and do not ever know nothing else in between."

To the horrified physician, it is "evidence of vitamin and mineral deficiencies; unattended bone diseases, secondary to poor food intake, prevalence of bacteria and parasitic disease; and chronic anemias."

To the concerned psychiatrist, it is the urban and rural problem of "the sick, chronically malnourished child:" who "literally grows up to be tired, fearful, anxious, and suspicious," and who takes this with him as he moves from rural into urban poverty.

To every citizen, it is the national disgrace of people living out the "no win" cycle of poverty, hunger, illness, and dependency; the cycle of people sick because they are hungry, skipping medicine to buy food; the specter of millions of Americans too sick and hungry to get the education and the jobs they need to trade dependency for dignity.

Mr. President, as the report by the citizens board of inquiry points out:

Hunger kills: Malnutrition causes lowering of resistance to infection and consequently is a prime cause of infant mortality;

Hunger maims: There is increasing evidence that lack of protein in the diet of youngsters can cause severe and irreversible brain damage; . . . and that it can cause disabilities resulting from inadequate growth;

Hunger sickens: . . . Diseases such as blindness, rickets, scurvy, and pellagra . . . result from deficiencies of a particular nutrient;

Hunger affects us all: The cost of . . . chronic hunger and undernutrition takes many forms; educational, psychological, and social . . . hunger contributes directly to the schisms which threaten our society today.

Mr. President, hunger is a national disgrace. But it is also a curable condition. For among all the complex causes of poverty, hunger is among the easiest to correct.

Just as the citizens' commission helped us see the hunger problem, so too they help us perceive its solution.

The hunger problem is not new to this Nation. For years Federal food and welfare programs have worked to provide needed sustenance to thousands of needy Americans. But while our past record must be acknowledged, present problems must also be addressed. While the food stamp and commodity distribution programs have helped many, they have failed to do the total job.

In 1967, food programs reached only about 18 percent of the poor. As the citizens' inquiry points out:

We cannot assume that any of the remaining poor . . . are getting enough food.

The reasons are many;

Food stamps cost too much.

Food distributed through the commodity distribution program is insufficient, and too small a variety of foods is available;

There are not enough consumer services associated with the programs; women who need to know most about food purchase and preparation often know the least; and

There is inadequate communication between those who are recipients of food and those who administer the programs, and the system lacks either consultation or appeals mechanisms.

Mr. President, the bill I introduce today would remedy these defects. It would remove this blight from our countryside. While this legislation preserves and continues the best feature of the Food Stamp Act of 1964, it is intended to be, and is, a complete legislative overhaul of the Food Stamp Act and other domestic feeding legislation. Its purpose is to assure that no person in this land of riches and plenty need starve or suffer malnutrition because of insufficient income.

Its main provisions are—

Free food stamps to those under the poverty level or whose income prevents

them from attaining a fully adequate and nutritious diet;

Establishment of a task force on hunger, composed of commercial enterprises in the food and grocery business to bring the power and imagination of the private sector to bear on the hunger problem, following the pattern of the urban coalition;

Provision for new food stamp programs and direct food distribution programs to exist side by side;

Provision for nonprofit and charitable agencies, any capable agency of Federal, State, or local government, in addition to commercial enterprises, to run programs to feed eligible households;

Requirement that nutrition counseling and home economic services be provided food recipients;

Eligibility upon applicant affidavit, with no onerous redtape;

Changes in emphasis of standards from normal food expenditures to enough food for an adequate and nutritious diet;

Requirement and authorization for distribution by Federal Government of all commodities, whether or not in surplus, to supplement the food stamp program;

Involvement and self-help by the poor, through formation of cooperatives of low-income consumers, local advisory committees, and a National Food Assistance Commission.

While this bill no doubt will be referred to the Senate Agriculture Committee, I intend to work closely with other members of the Senate to insure that this bill or some closely parallel version receives active consideration in hearings beginning May 23 in the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee. Senator McGOVERN and I are sponsors with many other colleagues of a resolution to establish a select committee to explore thoroughly our reaction to this most grave problem. Whatever course of action is taken by the Senate and whatever bills are considered, I intend to urge the strongest and most comprehensive approach possible. It is much too serious and much too urgent a problem to be treated otherwise.

This bill does not establish a monetary standard for the amount of food stamps, since this will necessarily vary according to circumstances, but relies on the standards of a "fully adequate and nutritious diet." While this is true, however, it is difficult to see how it could go below $90 a month for a family of four or the equivalent, which the USDA determines is a minimum needed to assure a nutritious diet.

I ask unanimous consent that a summary entitled "Hunger, U.S.A.," be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the summary will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 3507) to repeal the Food Stamp Act of 1964 and enact in lieu thereof the Domestic Food Assistance Act of 1968, introduced by Mr. MONDALE (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

The summary, presented by Mr. MONDALE, is as follows:

HUNGER, U.S.A.—A SUMMARY

INTRODUCTION

In issuing this report, we find ourselves somewhat startled by our own findings, for we too had been lulled into the comforting belief that at least the extremes of privation had been eliminated in the process of becoming the world's wealthiest nation. Even the most concerned, aware, and informed of us were not prepared to take issue with the presumption stated by Michael Harrington on the opening page of his classic, *The Other America:* "to be sure, the other America is not impoverished in the same sense as those poor nations where millions cling to hunger as a defense against starvation. This country has escaped such extremes." But starting from this premise, we found ourselves compelled to conclude that America has not escaped such extremes. For it became increasingly difficult, and eventualy impossible, to reconcile our preconceptions with statements we heard everywhere we went:

That substantial numbers of new-born, who survive the hazards of birth and live through the first month, die between the second month and their second birthday from causes which can be traced directly and primarily to malnutrition.

That protein deprivation between the ages of six months and a year and one-half causes permanent and irreversible brain damage to some young infants.

That nutritional anemia, stemming primarily from protein deficiency and iron deficiency, was commonly found in percentages ranging from 30 to 70 percent among children from poverty backgrounds.

That teachers report children who come to school without breakfast, who are too hungry to learn, and in such pain that they must be taken home or sent to the school nurse.

That mother after mother in region after region reported that the cupboard was bare, sometimes at the beginning and throughout the month, sometimes only the last week of the month.

That doctors personally testified to seeing case after case of premature death, infant deaths, and vulnerability to secondary infection, all of which were attributable to or indicative of malnutrition.

That in some communities people band together to share the little food they have, living from hand to mouth.

That aged living alone, subsist on liquid foods that provide inadequate sustenance.

We also found ourselves surrounded by myths which were all too easy to believe because they are so comforting. We number among these:

Myth: The really poor and needy have access to adequate surplus commodities and food stamps if they are in danger of starving.

Fact: Only 5.4 million of the more than 29 million poor participate in these two government food programs, and the majority of those participating are not the poorest of the poor.

Myth: Progress is being made as a result of massive federal efforts in which multimillion dollar food programs take care of more people now than ever before.

Fact: Participation in government food programs has dropped 1.4 million in the last six years. Malnutrition among the poor has risen sharply over the past decade.

Myth: Hunger and starvation must be restricted to terrible places of need, such as Mississippi, which will not institute programs to take adequate care of its people.

Fact: Mississippi makes more extensive use of the two federal food programs than any state in the United States.

In addition to the hearings, the site visits, the personal interviews, the anecdotal stories, we learned from government officials, statistics, studies, and reports, that where, by accident or otherwise, someone looked for malnutrition, he found it—to an extent and degree of severity previously unsuspected.

To the best of our knowledge, we have collected the studies and information compiled by all who have gone before us and have supplemented it with the best evidence that our own direct efforts could uncover. At best, we can make an educated guess as to the order of magnitude of the problem. But the chief contribution we can make does not rest with engaging in a numbers game.

It lies elsewhere—with the reversal of presumption. Prior to our efforts, the presumption was against hunger, against malnutrition; now the presumption has shifted. The burden of proof has shifted. It rests with those who would deny the following words of one of our members, "there is sufficient evidence to indict" on the following charges:

1. Hunger and malnutrition exist in this country, affecting millions of our fellow Americans and increasing in severity and extent from year to year.

2. Hunger and malnutrition take their toll in this country in the form of infant deaths, organic brain damage, retarded growth and learning rates, increased vulnerability to disease, withdrawal, apathy, alienation, frustration and violence.

3. There is a shocking absence of knowledge in this country about the extent and severity of malnutrition—a lack of information and action which stands in marked contrast to our recorded knowledge in other countries.

4. Federal efforts aimed at securing adequate nutrition for the needy have failed to reach a significant portion of the poor and to help those it did reach in any substantial and satisfactory degree.

5. The failure of federal efforts to feed the poor cannot be divorced from our nation's agricultural policy, the congressional committees that dictate that policy and the Department of Agriculture that implements it; for hunger and malnutrition in a country of abundance must be seen as consequences of a political and economic system that spends billions to remove food from the market, to limit productions, to retire land from production, to guarantee and sustain profits for the producer.

Perhaps more surprising and shocking is the extent to which it now rests within our power substantially to alleviate hunger and malnutrition. While new programs are needed, and new legislation is desired and urged, there are now reserves of power, of money, of discretionary authority and of technical know-how which could make substantial inroads on the worst of the conditions we have uncovered—and this could be commenced not next year or next month—but today.

CHAPTER I. THE MISSISSIPPI STORY: A CASE HISTORY IN BUREAUCRATIC NON-RESPONSE

This chapter sets forth the events which triggered national awareness of the existence of hunger and malnutrition in Mississippi, the Congressional and administrative concern generated by these disclosures. It documents the ineffectiveness of the so-called massive federal efforts substantially to alleviate the problem to date.

CHAPTER II. DOCUMENTING THE EXTENT OF HUNGER AND MALNUTRITION IN THE UNITED STATES

Scope of the problem

The Board found concrete evidence of chronic hunger and malnutrition in every part of the United States, as a result either of field trips or hearings or upon a review of all available studies evaluating the nutritional status of the poor.

These conditions are not confined to Mississippi. In America, the number of victims of chronic hunger and malnutrition appears to reach well into the millions—and the situation is worsening.

Those conditions, directly documented or corroborated by the Board include:

A high incidence of anemia among poor infants and children—urban and rural—white and non-white. Among the young, anemia can have serious and lasting medical and emotional effects.

Evidence of retarded growth (abnormally low in heights and weights) attributable to malnutrition in both urban and rural poverty areas.

Conditions of severe protein deficiency, which in early childhood, may cause permament brain damage.

A prevalence of nutritional deficiencies and anemia among pregnant women in poverty.

A high incidence of parasitic diseases associated with malnutrition on field visits to South Carolina, Florida, Mississippi, Alabama and Indian reservations.

Order of magnitude and probable pattern of distribution

The Board recognizes that no definitive estimate can now be made regarding the number of people suffering from hunger and malnutrition in the United States. Nonetheless, the Board presents evidence which supports its tentative estimate:

"It is possible to assert, with a high degree of probability that we face a problem which, conservatively estimated, affects 10 million Americans and in all likelihood a substantially higher number."

Moreover, it is possible to identify those areas where the incidence of hunger and malnutrition is likely to be extremely high. Where income is low, where postneonatal (one month to one year) mortality rates are high, and where participation in welfare and food assistance programs is low or nonexistent, the Board suggests that hunger and malnutrition are prevalent. On this basis, the Board has identified 256 hunger counties requiring immediate and emergency attention.

CHAPTER III. THE DIFFICULTY OF DOCUMENTING HUNGER AND MALNUTRITION IN THE UNITED STATES

The Board of Inquiry was startled by the absence of knowledge, research, experimentation, affirmative action—and even concern about the existence of hunger and malnutrition in the Untied States. In seeking to learn why so little information was available, the Board turned to those sectors of society which seemed to possess the responsibility for documenting the nutritional status of the American people: the health professions, public health authorities, private charitable organizations, and the private food sector. The Board concludes that each of these sectors have failed to fulfill its responsibility, has allowed hunger to go, not merely unchecked, but also unidentified. As a result, the Board recognizes that—

"If this report is marred by any single element, it is the anomaly of asserting that a phenomenon exists, and that it is widespread, without being able to ascertain its exact magnitude or severity because no one ever believed it existed."

The health professions

The board presents evidence that—

The extent of recorded medical knowledge about dietary intake and malnutrition among the poor in the United States consists of about 30 studies, which—with a few exceptions—have been limited in scope and limited in methodology to the most easily determined manifestations of malnutrition.

Medical schools do not train students to recognize malnutrition.

Most hospitals do not keep systematic records or perform tests necessary to ascertain the presence of malnutrition.

The lack of data is used as the basis for inability to move quickly toward solutions, and some professionals have turned lack of data into confirmation that malnutrition does not constitute a serious or pervasive problem.

Public officials

Among public officials, where the responsibility is clearcut, the Board found a shocking lack of information or action:

The Public Health Service has no knowledge of the extent of malnutrition in the United States, although it concedes that a serious problem exists.

The Department of Agriculture has conducted extensive studies to learn how much money is spent on food, and which foods are most popular among Americans at large. At the same time, its knowledge of nutrient deficiencies of the poor is scant, superficial, and unsatisfactory.

Other federal agencies have not added, significantly, to the collective knowledge of the federal government about hunger and malnutrition.

Dieticians and nutrition experts, public and private, on the state as well as the federal level, have not become familiar with the dietary and nutritional needs of the poor.

Private charitable organizations

In a survey of over 100 charitable organizations across the nation, the Board of Inquiry learned that in contrast to the extensive overseas feeding programs of organizations such as CARE, the immediate and severe problems of hunger in the United States have been addressed by the private sector in only a limited fashion.

The private food sector

The Board of Inquiry asked 75 food manufacturing companies: (a) what steps were being taken to determine the number of people now being excluded from the domestic food market because of low income and (b) what remedial efforts they were engaged in. Of 35 companies responding, the Board learned that there has been little activity in the private sector in determining the food needs of the poor.

This inactivity on the domestic front contrasts markedly with the situation abroad. A major contribution of the private sector in helping needy populations in poor and developing countries has been the development of new and fortified foods, which by themselves, provide many of the nutrients for a nutritionally adequate diet.

When certain barriers to acceptance of these foods are recognized, when taste, appearance, ease of preparation, adequate delivery systems are considered, and finally when an appeal is made to the nutritional advantages of a food rather than its special utility to the poor, the likelihood of acceptance is significantly increased. With these qualifications, the Board of Inquiry makes recognition of the valuable role that fortified foods can play in alleviating hunger and malnutrition in the United States.

CHAPTER IV. ANALYSIS OF FEDERAL FOOD AND WELFARE PROGRAMS

The Board has examined in depth the three chief programs designed to alleviate hunger and malnutrition: The Commodity Distribution Program; the Food Stamp Program; the Welfare Program. And it has taken a brief look at consumer education efforts and the school lunch program an consumer education programs as ancillary programs to combat hunger and malnutrition.

We are forced to conclude that these programs do not do the job.

These programs clearly have failed—but responsibility for this failure cannot be laid merely to lack of money or staff. Much of the responsibility for the failure of these programs rests with the mode of administration adopted, the discretionary decisions made, and the failure to use the full statutory power available to fulfill the purpose of these programs.

Commodity distribution program

Under this program, the Department distributes surplus commodities to needy families. These foods are called basic commodities and are provided in the form of cornmeal, corn grits, flour, non-fat dry milk, peanut butter, rice and rolled wheat. These are the foods that the commodity recipient can count on receiving each month—albeit with some variations in amount and variety.

The government, however, has available special additional money to buy and distribute free any other kind of food—orange juice, turkeys, beef, vegetables. It has the power to distribute such foods to the hungry.

This "Section 32" money (Section 32, P.L. 320, 74th Congress) designed to keep the farmer's prices high and to provide food for those in need, is not part of the President's budget. The Congress does not have to appropriate it. It comes directly and automatically to the Secretary. Last year, it added up to $700 million. Of that $700 million, some $500 million was either returned to the Treasury or carried forward into the 1968 fiscal year. Less than $150 million was used in connection with commodity or food distribution programs.

The Board of Inquiry found that 300 of the poorest counties in the United States have no food assistance of any kind. Local officials in many of these poor counties have refused to apply for federal food assistance, because of unwillingness to extend help to Negroes, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the poor in counties without food assistance.

The Department of Agriculture has the power to start food assistance programs where need is evident. Yet, until April 1968, the Department consistently declined to exercise its power to institute commodity distribution programs where local officials had refused to apply.

In counties where commodities are distributed, they seldom reach even a majority of the poor population. Some people are declared ineligible because their income is too high, although substantially below the poverty line. Some people are discouraged from participating because the distribution depots where they must go to obtain commodities are too far away, and the commodities received are difficult to transport.

The commodity distribution program does not supply enough food for the month. Food runs out, people go days without food. Moreover, the variety of foods distributed is not adequate to meet minimum nutritional requirements, despite the recognized fact that most of the three million participants must look to the commodity distribution program for their total food supply.

As the Board points out, the USDA does not meet its own standards for minimum nutrition:

"Each month the USDA distributes to a family of four commodities with a total retail value of slightly over $20. The USDA has determined, however, that a family of four should spend over $90 per month—on a variety of foods—in order to obtain a nutritious diet.

"Each month the USDA distributes less than 100 pounds of food to a family of four, a total of 23.38 pounds of food per person. The USDA recommends however, that to obtain an adequate diet, a family of four should have 308 pounds of a variety of nutritious foods. This figure excludes milk and eggs.

"The USDA recommends 50 pounds of meat, poultry or fish per month for a family of four. It distributes less than eight pounds to a family of four on commodities.

"The USDA suggests 176 pounds of fruits and vegetables. The family on commodities receives less than five pounds a month."

The Board of Inquiry concludes that the commodity distribution program is a failure. While they do not feel that changes will make the program successful in the long run, they make proposals for administrative reform which, within the framework of existing legislative authority, would benefit the hungry

and malnourished substantially. (See page 56).

Food stamp program

The food stamp program, in theory, was to correct the deficiencies of the commodity program. It was to let the poor choose their own foods. The bonus coupons they bought with their normal food dollars would multiply their food purchasing power at local stores. Eligible families would buy the food stamps at rates set by the Secretary of Agriculture. The law requires that such prices be set at a rate equivalent to the "normal expenditure" for food. The Secretary decided to set stamp prices by determining average expenditures for families of different size and income.

Averaging the food expenditures of the poverty population proved administratively expedient to the USDA, but became a nightmare for the hungry. Families who had literally no income were averaged in with lowest income families and expected to pay rates based on averages with money that did not exist. In areas where the commodity distribution program was being scrapped in favor of food stamps, the no-income family found itself whipsawed between a program that had distributed food free and a new program that assumed that the family had paid for its food. When the switchover occurred, participation dropped radically. For once, America became aware of its hungry.

This awareness led to piecemeal efforts at improvement. These efforts in turn uncovered other inadequacies in the planning and administration of the food stamp program. The lowering of the minimum food stamp charges pointed up the inequity of the prices at "higher" income levels. Every time the income of a family of four rises by 10 dollars, six of those dollars must go toward food stamps. The schedule of charges set up by the USDA suffers from certain internal inconsistencies and operates to discourage participation.

Consider the following:

Assumption: That all families with a given number of members and a given income normally spend the same amount of money on food. This is the assumption underlying the use of surveys to determine what are "normal expenditures."

Fact: The USDA concedes that a primary problem in poor families is that there is no plan for spending money, hence, there is no "normal" amount of money spent each month on food. Bills, fixed expenses, and poor consumer practices devour income the day it dribbles in, so that there can be no amount specifically allocated for food expenditures. No steady dollar-and-cents pattern to the expenditures of poor people has yet been established.

Assumption: A family in poverty normally pays a constant amount of money for food from month to month. This justifies the requirement that participants spend a fixed sum on stamps each month or be ineligible for further assistance.

Fact: Food expenditures may double—or be cut in half—from month to month depending upon emergencies, pressing bills—and on income which may vary from month to month or season to season.

Assumption: That as a family's income increases, the percent of income spent on food increases. Food stamp prices are set so that, at the lowest levels a sharp rise in stamp prices accompanies a modest rise in income. This assumption appears to be coupled with the further assumption that the lowest income families spend for food first and pay their bills last.

Fact: At low levels of family income, food expenditures give way to fixed expenses. Items like rent, utilities, and overdue bills come first. What is left is what is spent for food. And this pattern does not change as income increases (until one is substantially above the poverty line).

The requirement that the poor lay out the cash for stamps all in one lump sum—and that they purchase the minimum amount or none at all—has worked considerable hardship. And once a person chooses to participate, he must continue to do so at the same level every month or he will be disqualified and required to apply all over again for eligibility.

A further inadequacy of the program is its unwillingness to provide even its participants with an adequate diet. By the Department of Agriculture's own standards, the money value of stamps falls consistently and deliberately below the amount necessary to secure a minimally adequate diet. Nutritional studies indicate that those participating in food stamps in fact are only slightly better off nutritionally than non-participants.

The county option system which has thwarted use of the commodity distribution program in many counties has been at least as great an obstacle to instituting the food stamp plan. The Secretary of Agriculture denies that he has the power to distribute food stamps in counties which refuse to apply. Yet section 14(a) of the Food Stamp Act expressly gives him that power.

After presenting this and other evidence, the Board of Inquiry concludes that the food stamp program has failed to fulfill its promise, and proposes a number of steps for administrative reform. (See pages 66–67.)

School lunch program

Despite its potential for directly alleviating hunger and malnutrition among the children of the poor, the school lunch program has to date proved unsuccessful. At most, one-third of poverty stricken children attending public schools participate. Although Congress expressly provided in the National School Lunch Act that poor children shall be served without cost or at a reduced cost, a majority of poor children are forced to pay the full price for school lunch or go without. The school lunch program in fact, operates for the benefit of the middle class.

Consumer education programs

Education in the advantages of budget, planning, bargain shopping and food selection has been held out as a solution of the malnutrition problem.

If education is the answer, the Board finds that little of it exists. In addition, limited evidence would appear to indicate that the poor use their food dollar well and that they need greater purchasing power, more than education on how to use that purchasing power.

Much of the need for education, budgeting knowledge, sophistication and skills stems from policies and procedures which make programs complex and directly decrease their utility to the poor. The call for education sometimes masks a shifting of responsibility for the defects of a program from the administrators, who have made the program complex, to the poor, who cannot cope wtih that complexity and red tape.

The role of public assistance programs in feeding the poor

The ability to eat adequately in the final analysis depends upon money. The poor do not have enough money to buy the food they need, despite the myth of massive federal handouts. Three out of every four Americans who live below the poverty level receive no help from federal public assistance programs whatsoever.

Some of those who do not receive federal assistance receive "general assistance" from the state and local government. But "general assistance" is miniscule in scale—amounting to less than six percent of federal expenditures under public assistance programs.

Most states administering federal welfare monies do not pay the minimal amount necessary for subsistence as estimated either by their own standards or by the federal government's standards. Actual payments consistently fall below the level to which families are entitled by law.

Consequently, the Board of Inquiry finds those who do participate in federal public assistance programs do not get enough money to secure a nutritionally adequate diet. In fact, welfare recipients who receive the highest level of payment in the nation have been found to suffer from inadequate diet.

Thus to live on welfare is to be virtually certain of inadequate nutrition. But three-fourths of the poor do not even get welfare. There are four distinct causes for this lack of participation.

1. The categories of federal assistance are a limitation on eligibility.

2. The state exercises its power to restrict participation in federal public assistance programs. The states can simply decline to participate in federal programs, or they can restrict the number of participants by imposing additional eligibility requirements.

3. The mode of administration on the state and local level restricts participation.

4. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare consistently declines to re-examine state plans for conformity to federal law, court decisions and affirmative constitutional requirements.

CHAPTER V. AGRICULTURAL POLICY

Responsibility for the design, enactment and administration of food assistance programs—both domestic and international—has traditionally been vested in those groups and individuals in government concerned with protection of the producers of food. Such a policy converts programs to feed the poor into disposal systems to relieve market gluts and protect profits.

The central focus of agricultural policy has shifted over the years from the small producer, the family farmer, to the large producer, the commercial and corporate farmer.

In 1967 alone, for example, nine large landowners received a total of over $14 million from one or a combination of farm programs designed, as the Department of Agriculture puts it, "to encourage, promote and strengthen the family farm".

Judged by the allocation of payments to farmers in 1967, this purpose has not been achieved. Some 42.7 percent of farmers—the classically small family farmers—with gross income of less than $2,500 received 4.5 percent of total farm payments from the government while the top 10 percent of farmers—the large, diversified, and in many cases corporate landowners—each with more than $20,000 gross income received 54.5 percent of total farm payments.

The large scale producer, as a result, is well protected.

At the same time the interests that dominate agricultural policy have not supported efforts to feed the hungry. The Board of Inquiry concludes:

1. The composition of the agricultural committees of Congress—which pass upon major food assistance legislation—dictates that inevitably the needs of the poor and hungry will be subordinated to the interests of large agricultural producers.

2. The relationship between these agricultural committees and the Department of Agriculture—which administers all major food assistance legislation—dictates that inevitably the Department's priorities will place the interests of agricultural producers first, the needs of the poor and hungry second.

CHAPTER VI. RECOMMENDATIONS

The Board of Inquiry has made recommendations which call for both immediate action to alleviate the present emergency conditions and for long range programs to eradicate hunger and malnutrition in the United States.

Immediate relief

We call upon the President to—

Declare that a national emergency exists;

Institute emergency food programs within these 256 hunger counties, at migrant farm camps, and, after consultation with tribal councils, on selected Indian reservations; all this to be done as the first earnest effort of a national resolve to dispel hunger;

Use all available statutory authority and funds including that under Section 32, P.L. 320 74th Congress customs receipts; under emergency food and medical appropriations (receipts) for the Office of Economic Opportunity, and under the 1967 Social Security Amendments providing for federal participation to needy families with children in order to assure completely adequate food programs in these counties;

Ask Congress for immediate enactment of such other powers and appropriations as he needs;

Use also in these places the authority and funds provided under the federal food programs, to the extent that doing so will not take funds away from other areas;

Report to the people by September 1968 the numbers of needy people reached in these counties, the numbers yet unreached (if there be any) and the nutritional adequacy of the diets provided for all these programs;

Report, at the same time, plans for longer range programs.

Lang-range recommendations

The basic federal food program should be the *free* Food Stamp Program.

Eligibility for food stamps should be keyed to income, dependents, and medical expenses. The formula should bear some negative relationship to the same factors as the federal income tax.

At levels set by law, persons should become eligible for varying quantities of stamps without further investigation.

An eligible person should receive more or fewer stamps depending on need. Since the criterion is need, there would be no reason that the recipient pay anything for the stamps to which he or she is entitled.

We believe that school lunches should be available to every child enrolled in public, private, or parochial schools up to and including the 12th grade, as well as in kindergarten, Headstart or other pre-school centers, nursery schools, and day care centers. The lunches would have to conform to federal nutritional standards.

If it be required that families who can afford to pay for lunches do so, then we suggest consideration of a system of non-transferable lunch stamps which would be the only currency acceptable for federally supplied lunches, which would go to food stamp recipients along with their other stamps and which could be purchased by other parents at the issuing office.

School lunches could appropriately be used for prudent experiments with the palatability and nutritional effectiveness of so-called fortified foods.

Either the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare or the Office of Economic Opportunity should be directed and funded to employ and train a large number of food stamp recipients (perhaps at a ratio of one trainee to every 50 recipients) as nutrition and health care extension workers among the poor.

Until such time as the President is able to report to the country that no households (or only an insignificant number) have diets that fall below the Department of Agriculture's criterion of "good" and that federal assistance is no longer a factor in keeping them at that level, custom receipts under Section 32 should be made available as required to supplement other appropriations for the food needs of the poor.

Medical, graduate, and nursing schools should give much more attention to the diagnosis and treatment of malnutrition, and to an understanding of its causes and effects.

Finally, we do hope and urge that private organizations concerned with human welfare will address themselves to this most elemental of all of humanity's problems and that each will find within its purposes and resources its own distinctive contribution; and that all these organizations will, as part of their contribution, continuously monitor and evaluate governmental programs. To this end, and as a first step, we shall ourselves distribute our principal findings and our recommendations to groups representative of the nation's poor.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF JOINT RESOLUTION

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, on February 7, 1968, I introduced Senate Joint Resolution 140 to authorize the President to issue annually proclamations designating the Sunday of each year which occurs immediately preceding February 22 as Freedom Sunday and the calendar week of each year during which February 22 occurs as Freedom Week.

Since the introduction of this joint resolution, a number of my colleagues have expressed an interest in cosponsoring this joint resolution. I therefore ask that when this joint resolution is reprinted that the following Senators be added as cosponsors of this bill: Senator STROM THURMOND, Senator FRANK MOSS, Senator HIRAM FONG, Senator ALAN BIBLE, Senator JACK MILLER, Senator WARREN MAGNUSON, Senator JOHN SPARKMAN, Senator JOHN TOWER, Senator CARL T. CURTIS, Senator SAM ERVIN, Senator VANCE HARTKE, Senator QUENTIN BURDICK, Senator ROMAN HRUSKA, Senator GALE MCGEE, Senator JOSEPH TYDINGS, Senator FRANK LAUSCHE, and Senator EDWARD V. LONG of Missouri.

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

ENROLLED BILL PRESENTED

The Secretary of the Senate reported that on today, May 16, 1968, he presented to the President of the United States the enrolled bill (S. 3033) to increase the authorization for appropriation for continuing work in the Missouri River Basin by the Secretary of the Interior.

HIGHER EDUCATION AMENTMENTS OF 1968—AMENDMENT

AMENDMENT NO. 795

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, a new generation of Americans are taking their first steps in higher education. Many of them are the sons and daughters of some 8 million veterans who received similar educations under the World War II GI bill. This law made possible the single largest program of mass adult education ever undertaken at such bargain rates. The $14.5 billion investment on the part of the Federal Government has already been recouped and it is generally estimated that during the life of those veterans who benefited from this law, the return will be better than 3 to 1 with an estimated return of some 45 billion income tax dollars alone. This has certainly been one of the soundest economic investments we have made. One, I dare say, that can be demonstrated to the satisfaction of the most skeptical critics.

Mr. President, the world we live in no longer views a high school education as terminal. It demands continuing education. It pressures our Nation's youth to seek at least 2 years of college in order to survive. It is time we quit congratulating ourselves on the successes of the GI bill. It is time to apply the lessons we say we have learned from that experience to some 6 million students many of whom are presently struggling to finance their continuing education. It is time to give this same opportunity to the millions of others who are less fortunate and cannot absorb the costs of higher education. Next year alone, more than 2.5 million youngsters will finish high school, and only about 50 percent of them will go on to college.

Mr. President, I am tired of the rhetoric about removing the economic barriers that preclude some 60 percent of our college age youth from going to college. I have lost interest in the academic debate of the value of continuing education to the individual and to society. Education is not a private privilege, it is a public responsibility. Today I propose we quit talking about the desirability of providing at least 2 years of tuition-free education on the post high school level and do something about it.

I submit at this time, for appropriate referral, an amendment to S. 3098, the proposed Higher Education Amendments of 1968, which would create a new title, title XIII to provide tuition grants for students of limited income families.

My amendment would grant to each student in substantially full-time attendance for the first two years in an accredited junior college or college, or accredited trade, vocational or technical school a maximum grant of $500 per academic year for tuition and other academic fees if the gross income of the student and family during the preceding tax year is not more than $8,000. The income factor will be adjusted upward to accommodate an increase in dependents.

I recognize that this is far from adequate. But it is a beginning. I am dedicated to education, and feel that the principle of free continuing education is a must for our society. Over a hundred years ago, when the battle for free public schools was being fought, Horace Greeley, in an editorial in the New York Weekly Tribune stated the argument on which I base my proposal today:

> The education of children is a duty of parents when they are able, but it is a duty of the community whether all the parents are able or not. Not for his own sake merely, but for the sake of the whole, should every child be educated. A single ignorant person is a source of evil and peril to the community. That person, properly educated, might have invented something, evolved an idea for want of which the development of the race may be arrested for a whole half of a century.

We are meeting the challenge on the elementary and secondary level. We have matured as a people because of these efforts. I have therefore included a provision in my amendment which would authorize a complete and thor-

Bristol Terrace is a housing development of 3500 persons. Although predominantly Negro, one third of its people are Puerto Rican or white. Betty, who is herself Spanish-American, has found her bi-lingualism very helpful.

"Most of the Puerto Ricans find it hard to speak English," she said. "I can help the other Volunteers understand what they want."

Job opportunities in the community are severely limited. Many people are on welfare.

Many women support their households through domestic work. The men work in steel mills and other day labor jobs. Through home visits, Betty and the other Volunteers work with the families on their problems.

A community action group was formed, which meets monthly to discuss such topics as urban renewal and better police protection. The residents have elected their own officers and boast a full-house attendance.

VISTA director Bill Crook, a fellow Texan, has high praise for Betty. "It's a real pleasure to watch her with those children," he said. "They follow her around as if she was the Pied Piper. And she enjoys it so much, it hardly looks like the true work it is at all."

A VISTA recruiter will be in Austin Monday through Friday in the lobby of the Lowich Building at 11th and Guadalupe from 8:30 a.m. until 8:30 p.m. His telephone number there is 476-6005. The Academy Award winning VISTA movie will be shown daily at 10 a.m., noon, 2 p.m. and 7:30 p.m. during this recruiting drive.

TAINTED MEAT AND TAINTED EVIDENCE

HON. CATHERINE MAY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, the National Observer of May 20 carried on its front page a most disturbing article concerning reports prepared by the U.S. Department of Agriculture at the time Congress was considering the Wholesome Meat Act last year. The USDA reports were on conditions in U.S. meat slaughtering and processing plants not under Federal inspection, and were used by many people, both in and out of Congress, as evidence of the need for stronger Federal meat inspection laws.

The author of the National Observer article, Mr. Joe Western, says in one of his opening paragraphs:

What can now be confirmed is the nasty fact that the "evidence" gathered last July was deliberately biased, that the tainted reports were used to mislead Congress and the public, that they put a lie in the mouth of President Johnson, duped a large number of well-meaning people, including Ralph Nader and Betty Furness, and did a superb con job on much of the nation's press.

Mr. Speaker, the idea of an agency of the Federal Government deliberately fostering misleading and biased reports is shocking to say the least. It is entirely alien to our whole concept of government, and carries implications that are positively frightening.

I supported the Wholesome Meat Act and exerted every effort to get the best legislation possible. While I feel that this legislation was both necessary and desirable, I submit that even such a worthy goal as this could not possibly justify the tactics described in the Observer article. The basis for such actions could only be a cynical belief that the ends justify the means, and I firmly believe that such a philosophy has no place in our system of Government.

Some have viewed this article as an attempt to justify opposition to the Wholesome Meat Act, but that is not the point at all. This has absolutely nothing to do with the merits of the legislation. The point is that no agency of the Federal Government ever has the right to use misleading or deliberately biased evidence, no matter what the purpose.

Mr. Speaker, at this critical time especially, U.S. citizens need to be able to have confidence in our Government, but nothing will erode that confidence any faster than the kinds of actions described in the following National Observer article:

[From the National Observer, May 20, 1968]

FLIMFLAM AND THE FEDERAL MEN: TAINTED MEAT AND TAINTED EVIDENCE

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Agents of the Federal Government fanned out across the nation last July under urgent and explicit instructions from Washington to gather examples of horrid conditions in meat-processing plants not under U.S. Government control.

Swiftly and often with calculated deception, the Federal men got what they were ordered to get. Their findings, which were widely accepted as factual and unbiased Government inspection reports, painted a picture of widespread filth in meat handling. These reports were later to be used as undisputed authority for scare stories that frightened the public and helped stampede Congress into passage of a new and tougher Federal meat-inspection law—the Wholesome Meat Act of 1967.

What can now be confirmed is the nasty fact that the "evidence" gathered last July was deliberately biased, that the tainted reports weer used to mislead Congress and the public, that they put a lie in the mouth of President Johnson, duped a large number of well-meaning people, including Ralph Nader and Betty Furness, and did a superb con job on much of the nation's press.

FINDINGS CHALLENGED

The stench of the filthy-meat survey began seeping out belatedly early this year when state and industry officials challenged the authenticity of some of the inspectors' findings. An investigation by this newspaper revealed that U.S. inspectors had, indeed, fudged on some facts [The National Observer, Jan. 29, 1968] and that other reports were doctored in Washington to make them sound even more damning than they were [The National Observer, Feb. 12, 1968].

The Observer's inquiry uncovered the fact that a written memorandum with explicit instructions to field inspectors did exist. Officials in Washington admitted as much but refused to release it. After months of determined efforts, including legal action, by this newspaper, the Agriculture Department finally agreed last week to give a copy of the memorandum to The National Observer. The contents of this remarkable document, which the Agriculture Department admits reflects the substance of its orders to field inspectors, are published in full on Page 12.

The memorandum was written by Wilbur F. Michael, officer in charge of the Dallas area compliance and evaluation staff, which is the investigative arm of the USDA's meat-inspection service. It was to serve as a guide for the activities of three field inspectors: John Halverson, based in Dallas; Joseph J. Barrett in Denver; and Matias Ramos in San Antonio.

Entitled "Special Project QQ&C (Quick, Quiet and Confidential)," the memo instructed agents to use guile in entering plants not under Federal supervision, to select plants "in which you would expect to find the most discrepancies," to look for "horrible examples" of unsanitary conditions in those plants, and to describe them "in dramatic, graphic terms with impact, such as cancer-eye, pus, manure, disease, excreta, cockroaches, rats, flies, loose paint, cobwebs, rust, grease, overhead dripping sewer lines, toilet facilities, mice, flour, excess water, chemicals, excess fat, etc., instead of other more acceptable terms."

A sense of urgency was emphasized because, as the memo put it, the information "is to be used at Congressional hearings now being held . . ." The memo, dated July 27, 1967, which was a Thursday, instructed the agents to get into plants in five states—Texas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, Colorado, and Arkansas—write their reports, and send them directly to Washington. By Wednesday, August 2.

The compliance officers complied—swiftly and predictably.

Out of Oklahoma flew reports of seven inspections by Mr. Barrett. A random, not untypical sample of the report on one plant: "Stagnant water stood in bloody puddles all over the place. The walls were covered with grime grease and mould. One beef carcass had an infected brisket and another had a large knee joint which appeared to be arthritic. A butcher was boning out a beef round which had sour bone and the meat near the bone was greenish colored."

In addition to covering plants in Oklahoma, Mr. Barrett managed in the brief period to hustle through inspections of nine plants in Colorado and file reports of a similar nature on each of them.

REPORTS FROM TEXAS

Out of Texas came reports of five inspections by Mr. Ramos. A random, not untypical sample of the information in one: "Edible meat drums were very dirty, contaminated with rust and the inside showed a very poor job of washing. Some of the lips were broken with meat imbedded in. The paint on all walls is flaking off, some was evident on hanging beef fore shanks. Hair, bruises, and kill dirt was also noticed on these carcasses. Flies were swarming on the back dock. Spitting on the floor by an employee was noted."

In addition to covering plants in Texas, Mr. Ramos managed to file similar inspection reports on conditions in three plants in Louisiana.

Inspector Halverson sent in reports of inspections in four Arkansas plants. Sample: "Large numbers of flies in processing room. No coverings over the mixers. Knocked down boxes were placed and piled on floor, toilet rooms were in an unsanitary condition; no ventilation in toilets."

A FLOOD OF REPORTS

And so it went. All told, the order from Washington rapidly produced reports of inspections with derogatory comments of one sort or another on 183 plants in 38 states. Nobody made much effort to tell Congress or the public that these were plants specially and hastily selected to prove a point. On the contrary, the implication was floated time and time again that the findings of the "survey" were generally representative of conditions in the 15,000 meat plants not under Federal supervision. Indeed, even the astute and knowledgeable Rep. Thomas S. Foley, Washington Democrat, referred approvingly in Senate hearings to the USDA reports as "current and comprehensive." And he was by no means alone in believing this.

The reports themselves, all of which have now been made available to The Observer, vary widely in length and quality. Some are

little more than brief, generalized statements. Others run on at some length in a chatty, informal manner with a high content of irrelevancies. One, for example, offers the unexpected information that breweries do not knowingly permit females during the menstrual period to enter certain phases of the brewing procedure. "How do I know?" rhetorically asks the writer. "I had a friend who was a salesman for a brewery, and he told me so."

The actual names and locations of the plants inspected have been deleted by the department. While this is standard practice in many regulatory agencies of Government, it imposes a difficult detective job on anyone outside the agency who might have doubts about the accuracy of reports and seeks to check them out independently. Thus they have the aura of anonymous authority, offering no opportunity for the accused or the skeptic to dispute the findings.

Mr. Michael's written instructions, of course, went to only three field inspectors. In a letter accompanying the release of the memo to The National Observer, Rodney E. Leonard, administrator in Washington of the Consumer and Marketing Service, states that the memorandum "was issued by a subordinote field official, and that certain parts of it did not represent the policy or instructions of this Service."

But in an interview here last week, Mr Leonard acknowledged that the memo did, in fact, reflect the "substance" of instructions telephoned to all field officers from Washington.

"The men were told," he says, "to arrive at the plants unannounced, ask for permission to enter without stating their purpose, and, if admitted, to record their factual observations. We are satisfied that they carried out this mission and accomplished this goal without any improper conduct, without any substantive inaccuracies, and without being underhanded about it."

DIFFERENCE IN STANDARDS

The standards that Marketing Service officials set for judging conduct, inaccuracies, and underhandedness are, of course, their own. But there's ample evidence to conclude that those standards are not widely shared, especially by those people who were being slyly investigated.

It should be noted, first off, that Federal inspectors had no jurisdiction last summer over state-inspected packing plants. (They do now, as a result of the law signed last Dec. 15.) Nonetheless, Mr. Michael's memo clearly directs Federal inspectors "to gain entrance into non-Federally-inspected plants . . . under the guise of (a) meeting local inspection personnel to gain co-operation in our normal C&ES work (b) discussing our denaturing and decharacterizing requirements with management, (c) etc."

The fact that an inspector sometimes could not get into a plant did not deter him from submitting a report anyway. For example, Mr. Barrett reports thus on a locked-up plant in Oklahoma: "The exterior of the premises was filthy and stinking. I moved a meat barrel containing meat scrap and a rat jumped out and nearly knocked my hat off. I noticed that the rat entered the rear of subject plant."

Included in the batch of current reports last summer was one about a Colorado plant that, it developed, had been closed at least nine months earlier. The inspector later explained that he had been told it was all right to include plants he had inspected in the "recent" past. He said his inspection of that particular plant had been made in November 1966, a year before his findings were published in the Congressional Record by an obviously impressed congressman.

The managers of some plants cited in inspectors' reports insisted that they did not even know a Federal inspector had been on their premises. And, in at least one instance, an inspector conceded that he stayed in his car and did not enter a plant that his report later criticized. He said he had been in the plant a week earlier and so knew the conditions there.

During The Observer inquiry last February, it was discovered, too, that field reports from some inspectors had been edited by a ghost in Washington who deleted complimentary passages and thus made reports sound more critical than they really were.

All the reports flowed into Washington just as a House Agriculture subcommittee was completing work on a milder version of what later became the Wholesome Meat Act of 1967. Predictably, the reports began filtering out in a manner calculated to make headlines. News accounts giving stomach-turning details of the "survey" were published and broadcast as gospel. There were again predictably, cries of outrage by housewives, consumer groups, labor organizations, and editorialists over the fresh evidence of filthy meat. Lost in the furor were protests by many state officials that the reports were grossly exaggerated, misleading, unfair, and that some were outright fabrications.

"Nobody had any idea of the explosive impact these reports were going to have," Mr. Leonard asserted last week. "Our goal was simply to demonstrate that despite all the new state and local meat-inspection laws that had been enacted there was relatively little improvement in actually enforcing those laws."

There is no dispute among people with knowledge of the meat industry that unsanitary conditions do exist. Nor with the contention that the American consumer deserves to be protected against the health dangers that may lurk in filthy meat products. There is a basic philosophical and practical disagreement, however, over whether the meat-inspection job can be done better by a corps of Federal inspectors with Federal powers and authority rather than state and local officials. These arguments, however, have been made rather academic since the passage of the new law. What is not academic, at least in a democratic society, is whether the means adopted to obtain Federal inspection justify that end.

When the House version of the meat-inspection bill came to the floor for debate late in October, the House Agriculture Committee's report carried long excerpts from the quickie July investigation. These excerpts appeared in the "supplemental views" of five committee members, led by Representative Foley, who contended the bill had to be strengthened in view of the bad conditions revealed by the reports.

In the debate on the House floor, speaker after speaker rose to support the bill, citing the fresh Federal reports again and again. The White House silent up to then on the bill sent Miss Furness on a speaking tour to plug the Administration's consumer-protection legislation, including the meat-inspection bill. Both she and Mr. Nader, the safety consultant, repeatedly cited the USDA reports as evidence of the need for mandatory Federal meat inspection.

THE HEART OF THE BILL

On Oct. 31, the House passed its meat-inspection bill by a vote of 403 to 28. The heart of that bill provided mainly that Federal matching funds would be made available to the states to encourage them to upgrade their meat-inspection systems.

But by the time a Senate Agriculture subcommittee began hearings on a similar proposal on Nov. 9, Administration leaders and their allies on Capitol Hill decided to push for a much stronger measure. During four days of hearings, witnesses and senators referred to the USDA's July survey no fewer than 35 times. One of the witnesses was Mr. Leonard of the Consumer and Marketing Services, who thoughtfully brought along three staff investigators who had participated in the summer survey. The kindly questioning, mostly by Sen. Walter F. Mondale, Minnesota Democrat, elicited from each of the investigators generalized comments on what they had found. The questioning, for example, of Edward Chizek, a compliance officer brought in from Omaha, went like this:

"Senator Mondale. Now, in your studies and surveys, you found instances of practices that fell substantially below the Federal meat-inspection standards in these intrastate plants; is that correct?

"Mr. Chizek. Yes, sir.

"Senator Mondale. Would you give a few examples, if you will.

"Mr. Chizek. I did not visit any slaughtering plants. These were basically processing plants that I visited in 1967 and so the deficiencies there were mainly in the nature of additives and poor sanitation.

"Senator Mondale. Would you give a few examples?

"Mr. Chizek. More specific than that?

"Senator Mondale. Yes.

"Mr. Chizek. This was in the summer months—in July. And some of the screenings were off these buildings, flies were abundantly present, mold and slime present on the ceilings and walls of various coolers, debris and trash lying freely about in some of the operating areas as well as storage areas.

"Employes not being required to wear any type of washable clothing. Equipment left to sit overnight at room temperatures, or perhaps even longer periods without any adequate sanitation procedures—to be used again the following morning."

A TOUGHER PROPOSAL

The bill that emerged Nov. 27 for debate on the Senate floor was tougher than the House-passed version. It required the states to match Federal meat-inspection standards, and enforce them, within two years or face Federal take-over of the state inspection job. Matching funds to help the states improve their own systems were authorized. Involved were all 15,000 plants not then subject to Federal meat-inspection regulations because they weren't engaged in interstate commerce.

As Mr. Michael's memo indicates, inspectors also had been told to get samples of non-Federally inspected meat products on sale in retail food stores. These samples, it has been learned, were sent to USDA meat-inspection laboratories for analysis. A total of only 162 samples collected from around the land were tested. Of these, 39 products met all Federal meat-inspection standards. The other 123 samples were said to show a total of 259 violations of Federal standards due to excessive water, excess nonmeat fillers, and use of various additives such as ascorbate, phosphates, and nitrites in products where they are prohibited by Federal standards.

"A DEEP SENSE OF OUTRAGE"

Senator Mondale in a long speech in the Senate seized on this sampling as a major point in his argument that ". . . The revelations of the last few weeks, and information received in the hearings, have provoked a deep sense of outrage on the part of consumers. . . . Mr. President, well might we insist upon immediate Federalization of all plans under state control] . . . ."

During Senate debate on the bill, Senator Mondale inserted into the Congressional Record enough of the investigators' reports, set in small type, to cover seven pages. There was little substantive debate; the Senate completed action on the measure in two days.

A joint House-Senate conference committee quickly convened to try to reconcile the milder House version with the stronger Senate bill. What emerged was, essentially, the Senate bill. Both Houses approved the conference version on Dec. 6. Nine days later, President Johnson signed the law.

In the ceremony at the White House, Mr. Johnson read these words taken from one

Federal inspector's report: "... Beef was being broken on an open dock, by a dirt road, in 95-degree weather. There were flies in meat. Drums of bones and meat scraps were covered with maggots."

Subsequently, John P. Orcutt, Colorado's commissioner of agriculture, identified the plant that Mr. Johnson had referred to and stated the conditions cited were not so. He said the dock is located adjacent to a paved street—not a dirt road—and that the plant's owner flatly denies there was any truth in the inspector's report. He quotes the owner as stating: "Beef is not broken (cut up) on our dock and never has been. . . . If this so-called inspector saw any meat scraps or bones in drums, he must be a contortionist, as our bone barrels are stored bottom side up." Mr. Orcutt says the plant owner insists the Federal inspector never entered the processing area of the plant and so he couldn't have seen the barrels in use.

A diligent effort to determine precisely how and why the quickie survey came about turns up no definitive answers. It is known, however, that many congressmen were not impressed by the results of an old USDA survey made in 1962. Though it was an extensive and serious study of meat-inspection operations, the facts in it were well-dated by the summer of 1967. This, incidentally, did not discourage publicists, public and private, from dramatically citing those stale findings to marshal support for fresh legislation last year.

The man in the Agriculture Department who initiated the survey was Rodney Leonard.

"Mr. Purcell [Rep. Graham Purcell, the Texas Democrat who is chairman of the House Agriculture subcommittee] asked us to update the old survey made in 1962 showing that many of the non-Federally inspected plants were in bad shape," Mr. Leonard says. "We knew that many states had passed new meat-inspection laws and had strengthened old ones. But we also knew, through our compliance and evaluation activities, that actual enforcement of good sanitation and good meat inspection wasn't much better than it was in 1962."

Mr. Purcell says he may have asked Mr. Leonard to update the old survey at the request of some of the other subcommittee members. "Representative Foley, perhaps, and others," he says. "I personally thought we had a good bill and that additional surveys weren't needed." Indeed, the new survey's timing and effect were peculiarly unsuited for Mr. Purcell's purposes. The furor the survey caused torpedoed the mild meat-inspection bill that emerged from the House subcommittee, which was basically the bill Mr. Purcell himself had introduced.

Mr. Leonard continues: "I told Bob [Dr. Robert K. Somers, chief of the meat-inspection service] to try to make the survey. I did it. I should have been more specific about how to handle it."

Dr Somers relayed Mr. Leonard's request to Berlin H. Rorem, acting director of the compliance and evaluation staff. It was Mr. Rorem who telephoned the C&E's field offices and got matters rolling.

On July 27, Mr. Michael wrote his memo. When The National Observer called his office last week to talk with him, a reporter was told he was sick at home. Mr. Leonard says Mr. Michael explained recently that he wrote the memo in such explicit form because some of his staff members were new to his office and he wanted to make sure nobody misunderstood what was expected. Mr. Michael has been in the meat-inspection service for more than 20 years.

Mr. Rorem says his memory is dim as to precisely what he said in telephone calls to the C&E's six field offices in Dallas, Kansas City, Chicago, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Atlanta. He does deny he told anyone to call it "Project Quick, Quiet, and Confidential."

"I certainly didn't tell anyone to look for 'horrible examples,'" Mr. Rorem says. "I didn't have to. Those men are experienced inspectors. They knew where to go, what to look for, and how to write their reports."

It might be added that they also know how to follow orders.

U.S. GOVERNMENT MEMORANDUM

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL, TOP PRIORITY, RUSH PROJECT

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
CONSUMER AND MARKETING SERVICE COMPLIANCE AND EVALUATION STAFF,

Dallas, Tex., July 27, 1967.

To: All Dallas Area, Compliance Officers.
From: Wilbur F. Michael, Officer in Charge.
Subject: Special Project QQ&C (Quick, Quiet and Confidential).

Effective immediately, we are to discontinue all other C&ES work and devote full time (plus any overtime necessary to effectively complete this assignment) to "Project QQ&C." Overtime will not be authorized for travel.

The information we will gather at Non-Federally Inspected (NFI) plants in this effort is to be used at Congressional hearings now being held in connection with the proposed amendment (HR-6168) to the Meat Ispection Act.

For the purpose of this project, the following areas of responsibility are assigned: Barrett—Colorado and Oklahoma; Halverson—Arkansas; and Ramos—Texas and Louisiana.

We have been designated to make this "survey" since our presence in NFI plants would attract less attention than any other USDA personnel, as we are normally in and out of these plants.

This project consists of 3 parts, as follows:

1. You are to gain entrance into NFI plants (slaughter and/or processing) under the guise of (a) meeting local inspection personnel to gain cooperation in our normal C&ES work, (b) discussing our denaturing and decharacterizing requirements with management, (c) etc. This should be done quickly and quietly in such a manner that no one is aware of the real purpose of your visit. This will require a very discreet approach and may tax your imagination. Other approaches used to gain entrance to NFI plants are: (1) requesting management's permission to check their freezers for product bearing Federal Marks of Inspection that might be forged or counterfeit. (2) explaining to and showing management how Federal Marks of Inspection must be obliterated before used containers are filled.

The sole purpose of your visit is to observe, and for each plant visited, submit a written report direct to B. H. Rorem, Acting Director, C&ES, USDA, South Agric. Building, Room 2614, Washington, D.C. 20250, (copy to me), *listing any deficiencies noted that indicate a need for tighter inspectional controls.* You are not to limit your observations to the following, but examples of things to be checked are: (a) *Plant Facilities*—window and door screens, drainage, types of floors, ceilings and walls, lighting, welfare facilities, equipment, etc., (b) *Environmental Sanitation*—Availability of sterilizers for equipment used on diseased or contaminated meat, hand washing facilities, cleanliness of employees and their clothing, spitting on floor, cleanliness of equipment (describe *type* of dirt or filth, stipulate amount only if excessive), etc., (c) *Inspectional Procedures*—lack of or inadequate ante and post mortem inspection, temperaturing of cooked product containing pork, labeling controls, etc., (d) *4-D type Animals Held in livestock pens for Slaughter*—Cancer-Eye, downers, deads, cripples, (e) *Plant Operations Procedures*—meat and/or product in contact with floors, contamination of carcasses with manure, pus, dirt, etc., in dressing operation, deceptive packing, etc.

Plants selected for this survey will be those in which you would expect to find the most discrepancies. In other words, look for "horrible examples."

2. In 1963, Dr. M. R. Clarkson prepared a report concerning a comprehensive fall and winter survey made in 1962 by MID of *intrastate* meat packers and processors in 48 states. Their report showed there was widespread use of false or deceptive labels or packing and that much intrastate meat contained diseased tissues and spoiled, putrid, filthy materials.

Please submit a report to me stating what each of the states you are concerned with, has accomplished in the way of corrective measures (as new laws, etc.) since 1963.

3. You are to each collect a minimum of *five* retail samples of NFI produced meat food product. If time permits and you find additional products you feel should be sampled, feel free to do so. It is expected that most of this sampling will need to be done on Saturday and Sunday. This will leave the weekdays through next Wednesday for your survey of NFI plants. Incidentally, all of this work must be completed by Wednesday, August 2, 1967.

The samples are to be air mailed to the Meat Inspection Laboratory, U.S. Court and Customhouse Building, 1114 Market Street, St. Louis, Missouri 63101. You should select product you believe might be violative. Be sure you get labels if available. Labels should be attached to the 6th copy of the MI-422, which will be mailed directly to Rorem. You keep the 7th copy and mail 5th copy directly to me. Original and all other copies should accompany the sample. If hamburger is sampled, be sure it is produced in a meat plant and not ground by the retail store. Purchase and use dry ice you feel necessary to pack with your sample. Contact your nearest MI office for sample mailing containers, bags, etc.

Attached is a specimen copy of MI-422 to be used as a guide in their preparation. Be sure all information shown on the specimen is included. In block No. 3, show "Non-Inspected-1" for your first sample, "Non-Inspected-2" for your 2nd sample and so on.

Use the attached chart to determine the particular analyses you desire laboratory to do. Desired analyses not printed in blocks on the MI-422 should be written in the "other" blocks.

Also attached for your use is a paper listing "Analysis Which the MI Laboratories are Able to Perform," including species determination and coagulation tests to determine highest temperature attained in cooked products. Suggest this analysis be made on smoked sausage to determine if possible live trichinae have been destroyed.

In your reports of plant "surveys" it is suggested you use dramatic, graphic terms with impact, such as cancer-eye, pus, manure, disease, excreta, cock-roaches, rats, files, loose paint, cobwebs, rust, grease, overhead dripping sewer lines, toilet facilities, mice, flour, excess water, chemicals, excess fat, etc., instead of other more acceptable terms. Of course, you must be factual in your reports. Try to find evidence of contaminants on the meat if possible.

Please keep in daily contact with this office and give us telephone contact points, etc., where yuo might be reached.

Enclosed are pre-addressed "franks" for the St. Louis Laboratory.

I am to phone Mr. Rorem next Monday to report our progress.

Enlosures—4.

THE FULL OPPORTUNITY AND SOCIAL ACCOUNTING ACT

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, the Full Opportunity and Social Accounting Act, introduced in the Senate last year by Senator MONDALE of Minnesota is a highly meritorious proposal. This legislation provides for the creation of a Council of Social Advisors to the President, comparable to the President's Council of Economic Advisers. It would also require the President to submit an annual social report to the Congress. The measure would also create a joint committee in Congress to scrutinize the President's social report.

There is little doubt that the domestic crisis confronting our Nation today requires new imaginative approaches and programs in order to resolve this problem. While the search for the solutions should be nationwide, Senator MONDALE'S proposal will give direction to the many efforts initiated by sociologists, historians, criminologists, psychologists, and other scholars and public figures. As my eminent colleague so wisely points out:

At present, our social goals are vague and ill defined. The legislative requirement that the Administration deliver a public social accounting should sharpen the Administration's goals and social planning. This could promote setting long range goals in, for example, education, health care, and the fight against environmental pollution, and encourage definite periodic progress toward their achievement.

Reporting on the "Social State of the Union" is a good idea. I believe that upon reading an excellently written article, published in the June 1968 issue of Trans-action, the Senate will come to the same conclusion. I therefore ask unanimous consent that the article be reprinted at this point in the RECORD.

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

REPORTING ON THE SOCIAL STATE OF THE UNION

(By Senator WALTER F. MONDALE)

America's social goals were well stated by the writers of the Constitution: to "establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity." But in 1968 we see little domestic tranquility; we see little justice for a substantial number of citizens; and for millions—poorly educated, ill-housed, or otherwise deprived—the blessings of liberty are a cruel jest.

The search for solutions to this modern dilemma leads those of us in government to turn to social research. There is increasing legislative hunger for social-science counsel. Senator Abraham Ribicoff, in major hearings on the urban crisis, called no fewer than 12 social scientists to testify. In order to improve the federal government's social-science research capability, Senator Fred Harris of Oklahoma has reintroduced legislation to establish a national foundation for the social sciences. He seeks to draw the social sciences from the shadow of the National Science Foundation, thus giving them independent status and increased stature.

In government departments, a new kind of administrator is emerging. For example, Daniel P. Moynihan, former Assistant Secretary of Labor, is "one of a new breed of public servants, the social-scientist-politicos, who combine in their backgrounds both social-science training and full-time involvement in political activity." (See "Black Families and the White House," Lee Rainwater and William L. Yancey, *Trans-action* July/August 1966.) Another new political animal in federal departments and agencies is the systems-approach expert, who—by means of cost-effectiveness analysis and other tools—seeks to help decision-makers understand all relevant alternatives and key interactions among them by calculating costs, risks, and potential results associated with each course of action. An example of this new breed is William Gorham, formerly of the Pentagon and the RAND Corporation, and Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation at the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, who has been appointed head of the Urban Institute, a government-supported independent research center.

The development of these new types of scientist-politicians suggests a governmental institution—an arm of the executive—that can combine a knowledge of sociology, science, history, social psychology, criminology, and social economics. These new specialists can place their knowledge in a governmental context, and bring a systems approach to bear on broad social programs.

Early last year I introduced in the Senate the Full Opportunity and Social Accounting Act, which was cosponsored by Senators Clark, Hart, Harris, Inouye, Kennedy of Massachusetts, McCarthy, McGee, Muskie, Nelson, and Proxmire, who is chairman of the Joint Economic Committee. This legislation would draw the social scientists into the inner councils of the Administration; it would foster the use of the systems approach for an overview of the broad range of domestic social programs; and it would establish a system of social accounting to keep a constant check on our domestic social status. Furthermore, it would require a public report of this social audit.

In its statement of policy, the Full Opportunity and Social Accounting Act reaffirms that "it is the continuing policy and responsibility of the federal government, consistent with the primary responsibilities of the state and local government and the private sector, to promote and encourage such conditions as will give every American the opportunity to live in decency and dignity, and to provide a clear and precise picture of whether such conditions are promoted and encouraged in such areas as health, education and training, rehabilitation, housing, vocational opportunities, the arts and humanities, and special assistance for the deprived, the abandoned, and the criminal."

To accomplish this, the legislation would:

Declare social accounting a national goal;

Establish the President's Council of Social Advisers, comparable in the social sphere to the Council of Economic Advisers in the economic area;

Require the President to submit an annual Social Report to Congress, the social counterpart to his Economic Report; and

Create a joint committee of Congress to examine the substance of the Social Report.

In his Social Report, the President is to detail "the overall progress and effectiveness of federal efforts" toward implementing the policy of the act; review state, local, and private efforts to this end; and present "current and foreseeable needs, programs, and policies and recommendations for legislation."

The three-member Council of Social Advisers, supported by a staff of experts in the social sciences and in those natural sciences concerned with man and his environment, would be empowered to "gather timely and authoritative information and statistical data" and analyze and interpret them. The Council would also appraise the various programs and activities of the federal government and develop priorities for the programs, recommending to the President the most efficient and effective way to allocate federal resources.

The model for this act is the Employment Act of 1946, which has had an indisputably favorable effect on the nation's economy. This economic progress—owing in large part to highly refined economic analysis and indicators—is a powerful argument for using social analysis and measurement.

The Council of Economic Advisers recommends measures to maintain a stable, prosperous, and expanding economy. It operates on four assumptions:

That welfare (the ultimate objective) is dependent upon the level and health of national economic activity;

That economic factors can be quantified;

That action by government can cause specific changes in the national economic conditions; and

That from analysis of economic data it is feasible to recommend specific action to achieve national economic health.

To do its job, the C.E.A. had to develop a system of economic criteria to measure the present and prospective conditions of the economy. It had to increase the expertise and the rigor of the economics discipline in order to reduce the margin of error in economic measurement. It had to develop tools of economic analysis, calling upon the entire community of economists for contributions. It had to proceed with caution so as to command the respect and acceptance of decision-makers. Finally, its recommendations and findings had to be action-oriented.

The same process is now appropriate and necessary in the social endeavors of the federal government. But we should mislead no one: This new job will be far more difficult. There should be no false hopes for instant success. For the most part, economic indicators are hard, cash-register data, and in most indices the dollar is available as a uniform measuring unit. Understandably, it is far easier to count the cash in workingman's pocket than to measure the quality of his health or education.

A true attempt to apply non-economic measures to the quality of life in America could have a revolutionary impact on government. It might be the first time that government looked at the individual to see what government programs do *to* and *for* him—in other words, to discover the effect, rather than merely to measure the effort, of government programs. For example, we know how many people take advantage of Medicare, but there are no public reports on the quality of this care. The same is true of education, criminal rehabilitation, and much of the poverty effort (although the publication of studies on the effect of Head Start has been a laudable beginning).

At present, our social goals are vague and ill defined. The legislative requirement that the Administration deliver a public social accounting should sharpen the Administration's goals and social planning. This could promote setting long-range goals in, for example, education, health care, and the fight against environmental pollution, and encourage definite periodic progress toward their achievement.

Some argue that this system of progress reports will curb innovation and experimentation. But I think we have little to fear if

we use fresh, imaginative ideas. And in fact, the lack of adequate indicators can actually conceal the success of government innovations. Critics of the Job Corps, for example, attack the cost per corpsman, while the Corps' effect on the corpsman's life and potential is ignored.

Some see a danger of the indicators' being manipulated for political ends, or the goals deliberately being set so low that accomplishment will appear spectacular. Of course, our political system is, at every level, vulnerable on this score. But there are checks built into the legislation. It provides for a Joint Congressional Committee empowered to probe deeply into the substance of the Social Report—to examine and criticize the declared goals, to question the philosophy behind the various programs, and to test the adequacy of the indicators. For a demonstration of how effective this legislative tool can be, we need only refer to the transcript of the 1967 hearings of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report chaired by Senator William Proxmire.

There are also other legislative checks on the Administration. The General Accounting Office has won a strong reputation for its auditing of Administration expenditures. Senator Abraham Ribicoff has proposed that this operation be expanded by adding an Office of Legislative Evaluation charged with "evaluating the results of the social and economic programs [Congress] has enacted." The Full Opportunity Act proposes to give the Administration new evaluative and analytical equipment. Certainly Congress should be given comparable legislative tools.

The Administration, with the program-planning-budgeting system directed by the Bureau of the Budget, is already taking limited steps toward improving program evaluation and determining program priorities. And William Gorham, in his work in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, has been coordinating a panel working on a "social state of the nation report." No one can guarantee, however, that it will be a permanent institution of government.

SEARCH FOR A CONSTITUENCY

As a matter of practical politics, the passage of legislation requires a constituency. Since most laws grow out of a need that has immediacy and relevance for a sizable part of the population, most proposed legislation has a constituency highly motivated to promote its passage. But where is the constituency of legislation that looks to the future—legislation that will have profound impact, yet is currently difficult to understand and in constant danger of being misinterpreted?

To build such a constituency, we must look to the social scientists themselves. And there are other allies as well. At all leves of government social-welfare organizations and officials are concerned about the effectiveness of programs ranging from welfare to education, from city planning to health care.

The initial job in building a constituency is to bring the legislation to the attention of those for whom it has inherent interest. I have sent letters to 500 social scientists inviting their comment. Furthermore, editorials in media ranging from the *Minneapolis Star* and *Milwaukee Journal* to specialized newsletters have brought encouraging response.

The second step is persuasion, which in this case means education. Few people in policy-making positions are aware of the concept of social accounting—largely because literature on the subject is confined mostly to the academic journals.

The congressional committee is a useful educational device, particularly as an efficient information conduit to the policymakers. The Full Opportunity and Social Accounting Act has been referred to the Government Operations Committee, which has sent it to Senator Harris's Subcommittee on Governmental Research. In the summer of 1967 that subcommittee held a unique one-day seminar to explore the ramifications of the proposal. Both that session, and the hearings the subcommittee held later, elicited highly illuminating views from social scientists, present and former government officials, businessmen, and journalists. Above all, the discussions buttressed the need for an institutionalized and on-going review of the state of our nation's social health, at the highest level of government as well as on the community and state levels. In great part the hearings produced more questions than answers, and exposed our ignorance rather than a wealth of information about social processes. But our country is now demanding the answers, and it is essential that we begin asking the right questions.

While the Full Opportunity Act will have a vigorous impact upon government, I believe it will have no less impact on the social sciences. There is every reason to believe that the social sciences—like economics since 1946—will be greatly stimulated by enactment of the legislation. Such legislation may prod many social scientists into devoting increased attention to social problems that have specific relevancy to government. Instead of concentrating solely on research and comment, they will become active participants in policymaking.

Are social scientists up to the task? While most who have written me believe that they are, some are less confident. One social scientist of long experience warned, "The behavioral sciences, in my judgment, are in no real position at this point to give any hard data on social problems or conditions." He added, "There are many promises and pretentions; however, when it comes to delivery, what is usually forthcoming are more requests for further research. . . ."

If social scientists have not developed the necessary sophistication to fully participate in policy determination, then they *must*—and very soon. For government at all levels is going to ask them for advice and value judgments. This responsibility is going to be thrust upon them, and I don't think they are going to refuse it.

I am encouraged by the reports sent to me by social scientists who are involved in both the planning and the evaluation phrases of future-looking projects. The work of organizations such as Resources for the Future and the Russell Sage Foundation is well known. And, of course, virtually every major university has a center or institute doing extremely ambitious research on social problems. Others, such as the Center for Research on the Utilization of Scientific Knowledge at the University of Michigan, are devoting their activity to ways of using scentific skills in the social as well as in the natural sciences. The book *Social Indicators* (*M.I.T.* Press, 1966), edited by Raymond Bauer, shows how researchers can frame the important questions and meet the basic requirements for social accounting.

All this suggests that some social scientists want to become activists—to convert their role from that of observer to that of participant.

THE COMMUNICATION GAP

Today, because much valuable information disappears into the academic journals, many policy-makers remain unaware of its existence. A Council of Social Advisers could probably correct this problem by providing a funnel through which the findings of social-science research would be directed to government.

Of course, government policy-makers shouldn't expect a full range of sophisticated social indicators to be developed overnight, nor should they expect evaluation and analysis that bear the stamp of certainty rather than theory. Scientific progress doesn't work this way. If I read the history of the Council of Economic Advisers correctly, it took that group many years, and experimentation by several Council chairmen, to evolve a satisfactory role in economic analysis and policy recommendation. This will be even more necessary when we are dealing with elusive social values.

Now, a word of warning: There is a history of mistrust on the part of some members of Congress toward the social sciences. This attitude is based partly on unfamiliarity, partly on poor communications between scientists and policy-makers, and partly on the fact that many Congressmen regard themselves as successful practitioners of applied social science—because they have won elections. Institutionalized channels of communication will help break down this mistrust.

Also important is the fact that policymakers are wary of the political backlash contained in the findings of the social scientists. One dramatic example was the response of policy-makers to the Moynihan Report on the Negro family.

Finally, there are still a substantial number of people who see behavioral-science study as a trend toward the society of Orwell's 1984. They are wary of invasion of privacy in social research, and fear that data banks will make the individual increasingly vulnerable. These are legitimate concerns, often deeply felt by the social scientists themselves. These concerns demand vigilance. There must be guarantees against misuse of some of the most valuable equipment in social-science research.

But despite these difficulties, it is time to establish an alliance between policymakers and social scientists. The alliance promises better lives and more individual opportunity through a more orderly approach to the future.

Of this need, former Health, Education, and Welfare Secretary John W. Gardner has said: "We have a great and honored tradition of stumbling into the future. In management of the present, our nation is—as nations go—fairly rational, systematic, and orderly. But when it comes to movement into the future, we are heedless and impulsive. We leap before we look. We act first and think later. We back into next year's problems by studying the solutions to last year's problems."

Bertrand de Jouvenel has written that the 20th century now has the opportunity to devise "a long-term strategy for well-being." As I read the Preamble to the Constitution, it seems to that that this was precisely the goal of the 18th century Constitutional Convention. Today, a vigorous program—backed by the collective political wisdom of the Congress and the technical expertise of the social scientists—finally offers us hope of achieving that goal.

"NEW DIRECTIONS FOR URBAN AMERICA" BY REPUBLICAN COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, much of the social and political attention in America is directed toward the urban crisis. We are faced with a multitude of unsolved human problems, crime and civil disorder, a declining urban environment, and inadequately equipped urban governments.

The Republican coordinating committee has released today another of its splendid reports. Prepared by the Task Force on the Functions of Federal, State, and Local Governments, and entitled "New Directions for Urban America," this paper directs attention to 55 farsighted and innovative programs suggested by the Republican Party to deal with the urban crisis.

In the past 4 years, we have come face to face with the harsh reality of widespread violence and destruction. We have discovered social failure of a depth previously unrecognized. But as the report correctly points out:

The urban crisis is more than civil disorders and unmet social needs; it is a crisis of confidence, of leadership and of human relationships that contributes to a depression of the national spirit.

The present administration has demonstrated its basic belief that the individual, and especially the individual in less fortunate circumstances, should be dependent on the Government. It has constantly sought to expand governmental control over individual lives and to impose Government solutions for human needs. This has made it easy to issue the promises of instant prosperity and to offer to solve the problems of a millennium in a decade.

The Republican Party on the other hand recognizes that—

In a pluralistic society, no government, no administration, and no political party can effect the entire range of necessary social adjustments.

Our pledge is "that the Republican Party, in 1968 and the years ahead, will seek to provide a leadership of ideas, inspiration, and innovation to set new directions for urban America."

Citizens, voluntary and self-help organizations, and revitalized communities all utilizing the dynamism of private enterprise can build a better America. People who see progress of their own making will work to defend rather than to destroy.

A good example of misdirection is the attitude of the present administration toward low-income housing. The entire thrust of Government housing assistance programs for low-income families has been in the direction of rental housing rather than homeownership. Communities have been destroyed by urban renewal, and the low-income family has been forced to become transient. Under public housing systems, the worker who improves his job and his income is penalized by having to move.

It has taken Republican leadership to produce the constructive and commonsense alternatives. The Percy-Widnall homeownership plan, considered in part by the Senate this year, offers imaginative and constructive approaches to improving the quality of our housing and the lives of lower income families.

Mr. President, the Task Force on the Functions of Federal, State, and Local Governments has issued 55 specific recommendations designed to attack the urban crisis. The areas covered by the recommendations are: job opportunities and training, education, poverty and welfare, housing, human rights, crime and law enforcement, pollution control, transportation, government structures and procedures, and intergovernment finance.

These are positive, imaginative ideas. They provide new directions for urban America.

I ask unanimous consent that the Republican coordinating committee report be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

NEW DIRECTIONS FOR URBAN AMERICA

(Adopted by the Republican Coordinating Committee; May 6, 1968. Presented by the Task Force on the Functions of Federal, State, and Local Governments)

REPUBLICAN COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Presiding Officer: Ray C. Bliss, Chairman, Republican National Committee.

Former President: Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Former Presidential Nominees: Barry Goldwater (1964); Richard M. Nixon (1960); Thomas E. Dewey (1944 and 1948); Alf M. Landon (1936).

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House Leadership: Gerald R. Ford, Minority Leader; Leslie C. Arends, Minority Whip; Melvin R. Laird, Chairman, Republican Conference; John J. Rhodes, Chairman, Republican Policy Committee; H. Allen Smith, Ranking Member of Rules Committee; Bob Wilson, Chairman, National Republican Congressional Committee; Charles E. Goodell, Chairman, Planning and Research Committee; Richard H. Poff, Secretary, Republican Conference; William C. Cramer, Vice Chairman, Republican Conference.

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President of the Republican State Legislators Association: F. F. (Monte) Montgomery.

Robert L. L. McCormick, Staff Coordinator.

MEMBERS OF THE REPUBLICAN COORDINATING COMMITTEE'S TASK FORCE ON THE FUNCTIONS OF THE FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

Robert Taft, Jr., Chairman, Member of Congress from Ohio.

Karl Mundt, Vice Chairman, United States Senator from South Dakota.

Mrs. Consuelo Northrop Bailey, Secretary of the Republican National Committee.

George C. S. Benson, President, Claremont Men's College.

Neal Blaisdell, Mayor of the City of Honolulu.

Joseph L. Budd, Republican National Committeeman for Wyoming.

Howard H. Callaway, Member of Congress from Georgia, 1965–1967.

Frank Carlson, United States Senator from Kansas.

Roger Cloud, Auditor of the State of Ohio.

William Cowger, Member of Congress from Kentucky.

Walter DeVries, Former Executive Assistant to the Governor of the State of Michigan.

Willis D. Gradison, Jr., Member of City Council, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Robert J. Huckshorn, Professor of Political Science, Florida Atlantic University.

Denison Kitchel, Attorney, Phoenix, Arizona.

Warren P. Knowles, Governor of the State of Wisconsin.

Edwin G. Michaelian, County Executive, Westchester County, New York.

Karl M. Ruppenthal, Professor, Graduate School of Business, Stanford University.

Robert F. Sittig, Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Nebraska.

Craig Truax, Executive Assistant to the House Majority Leader, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Fred VanNatta, Former Aide to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, State of Oregon.

Charles E. Wittenmeyer, Republican National Committeeman for Iowa.

Lawrence L. Thompson, Secretary to the Task Force.

NEW DIRECTIONS FOR URBAN AMERICA

The United States is engulfed in an urban crisis. Events in the cities over the past four years have thrust upon our nation the harsh reality of widespread violence and destruction of an intensity unexpected, and have exposed conditions of disadvantage and social failure of a depth previously unrecognized. Tragically and paradoxically, we encounter this crisis at a time when many of the normal indicators of social progress—national output, personal income, employment levels, educational attainments, technological advancement, and life expectancy—have risen to record heights.

Consequently, the urban crisis is more than civil disorders and unmet social needs; it is a crisis of confidence, of leadership and of human relationships that contributes to a depression of the national spirit. The situation demands a recognition that just as the customary indicators of progress are no longer completely valid, so also the customary responses, whether they be the establishment of one more Federal program, the appointment of another blue-ribbon study commission, or an after-the-riot plea for law and order, are woefully inadequate.

The urban crisis has occurred under the stewardship of the Democratic Administration. During the past four years, as the crisis has developed and deepened, the Administration has displayed its inability to devise effective policies and programs to deal with the situation.

The President's major action in 1967, as the full dimensions of the crisis became apparent was to appoint an Advisory Commission on Civil disorders whose report he has largely ignored. In our view, the Commission's report neglected to set any priorities among its numerous recommendations, failed to come to grips with the crucial questions of cost and financing, and could be construed as unfairly accusing all whites of practicing racism. It failed to recognize adequately the need for self-help and private and voluntary citizen action. Nevertheless, we believe the report contains much valuable information and analysis, and its recommendations are worthy of detailed attention and consideration by the President and the Congress.

In its approach to urban problems the Administration's gravest failure has been an absence of responsible, candid, and inspiring leadership for our troubled nation. We indict the Democratic leadership on three counts: (1) the reckless use of inflated promises and a resort to political sloganeering which raised many expectations that were not realized; (2) a lack of decisive action and influence in dealing with the immediate problems of lawlessness and disorder; and (3) an unwillingness to establish a well-ordered set of priorities to meet pressing social needs and to chart the nation's future course. The record shows clearly that the Democratic Administration—its leadership and its policies—must stand accused of failure in attempting to resolve the urban crisis.

To lift the urban crisis from our land will require profound adjustments throughout out social system, involving new personal at-

S. 3383—INTRODUCTION OF WHOLESOME POULTRY, EGGS, AND FISH PRODUCTS ACT OF 1968

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I introduce today, for appropriate reference, the Wholesome Poultry, Eggs, and Fish Products Act of 1968.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 3383) to amend the Poultry Products Inspection Act in order to provide for the mandatory inspection of all poultry and poultry products intended for human food, to provide a mandatory program for the inspection and grading of eggs and egg products and for the mandatory inspection of fish and fish products, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. MONDALE, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, this measure would amend the Poultry Products Inspection Act to provide for mandatory inspection of all poultry and poultry products intended for human food, and provide a mandatory program for inspection of fish and fish products, and inspection and grading of eggs and egg products.

Mr. President, a quarter million or more Americans every year suffer needless disease, and even death from eating contaminated poultry, fish, and eggs.

And this quarter million is a conservative estimate, based on reported cases.

Most cases of food-borne illness and death are not reported. The reports illustrate some of the dimensions of the problem: In the last 7 years, 10,609 Americans have been reported ill or dead because of diseases related to poultry, eggs, and fish. Of these cases, 7,653 were attributed to poultry, 1,466 to eggs, and 1,490 to fish.

In the same period, there were 11 reported deaths from botulism attributed to fish, two from smoked ciscoes; and nine from tuna, smoked whitefish, and whitefish chub.

In the last 5 years alone, 320 deaths have been associated with salmonellosis,

much due to contaminated poultry, fish, and eggs.

Authorities emphasize that such statistics must be multiplied several hundred times to get any real estimate of the problem.

It has, for example, been estimated that more than 1 percent of the population becomes infected with salmonellosis from all sources, but that only 1 percent of the cases are reported to public health authorities.

Other diseases associated with poultry, eggs, and fish are caused by staphylococci, clostridium botulinium, clostridium perfringus, streptococci, shigella, infectious hepatitis, and paralytic shellfish poison.

The major cause of salmonellosis reported over the last decades has been livestock and fowl. Widely distributed animal feeds have been found heavily contaminated with salmonella. Eggs and egg products have been the principal source of reported outbreaks in the recent past.

Why does the count continue?

The answer is to be found in the unsanitary practices of growers, processors, and retailers of poultry, fish, and eggs, inadequately regulated by existing Federal, State, or local programs.

According to the Public Health Service:

> The accumulated knowledge strongly suggests that prevention of food borne illnesses from poultry, eggs, and fish . . . depends on the continuous application of sanitary measures from production and harvesting of raw products, through all intermediate steps of processing and distribution, to final preparation for serving.
>
> No effective mechanism is available for achieving such a unified program of consumer protection that encompasses all the commercial enterprises and governmental agencies whose participation is necessary to reduce the health hazards to a practical minimum.

THE PROPOSED POULTRY AND FISH BILLS

In his consumer message, President Johnson recognized the problems existing in the poultry and fish industries. He called for closing the gaps in the system of poultry inspection, and for "guarding the consumer's health against unwholesome fish." He subsequently had prepared two bills to carry out this work.

It is my feeling, however, that these measures could be strengthened.

The administration measures would extend many of the provisions of the Meat Inspection Act to fish and poultry.

Neither measure provides immediate continuous protection for the consumer. Immediate authority is extended only to fish and poultry shipped in interstate commerce. Products shipped within a State may remain uninspected or inadequately inspected for 2, or in some cases 3 years before standards equal to Federal requirements would be required. The poultry measure would permit poultry exempted from Federal inspection to be shipped across State lines. It does not cover feed grains, an important source of salmonella contamination. Both bills leave out the key word "mandatory" which gave added strength to the meat inspection measure. The poultry inspection measure omits the annual review of State programs contained in the meat bill to assure that once a State has been made responsible, it is, in fact, carrying out a program equal in strength to the national requirements. Advisory committees, so important to effective development of regulations and programs, fail to include both consumers and industry in the poultry bill, although the contribution of these two groups is included in the fish measure.

While the fish bill contains much more of the original intent of the meat measure, it too fails to "cover the waterfront," so to speak. Adequate inspection of vessels is made discretionary. Record maintenance is considerably weaker in the fish measure than it is in the poultry bill. Records need be maintained only by those processing fish and holding them after shipment, deleting important steps in the process from boat to consumer. Unlike the poultry measure, access to records is provided only for the Secretary, not for authorized representatives.

Moreover, both measures delete the provision for full public disclosure contained in the Meat Inspection Act, including reports to Congress revealing the nature and extent of activities, and the total effectiveness of the overall governmental effort.

Moreover, the fish bill fails to take adequate account of the special factors pertaining to fish that require a difference in treatment from the meat measure. There is no provision for help to the fishermen of the Nation through a fisheries extension program.

Both contain other, smaller deficiencies. For example, the poultry bill provides for administration detention of unwholesome poultry, but does not require that the owner pay for storage during the detention proceedings. The fish bill fails to state that charges for impounded imported fish be paid by the owner. It permits certification for countries which meet U.S. standards, but fails to provide for any review of compliance. While placing reliance on States, the fish bill fails to include the requirement for "equitable distribution of development funds" among the States included in the poultry measure.

The poultry measure has been considered on the House side. The bill reported out by the subcommittee has been strengthened in several respects. However, two new weaknesses have been introduced: Violations of the law must be "knowingly" committed, even though this is required neither by the meat inspection nor by the Pure Food and Drug Act; plants handling less than $15,000 worth of poultry a year are exempted, even though these may send contaminated poultry to the consumer. And there is still the long waiting period before Federal inspectors can check intrastate plants when States do not intend to enforce inspection laws of their own.

Finally, no measure yet before either House deals with eggs.

THE NEED FOR EGG INSPECTION

The fresh, unbroken hen's egg is one of nature's best protected raw foods. Usually, even when eggs are obtained from diseased flocks, the egg, and yolk remain germ free. Most problems begin when the shell is cracked.

In commercial processing, an occasional contaminated egg cannot always be detected, and may be mixed in with a large number of good eggs. If eggs are dirty, cracked, or otherwise mistreated, they may cause contamination. Storage of whole eggs under warm and moist temperatures may allow micro-organisms to penetrate the shell. Ideally, the breaking operation should allow rejection of dirty, low-weight, check eggs, and incubator rejects before they are mixed. However, this is not always the case. The Food and Drug Administration, for example, cites case after case of the use of incubator rejects—eggs incubated at the hatcheries, but which fail to germinate, or in which the fetus had died.

Increasing numbers of the things that we buy contain not freshly broken shell eggs, but frozen, dried, or powdered egg yolks and whites. The processing of eggs can leave much to be desired.

According to the Public Health Service, conditions in most egg processing plants allow many disease-bearing micro-organisms to remain in the finished raw egg or egg products.

Unless pasteurization is used, Salmonella may remain throughout the processing operation. And even pasteurization may be inadequate, because the milk equipment adapted to egg processing may not do an adequate job.

The present inspection effort consists of actions by the States; and by Federal Government. The USDA operates a continuous, voluntary inspection service. In this, they are joined by Food and Drug Administration representatives, conducting surveillance or spot check inspections as part of their overall responsibilities under existing laws. Under the USDA program, 68 percent of the total U.S. liquid and frozen egg production, and 72 percent of the dried egg production was inspected last year.

While the Food and Drug Administration has authority to inspect under the Food, Drug, and Cosmetics Act, its inspections are not continuous. Only 652 inspections were made in 536 plants in 1967, an average of a little over one during the entire year, and these only in plants that shipped for interstate commerce.

Information on State programs indicates that they too are inadequate.

Most States do not have specific laws applicable to egg products, although 36 States have general food-type sanitary laws, that cover processing of all foods, but do not require pasteurization. Twelve States have mandatory laws, and two States have a voluntary law covering egg products. There is tremendous variation, both in the content of all of these laws, and in how they are administered.

There are approximately 800 non-USDA plants, producing about 231,470,000 pounds of liquid or frozen products. While the USDA has not done a survey of these plants as they did for nonfederally inspected poultry and meat plants, evidence from my own State, and others, shows how badly a uniform, strong inspection system is needed.

I first became aware of the problem with nonfederally inspected broken egg processors when one of my constituents, Mr. James Kosmo, editor of the Edina Courier, brought to my attention the situation in Lonsdale, Minn. The FDA has

seized 6,000 pounds of egg whites from the egg company in that town. The egg whites were found to contain Salmonella, fecal strep, and a coliform count more than 10 times that of raw sewage. The FDA report on the Lonsdale Egg Co., explained the reason for contamination: flies in the breaking room; dead flies in empty cans that then were filled with eggs; cleaning equipment that was itself contaminated from a hose left lying on the floor when it was not in use; raw, whole eggs stored in a holding tank at a temperature of 65–67 degrees for 1 hour or more; employees taking sanitized empty cans from the floor, and stacking them on each other.

The people receiving these eggs in Iowa and Missouri were lucky they were shipped in interstate commerce, and that the FDA inspectors caught them. How many other loads had been shipped to other States and within the State before these conditions were caught we will never know. For the Lonsdale plant was not under any kind of continuous inspection system.

These kinds of problems are not limited to Minnesota alone, of course. They exist across the United States.

In the spring of 1967, the Public Health Service, and local health officials, investigated the largest epidemic of salmonellosis in recent years in New York City. In one 3-week period, 14 outbreaks, with 1,790 persons involved, were tallied among families who had attended bar mitzvah celebrations in the New York area. The Public Health Service estimates that the total number of persons ill ranged somewhere between 9,000 and 21,000 persons. The cause turned out to be frozen cream chiffonade dessert prepared from contaminated, unpasteurized frozen egg yolks distributed not only to New York, but through the Northeastern United States. The source of the problem was in the processing plant:

Eggs were automatically broken, the whites and yolks were separated and flowed into buckets. Bits of egg shell often fell into the egg yolk and these were removed by hand, thus allowing ample opportunity for organisms on the outside of the shell to be inoculated into the yolk . . . some amount of yolk or egg white remained present in the mixing tank from the beginning to the end of the working day, a period of seven hours . . . the egg breaking and mixing were done at room temperature. Multiple salmonella serotypes were found in the egg breaking equipment and in the yolk mixing and straining tanks. A great variety of salmonella serotypes were found in samples of the plant environment and frozen wastes on the freezer floors. . . . The very generalized contamination of the environment, the machinery, and the unfinished product made it difficult for any product to be free of salmonella unless it was subsequently cooked or pasteurized.

But this did not happen, for the chiffonade was not cooked, nor were the eggs pasteurized before they were made into the dessert.

The Public Health Service report concluded:

This large outbreak resulted from the failure to control salmonella contamination at multiple points . . . 1) salmonella in the poultry feed leading to 2) salmonella in the children's gastro intestinal tract, causing 3) salmonella in the fecal contamination of the shells of eggs; 4) use . . . of "checked" eggs which would be most likely to have salmonella penetration; 5) an egg breaking process which distributed the salmonella uniformly into all of the egg products and allowed for its growth; 6) mixing the unpasteurized egg yolk into the dessert product and allowing for further incubation, and 7) failure to cook the chiffonade mixture after adding the contaminated eggs. The outbreak might have been prevented by correction of the inadequate sanitary practices at any one of these points.

And it also pointed to the need for further uniform regulation of egg processing plants, within as well as outside States:

The FDA requires that all egg products shipped interstate be salmonella-free. The FDA and the USDA have begun a program to try and eliminate salmonella from animal feeds. Such a federal regulation, however, would have been insufficient to prevent the outbreak under consideration because many poultry feeds given to the chickens were produced in the state in which they were used, and the egg product, frozen eggs, was not shipped interstate. The majority of the chiffonade dessert was also shipped intrastate.

Here again, this is not an isolated instance. Other Public Health Service reports point to six persons infected from drinking eggnog in Illinois; an unknown number infected in Washington, D.C., from egg yolk used in cake filling; 268 persons ill after eating coconut cream pie with meringue in Michigan. All of these could be traced to contaminated cans from frozen egg white.

Powdered eggs have caused widespread outbreaks of disease in infants because the eggs were inadequately pasteurized.

In the spring of 1964, Public Health Service investigations of an outbreak of food poisoning at a sorority dinner at the University of Utah discovered the cause to be banana-cream pie made from Salmonella-contaminated eggs. Sixty-six guests, waitresses, and kitchen employees became ill, some so ill that they required hospitalization. Eighty-eight cases were found at about the same time in other parts of Utah, and in Arkansas, Hawaii, Maryland, and Washington State. Three welfare recipients were reported dead in 1965 in Washington State from Salmonella-tainted dried eggs they had received from the State surplus food program. The Public Health Service points out that the use of raw eggs in bakery goods such as eclairs, or in hospitals have repeatedly caused outbreaks of illness that have been traced back to the eggs.

And the count continues on.

The Public Health Service sums up the situation well:

The practical fact is . . . that conditions in most egg processing plants allow survival of pathogenic microorganisms in finished raw egg and egg products.

They go on to cite evidence from Canadian authorities who have dealt with our exported egg products for many years.

A recent Canadian survey of such products showed that salmonella organisms were present in 12 percent of 114 samples of frozen egg and in 54 percent of 119 samples of egg-containing cake mixes, mostly manufactured by U.S. firms.

If this is the case from eggs shipped in interstate commerce, and across our national border, we have only to imagine what it must be like in the noninspected intrastate operations.

THE WHOLESOME POULTRY, EGGS, AND FISH PRODUCTS ACT OF 1968

The measure I introduce today represents an electric approach to resolving the problems not only in poultry and fish, but in egg inspection as well. While it takes much from the administration measures, it remedies the defects in the fish and poultry bills, and adds other provisions. It moves us toward that "unified program of consumer protection" the Public Health Service and all of us believe is necessary to protect the well-being of the Nation.

The bill creates the broad unified framework we need today to administer all three programs. It rests administrative authority for inspection not only of poultry, but of eggs and fish in the Secretary of Agriculture, thereby ending the potential for overlapping and duplication inherent in presently pending bills.

As did my original version of the Meat Inspection Act, the bill gives the Governors of States the chance to choose whether they wish to conduct part or all of the poultry, fish, and egg program without forcing it on them. Under this measure, Governors whose State laws equal Federal measures would be able to apply to the Secretary for an exemption from Federal inspection. If the Secretary found evidence that the State would be able to carry out a program equal in consumer protection to the Federal inspection system, he could then work with the States. He could provide technical assistance to strengthen State programs, and supply up to 50 percent of the total cost of the inspection program. But the consumer would be protected at all times. If the Secretary found that State programs were inadequate, he would be empowered to move quickly to reassert Federal standards and controls. The Secretary could, of course, reexempt the State if and when the standards became sufficient again.

I think this flexible provision is essential in view of the fact that only five States now have active, mandatory poultry inspection laws, and that no State egg or fish programs are as extensive as would be required under this proposed measure. Adequate protection of the consumer cannot be achieved without uniform standards applying both to products shipped within States and across State lines, because increasing number of poultry, fish, and egg processors prepare products for both types of shipment at the same plant, if not at the same time. Some States may wish to develop their own programs; but many may not. Those who do not wish to go to the added expense of developing their own administrative structures should not be required to do so.

This measure would permit the Secretary to work not only with States, but with other Federal agencies as well. With the ability to use the personnel and skills of States and other agencies, the Department will be able to work out the most effective and efficient arrangements for administration of the program on a State-by-State basis.

This bill authorizes the Secretary to make fullest use of the expertise of industry and the consumers. It provides for broadly representative advisory committees. We would expect these committees to consider not only issues specific to poultry, eggs, and fish, but also problems that cut across the protein products industry. The committees could help develop effective, uniform standards to protect the consumer, and the responsible members of the industries involved who often in the past have had to suffer losses in profit because their higher quality products have cost more than contaminated ones. We would expect committees to consider more effective means of warning consumers and industry of products potentially hazardous to health. The Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co. has developed a stamp for food packages, for example, which would indicate when frozen food packages had been thawed above safe temperature levels. This, and numerous other avenues to consumer protection could be explored.

We would expect an overall saving to taxpayers from this centralized protein inspection arrangement. The Secretary could unify recruitment, selection, training and advancement arrangements, eliminating much of the duplication and inconsistency that now exists. He could deploy manpower with great efficiency, using inspection and laboratory personnel in multiple roles. Meat, vegetable, and egg inspectors could also inspect poultry, fish, and egg products. The Secretary also could make cooperative arrangements with other Federal agencies, or State and local government to have their personnel conduct the multiple segments of the program.

The Department of Agriculture is the obvious choice to undertake this responsibility. While other agencies have been involved in parts of the overall effort, none has the combination of previous experience, and present administrative capacity necessary to assure the success of the measure I propose. The Department of Agriculture has administered successfully meat, poultry, and egg programs. It also has had responsibilities in fish inspection in the past. The Department could call upon the expertise of other agencies. But the Department itself could be made accountable on behalf of the consumers.

All three titles of this bill would require annual reports to the Congress and Nation like those required under the Meat Inspection Act.

The bill requires that mandatory programs be adopted for inspection of all poultry, fish, and eggs and their products. Exemptions are provided, but only in cases where evidence proves these to absolutely be essential. The Secretary is required to make the reasons for any additional exemptions available to the public.

The provision of the administration poultry bill making possible the shipment across State lines of poultry exempted from Federal inspection is deleted. This provision, not in the Meat Act, would make it possible for millions of pounds of inadequately inspected poultry to be sold to the consumer unaware that State requirements did not equal the Federal. The Federal-State inspection legend provision also is deleted. It was not in the meat bill either, and raises serious problems.

My poultry title adds a provision not in the administration measures, providing for inspection of poultry feed, to prevent contamination. And the fish title provides for technical and financial assistance to the fish industry to help it upgrade and modernize its operation to meet the requirements of the act, and for a fisheries extension program.

The fish title also amends the administration import provisions, making it conform to the standards of the Meat Act.

My bill gives 1 year for study and development of standards for fish inspection. I do not see why we must wait for three.

Finally, my bill remedies numerous smaller gaps in the administration poultry and fish measures. Adequate inspection of vessels would be required as part of the fish program instead, rather than left to the discretion of the Secretary, as it is in the administration bill. Import certificates would be reviewed under my fish title. Those responsible for illegal acts, such as importing diseased products, or merchandising them would be required to pay for administrative costs.

Mr. President, the American consumer can wait no longer for adequate protection of protein products. This year in which spectacular progress is being made to prolong life through medical science seems the appropriate time to act to assure that the quality of life, the health of people, be protected as well.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a section-by-section analysis of the legislation be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the section-by-section analysis of the bill was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS OF THE WHOLESOME POULTRY, EGG, AND FISH PRODUCTS ACT OF 1968

TITLE I.—AMENDMENTS TO THE POULTRY PRODUCTS INSPECTION ACT

Section 101. *Amendments.*—

(1) Section 2 amends the legislative finding now in Section 2 of the Poultry Products Inspection Act (PPIA) to support the provisions of the bill which affect intrastate commerce.

(2) Section 3 of the PPIA is amended to delete reference to designated major consuming areas, and include the terms adulterated and misbranded, used elsewhere in the Act.

(3) Section 4 of the PPIA is amended to revise definitions of "commerce," "Secretary", "poultry product", adulterated", "inspector", and "label", to delete the definitions of "official inspection mark", "wholesome", and "unwholesome", and to add numerous new definitions including "processed" and "misbranded." Definitions conform closely to those of the Federal Meat Inspecion Act (FMIA).

(a) The term "commerce" is amended to mean commerce within or between any State, territory, District of Columbia or within any territory not organized with a legislative body.

(b) A definition of "State" (including the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico) is added.

(c) A definition of "Territory" is added, including territories and possessions of the United States, except the Canal Zone.

(d) A definition of "United States" is added, covering all the States, Territories, and the District of Columbia.

(e) The definition of "poultry" is extended to include domesticated birds that died otherwise than by slaughter.

(f) The definition of "poultry product" is clarified and extended to include New York dressed poultry under the coverage of the Act. The definition closely resembles that for meat products under FMIA, except for the phrase "capable of use as human food" quoted elsewhere in the Act.

(g) The definition of "adulterated" is amended to conform to the FMIA except for non-substantive changes and other changes to make it applicable to poultry products.

(h) The definition of "misbranded" is amended to conform generally to the FMIA except for changes needed to make it applicable to poultry products.

(i) "Secretary" is redefined to include delegates of the Secretary as well as the Secretary of Agriculture himself.

(j) A grammatical change is made in the definition of "person".

(k) The definition of "inspector" is changed to include reference to employees or officials of a Territory, the District of Columbia, as well as of a State, or the United States.

(l) A definition for the term "official mark" is added, broader than the "official inspection legend."

(m) The term "official inspection legend" is substituted for "official inspection mark" in conformity with the FMIA.

(n) and (o) The terms "official certificate" and "official device" are added to conform to the FMIA.

(p) and (q) There is no change in the definitions of "official establishment" or "inspection service."

(r) A grammatical change is made in the definition of "container" or "package."

(s) "Label" is redefined to include written, printed, or graphic matter *upon articles* as well as matter upon the immediate container. The definition of "labeling" is added in conformity with the FMIA.

(t) and (u) No change is made in the definition of "shipping container" and "immediate container."

(v) A definition for "capable of use as human food" is added in conformity with the FMIA.

(w) A definition of "processed" is added, adapted from the FMIA for poultry.

(x) and (y) Definitions of "Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act"; and "pesticide chemical" and related terms are added identical with the definitions of FMIA.

(z) (aa) (bb) The terms "poultry products broker," "renderer," "animal food manufacturer" are added to conform to the definitions of the FMIA to make them apply to poultry products.

(4) Section 5 is amended to provide for the cooperation, assistance, and advice of appropriate State agencies and other departments and agencies of the Federal Government, deleting present provisions in Section 5 of the Act for designation of major consuming areas for intrastate activities.

(a) The policy of Congress is stated to be the protection of the consumer from adulterated or misbranded poultry and poultry products. To further this policy:

(1) The Secretary is authorized to enter into arrangements with State agencies, and other departments and agencies of the Federal Government to carry out the provisions of the Act.

(2) The Secretary is authorized to appoint advisory committees consisting of representatives of State agencies, consumers, and the poultry industry to advise him concerning means of increasing effectiveness of the program. Committees must include a majority of

consumers. Notice shall be given of meetings, and minutes or transcripts kept.

(3) The Secretary is authorized to develop or arrange for training programs for personnel engaged in carrying out programs under the Act, and education programs for those in industry, and other related educational activities.

(4) The Secretary is authorized to use by agreement the officers, employees and facilities of any State and Federal agencies.

(b) (1) Upon application by the Governor, the Secretary is authorized to exempt from the provisions of this Act states which have State laws at least equal in scope and content to the Federal laws, as well as such other characteristics as are prescribed by the Secretary.

(2) The Secretary is authorized to provide exempted States with advisory assistance, technical and laboratory assistance, training, financial, and other aid for administration of the program. The Federal Contribution is not to exceed 50% of the total cost of the cooperative program, with the States providing the remaining funds.

(3) This section specifies that the State agency with which the Secretary may cooperate may include State and municipal or other subordinate government units when these are involved in activities under the Act.

(4) The Secretary is authorized to terminate exemptions of States upon finding that they are failing to administer the program in accordance with the Federal standards. The Secretary is authorized to notify the Governor of such a fact, and to terminate the exemption after thirty days, unless the findings change within this time perod, in which case the exemption may remain.

(5) Even in states exempted under the Act, the Secretary is authorized, upon finding that a processing plant is producing adulterated poultry products injurious to public health, to notify the Governor and advisory committee of the finding. If, after a reasonable time, the State has not taken action, the Secretary may withdraw the exemption from the establishment, and it will be subject to the requirements of the Title.

(6) When the exemption is withdrawn, the Secretary is authorized to establish inspection procedures under the Act for poultry processors distributing their products within the State.

(7) The Secretary is authorized to provide an annual review of the State programs under this section, and to report on them.

(c) "State" is redefined to include the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, organized territories, and the District of Columbia.

(5) The heading of Section 5 is amended to read "Cooperation and Utilization of State and Other Federal Agencies; Exemption Authorized for Intrastate Activities."

(6) and (7) Section 6 is amended to conform to language contained in amendments made by the bil, including adding the phrase "capable of use as human food" to quality "poultry products" in the provisions for quarantine, segregation, and reinspection.

(8) Section 7 is amended editorially to conform to other amendments.

(9) Section 8 dealing with labeling requirements is amended to conform generally to the FMIA, except for editorial changes needed to make it relevant to poultry products. The single exception is that the Secretary is given authority to require specified information not only on the products "or" their containers, but on the products "and" their containers.

(a) This paragraph is amended as to labeling information to be required. The present Act specifies certain items required to appear on the shipping container and more extensive information for the immediate container. Under the revised section, information necessary under the definition of "misbranded" would appear on the poultry product itself, under certain circumstances, and on the shipping containers and immediate containers. The present inspection mark could continue to be used.

(b) The Secretary would be authorized to prescribe styles and sizes of type of required label information, and to prescribe standards of identity, composition, and fill of containers.

(c) The sale of articles subject to the Act under a false or misleading name or in containers of false or misleading form or size is prohibited. The use of approved labeling and containers is permitted. Similar provisions are in present paragraph 8(b).

(d) The Secretary is authorized to order labeling of containers be withheld from use if there is reason to believe they are false or misleading, and to provide for administrative hearing and judicial review. This provision is essentially the same as in paragraph 8(b) of the present Act, except that it includes authority to prevent use of containers of a false or misleading form or size.

(10) Section 9 is amended to delete the principal prohibition now in the Act, and substitute prohibitions like those in the FMIA plus others adapted from the present PPIA, and to make necessary editorial changes. Under the revised section it would be unlawful to:

(1) Slaughter or process poultry and poultry products capable of use as human food except in compliance with the requirements of the Act. (This clarifies a prohibition now in paragraph 9(a) of the Act with respect to processing.)

(2) Introduce or deliver for introduction, sell, transport, offer for sale or transportation, or receive or otherwise dispose for transportation or store (A) adulterated or misbranded poultry products capable of use as human food; or (B) poultry products required to be inspected unless they have been inspected and passed.

(3) Adulterate or misbrand poultry products capable of use as human food while they are being held for storage or for transportation or being transported or hedl for sale.

(Clause (2)(A) and Clause (3) replace comparable prohibitions in paragraphs 9(a), (b), and (d) and Section 16 of the present Act with respect to mislabled or unwholesome or adulterated articles, and extends coverage into areas now included only in the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act. Clause (2)(B) preserves prohibitions now in paragraph 9(a) concerning distribution of poultry products that have not been inspected.)

(4) Sell, transport, offer for sale or transportation, or receive for transportation articles not qualifying under the present definition of "poultry products", principally "New York dressed poultry."

(5) Use to his own advantage or reveal except under certain conditions, information entitled to protection as a trade secret. (This clarifies and slightly relieves the present prohibition in paragraph 9(h) of the Act.)

(6), (7), (8), (9) Make, simulate, forge, alter, counterfeit, possess, alter, detach, deface or destroy official marks, devices, or certificates, except as authorized by the Secretary.

(10) Knowingly possess any of the above, without notifying the Secretary or his representative;

(11) Make false statements on certificates;

(12) Knowingly represent that an article has been inspected and passed or exempted when it has not.

(Paragraphs 6–12 clarify and expand upon prohibitions contained in paragraphs 9(c) and (e) of the Acts which contain similar provisions, except as to false statements in certificates).

(11) Section 10 is amended to conform to other amendments.

(12) Section 11 is amended to delete the present record requirements, and substitute the records and other provisions of Title II of the FMIA.

(a) A new paragraph is added, limiting inspection under the Act to poultry and poultry products intended for use as human food. Denaturing or other identification is required for products not for human consumption before they can be distributed or imported.

(b) A new paragraph requires record-keeping and full and correct disclosure of business transaction by those who slaughter, process, freeze, package, label, buy, sell, transport, deliver, store, ship, import, receive or render poultry and poultry products. In addition, at reasonable times such persons would be required to give access to representatives of the Secretary to their places of business, their records, facilities, and inventories, and to take samples of their inventories upon payment, whether under the Act, or in an exempted State.

(c) A new paragraph would authorize the Secretary to require registration of persons engaged in business as poultry and poultry products brokers, renderers, animal food manufacturers, wholesalers or public warehousemen of poultry carcasses, etc., and persons engaged in the business of buying, selling or transporting or importing 4 D (dead, dying, diseased, disabled) or parts of carcasses of poultry that died otherwise than by slaughter.

(d) A new paragraph would prohibit those mentioned in (c) above from making business transactions, except in accordance with the Secretary's regulations.

(13) The Heading of Section 11 is amended to read: "Products Not Intended for Human Food; Records and Related Requirements."

(14) Section 12 relating to penalties is amended by substituting provisions adapted from Section 406 of the FMIA; by making editorial changes in paragraph 12(b); and by adding as 12(c) prohibitions and penalties like those in Section 405 of the FMIA relating to forcible assaults, etc. against persons performing official duties under the PPIA.

(15) Section 14 of the Act is amended to add authority for the Secretary to regulate standards of sanitation, quality control, storage, and handling, in consultation with an advisory committee, for persons engaged in processing, shipping and storing poultry and poultry products.

(16) The heading of Section 14 is amended to read: "Standards for Storage and Handling; Rules and Regulations."

(17) Section 15 relating to exemptions is amended by (a) deleting the poultry producer exemption authority now contained in paragraph 15(a)(1) (a more restricted exemption is provided in new paragraph 15(c));

(b) deleting the exemption authority given the Secretary by Section 15(a)(3) in cases of impracticability;

(c) preserving and redesignating as paragraph (a)(1) the exemption authority to retail dealers now contained in paragraph 15(a)(2); redesignating as paragraph 15(a)(2) the religious exemption provisions now contained in paragraph 15(a)(4);

(d) redesignating as (f) present paragraph (b) relating to suspension or termination of exemptions and adding new paragraphs (b), (c), (d), and (e) to the Act:

"(b) The Secretary is authorized to exempt from inspection slaughter of poultry and processing of poultry products in any unorganized territory for distribution therein, when he finds it is impractical to provide such inspection. (This is the same as paragraph 23(b) of the FMIA except for editorial changes.)

"(c) The Secretary may exclude from the inspection requirements of the Act slaughter and processing by persons using products of their own raising, for use by them, their family, their nonpaying guests and employees; and custom slaughterers who do not engage in buying or selling poultry products

capable of use as human food. (This is the same as paragraph 23(a) of the FMIA except for editorial changes.)

"(d) The adulteration and misbranding provisions apply to articles exempted or excluded from the inspection requirements.

"(e) A subsection states that under such regulations as the Secretary may prescribe to protect the public health, slaughter and processing of poultry normally conducted at retail stores and restaurants for sale at normal retail quantities may be exempted.

"(f) When exemptions are granted, the Secretary shall keep written records showing why the exemption is granted, and to make these records available for inspection."

(18) Section 16 is amended to give the Secretary authority to limit entry of poultry products into official establishments.

(19) Section 17 relating to imports is amended to conform to provisions in Section 20 of the FMIA.

(a) Importation of adulterated or misbranded poultry products capable of use as human food is prohibited; as is importation unless they comply with all the inspection, building construction standards and other provisions of the Act and regulations thereunder applicable to such articles in domestic commerce. An exception is made for imports not in excess of 50 pounds by persons for their own consumption.

(b) The Secretary is authorized to provide for destruction of articles imported contrary to the Act unless they are exported, or, if misbranded, brought into compliance with the Act under official supervision, instead of being exported.

(c) The provisions of paragraph 17(c) of the PPIA are expanded relating to assessment for storage, cartage and labor charges against the owner or consignee of products refused admission.

(d) Knowing importation in violation of these provisions is prohibited.

(20) Section 18 is amended to delete present provisions relating to jurisdiction of the Secretary in cooperation with other branches of government and State agencies, and substitute provisions of the FMIA for refusal of withdrawal of the Inspection Service under the Act.

(a) A new provision would authorize withdrawal or refusal of inspection service under the Act for any establishment, if it is determined that the applicant or recipient is determined to be unfit to engage in business, or if someone responsibly connected with him is determined unfit. Unfit persons can include persons convicted within the previous ten years of felonies or more than one misdemeanor relating to food; or felonies involving acts indicating a lack of integrity needed to conduct the operations affecting the public health.

(b) A new provision would provide opportunity for hearing, upon request by adversely affected processors, in cases where inspection service has been withdrawn or refused because of failure to destroy condemned poultry products or otherwise comply with requirements under Section 7 of the Act. However, the withdrawal or refusal would continue unless otherwise ordered by the Secretary.

(c) A new provision would call for judicial review of orders in proceedings within paragraphs (a) and (b).

(21) The first sentence of Section 19 is amended to clarify the circumstances under which the cost of inspection shall be borne by the United States.

(22) The heading of Section 18 is amended to read: "Authority of Secretary To Refuse Inspection Service."

(23) Sections 20–22 are redesignated as Sections 27 through 30 respectively, and new sections and headings are inserted.

(a) A new Section 19 authorizes administrative detention by the Secretary of Agriculture's representative of poultry products and other articles and 4–D poultry if found on specified premises, and there is reason to believe that such products are adulterated, misbranded, uninspected, in violation of Federal or other laws, or are intended to be distributed in violation of such laws and are capable of use as human food.

(b) A new Section 20 authorizes judicial proceedings for seizure and condemnation of poultry found to be in violation of the Act as mentioned in (a) above.

(c) A new Section 21 would give specified courts jurisdiction over actions to enjoin violation and certain other cases under the Act.

(d) A new Section 22 would incorporate by reference provisions of the Federal Trade Commission and Comunications Acts, authorizing requirement of reports, administrative subpoenas, and conferring other investigative and hearing powers.

(e) A new Section 23 would exempt poultry and poultry products to the extent they are covered by the provisions of this Act from the provisions of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetics Act. This would not exempt them from liability under State negligence laws, however.

(f) A new Section 24 states that no jurisdiction may impose resuirements different than these under the Title, but that they may exercise concurrent jurisdiction, except with respect to record-keeping.

(g) A new Section 25 provides for inspection of grain and other commodities used as poultry feed.

(1) Subsection (a) authorizes the Secretary to investigate the handling, processing, transporting, storage and use of poultry feed and to establish sanitaton and health standards to insure the consuming public against diseased poultry.

(2) Subsection (b) states that distribution of uninspected feed is prohibited.

(3) Subsection (c) gives the Secretary the authority to exempt from the inspection provisions those whom it would be impractical to inspect.

(4) Subsection (d) prohibits violation and prescribes penalties.

(5) Subsection (e) states that these provisions are in addition to the authority of the Secretary under the United States Grain Standards Act, and the authority of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare under the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act.

(g) A new Section 26 calls for Annual Reports to Congressional Committees similar to the provisions of the FMIA.

Reports are to be submitted to the Committee on Agriculture of the House of Representatives, and the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry of the Senate on the effectiveness of operations of State programs granted exemptions under Section 5, and the administration of Section 17 of the Act relating to imports.

SEC. 102. This section contains the usual savings provision to apply in the case of partial invalidity of the bill.

SEC. 103. This section provides that the bill shall become effective immediately upon enactment except for the adulteration and misbranding provision, import provisions, amendments of exemptions provision, and provisions relating to 4-D poultry, all of which would become effective 60 days after enactment.

TITLE II.—MANDATORY FEDERAL INSPECTION AND GRADING PROGRAM FOR EGGS AND EGG PRODUCTS

Section 201.—*Findings and Statement of Purpose.*—In order to protect the consuming public, avoid adverse effects on marketing, and avoid losses to egg producers and processors of egg products, it is necessary to provide for a mandatory inspection and grading program for egg and egg products, whether or not they enter into the current of foreign or interstate commerce.

Section 202.—*Definitions.*—The definitions of this section include language like that of Title I, modified to include egg and egg products.

(a) The term "egg product" is defined to include the yolk and albumen from the egg or any portion thereof or mixture, with or without added ingredients, and whether or not further processed, exception products which contain egg products only in a relatively small proportion.

(b) The term "egg" is defined to mean the shell eggs of domesticated chickens, turkeys, ducks, geese, or guineas. In addition, the following classifications of eggs are defined:

(1) "check" to mean eggs with broken or cracked shells;

(2) "clean and sound shell eggs" to mean eggs with shells free of adhering dirt or foreign material, and not cracked or broken;

(3) "dirty eggs" to mean eggs with unbroken shells with dirt or foreign materials;

(4) "incubator rejects" to mean eggs subject to incubation, but rejected as infertile or otherwise unhatchable;

(5) "inedible" to include black rots, yellow rots, white rots, mixed rots (addled eggs), sour eggs, eggs with green whites, eggs with stuck yolks, moldy eggs, misty eggs, eggs showing blood rings, eggs containing embryo chicks (at or beyond the blood ring stage), and any adulterated eggs;

(6) "Leaker or leaking" to mean eggs with cracks or breaks in shells and shell membranes such that contents are exposed or exuding or free to exude through the shell;

(7) "loss" to mean eggs inedible, smashed, cooked, frozen, contaminated, or leaking or incubator reject; or that contains bloody whites, or other large quantities of blood, large meat spots, or other foreign material;

(c) The term "grading" is added to mean determination of the class, quality, quantity, or condition of any product; and the act of identifying such product by means of an official identification symbol;

(d) The term "processed" and "processing" is added to mean breaking, filtering, mixing, blending, pasteurizing, stabilizing, cooling, freezing, drying, or packing or otherwise manufacturing, preparing or processing eggs.

(e) Deleted are terms inapplicable to the egg industry, including "broker," "renderer," and "animal food manufacturer."

(f) The terms "pasteurize" and "pasteurization" are added to mean the process precribed in regulation of the Secretary for destroying harmful, viable micro-organisms in egg products.

(g) The term "egg handler" is added to mean persons producing, buying, selling, processing, shipping, or receiving eggs or egg products, or otherwise handling them for commercial purposes.

Section 203. *Inspection and Grading Program for Egg Products; Re-inspection and Quarantine; Seizure and Condemnation; Administrative Detention.*—The provisions of this Title are much like similar provisions in Title I, amended Sections 19 and 20.

(a) The Secretary is authorized and directed to formulate and carry out an inspection and grading program for all eggs and egg products intended for human consumption, whether they are in interstate, or foreign commerce, or travel through intrastate commerce.

(b) The Secretary is authorized to quarantine, segregate, seize, or re-inspect such products as he deems necessary.

(c) In order to prevent the sale or transportation of eggs capable of use as human food, but which are dirty, check, leakers, incubator rejects, loss or inedible, the Secretary shall:

(1) Promulgate standards and regulations to prohibit sale; and see that premises are inspected;

(2) Promulgate regulations to prohibit purchase, except when denatured or decharacterized;

(3) Promulgate regulations to prohibit purchase, possession or use of such eggs by restaurants, other food service and food manufacturing plants;

(d) In order to prevent sale to consumers of incubator rejects, the Secretary shall inspect hatcheries and other establishments, to present use of such eggs as human food, and to require denaturing or decharacterization.

(e) Inspection is not to be provided for egg product processors processing eggs not intended for use as human food. On the other hand, such products are required to be rendered inedible under regulations prescribed by the Secretary.

(f) The Secretary is authorized to provide for the sampling, detention, and re-inspection of egg products at processing establishments. Adulterated egg products are required to be destroyed, unless they can be unadulterated for use as food products. An appeal procedure also is provided.

(g) L. Administrative detention of adulterated or misbranded products is provided for up to twenty days.

2. Seizure and condemnation of products being processed, sold, transported, or otherwise distributed; or adulterated or misbranded; or otherwise in violation of this Title is provided for under specified legal procedures. Procedures for disposal of such condemned products are included.

3. No provisions of this section are to conflict or derogate from other condemnation or seizure authority conferred by other laws or other provisions of this Title.

Section 204. *Sanitation, Facilities, and Practices.*—

(a) Each official establishment is to be operated in accordance with standards as are required by the Secretary to prevent marketing or transportation of adulterated or misbranded egg products.

(b) No establishment processing egg products for human consumption shall do so except in compliance with the requirements of this Title.

(c) The Secretary shall refuse to give inspection or grading to establishments whose facilities and buildings, and equipment, and operations fail to meet the requirements of this Section.

Section 205. *Labeling.*—This Section is the same as Section 8, Title I, as amended, with the exception of editorial changes needed to make it relate to egg and egg products.

Section 206. *Imports.*—This Section is the same as Section 17, Title I, as amended, with the exception of editorial changes needed to make it relate to egg and egg products.

Section 207. *Prohibited Acts.*—This Section is the same as Section 9, Title I, as amended, with editorial changes needed to make it conform to egg and egg products. This includes changes of wording, and the omission of Section 9(4) of Title I.

Section 208. *Penalties.*—This Section is written to correspond to Section 12, Title I, as amended.

Section 209. *Record and Related Requirements.*—This provision is like Section 11(b), Title I, with the exception of changes needed to make the requirements applicable to egg and egg products.

Section 210. *Reporting of Violations.*—This Section, like Section 13 of the Poultry Products Inspection Act, requires reasonable notice to persons suspected to be in violation of this Act before proceedings are instituted. Furthermore, the Secretary continues to be authorized to give notice of warning of suspected violation when he thinks this would adequately serve the public interest.

Section 211. *Exemptions.*—

(a) As in Section 15(b) as amended, of Title I, the Secretary may provide an exemption for products in territories not organized into legislative bodies solely for distribution within such territory if it is impracticable to provide such inspection.

(b) Exemption is provided for persons raising eggs on their own farms or processing egg products for the use of themselves, members of their families, non-paying guests, and employees, or for sale directly to household consumers.

(c) As in Section 15(d) as amended, of Title I, the adulteration and misbranding provisions apply to exempted products.

(d) The Secretary may suspend or terminate exemptions.

(e) When exemptions are granted, the Secretary shall keep written records showing why the exemption is granted, and make these records available for inspection.

Section 212. *Standards for Storage and Handling.*—This section is written to conform to Section 14, Title I, as amended, with the exception of editorial changes needed to make it conform to egg and egg products.

The Secretary is authorized to prescribe regulations and standards of sanitation and quality control for processing, storing, and handling, to prevent adulteration or misbranding, with an advisory committee. The Secretary is further authorized to publish these regulations in the Federal Register; six months after the code has been published, the provisions will become effective, with the exception of retail stores or other establishments regulated under state or territorial law.

Section 213. *Cooperation and Utilization of State and Other Federal Agencies; Exemption authorized for Intrastate Activities.*—This section corresponds and parallels Section 5, Title I, as amended, with the exception of editorial changes needed to make it conform to egg and egg product inspection.

Section 214. *Cost of Inspection and Grading.*—This section is like Section 19 of the Poultry Products Inspection Act, providing that cost of inspection shall be borne by the United States, except for over-time and holiday work. Reimbursements to the Secretary are to be available without fiscal year limitation to carry out the programs under this Act.

Section 215. *Annual Reports to Congressional Committees.*—This section reads exactly as does Section 26, as amended, of Title I with the exception of editorial changes needed to make it relate to egg and egg products.

Section 216. *Court Jurisdictions; Prevention and Restraint of Violations.*—This section is like Section 21, Title I.

Section 217. *Additional Authority for Administration and Enforcement of Title.*—This section reads as does Section 22 of Title I.

Section 218. *Uniform Requirements.*—

(a) No state or territory or District of Columbia, may impose requirements within the scope of the title that are different from the title, except for recordkeeping and other requirements within the scope of Section 209, but they may exercise concurrent jurisdiction over eggs and egg products.

(b) No state or subdivision, territory, or District of Columbia may establish mandatory standards, grades, or weights for eggs or other standards, consumer grades, or weight classes different from those under this Title.

Section 219. *Effect on Other Laws.*—This Section reads as does Section 23 of Title I as amended, with the exception of editorial changes needed to make it correspond to egg and egg products.

Section 220. *Rules and Regulations; Applicability of Title.*—This paragraph, like the amended Section 14 of Title I, provides that the Secretary shall promulgate such rules and regulations as are necessary to carry out the provisions of the Act, and shall be effective in the states, District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

Section 221. *Authorization for Appropriations.*—Like Section 20 of the Poultry Product Inspection Act, this Section provides for authorization of such sums as are necessary to carry out the provisions of the Title.

Section 222. *Separability of Provisions.*—As does Section 102 of Title I, this provision contains the usual savings clause concerning the validity of remaining portions of the Act should any part of it become invalid.

Section 223. *Effective Date.*—The Title takes effect immediately upon enactment, except that it does not become effective for 180 days after enactment, except for those people whose applications for inspection are approved. In the meantime, the voluntary inspection and grading in effect under the Agricultural Marketing Act is to continue in effect.

TITLE III.—MANDATORY INSPECTION OF FISH AND FISH PRODUCTS

Section 301. *Statement of Findings and Purpose.*—In order to protect the consuming public, avoid adverse effects on marketing of fish, and avoid losses to fishermen and processors, it is necessary to provide for mandatory inspection programs for fish and fish products, whether or not they enter into the channels of interstate or foreign commerce.

Section 302. *Definitions.*—The definition section is written to conform to the amended definition section of Title I, with editorial changes and definitional changes needed to make the section apply to fish and fish products.

(a) "Fish" is defined to mean any aquatic animal including amphibians or part thereof capable of use as human food.

(b) "Fish product" is defined to mean any product capable of use as human food which is made wholly or in part from fish or parts thereof, except those products exempted from the definition by the Secretary.

(c) The terms "processed" and "processing" mean the harvesting, handling, storing, preparation, production, manufacture, preservation, packing, storing, or holding of any fish or fish product.

(d) The term "fishing vessel" means watercraft involved in landing and processing fish for human consumption.

Section 303. *Authorization for fish and fish product inspection; Establishment of Task Force.*—

(a) The Secretary is authorized to develop a comprehensive inspection program for fish and fish products.

(b) The Secretary is authorized within thirty days of enactment of the title to convene a task force consisting of the representatives of relevant Federal agencies, the fishing industry, and consumers.

(c) The Task Force will, within six months, formulate a program providing for the mandatory inspection of all domestic fish and fish products. The program shall include:

(1) Minimum standards or requirements for sanitation, equipment, and practices for fishing vessels and fish processors to assure that products are not adulterated, misbranded, and are suitable for human consumption.

(2) Minimum standards of quality and good manufacturing processes for processing of fish, and for storage and handling;

(3) Continuous inspection of fish processing plants, and adequate inspection of domestic fishing vessels;

(4) Means for assuring that imported fish products meet the standards and requirements applicable to domestic fish;

(d) The Secretary is to publish these regulations in the Federal Register not more than six months after the date of enactment of the Title.

Section 304. *Effective Date for Inspection Program.*—The program shall become effective six months after the regulations are published.

Section 305. *Powers for Administration and Enforcement of the Inspection Program.*—The Secretary of Agriculture is given the following powers:

(a) *Inspection.* The Secretary is authorized to inspect fishing vessels and establishments, and to quarantine, segregate, seize, or rein-

FARM BARGAINING

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, on February 15, the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MONDALE] and nine cosponsors introduced S. 2973, the National Agricultural Bargaining Act of 1968. Our bill would create a national collective bargaining system for determining fair farm prices. On Tuesday, February 20, the Washington Post, in an editorial, termed the bill an "ingenious effort to give farmers powers comparable to those possessed by labor unions." I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the RECORD.

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

FARM BARGAINING

The National Agricultural Bargaining Act proposed by Senator Mondale of Minnesota and several colleagues is an ingenious effort to give farmers powers comparable to those possessed by labor unions.

It would provide for a National Agricultural Relations Board which would conduct referenda by the producers of farm commodities suffering from unreasonably low prices. The farmers would then elect representatives who would bargain with processors for a fair price.

The sale or purchase of the affected commodity at less than the established price would be prohibited by law. For all the terminology of labor relations involved, this is basically a price fixing bill. Instead of fixing the price at "fair market value" or "the cost of production plus a reasonable profit" as did farm plans in the twenties, the level would be negotiated. To that extent, it is an improvement on arbitrary pricing.

Secretary of Agriculture Freeman wondered in a recent address if "farm bargaining power is an idea whose time has come." The progress of the Mondale bill will be one measure of the truth or falsity of that conjecture. The general assumption in the past has been that farmers are too dispersed, too disunited and too diversified in interest to get together on bargaining methods. That assumption has been reinforced by sporadic efforts at "farm strikes" like those of the thirties, which frequently ended in violence ineffectually employed to stop the non-strikers. The Mondale bill would interpose the law where the earlier efforts relied on voluntary withholding. The enforcement problems do not seem as formidable today as they did a generation ago but they might still be considerable.

The disparity between the returns of an unorganized agriculture and those of organized labor and industry is such that any proposal holding out some promise of diminishing it deserves hearing and study. The farmer has found that he cannot rely on the generosity of processors and consumers.

INTRODUCTION OF JOINT RESOLUTION TO ESTABLISH A COMMISSION ON HEALTH SCIENCE AND SOCIETY

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, at this time I would like to introduce Joint Resolution 145, on behalf of myself and Senator FRED HARRIS, of Oklahoma, and Senators BAYH, BYRD, of West Virginia, CLARK, HART, INOUYE, EDWARD KENNEDY,

ROBERT KENNEDY, MCGEE, MCGOVERN, NELSON, PROXMIRE, RANDOLPH, WILLIAMS of New Jersey, and YARBOROUGH as cosponsors.

Mr. President, the current advances in health science and technology are bringing men more and more power in matters of life and death.

In California, man has created a kind of life. In South Africa, New York, and California, man has taken another step on the path of prolonging life through the substitution of vital organs. And some scientists are predicting that human intervention in genetic processes will one day make it possible to choose which parent a child will resemble.

Mr. President, these developments might be said to move men closer to God. Heart transplant operations and genetic breakthroughs, have focused worldwide attention on the awesome implications of advances in medical and biological sciences.

These dramatic possibilites, and others perhaps unimagined as yet by most of us, hold great promise for the present and future of mankind. At the same time, they raise profound and complex questions of ethics, law, and public policy—what is life and what is death; who shall live and who shall die; how long shall life be preserved and how shall it be altered; who shall make which decisions; how shall society be prepared?

Questions like these are not new, Mr. President. Nor are present accomplishments isolated advances. Rather, as Barry Commoner has pointed out:

> We are today witnessing the inevitable impact of the tidal wave created by scientific revolution more than half a century old. It is simply too late to declare a moratorium on the progress of science . . . The real question is not *whether* we should use our new knowledge, but *how* to use it.

Or to put it another way—are we wise enough to be so smart?

It is imperative that we recognize the scientific significance of these advances. And it is also essential that we begin to deal with their social and ethical implications in as rational and public a fashion as possible. For there are public questions as well as personal ones to be considered.

The need for a Commission on Health Science and Society becomes clear, if one examines some of these questions and their obvious relationships to theology, ethics, law, and public policy.

I. WHAT IS LIFE AND WHAT IS DEATH?

Heart transplant operations cloud the distinction between life and death, based on the heartbeat. The artificial production of a viral core that can replicate itself raises the issue of what besides the ability to reproduce distinguishes life from nonlife.

These definitions and related considerations have implications for theology, ethics, and the law.

The Eichwald report, published by the National Academy of Sciences, asserts:

> Society seems to have accepted the notion that the welfare of the living is more important than the sanctity of the dead.

Pope Pius XII has stated:

> The removal of viable organs from the dead in the interests of science does not offend the mercy of the dead.

Other theologians, however, are said to think that "death" is not the necessary criterion, but that "inevitability" of death is sufficient justification for removal of organs from the living in order to prolong life for another.

II. WHO SHALL LIVE AND WHO SHALL DIE?

Over 400,000 persons died last year from coronary heart disease. Some could have been saved at least for a time by heart transplant operations. An estimated 7,700 persons died last year for lack of kidney transplant operations.

Theological and moral concerns are manifest in the decisionmaking process. The disparity between demand for transplants and supply of organs, personnel and facilities makes decisions about who shall give and who shall receive the most difficult kind of ethical and moral issue.

There is a new three-in-one "God" substitute at work in the decisionmaking processes with respect to transplant operations: the patient, the family, or next of kin, and the physician. In addition, one also must consider the role of the law and the society at large.

A. THE PHYSICIAN

Perhaps the heaviest weight of responsibility rests on the shoulders of the physician.

First, he must decide whether to attempt the operation at all. When is a heart transplant a justifiable risk?

During recent weeks the shades of opinion in the profession have ranged from caution to enthusiasm for the experiments conducted so far. But even when and if transplants become more common, the decisions will still be difficult.

The Hippocratic oath instructs the physician to do no harm. But developing medical techniques for prolonging life raises a complex question—no harm to the potential donor or no harm to the life of the potential recipient?

By the same token, religious principles may not provide complete guidance. "Thou shalt not kill" may be an ambiguous instruction.

William A. Nolen, M.D., of the Litchfield Clinic, Litchfield, Minn., wrote to me of some of the ethical problems he and other members of his profession face every day:

> I have been a participant in the weekly surgical conferences at Hennepin General Hospital in Minneapolis for the last six years. Time and time again problems arise related to tissue transplantation. Under what circumstances can we in good conscience declare an individual dead? Do we use an electroencephalogram, and electrocardiogram, or simple clinical signs to determine the absence of life? How should the relatives of the potential donor be approached? When can the donor be put in a heart-lung by-pass? I could go on indefinitely. The point is that confusion reigns even in a center where kidney transplants are frequent. Policies are established but on uncertain grounds.

Rabbi Bernard S. Raskas of St. Paul, Minn., points out another dimension of the ethical dilemmas. He points out that the one surviving human heart transplant patient is alive because he has the heart of a mulatto beating in his breast.

The country of South Africa, he reminds us, practices strict segregation of the races. While the national policy of the United States demands racial equality, de facto, if not de jure segregation makes relevant the questions Rabbi Raskas raises:

> Is it all right to have the heart of a Negro inside you, beating for you, giving you life, but not all right to have him live next door? . . . Is it perfectly permissible to use the kidneys of Negroes for one's welfare, but then to deny them the rights of employment, the opportunity to better their minds through education, and to reject their right for the pursuit of happiness?

I can only hope with Rabbi Raskas:

> Science may have brought to the fore a divine subtlety . . . that it is for us in the wake of transplanting a new heart to also acquire a new spirit of authentic religious equality in dealing with all of God's children.

B. PATIENT AND FAMILY

The basic principle guiding choice of donors and recipients is the consent of both parties.

Basic to the ethics and law in this area is the notion that consent be informed and that it be voluntary.

Discussions have continued for years about what constitutes informed and voluntary consent. The same kinds of questions are raised again by the transplant operations, but in a more dramatic context.

How well informed and how voluntary the consent is for patient and family depends not only on what they are told, but on how they are told. Which is more important—the contribution to medical science or letting a relative die naturally? Amid personal grief and stress, the family or patient may make judgments they later regret.

C. SOCIETY AT LARGE

How much is a man's life worth?

To ask questions about finance is to see the relationship between social decisions and life and death.

An estimated cost for transplanting a kidney is $5,000, plus followup care. The cost for hearts may be much more, yet $130 per year could give adequate, routine health care to poor Americans.

A public commitment of $1 billion could buy enough kidney and community dialysis centers to serve the 25,000 or more who will need them in the next decade. Or it could buy comprehensive ambulatory health care for more than 1,250,000 poor people.

This is a question of distributive justice. Obviously we need both kinds of health care services. But with limited resources and disagreements about the extent and direction of public commitments, the priorities we establish affect both the quantity of life—who lives and dies—and the quality—just how healthy people really can be.

And not only the priorities, but also the financing mechanisms are important. Shall organs be bought and sold life blood? Or shall they be procured through some public mechanism? Who shall pay for the operations?

To ask this question is to raise the issue brought up by Dr. Joseph T. English, Acting Director of Health Affairs for the Office of Economic Opportunity. The question is whether the poor shall have access:

What is particularly unjust, it seems to me, is that so many of our research discoveries would not have been possible were it not for the fact that the poor have allowed us to perform our research experiments upon them. Doesn't it make sense that they then should be among the first to reap the benefits of this resarch—and that we have a moral obligation to see that this happens?

Should the "ability to pay" principal guide selection of recipients of heart and other organ transplants—selection of those who may have life?

And Dr. P. J. Peete, professor of surgery, Duke Medical Center, inquires:

Where should the money be spent? . . . Should we spend as much time and money for the defective, the incurable, the unproductive as for the rehabilitiated? Should we spend money for the mentally retarded when it is needed for the highly intelligent? Do the fit have more right to life than the unfit?

This, in turn, raises the question of how individual decisions are to be made, and by whom.

D. THE LAW

Legal issues emerge when one examines State statutes dealing with such subjects as donation of human tissues, property rights in dead bodies, and mutilation of corpses.

A distinction must be made between donation between the living, as is the case for kidney transplants, and donation from the dead to the living, as is the instance in heart transplants. The first situation presents fewer legal difficulties than the second.

If one relative donates a kidney to another living relative, the primary legal principal is "informed" and "voluntary" consent. While factors such as inadequate explanation and social pressure may be difficult to judge, they still are not as complex as are the issues raised by donation from dead to the living.

To begin with, what is "death"? As pointed out before, techniques which preserve the function of the heart when other body processes have ceased may make the present medical definition of death obsolete. Law does not provide guidance to the physician faced with the decision as to how long to maintain life artificially through use of a machine. Many writers have called for a redefinition of "death," perhaps based on cessation of brain function.

Thirty-eight States, including Minnesota, have tissue-donation statutes, giving individuals the right to donate tissues and organs for specific purposes. Five additional States have laws limited to donation of eyes.

Some of these laws require that organs may be donated only through wills, omitting the possibility of donation through other written instruments, cards, or perhaps oral deathbed donations. Some limit the places to which organs may be donated. The Minnesota law, one of the earliest, limits donation to wills, and fails to mention donation to tissue banks, for example.

Then there is the issue of immunity for physicians. Even if a person has donated organ or tissue through a will, there is a legal question as to whether the physician could be found guilty of mutilating the corpse if the relatives wanted the body whole for burial. Statutory statement of immunity might remedy this possible conflict, but most States, including Minnesota, do not have such a provision.

If an individual has not donated before death, other problems arise. Having property rights in the dead body, relatives might be asked to consent to removal of tissue or organs.

Often this right is not stated specifically in the statutes. It is not, for example, in Minnesota. But even if this right is stated, relatives may be under such strain at the time of death that they may be unwilling or emotionally unable to make such a decision.

In addition, time may prove a barrier. Present technology requires that many kinds of organs be removed almost immediately, within 30 to 60 minutes in some cases, for example. In this instance, unless the relative is present at bedside, consent may not be obtained in time to make the organ available for use in transplant operations.

Finally, there is the question of the role of the medical examiner. With the present gap between supply of organs and demand for operations, some have suggested enlarging the authority of the medical examiner to include the right to donate tissue or organs for medical research or transplantation as he is performing autopsies. This would require a change in laws which presently limit the authority of the medical examiner to determining cause of death in such cases as homicide, suicide, or in cases where an accident victim dies unattended by a physician.

The proposed Uniform Gift to Tissues Act, which recently received preliminary approval from the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Law deals with many of these issues. If adopted, it would resolve many conflicts.

However, even it does not resolve all questions. Some lawyers suggest that this law or another might well deal with the issue of payment mechanisms, and that this group or others might address the question of how international tissue donation is to be handled.

The dramatic events of recent months have focused attention on the implications of the transplant operations. But the same kinds of questions arise when considering the implications of genetic research, including the DNA—deoxyribonucleic acid—discoveries.

On a far distant horizon according to some scientists is the day when scientists will be able not only to predict whether a gene is likely to be present in human beings, but also to intervene directly in genetic processes. Some geneticists claim that work with frogs indicates that there is no reason why a man or woman could not turn out an exact genetic replica of himself instead of going through the process of fertilizing an egg and taking the chance on the outcome of the mating procedures.

Dr. Joshua Lederberg points out that through the technique of nuclear transplanation, children someday could be propagated who resemble one parent rather than a combination of the characteristics of the two. And it is said that the future implications of Dr. Kornberg's artificial production of a viral core may someday lead to vast improvements in the treatment of old-age diseases and malfunctions, including cancer and mental retardation.

The application of new knowledge of genetic chemistry to diagnosis of disease raises some questions. Who shall have access to these specialized diagnostic procedures? Those within reach of the highly sophisticated research centers? How quickly is this knowledge to be spread to the rest of the population?

Genetic intervention, also raises moral and ethical issues of the most profound magnitude.

Geneticists, such as Dr. Lederberg, stress that they are not going to change the bodies of any existing people. But if this is a possibility for the future, we should be thankful that we have many years to think and plan. I am happy that I do not have to think about deciding which kinds of people would represent "perfecting the race" through genetic chemistry and which would not. It is somewhat comforting to think that perhaps the people who will have to make decisions like that would not have the clear memory of Nazi Germany on their minds, as I do.

While we continue to discuss the implications of sterilization of ghetto women, of LSD, of marihuana, and of abortions for thalidomide babies, we must begin to address the questions of mass eugenics that genetic chemistry raises for us now and will raise in the future. For example, should we spend the $10 million Dr. Lederberg says it would take to translate genetic research into treatment as fast as science could proceed, or shall we spend it on nuclear weapons which have their own potentialities for genetic alteration?

III. HOW SHALL PUBLIC EDUCATION TAKE PLACE?

Several writers, including Dr. Irvine H. Page, have asked important questions about how public information should be handled on these scientific breakthroughs.

As Dr. Page puts it:

The chief drawback to the newer procedure is that many wholly unsuccessful experiments are presented first as "miracles," a few days later as "maybe," and the following week, "the patient died but the experiment was a success."

How does this disillusionment affect the confidence of the public in the medical profession? Dr. Page maintains:

Too early reporting leads to unhealthy competition among physicians and investigators, with too much emphasis on being "first."

The problem is how to put things in public perspective. The Washington Post carried an article recently about speech given by Dr. Donald S. Frederickson, Director of the National Heart Institute, in which he pointed out how limited is the current value of heart transplants for treatment of heart disorders. But this article was on a back page, while the transplants themselves made daily front-page headlines.

How many people now expect the heart transplants are "the answer"? How many Americans will put tremendous and uncalled-for pressure on physicians and

hospital administrators because of unrealistic expectations?

Education of the public including patients, physicians, legislators, and administrators, is an absolute necessity if they are to appreciate the true meaning of scientfic discoveries, and to make the best possible choices.

As a famous surgeon and researcher, Dr. Michael DeBakey has pointed out:

The moral, ethical, legal, and psychological implications of human cardiac transplantation will undoubtedly be much more far reaching than anticipated from present brief experience. The issues must be thoroughly analyzed, human values reconsidered, and satisfactory answers sought in the light of reason rather than in the heat of emotions. Cliches, irrelevancies, and capricious injunctions must not be allowed to thwart sane judgment.

Numerous groups and individuals and organizations are now at work on these problems. The Gottschalk report on chronic kidney disease was prepared for the use of the Bureau of the Budget. The National Institutes of Health has prepared guidelines for clinical investigators. The American Medical Association Journal has published numerous articles concerning medicine and society. In my own State, the Mayo Clinic has a committee considering some of the implications, and there are many, many more.

Taken together, these efforts represent a significant beginning. But something more is needed. The right information is not getting into the proper channels. Many issues remain undiscussed. And many American citizens, including Congress and the President, have yet to become involved and informed.

And I am not alone in this conviction.

I have written to more than 200 persons, including physicians, those engaged in public policy, and deans of schools of medicine, law, and theology and individuals all over the United States; I have discussed these matters abroad. In my letter, I asked whether there were social and ethical issues that deserved discussion. And I also asked what they thought of an idea I had to move this discussion forward—the creation of a Presidential Commission to consider these issues.

The response has been overwhelming and positive. I have used excerpts from some of these letters in the discussion so far. I intend to place all of them in the RECORD at a later date, along with an analysis.

Some receive any consideration of the social implications of medical research as an attempt to interfere with the magnificent progress in this field. I am thrilled by what modern medicine is producing and I recognize that medical research must be encouraged and protected if we are to continue to enjoy the fruits of this progress. I have joined the battle on several previous occasions to protect modern medical research and I will continue to do so in the future.

The purpose underlying the Commission's functions is not to interfere with medical research. Indeed it is to encourage it, but also to be sure that the moral and social implications of the products of such research are fully and responsibly considered and dealt with.

I agree with Dean Harold F. McNiece, of the School of Law, St. John's University, Brooklyn, N.Y.:

We must develop ways and means of keeping the social and ethical sciences abreast . . . of the biological and chemical sciences . . . In brief, we must become more concerned with the why of scientific advance . . .

This resolution sets up a framework for discussion.

It provides for the establishment of a Commission to be composed of 15 members, appointed by the President from among representatives of medicine, law, physical and social science, theology, philosophy, ethics, health administration, and government. We would expect the best minds in the country to deal with the important issues, representing not only the academic community, but working scientists and laymen as well.

The Commission would undertake a comprehensive investigation and study of the legal, social, and ethical implications of health science research and development, including analysis and evaluation of the public and private national effort in this field, ascertaining public attitudes, and sifting out the implications for public policy implicit in these developments.

At the end of 1 year, the Commission would send to the President and the Congress a report, containing a statement of the findings of the Commission, together with recommendations for legislation and administrative action it deems advisable.

We would expect the Commission to make the widest possible use of materials already developed by governmental agencies, and private groups and individuals.

The Commission could establish contractual relationships with individuals and organizations, both public and private, to gather additional information they would need.

Since public involvement and education is of the essence, the Commission would be expected to go to the people through regional or local discussions at widely scattered points of the country.

The emphasis of the Commission would be on public policy. It would concern itself with setting goalls, suggesting programs, recommending priorities, suggesting legislation, and formulating models for the evaluation of our national health science effort within the context of the needs of society as a whole. The Commission would recommend actions to promote a closer relationship between health science and society, in order that the goals and actions of the one reflect and influence the aims and conduct of the other.

Of course, some of the questions I raised at the outset can never have final answers. Some are purely philosophical, others have clear relationships to public policy. Some questions are more urgent than others. Some are already being adequately addressed by other groups and individuals.

While the potential scope of the Commission is enormous, its initial focus would need to be narrow, if the findings and recommendations were to be useful.

The process of hearings will serve to guide the Commission in setting priorities, and I look forward eagerly to this process. I believe we will be deeply grateful tomorrow that we have raised these questions today.

I agree with the admonition of Rabbi Raskas:

Don't rush to answer these questions so fast—

He says—

for they imply basic decisions to be made about the human race. They raise the ultimate questions of existence.

Like the rabbi, "rather than finding these dilemmas disturbing, I welcome them with my whole heart."

For, like the rabbi, I see hope in the work a commission could do not only implications for health research, but for society as well. Perhaps it is not too far-fetched to dream as does Rabbi Raskas:

Perhaps if mankind now sets its best brains to thinking about these things, then may it not be just possible that as a by-product we might find the solution to wars, poverty and prejudice. If we focus our entire thoughts on the highest reaches of man, may we not find that we all must cooperate so completely for man's welfare than the negating and destructive impulses in us will be effectively controlled and directed. We can do this if we set our hearts to the task . . .

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be received and appropriately referred.

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 145) to provide for a study and evaluation of scientific research in medicine in the United States, introduced by Mr. MONDALE (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Government Operations.

duly authorized law-enforcement officers engaged in the investigation or prevention of specified categories of offenses, and for other purposes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSOR

AMENDMENT NO. 511

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, on behalf of the senior Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE], I ask unanimous consent that the name of the junior Senator from Iowa [Mr. MILLER] be added as a cosponsor of amendment No. 511, offered by Senator LAUSCHE, for himself and the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. HOLLINGS], to S. 1042, the bill to provide for the general revision of the patent law.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

NOTICE OF HEARING ON NOMINATION BEFORE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, on behalf of the Committee on the Judiciary, I desire to give notice that a public hearing has been scheduled for Thursday, February 15, 1968, at 10:30 a.m., in room 2228, New Senate Office Building, on the nomination of Edward J. Schwartz, of California, to be U.S. district judge, Southern District of California, vice James M. Carter, elevated.

At the indicated time and place persons interested in the hearing may make such representations as may be pertinent.

The subcommittee consists of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND], chairman, myself, and the Senator from

nile Delinquency Subcommittee will begin on February 19, 1968.

The probe is a continuation of hearings begun in 1966 to find new tools to cope with a rise in marijuana use and a massive increase in the abuse of LSD and dangerous drugs.

Our field investigations suggest that tighter controls are needed along with more coordinated enforcement and extensive government rehabilitation for those victimized by our drug culture.

Scheduled to testify when public hearings reconvene at 10 a.m. in the caucus room on February 19 is Dr. James L. Goddard, Commissioner, Food and Drug Administration.

Previous subcommittee hearings examined in depth the problems connected with enforcement of the Dangerous Drug Control Amendments of 1965 and the establishment of an effective rehabilitation program backed by the Federal Government.

The subcommittee suggested to Dr. Goddard at that time that the runaway abuse of LSD by college students and "hippies" called for more severe controls over its manufacture and possession. It was agreed then that LSD was, and is, a nonpharmaceutical with no accepted medical use.

The Food and Drug Administration, Dr. Goddard said, charged with administering the then new Bureau of Drug Abuse Control, would like some time for experience in administering the new drug control amendments, and for further study of its position on LSD.

I am pleased to see that Dr. Goddard, with sufficient time to study the problem, apparently now agrees that new legislation is needed on LSD, and we are encouraged to see President Johnson place White House support directly behind the type of legislation the subcommittee suggested.

Other witnesses scheduled to testify at the forthcoming hearings are: February 20, 1968, Henry L. Giordano, Commissioner, Bureau of Narcotics; February 21, 1968, Dr. William H. Stewart, Surgeon General; Dr. Stanley F. Yoles, Assistant Surgeon General; Dr. Helen H. Nowlis, former director of the National Association of School Personnel Administrators' drug education project.

PROPOSED MASS CAMP-IN IN WASHINGTON

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr President, in my previous discussion on the pending bill, H.R. 2516, I inserted in the RECORD articles with reference to the activities of Martin Luther King and his plan to march on Washington.

King yesterday set the goal for his mass camp-in in Washington. This is stated in the article apearing in the Washington Post today, and I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the RECORD at this point.

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

KING KEYS HIS TACTICS TO RESPONSE BY HILL

(Jean M. White and Robert C. Maynard)

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., yesterday set the goal for his mass camp-in in Washington as a "bill of economic and social rights" for the poor, including guaranteed jobs and guaranteed minimum income.

At the same time, the Negro leader pledged that his April poor people's campaign will begin as a peaceful and law-abiding demonstration and will "escalate to disruptive protest" only if Congress doesn't help the poor.

"Our aim is not to tie up the city of Washington," Dr. King emphasized. "Our protests will center on the Government, Congress, and not the city at large."

The head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference also hinted he may carry his crusade to the national political conventions in this election year "if things don't happen here" and Congress does not act.

He also talked about simultaneous demonstrations in 15 other cities and taking pickets into the home towns of Congressmen for protests before their homes and offices.

Dr. King held meetings with two different groups last night, the first with top SCLC and SNCC staff members—including Chairman H. Rap Brown—at the Pitts Motor Hotel, and the second at a rally in the Vermont Avenue Baptist Church, 1630 Vermont Ave. NW., with about 1000 persons attending.

Dr. King said after the meeting with SNCC leaders that it was simply one of several he is holding "in a number of cities with a number of groups" to explain his spring campaign.

Brown, under a bond restriction to remain in the nine counties of the jurisdiction of the Federal District Court for the Southern District of New York, shrugged his shoulders when asked if his presence in Washington might not arouse the ire of that court.

At the rally on Vermont Avenue, Dr. King was applauded and cheered throughout his 35-minute talk. A large minority of white persons attended.

Dr. King said it is long past time for America to get concerned over the Negroes' economic and social plight.

"Freedom is not something the oppressor will give to the oppressed," he said. "Freedom is something the oppressed must demand from the oppressor . . . We will come to Washington in April not to beg, but to demand justice and demand that they grant us what is truly ours."

Hosea Williams, one of Dr. King's aides, said, "We want to make it clear we are not building any coalitions."

Yesterday black power militant Stokely Carmichael, who met with Dr. King on Tuesday night along with 100 other Washington Negro civil rights activists, indicated that he will not overtly interfere or oppose the SCLC plans for "militant nonviolence."

Carmichael, commenting yesterday on his discussion with Dr. King, summed it up this way:

"I said we have to accept each other's ideology whether we disagree with it or not."

Carmichael added that "any black man who would blast Dr. King would be totally irresponsible."

But Carmichael, who is trying to pull together a Washington Negro coalition under the name of the Black United Front, added that it will be up to each organization in the Front to decide what its role will be in King's nonviolent campaign.

His individual role, he indicated, will be governed by what his Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee decides.

At a press conference yesterday, Dr. King was asked whether Carmichael and SNCC black power militants would agree to accept the "discipline of nonviolence" if they join the camp-in.

Dr. King said that he was certain Carmichael believes that people committed to nonviolence should be allowed to practice their philosophy.

The SCLC head called the press conference yesterday to unveil some of the specifi

LWV of Minnesota

Interview with Senator Walter F. Mondale - 12/21/1967

Subjects discussed:

I. Water

His "Clean Lakes" Bill has passed the Senate. It provides for research and demonstration projects to do a better job controlling lake pollution and siltation. With passage, this bill could help attack the problems of a lake like the one at Albert Lea where there is the problem of ~~plant polution, many governmental units,~~ how to clean up the lake, keep it clean, ~~xxx~~.how to distribute costs, etc. The St. Croix Wild Rivers Bill has passed the Senate.

He is concerned ~~xxxx~~ about the polution problems of Lake Superior and is urging a conference be called by Secretary Udall to locate pollution sources and force corrective action.

II. Foreign Aid and Trade

Congress' action on aid this session was disgraceful. The Agency for International Development (AID) is competent and is now in a position to ~~really~~ constructively use $3-4 billion. Some nations have had to clear up their own situation first, ~~xxxxxx~~ but with ~~when~~ this is done, U.S. funds ~~are not~~ should be available. AID has a backlog of many worthwhile projects.

President Johnson no longer has tariff powers as that bill has expired. He must introduce tariff legislation, epecially to do away with the American Selling Price procedure. Unless this system is abolished, the whole Kennedy Round of tariff concessions will fall apart. Senator Mondale is working up a major speech on trade-tariffs. He will emphasize the need to channel American business' concern from protectionism to working to lower other, non-tariff barriers such as border taxes, wheelage taxes, quotas, etc. Many of these restrictions are unfair to US business. ~~He is working with the Brookings Institute~~ An important trade meeting is coming up in India and he hopes they will be able to come up with some arrangement to help developing countries.

He will oppose efforts to impose steel importing restrictions. When the steel industry's competition came from foreign ore which was owned by US industry, even though it hurt miners in Minnesota, they resisted urging restrictions. Senator Mondale feels that the current pressure is because the competition is coming from fabricating companies that are owned abroad. ~~and are~~ He feels the principle of free trade should still apply.

In January he is taking a trip to Eastern European countries to explore trade possibilities.

III. United Nations

Senator Mondale joined in sponsoring the Senate resolution urging the President take the Vietnam issue to the UN Security Council. Ambassador Goldberg is working on this; he needs 9 nations. Senator Mondale is backing the President on Vietnam.

He feels the League could be very useful in getting action on the Senate resolution to make the UN peace keeping force more viable. A force like that would help avoid future situations like Vietnam with its overtones of race against race, rich against poor, big against little, etc.

IV. Developing Human Resources

He feels that a change in personnel should help the Superior Area Redevelopment program make meaningful progress. He is very concerned about this program and welcomes League interest.

His "Full Opportunity and Social Accounting Act" is progressing; it should get sub-committee hearing next session.

V. Non-League Interests

Senator Mondale has been very much involved in the successful passage of his meat inspection bill. He comments that working on a bill like this is very time consuming, has taken two months of full time effort.

Senator Mondale has ~~available~~ wrote his first filibuster speech, which he never gave. It is on the welfare restrictions included in the Social Security bill. The mood of Congress is to ~~associate~~ equate ADC mothers with immorality and the bill seeks to punish them. ~~ADC mothers~~. Since Minnesota won't let people starve, it means that general, local welfare will have to pick up the costs. A provision that will force ADC mothers to work drew ~~his~~ the Senator's comment that "This is nothing but a way of reinstituting slavery."

Recent votes on issues of interest (League and non-League)

Economic Opportunity Act (EOA)

Voted to keep Head Start under Office of Economic Opportunity instead of ~~to establish it in the Office of Education~~.
Supported "Emergency Employment Act" amendment to EOA ($2.8 billion additional which was removed by Senate action)
~~Voted to bar EOA funds for voter registration drives~~
Voted for the Senate version of EOA; voted for the conference bill.

Foreign Aid

Voted for more money for the Development Loan Fund, Alliance for Progress, & Technical Assistance Program than was approved by the Senate.
Supported the Foreign Assistance Act as amended; voted for the appropriations bill; recorded as not voting on the foreign aid appropriation conference report.

Other

Voted to allow only 10% population variation in Congressional District size until 1972 instead of 35% variation.
Voted against the compromise redistricting bill which had no population provision.

Voted in the minority to abolish the Subversive Activities Control Board. Voted with the majority to abolish it unless it becomes active by December 31, 1968.

Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA)

Voted against giving control of Title III (innovative educational services) to the states instead of the Office of Education.
Voted for the ESEA; recorded as not voting on the ESEA conference report.

Supplemental Information on Senator Walter F. Mondale
(League and non-League areas of interest)

Anti-poverty legislation:
Voted to keep Head Start under OEO instead transferring to Office of Ed.
Supported "emergency employment act" amendment to the anti-poverty bill.
Supported the Prouty measure, amendment to the poverty bill, stressing training with greater emphasis on private industry. This was defeated; it was opposed by conservatives and the administration. Vote 42 to 47.
Voted to bar EOA funds for voter registration drives.
Voted for the Senate version of the EOA; voted for the conference bill.

Foreign Aid:
Voted for more money for the development loan fund, Alliance for Progress, technical assistance program than the Senate approved.
Supported the Foreign Assistance Act as amended; voted for the appropriations bill.

Is main author of a "clean lakes" bill. It is aimed at better methods of controlling lake polution and siltation. It provides for research and demonstration projects. This bill is recommended by Senate Public Works Committee. Won't go further until next year. Passed the Senate.

During the Christmas recess, Senator Mondale will visit Duluth's model city area; Duluth's "follow-through" school program; confer on housing, urban affairs, DFL politics. He will be in Washington for Christmas. Congress will reconvene January 15.

Other interests - not League:
1. Sponsor of a program to aid the poor to buy homes by subsidizing interest. Compromized with Percy on the bill. (Pres. Johnson's rent suppliment program received $10 million of a requested $40.)
2. Was very upset over the Social Security bill which did pass, because of the restrictive welfare provisions. One provision will force ADC mothers to work, "This is nothing but a way of reinstituting slavery."
3. Is chairman of a subcommittee on retirement and the individual.
4. Chief author of the meat packing plant inspection bill. Appeared on NET-TV's PBL, Sunday night about this bill. (After the bill was signed, Davies, Meat Institute lobbiest, had a party featuring "Kotzburgers" for Nick Kotz, Mpls Trib correspondent who sparked interest in the bill & "Furness (Betty) hot dogs - approved by Mondale and Montoya.")
5. Voted to put 10% variation in population on Congressional districts. Voted against the compromise bill which had nothing on population.
6. Voted in the minority to abolish the Subversive Activities Control Board; voted with the majority to abolish it unless it becomes active by Dec. 31, 1968. (One final vote on this was something like 6 to 3)
7. Kampelman's involvement with Mondale, "I merely asked the aid agency people to talk to them and give them a hearing." (Kampelman was nominated for the D.C. Council. He had aided Napco of Minneapolis to send equipment to India under an AID program & the equipment wasn't satisfactory. Kampelman's name was withdrawn.)

Joined in sponsoring the resolution expressing Senate support for the President to bring about Security Council discussion and debate on the Vietnam war. LWV-USA thanked him.

Interview w/ Mondale — 12/21/67

Meat bill —

Safety car inspect. need 3-4,000 more inspectors — Car Force

State to do it — 6 days — 6 months —

Difference in Fed & state laws —

Fed no authority to make look fresh

a adulteration of water, chem.

Has taken 2 months full time —

Lake bill — Has cleared Senate —

Pilot a research — Lake of Albert Lea — Basin of last pollution

clear to stop pollution — need to figure how to apportion costs

St. Croix bill — just Senate

Superior — need to call a conference — S.B. gov., Lt. Governor, Mondale & ____ (his Sec. — not Procunier) will push — World will have one when they call it. (off record. Blatnik needs to be pressured into it). W/ conference — Interior Sec. make pollution sources action.

Superior cases — Lawsuit — will be getting rid of more — St. Croix program

Iverson — Mr. Sandell, attorney — Furniture factory — S. next Colonial — Lawsuit —

Indians — Liberal now — Sometime to — chairman Sen. Affairs Committee, etc., "for I is good to protect in spite of R.L.'s consul Lawyer" — I county loss

Item — " — State told just lost 9 or a

(non-I.) — Major recommendation Dear Blatnik — Mondale —

meeting of Red Lake, a Negro — "what that State doing here?"

Resolution re Viet. to UN. Goldberg working with — needs 9 votes.

Suggests I work to get on Senate resolutions to make UN peace

force & viable — So we don't get into the situation of

Vietnam — race against race, etc.

Aid — disgruntled — Both corrupt, no incentive to clean up their own

really use 3-4 B — some nations have to clean up their own

situation 1% — .7% of GNP steadily down —

Trade — Mondale will be going to E Europe to see if something

can't be done. OECD has accepted US point of view

broad trade — Pres. View / limited to selected farmers

Colombia — Meet w/ Indian — hope to come up w/ some

arrangement of developing countries. Johnson no longer trying

powers, small with volume America Sally Price — Viet keynote

round will fall apart. Banking Institute working up —

non-tariff restrictions. Mondale working on wage & price
trade-tariffs. Need to channel Am. business from
protectionism to working to reduce barriers - they
are certain to U.S. - whiskey taxes, border taxes, etc.

With unseen iron competition as one - Union of
Congress to lower tariffs - private trade. Use of Petroleum
from fabricated steel - Industry has unions out pressuring
for protection or fabrication. Bill says nothing about ore -
Apparently OK for cheap foreign labor to dig ore since
U.S. Companies own it overseas, but when other companies
compete on manufactured, cry for bill. He will
oppose

Atty Gen elected vs. appointed - Don't quote him!
As atty gen had to be for judgeship - Nixon can see both
sides - Basically Seidman still official stand. He hoped to go &
work together but could see case for ombudsman -
Most of his work was to give opinions which weren't even
legal but policy decisions - Dept. Commissioners didn't want to
free. Truth lawyers within Dept. once Pres. of decision they
are supposed to; could give engineer rubberstamp to Corps
Can run Civil Rights to do things required by law that they
don't want to - (Employment Security didn't want to accept
non-discrimination)

Legislative suggested we could be used as a Publicity, communication
medium - confuse sort of thing - Adv. trade, etc. (w
trade rep)

Have speaker - including his 1st 5:11: b unite on SS (welfare) -
that he confident can get Congress has "Hill b. by mentality" -
get welfare of Negro problem & don't to punish them. It
will mean that guard, local welfare will have to pick it up -
in Hennepin County - won't let them starve.

Full Opportunity & Social Security Act - coming along -
should get Sub-committee - next session

Some body in Institute of Ag - U of M - Economics has done
study on world trade & Ag - Nixon emphasis

Trade - Assumed Johnson would send bill - Ways + Means - too bill light Hse busy.
① - Authority to act on international trade.
2 - Way to cooperate industries
3 - Do away w/ American selling price.
Didn't come.
Proclaimed 1st step Kennedy round.

1.78 just to = last year

OEO - 2 years - 1.773 B. - final

Come to House floor w 2 B.

	1968	(69)
~~Administration~~		
Senate - Authorization	2.258	2.4
"	1.6	
House "	2.06	
Administration	1.980	2.180
Congress		

20% local share can be waived.
City hall take over Feb 1, 1969
Ban on political activity by city workers - removed.
in ~~Hosing~~ Act in demonstrations

El. Secondary School ~~=~~ 9.1 B -

Economic - Int. Inst of Agriculture - Mr. Judd (Francis gen)
World Trade - Ag
Alternate Co-Chm.

~~Economic~~

OECD -
Japan -

Bi Dvlp. Aid

.5-6

Congressional Record -

To bring up -
1 - Foreign aid - 1 year -, lowest in 20
could it be reclassified, restricted - or is it beverage.
2 - Trade - why no bill?
Steel.
Farmers. & Balance. C. Hse - Senate.
3 - OEO - local control.
welfare restrictions.
Repl supplement bill.
4 - Clean Labor bill - passed Senate. 5th Circuit Wild Rivers
~~Wilderness~~ Rivers where is it? - Bill - passed Senate
National Park.
5 - Resolution to take Viet to UN.
6 D.C. - Const. Amend - 2 Senators & Pop 3 to 7
Elected school board. - ? Passed House + ? Senate.
7. Rep - Dirksen - 2 to go; not 10%

8 - Loyalty - security
Subversive Activities Control Board.
9. Crisis in Cities
10 - Full Opportunity & Social Accounting Act

tariff

Foreign Assistance Act of 1967

As introduced in House - no limits on #of countries
2 year authorization

Authorization - Development Loans & Alliance for Progress
didn't need to, 3 years in 1966

changed

243 m. techinical coopertion.
141 international organizations.
surveys of investment opportunities.
720 m. Supporting assistance (Laos - 170
Viet - 550.

Appropriations - 3.1 Bil.
Development loans - 774 m.
Supporting assistance - 720 m (S. Viet., Dominican Rep)
Alliance for Progress 543 m.
243 m.
Technical cooperation
International organizations 141

Eco aid 2.530 Bil.
.596 m.
Military assistance

Authorizations:	Admin.	House Comm.	House	Senate Comm.	Senate	Conf.
Devel Loan.	750	600		600	500	450
Tech. assistance	243	243		210		210
Alliance for Progress	750	650		578		578
Support Assistance	720	720		600		141
International Organizations		650		475	475	
Military Assist.	680					2.7
	3,462	3,158 (3.57 - fiscal 69)	2.8	2726	2.6	

Appropriations					
Devel Loans	450	400			1.9
Tech assist	210	180			
Alliance for Progress	578	445			400
Military aid	141	365			
International		125			
	2.9	2.2	2.2	2.73	2.3

Smallest in 20 years

Not 2 years

November 22, 1967

Honorable Walter Mondale
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Mondale:

As you know, the League of Women Voters of Minnesota has faithfully supported the foreign aid programs for many years. We were concerned about Congress' cutting and restricting the authorization bill this year. Now there is the threat of the House's version of an appropriations bill which has far more drastic cuts and limitations. The League feels that the aid programs cannot be cut any more without a tragic waste of the efforts and resources that have gone into our commitments abroad. Certainly the poor nations of the world deserve better of us than this severe curtailment.

We are fully aware of your efforts this year to provide for more adequate financing of the foreign aid programs. We appreciate your vote against reducing the development loan fund, your vote to restore $65 million to the Alliance for Progress, and your vote to increase the technical assistance program. Although these votes did not prevail, we thank you for your support of the programs. We hope you will do your utmost to keep the appropriations bill as close to the authorization bill as possible.

Sincerely,

Mrs. O. J. Janski
President

LWV of Minnesota, State Organization Service, U. of M., Minneapolis, Minn. 55455
March 1966

1966

REPORT OF CONGRESSIONAL INTERVIEW

Senator Walter Mondale

Subjects discussed and views of Senator on each:

Human Resources: Senator Mondale is entirely in sympathy with the aims of the programs under the OEA, but he mentioned a number of specific procedural difficulties: (1) the time taken by the Chicago office in processing applications and the difficulty of eliciting from this office the reasons for the delay. (2) overly detailed and specific requirements for approving programs. He felt greater authority should be given to state and local officials in working out the details of programs. (3) delay in establishing guide lines and frequent changes in existing guidelines have made it difficult for local CAP directors to plan programs. Senator Mondale is particularly concerned with the CAP councils which have been established on Indian reservations in northern Minnesota and is optimistic that these programs combined with projects under the Public Works Act may bring the standard of living of Minnesota Indians up to the level enjoyed by the rest of the country.

Reapportionment: Senator Mondale expressed his continuing opposition to any amendment submitted by Congress to change the standard of population apportionment established by the Supreme Court.

Senator Mondale is a firm friend of the League. He was most cooperative with the Minnesota League while he was our state Attorney General. We would expect this good relationship to continue as his political philosophy is in agreement with League thinking.

APR 1 9 1966

April 18, 1966

Mrs. W. W. Whiting, President
League of Women Voters of Minnesota
622 East School Street
Owatonna, Minnesota

My dear Mrs. Whiting:

As the Edina-Morningside League of Women Voters' Chairman of Times for Action and Finance, I am rather confused by the last sentence in the State Organization's report sent to all local Times for Action Chairmen of the interview with Senator Walter Mondale: "We would expect this good relationship to continue, as his political philosophy is in agreement with League thinking."

I trust that this sentence refers only to the two subjects discussed. Should this statement refer to more than Human Resources and Reapportionment, then it would be a substantial break with the League's jealously guarded policy of non-partisanship. Indeed, broad interpretation of this sentence would shift the League into the Democratic Party!

In this predominantly Republican community, some of our League's members have a difficult enough time defending their memberships even when the League's non-partisanship policy is strictly adhered to. (This is especially true when consensi imply that the League of Women Voters' membership without exception is for stands not only more liberal than, but in many instances diametrically opposed to, that for which the Edina-Morningside League of Women Voters stands. Our local consensi present minority as well as majority opinion. Were this done with State and National consensi, perhaps our members would not feel so frustrated.)

I hope that you will provide the proper interpretation of the previously quoted sentence. Thank you so very much.

Sincerely,

Mrs. John A. Herb

Mrs. John A. Herb
Time for Action and Finance Chairman

H:M
Copies to: Mrs. Lewis Daniel, Chairman, National Continuing Responsibilities
League of Women Voters of Minnesota
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

Mrs. Charles McCoy, State Board Advisor to Edina-Morningside League of Women Voters
1035 Prentice
Granite Falls, Minnesota

Mrs. Edward N. Akason, President
Edina-Morningside League of Women Voters
4717 West 64th Street
Edina, Minnesota 55424

MEMO

TO: Mrs. Lee Herman

FROM: Mrs. Wm. Whiting

SUBJECT Enclosed copy of letter to Mrs. Herb, Edina

DATE 4-21-66

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA
STATE ORGANIZATION SERVICE
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55455
PHONE: 373-2959

May this memo and the copy of letter to Mrs. Herb be your memorandum as referred to in the letter? Mrs. Herb's concern was for the statement in the interview with Senator Mondale: "We would expect this good relationship to continue, as his political philosophy is in agreement with League thinking." She thought the statement might refer to more than League Program and thus would certainly undermine our nonpartisanship. When Mrs. Colborn prepared the report as the result of a very informal interview with the senator she had no intention of its going other than to the state and national office where there would be no problem of interpretation....it was our error in sending it out. I think this sort of thing is better if you do not call unnecessary attention to it so I would not suggest your saying anything to the local Leagues unless the question is raised as it has been by Mrs. Herb. In the future we will try to be more carefuly about this kind of statement appearing in material sent to local Leagues.

Hannah -- would you please send memorandum to the other Coordinators with a simple explanation....as I have said above we think the less said the better. Also how about first district? I think it might be time to write Mrs. Richards again and see if she has found anyone now that her annual meeting is taken care of. I forgot to tell you yesterday that Lois Mann will be in touch with you about the national Program section of Leadership Workshops which I asked her to head up...you know she is at the U three days a week and "headquarters" in the office if you want to get in touch with her.

April 19, 1966

Mrs. John A. Herb
League of Women Voters of Edina-Morningside
6001 Crescent Drive
Edina, Minnesota 55424

Dear Mrs. Herb:

The copies of the latest Congressional Interviews were sent to all Chairmen of Times for Action in response to a request by our Action Coordinators in our Congressional Districts. Copies are also on file in our national office and used by national staff and Board members in planning League action.

Quite frankly it never accurred to us or to the national Board that the statement on Senator Mondale's interview report might be interpreted any way but in reference to League Program as it was intended. Now that you have called it to our attention we can realize how easily this could be misinterpreted outside the League. We shall send a memorandum to other action chairmen so that there will not be confusion because of this statement. I am glad that you called this to my attention.

I was interested in your statement "Our local consensi present minority as well as majority opinion. Were this done with State and National consensi, perhaps our members would not feel so frustrated." In reaching consensus on any level of program members have an opportunity to express their views and all variations should be reported. When a statement of position is made as the result of consensus reports only those decisions reached by a substantial majority of the members become a part of that position. It is not possible to state a position which includes both minority and majority opinion. How could we carry out action on that basis?

It is important to remember that under our nonpartisanship policy we do not support or oppose any political party or candidates. We do, however, take action on governmental measures and policies in the public interest after study and consensus by the members.

We appreciate the excellent job you have been doing as a Board member in Edina and as finance chairman and it is apparent this same high quality will apply to your assignment as time for action chairman. May I encourage you to continue your fine efforts in behalf of the League of Women Voters.

Sincerely,

Mrs. William W. Whiting

cc: Mrs. Lewis Daniel
Mrs. Charles McCoy
Mrs. Edward N. Akason

MEMO

TO: Times for Action coordinators

FROM: Hannah Daniel

SUBJECT: Report on interview with Senator Mondale

DATE: 4-23-1966

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA
STATE ORGANIZATION SERVICE
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55455
PHONE: 373-2959

In the report which was sent from the state office to the Times for Action chairmen the following statement was made about the League's interview with Senator Mondale: "We would expect this good relationship to continue, as his political philosophy is in agreement with League thinking". This statement was made only in reference to League program because, as you well know, we do not support or oppose any political party or candidate. We do, however, take action on governmental measures and poli cies in the public interest after study and consensus by the members.

I am sending you this memo in case any of the Times for Action chairmen in your district should question you about the above statement. You can assure them that we are adhering strictly to our policy of nonpartisanship.

. McCarthy - Mondale -

McCarthy.

Mondale

9/25/67 - Voted to keep Head Start under OEO instead of channelling through local community action agencies.

9/27 - Percy + Mondale cosponsor an amendment to aid poor to buy homes - subsidizing interest -

10/4 - 6 - Anti-poverty -

Move to defeat $2.8 B "emergency employment act" - ½ ~~billion~~ million public service jobs in slums - next 2 years - amendment to anti-poverty bill = Mondale for, McCarthy (not recorded? for)

Move to approve Poverty measure - 1 year - $ 75 million + $ 50 million interest free loans — stressing training + greater emphasis on private industry — defeated 42 to 47 (conservative Rep + Dem + administration against) — Both Mondale + McCarthy for

10/6 - Approved OEO bill - authorization — 60-21 -

2.25 B - this fiscal year
2.4 B - next year - starting July 1

Mondale) for
McCarthy)

Defeated attempt to cut $ 178 m extra not requested by Johnson. 36-50

10/6 - Kamgelman - aided Nagpur, Mpls. - AID to India -

McCarthy - "brief contact" "only routine" - largely handled through the other senator's office

Mondale - initial leave made before he replaced Humphrey. "I merely asked the aid agency people to talk to them + give them a hearing.

10/8 - Approved barring EOA funds for voter registration drives (For barring - Mondale / Against - - McCarthy

EO - Voted against transfering OEO funds to Dept. of Labor — Head Start to Office of Ed. - Both defeated 28 to 57
35 to 51

9/18 - IWBL - Victnam - $ 2-3 m more for poverty
Cut 10-15 m - needs person to person
Favored Fiat loan to reduce Russia's war potential 50% in 2-3 years -

Chrm Subcommittee on Retirement & the Individual

Chrm - FDR Memorial Commission - 8/11

Supported more funds for Allowance for Program.
restoration of $ 33 m cut from Fed. Assistance Program - 8/17 - "this program has been among the most constructive"

McCarthy — Mondale —

8/20 - Roll calls — reduce development loan fund from 600m to 500m — approved 48 to 43
Against — Against

Restore $65m to alliance for Progress - Defeated 38 to 53 -
For — For

Reduce technical assistance program from 210m to 200m - Defeated 36 to 51
Against — Against

Increase technical assistance from 210m to 243m - Defeated 32 to 56
For — For

Foreign Assistance Act - as amended.
For — For

6/8/67 - To remove 35% district gp. variation - int: 1972 — to make it 10% — approved 44-39
Paired For — For

8/9 - To prohibit export-import bank from financing arms purchases to less developed countries - Defeated 40-49 -
Against — Against

10/29 - To abolish Subversive Activities Control Board — Defeated 17 to 58
Not voting. — For abolishing

10/29 - To " " " " " " " unless it has instituted proceedings a completed hearings between its creation & Dec 31, 1968 Approved 74 to 2
Not voting — For.

12/ Against Congressional Districts compromise — Against

12/1 For Foreign aid approp. — For.

12/8 ~~For~~ Not Voting — EO amendments - conference report 62-16 — For

Not Voting — Amend to ESEA for Title III to state dept ed. - Defeated 35-38 — Against

Not Voting — Vote on ESEA amendments (bill) 71-7 — For

12/15 Not Voting Not V. — Foreign Aid approp conference report 54-19 — ESEA Conference Report. 67-3 — Not Voting Not. V.

TRADE MISSION

Mondale to Travel in Europe, Russia

By JACK WILSON
Minneapolis Tribune Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Sen. Walter F. Mondale, D-Minn., ern European countries.

He will go to Romania Jan.



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Version 3
March 18, 2019

409 Birchwood Ave.,
White Bear Lake, Minnesota
55110
August 7, 1967

The Honorable Walter F. Mondale
443 Old Senate Office Building
Congress of the United State
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Mondale;

It was my pleasure to meet you at a League of Women Voters luncheon at the Curtis Hotel last fall. (My son has recently come under the tutelage of your brother on the French horn.) I have the responsibility for furthering action by the members of the League of Women Voters throughout Minnesota on positions the League holds on the national level. As a long time friend of the League, I'm sure you are aware of many of these concerns - programs to increase the education and training of disadvanraged people, programs for conservation and development of water resources and improvement of water quality, foreign aid, expanding trade, home rule for District of Columbia, etc.

To help keep our members informed about League interests in Congress and the role our Minnesota Senators play in them, I would appreciate being placed on your newsletter mailing list. It would also be interesting to receive copies of speeches or statements you have made, bills you have introduced, etc. on these issues. Thank you.

Very truly yours,
Mrs. Ralph Ebbott

Mrs. Ralph D. Ebbott
Congressional Action Chairman

20% of Mondale's Campaign Funds Came From Outside State

By FRANK WRIGHT
Minneapolis Tribune Staff Writer

ganization, Washington, $1,500; the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers General Fund,

paigns in New Hampshire; Mrs. T. W. Griggs, St. Paul, $500 to the National Republican Congres-



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