

UNITED STATES



OF AMERICA

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 90<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS  
FIRST SESSION

VOLUME 113—PART 10

MAY 15, 1967, TO MAY 24, 1967

(PAGES 12519 TO 13966)

growing complexities of our economy, ever-widening discretionary power in Government, and so forth, the area of tolerated corruption is rapidly spreading and, in my considered opinion, constitutes a grave danger to our system of self-government.

Candidates for Federal elective office should be afforded an opportunity to make a sharp break with present political practices. The candidates, from whom Federal elective officials are chosen, are, in my view, the keymen in this political equation. Upon them and upon their dedication to the public interest we must rely—and we can only rely. It is for them, then, that we should provide both the firm protection and requirement of law and also an opportunity to break out of the current circle of vicious and dangerous political practices.

Title II of the bill also provides for limited tax deductions for private contributions to candidates for Federal office who choose to run for office on a private subsidy or personal expenditure basis. This provision of the bill would facilitate the financing of primary campaigns and general election campaigns for those candidates eligible to accept private financing.

Title III of the bill directs the Federal Communications Commission, after appropriate hearing and notice, to develop and promulgate regulations which would require licensees of commercial radio and television stations, as a condition for issuance or renewal of a license, to make available without charge and on an equitable and fair basis broadcast time for candidates for election to Federal office.

I have prepared an analysis of my bill which explains in somewhat greater detail its major provisions. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD at this point.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the analysis will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 1827) to revise the Federal election laws to prevent corrupt practices in Federal elections, to establish a method for the public financing of campaigns of candidates for Federal office, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. GORE, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

The analysis is as follows:

**ANALYSIS OF A BILL INTRODUCED BY SENATOR ALBERT GORE DEALING WITH THE FINANCING OF FEDERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGNS**

The bill deals with the major aspects of the financing of election campaigns for federal offices including the Presidency and Vice Presidency, Senators, and members of the House of Representatives.

It amends existing law relative to limitations on expenditures, limitations on contributions and public disclosure of the source and use of privately raised campaign funds.

It provides for public financing of election campaign expenditures under specified conditions by direct appropriations from the United States Treasury.

It authorizes federal tax deductions under specified circumstances for private campaign contributions.

Finally, it directs the Federal Communications Commission to develop regulations to

require that commercial radio and television stations make available without charge broadcast time for candidates for federal office.

**TITLE I. LIMITS ON CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENDITURES**

A. Limits on expenditures in a campaign are established. A candidate may spend no more than amount determined by multiplying 20¢ by the number of votes cast for all candidates in the preceding election for the office in question. In the case of the Presidency, this would limit expenditures to approximately \$14 million for each candidate in the 1968 election. The bill provides, in the case of the Presidential campaign, that expenditures by the candidate and national political committees supporting him would be limited to one-half the total sum available, with the other half to be expended by political committees supporting the candidate within a state.

B. The bill imposes upon the candidate responsibility (for the purposes of inclusion within the total) for expenditures made by committee which he authorizes to support his candidacy. Committees not authorized by a candidate to support him would be limited to expenditures of \$1,000.

C. An effective limit is placed upon political contributions by an individual. No individual could legally contribute more than \$1,000 to candidates for federal office in any calendar year. Within this total, contributions by individuals to candidates for Congressional office in states other than that of the contributor's legal residence are limited to \$250.

D. The requirements for reporting contributions and expenditures are expanded. Candidates and committees would be required to file timely reports of contributions received and expenditures made, such reports to be filed with the Comptroller General of the United States. Candidates for the Senate and House and committees supporting them would also be required to file reports with the Clerk of the United States District Court. Reports would be available for public inspection.

**TITLE II (A). PUBLIC FUNDS FOR "PUBLIC" CANDIDATES**

Title II authorizes public financing for federal elections by direct appropriations. Such financing would be available only for general or special elections. Candidates who are nominees of major political parties, in order to be eligible to receive federal funds, would be required to elect to forgo any private contributions whatever in the financing of their campaigns.

Other major provisions of Title II are as follows:

A. Eligibility: Candidates for President and Vice President must be qualified in a sufficient number of states whose combined electoral vote would be sufficient for election. Congressional candidates must be qualified according to the laws of the states in which they are running, with their names on the ballot.

B. Candidates who are nominees of major political parties (a party whose candidate received 20% of the vote in the preceding election for the office in question) would be entitled to receive reimbursement for expenditures equal to 20¢ multiplied by the total number of votes cast for all candidates for the office in question in the preceding election.

Candidates who are nominees of minor political parties (a party whose candidate received as much as 5 percent but less than 20 percent in the preceding election for said office) would be entitled to receive reimbursement for expenditures equal to 40 cents multiplied by the number of votes received by the candidate of said minor party in the

preceding election, or, if higher, an amount determined in accordance with the next paragraph.

Candidates who are nominees of political parties which did not have a candidate in the preceding election, and qualified independent candidates will be entitled to receive retroactive reimbursement for campaign expenditures equal to 40 cents multiplied by the number of votes received by such candidate in the current election, providing said candidate receives 5 percent of the vote cast in the current election.

C. Public funds would be available for reimbursement only of legitimate campaign expenditures for purposes not prohibited by either federal or state law. Reimbursement would be allowed only for expenditures incurred within 75 days before the election and 30 days after the election.

D. In the case of the Presidential election, reimbursable expenditures by the candidate and national political committees authorized by him would be limited to one-half the total sum available as is the case of privately financed campaigns as provided in Title I.

E. Appropriate provisions are included for certification of expenditures, audit, etc., by the Comptroller General.

**TITLE II (B). TAX DEDUCTION FOR PRIVATE CONTRIBUTIONS**

A. Tax deduction for political contributions would be limited to 50 percent of aggregate contributions during a calendar year up to a maximum of \$100 of such contributions.

B. To be eligible, contributions would have to be made to candidates for federal office who are eligible to receive them.

**TITLE III. CIVIC RESERVATION OF TV-RADIO TIME**

The Federal Communications Commission, after appropriate notice and hearings, is directed to promulgate regulations requiring licensees of commercial radio and television stations, as a condition of issuance or renewal of their license, to make available without charge on a fair and equitable basis broadcast time to candidates for federal office in general and special elections.

**MINNESOTA CHIPPEWA TRIBE, WHITE EARTH INDIAN RESERVATION**

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, legislation to restore to the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, White Earth Reservation, certain submarginal lands of the United States, and to make such lands part of the reservation.

This bill declares that the United States presently holds title to certain submarginal lands in trust for the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe and makes these lands a part of the existing reservation. These properties consist of approximately 28,700 acres purchased by the Federal Government during the mid-1930's under title II of the National Industrial Recovery Act. The lands were so acquired in order to retire them from private ownership, to correct maladjustments in land use, and with the expectation that they would be made available for tribal use.

Mr. President, these lands were originally owned by the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, but they were allotted under the allotment act and subsequently passed from Indian ownership. The Government acquired the lands at a cost of \$175,664. In 1963, when similar legislation was introduced in the Congress, their

market value was placed at \$474,000 by appropriate governmental agencies.

Legislation has already been enacted, Mr. President, restoring property similarly to the Seminoles of Florida, and to the Pueblos and other Indian groupings in New Mexico. I am, therefore, most hopeful that this legislation will receive favorable consideration during the present session. I ask unanimous consent that the text of this proposal be printed at the conclusion of my remarks, along with the text of Resolution No. 50-67, adopted by the Minnesota Chippewa Tribal Executive Committee on January 13 of this year.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill and resolution will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 1830) to donate to the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, White Earth Indian Reservation, some submarginal lands of the United States, and to make such lands parts of the reservation involved, introduced by Mr. MONDALE, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 1830

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That all of the right, title, and interest of the United States of America in the lands, and the improvements thereon, that were acquired under title II of the National Industrial Recovery Act of June 16, 1933 (48 Stat. 200), the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of April 8, 1935 (49 Stat. 115), and section 55 of the Act of August 24, 1935 (49 Stat. 750, 781), and that are now under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior for the administration for the benefit of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, White Earth Reservation, are hereby declared to be held by the United States in trust for this Indian tribe, and the lands shall be parts of the reservation heretofore established for the tribe.

Sec. 2. Nothing in this Act shall deprive any person of any right of possession, contract right, interest, or title he may have in the land involved.

Sec. 3. The Indian Claims Commission is directed to determine in accordance with the provisions of section 2 of the Act of August 13, 1946 (60 Stat. 1050), the extent to which the value of the title conveyed by this Act should or should not be set off against any claim against the United States determined by the Commission.

The resolution presented by Mr. MONDALE is as follows:

RESOLUTION No. 50-67

Whereas submarginal lands, comprising 28,717.81 acres within the consolidation area of the White Earth Reservation were purchased under authority of Title II of the National Industrial Recovery Act of June 16, 1933, (48 Stat. 200) and subsequent acts with the expectation that they would be held for Indian use; and

Whereas administrative jurisdiction over these lands was transferred by Executive Order No. 7868 dated April 15, 1938, from the Department of Agriculture to the Department of the Interior, to be administered through the Commissioner of Indian Affairs; and

Whereas Washington Office letter dated May 26, 1938, to the Superintendent advising of this transfer reads in part as follows:

"The title to these lands is taken in the name of the United States, and they will not become the property of the Indian tribe, for whose use they were purchased, until Congressional action is obtained specifically transferring such title. However, the lands listed in the Executive Order falling under your jurisdiction should from the standpoint of administration be treated as though they were tribal lands and any use thereof should be taken up with the tribal council in accordance with the practice now prevailing;" and

Whereas certain tribal expenditures involving lands help produce monetary returns in which the tribe does not participate since the revenues are deposited in the Treasury of the United States; and

Whereas a certain loss to the Tribe results in efforts spent by Bureau Officials in their administration of the submarginal lands in that such efforts could otherwise pertain more specifically to tribal matters; and the tribal land on the White Earth Reservation is less than the submarginal land area; and

Whereas these submarginal and tribal lands, with few exceptions, are best suited for the growing of forest crops; and

Whereas the Minnesota Agency has prepared a management plan being used as a guide for managing the tribal and submarginal land timber resource; and

Whereas about 25,000 cords of forest products with a stumpage value of over \$30,000 was harvested under this plan in 1966, with over half of the receipts going to the United States Treasury since most of the volume was harvested from the submarginal lands; and

Whereas a significant phase of forest management in this area is to eventually convert the present low-valued forest cover to a higher valued cover which the land originally supported; and

Whereas the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe uses 25% of its stumpage returns for reforestation purposes on tribal lands; and

Whereas funds are not normally available for reforestation purposes on the submarginal lands, and for the 30 years this land has been in dispute only a negligible amount has been invested thereon for this purpose; and

Whereas since the majority of tribal lands on the White Earth Reservation are intermingled with the submarginal lands they are an important contribution to the economy of the Reservation: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved,* That the Bureau be requested to take immediate renewed action to have Congress enact legislation to have the United States hold the submarginal lands on the White Earth Reservation in trust for the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe.

#### MAINTAINING PRESENT NAVAL DISTRICTS

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to maintain present naval districts. My colleague from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT] joins in cosponsoring this measure.

Mr. President, in January the city of Philadelphia and the Delaware Valley were shocked when the very able Secretary of Defense announced plans to consolidate the headquarters for the 4th Naval District with the 5th Naval District into a new district with the new headquarters to be located at Norfolk.

The day after this announcement, the Philadelphia Inquirer in an editorial said:

With all due respect for Norfolk, which also has gallant traditions as a Navy town, Philadelphia has just claim to be the site of

District headquarters on the basis of history, seniority and service.

As my colleague said in remarks at the time:

As the birthplace of the U.S. Navy, Philadelphia, I believe, is at least entitled to a hearing in this matter.

Unfortunately, there was no hearing or other consideration in this matter. Inquiries which Members of Congress, including myself, addressed to the Defense Department received little response.

In response to my inquiry the Defense Department said:

It is anticipated that consolidation of the naval districts will result in a reduction of overall operating costs and increase the flexibility in utilizing available personnel.

Certainly no Member of this body will condone the maintenance of inefficiency and costly operations. In the Philadelphia headquarters there have been 119 civilians and military personnel. Their jurisdiction includes Pennsylvania, southern New Jersey, Delaware, and Ohio. It is not my purpose to propose a shift from Norfolk to Philadelphia. Rather, in the interest of efficiency and economy, the present districts which have jurisdiction over naval affairs in nearby areas, should be maintained. These headquarters are not large units, but they are important. It should be clear that any consolidation would result in increased costs for travel and communication, which the computer at the Pentagon has not yet divulged.

I am informed that the House is considering similar action through a provision in the military construction bill.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be printed in the RECORD at this point.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, will be printed in the RECORD, as requested by the Senator from Pennsylvania.

The bill (S. 1831) to amend title 10, United States Code, to provide by law for naval districts and the location of naval district headquarters, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. CLARK (for himself and Mr. SCOTT), was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Armed Services, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 1831

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That title 10 of the United States Code is amended by adding after chapter 513 a new chapter as follows:

"CHAPTER 514.—NAVAL DISTRICTS

"Sec. 5171. Naval districts; headquarters; grade of commandants of naval districts

"§ 5171. Naval districts; headquarters; grade of commandants of naval districts;

"(a) There shall be within the organization of the Department of the Navy fifteen naval districts. The States or portions of such States served by each naval district shall be prescribed by the President. Each naval district shall be served by a headquarters and the location of the headquarters for each naval district shall be as follows: