ers to work in the agents’ behalf, before the defense department’s nationwide intelligence collection effort was declared to have been ended in 1971. In an effort consistent of, but narrower in scope than the “Cointelpro” domestic counter-intelligence programs of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, military officers and enlisted men also set out to harass and disrupt attempts of some antwar groups to organize public demonstrations, the report said.

Among the individuals on whom the maintained intelligence files, it added, were Dr. King; the late Whitney M. Young, head of the National Urban League; Julian Bond, the Georgia State legislator; Arlo Guthrie, the child care specialist and antiracist activist; and Senator Adlai E. Stevenson 3d, democrat of Illinois.

**“Worst Intrusion”**

The experience of the late 1960’s which the committee staff termed “the most intrusion that military intelligence has ever made into the civilian community,” resulted in the issuance of new Defense Department directives that presumably eliminated some intelligence activities against United States citizens and sharply curtailed others.

The Senate report pointed out, however, that the 1971 restrictions, while barring the collection of intelligence about individuals “unaffiliated” with the military, excepted from that prohibition individuals or groups that the Pentagon considered “threats” to its operations or security.

Although the committee staff said it had found very few apparent violations of the 1971 directive, it pointed out that the directive was an administrative one, and that “the military believes it may have violated in the past, the directive can be rescinded or changed at the direction of the Secretary of Defense.”

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The second assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

**ORDER TO VITATE ORDER FOR VOTE ON CLOTURE PETITION TOMORROW**

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for a vote on the petition of cloture to occur tomorrow be vitiated.

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

**TIME LIMITATION AGREEMENTS—SENATE RESOLUTION 400**

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that on the amendment to be offered by Senators Tower, Stennis, and Thurmond, there be a time limitation of not to exceed 4 hours, the time to be equally divided between the sponsor of the amendment and the manager of the bill; that on one of the Taft amendments, there be a time limitation of not to exceed 2 hours, the time to be equally divided between the Senator from Ohio and the manager of the bill; that on all other amendments, there be a period of not to exceed 1 hour, with the time to be equally divided between the sponsors of the amendment and the manager of the bill; and that on the resolution itself, there be a time limitation of 4 hours under the usual rules of procedure, the time to start immediately.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the vote on the cloture petition has been vitiated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois.

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, as the majority leader knows, the entire Illinois delegation will be at Arlington Memorial Cemetery tomorrow for a period of about 2 hours. Will it be possible to have no vote scheduled during that period, and if debate has been finished, that votes be set aside until, say 4 o’clock tomorrow?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. We shall pile up the votes need be, in view of the sad circumstance involved.

Mr. RIBICOFF subsequently said Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that under the previous consent agreement on S. 400, all motions, appeals, points of order, be limited to 20 minutes, equally divided.

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

The text of the agreement is as follows:

Ordered, That during the consideration of S. Res. 400 (Order No. 728), a resolution to establish a Standing Committee of the Senate on Intelligence Activities, and for other purposes, debate on any amendment (except an amendment by Senators Tower, Stennis, and Thurmond, on which there shall be 4 hours debate, and an amendment by Senator Taft, on which there shall be 2 hours debate) shall be limited to 1 hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the mover of such and the manager of the resolution, and that debate on any debatable motion, appeal, or point of order, the time in opposition to which shall be controlled by the Minority Leader or his designee: Provided further, That no amendment that is not germane to the provisions of the said resolution shall be received.

Ordered further, That on the question of agreeing to the said resolution, debate shall be limited to 4 hours, to be equally divided and controlled by the majority and Minority Leaders, or their designees: Provided, That the Senators, or either of them, may, from the time under their control, in the discretion of the majority and minority leaders, strike off additional time to any Senator during the consideration of any amendment, debatable motion, appeal, or point of order.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 10 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, on my own initiative, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in adjournment until the hour of 10 o’clock tomorrow morning; and that no later than the hour of 11 o’clock tomorrow morning, the Senate will return to the pending business.

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

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I wish to speak to the pending Stennis-Tower amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator from Minnesota suspend?

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, the Stennis-Tower amendment would delete from the jurisdiction of the oversight committee which we seek to create approximately 60 percent of the Nation’s intelligence budget. The overwhelming proportion of the funds for the在国内的 intelligence field would be outside the jurisdiction of the new committee. The amendment proposes to delete from the jurisdiction of the new committee all of the Defense intelligence activity. That would mean the Defense Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency, and joint programs with the CIA. It seems to me that the arguments for turning that amendment down and including these activities within the jurisdiction of the new committee are overwhelming. The conclusions are overwhelming. First of all, the abuses that we have uncovered in the 15 months of the work of our committee have shown that there have been as many abuses committed by these agencies as by the agencies that would remain within the jurisdiction of the new committee, the CIA and the FBI.

The DIA played a role in covert action. One of the classic examples of misguided, counterproductive, and, I think, inexcusable covert actions that we found was so-called Track 2 in Chile. Track 2 was the equivalent of Track 3, stripped to its essentials, to depose Mr. Allende, who was the duly elected President of Chile. One of the things that was decided in Track 2 was that a General Schneider, who was a constitutionalist and therefore refused to cooperate in the attempt to overthrow President Allende by a coup to be removed because he insisted on complying with the constitutional requirements of
the government that he took an oath of office to uphold.

Of course that effort, although we had not intended it that way, led indirectly to the assassination of General Schneider because, while being abducted, General Schneider was assassinated.

This seems to me, stands as a classic example of a misguided, poorly conceived, immoral and counterproductive tactic of the kind that shames this country. It is counterproductive in terms of our relationship not only with the whole world, but also among the present repressive and terrorist administration which runs Chile, but also it has humiliated us in the eyes of Latin America.

Another agency that would be exempt under the proposed amendment is NSA, the National Security Agency. There is a separate report put out by our committee on the activities of NSA. It was an agency that had a watch list on 1,000 innocent Americans, and established an operation called "Shamrock," which read all the telephone traffic of the city of New York, none of it complying with the requirement for a court warrant.

Mr. President, in addition to the report put out by the committee, there was in this Sunday's New York Times Magazine an article entitled "Big Ear or Big Brother?" by David Kahn, spelling out the broad range of abuses interfering with constitutional and legal rights of the American people conducted for several years and with practically no limits whatsoever by the National Security Agency.

I ask unanimous consent that that article be printed at this point in the Record.

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

[From The New York Times Magazine May 16, 1976]

Big Ear or Big Brother?

(Notes—David Kahn, assistant professor of journalism at New York University, is the author of "The Code Breakers" and "Big Ear"

Room 6510 at the State Department is a warren of windowless offices with a special cipher lock on the door. Scrambler teletype-writers, shielded by special walls so that none of their radiation can escape, tick out a stream of material. Another door bars an inner area to all but perhaps 5 percent of the officials at State. This is the location, tucked away in a comer of the building, where the secrets of the globe's electronic environment flood in.

The environment is heavy with traffic—the daddahaddah of Soviet Army radiograms in code or in clear; the buzzings of foreign air-defense radars; the whines of high-speed radio-teletypewriter circuits carrying diplomatic dispatches; the bleats of missile telemetry; the hums of the computer-data links of multinational corporations; the plain language of ordinary radio messages; the churning ring-song of scrambled speech.

Many of these messages are intercepted daily around the world and beam to a complex at Fort Meade, Md., for decoding and relaying to the State Department and, simultaneously, to the White House, the Defense Department and the CIA.

The tall, pace-striding Air Force general sat down behind a table in the high, colonnaded Caucus Room of the Old Senate Office Building. Television focused its dazzling light on him. That afternoon, after 28 years of service, two business-suited aides pulled up their chairs on either side of him. Before him sat the members of the Senate's Select Committee on Intelligence. A gavel banged, and the hearing began.

In appearance, the event resembled the start of thousands of Congressional hearings. Why it was in the year 1973 was that, for the first time, the head of the largest and most secretive of all American intelligence organs had emerged from obscurity to describe some of his agency's work and respond to charges that it had invaded Americans' privacy. The big officer was Lieut. Gen. Lew Allen Jr., current director of the National Security Agency. NSA is America's phantom ear. And sometimes it has eavesdropped on the wrong things.

In addition to sucking up and digesting its orders, the NSA had improperly eavesdropped on the conversations of many Americans, such as the antiwar protesters Benjamin Spock and Vangent in Berkeley, Calif., by, successor to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., current director of the National Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs and other Governmental agencies whose capabilities had invaded the domestic field, which they were never intended to do. The committee wanted to know about an NSA activity called "Shamrock." General Allen testified that, in the early 60's, domestic law-enforcement agencies asked the NSA for information on American citizens, but the NSA, through an arrangement, he said, was reviewed by "competent external authority"—two Attorneys General and a Secretary of Defense. All approved it, and the NSA, it seems, for such purposes spread rapidly through the Government. The drug bureau submitted the names of 450 Americans and 3,000 foreigners whose communications it wanted the NSA to watch. The P.B.I. put in a list of more than 1,000 American and 1,700 foreign individuals and groups. The Central Intelligence Agency, the Defense Department and the Treasury Service also submitted watch lists. Altogether, General Allen said, some 1,650 American names were on the lists, and the NSA issued about 3,900 reports on the.

But all this is over, he said; he personally abolished the "watch list" when he took over the agency in 1973. That, he said, was due to a lack of time to overcome the committee's overall concern—and that of many other Americans. For both prior to and since that hearing, disclosures in their long-drawn-out story of a multifaceted practice of using the NSA, in ways that threaten American freedoms.

For instance, the NSA persuaded three major cable companies to turn over to it much of their traffic overseas. It was partly through this operation, code-named "Shamrock," the NSA, operated with the "watch lists" of wiretapping. At one office, the NSA man would show up between 5 A.M. and 8 A.M. pick up the wiretapping equipment; run it through by company employees (who were said to have been paid $50 a week for their cooperation), microfilm them and hand them back. When messages began to move on tape, the NSA got some sequences of data that were later found to contain, on average, 150,000 messages a month, 90 percent of them in New York, and thousands of these were distributed to other Government bodies. Congress got wind of Shamrock, how-
Signals intelligence reaches back in America to the founding days of the Republic. But it matured only in World War I, with the war, and World War II, it became the nation's most important means of gathering secret information. When the Iron Curtain clanged down, the United States was ill-prepared for the extraordinary capabilities.

In 1952, President Truman issued a directive transforming the Armed Forces Security Agency, the intelligence service for signal intelligence, into the National Security Agency, serving all branches of government.

Therein lay the first pitfall. Unlike the C.I.A., in whose services were centralized in 1947, the N.S.A. was not formed by act of Congress, with a legislative charter defining the limits of its mission. The cryptologic empirical line is nonexistent. The legislative directive as its legal base. So shadowy has been the N.S.A.'s existence, however, that the text of the seven-page directive has never been made public.

This obsession with secrecy is well reflected by the agency's headquarters. At the edge of Port Meade, just off the Washington-Baltimore Parkway, it is roofed by a chain-link fence barbed wire by wire with six strands of electrified wire between them. Marines guard the four gates. Inside lies a modern, three-story square-A-shaped structure and, within its arms, a boxy nine-story building. From the latter, in particular, emanates a chill impersonality, quite different from the feeling in C.I.A. headquarters years ago. McLean, Virginia, the only sign of life a plume of white steam rising from the roof, the afternoon sun gleaming on its glassy facade, it stands bleakly at the edge of the White House, and the centers of national power.

All around sprawl the vast macadam parking lots for the 20,000 employees who work there. With the high-tech, rigorous security tests in the Government, but they may be fired merely on a suspicion. They are ensnared from talking even to their spouses. Some workers inside the building they are physically restricted as well. The colored badge each of them wears tells the patrolling Marine guards into which areas they may and may not go.

Their work is of two kinds. Some of them protect American communications. They devise cryptosystems. They contract for cipher machines, sometimes import them from abroad, to stand American data and tolerances so close that suppliers quit in despair. They promulgate cryptologic doctrine to ensure that the procedures devised are as secure as possible. They promulgate the messages of Defense. But the main job is SIGINT—signal intelligence—listening in. To do all its work, the N.S.A. alone spends about $1 billion a year. The agencies of about 80,000 servicemen and civilians around the world, who serve in the cryptologic agencies of the Army, Navy and Air Force and in the Defense Department, being Controlled and the other collateral costs are included, the total spent could well amount to $15 billion.

The N.S.A.'s place on the organizational chart has been held the job for an average of three and a half years each.

The agency's orders—Truman's 1952 directive—are to "obtain foreign intelligence from foreign communications or foreign electronic communications" and to "provide other information gathering but a Government merely suspects that its communications are compromised, it does not have to hunt down any spies or traitors... it is another thing entirely to break off information not from just one man but from a whole network. That is why the Government is so hypersensitive to any public mention of its operations. In September, President Ford last September refused to send classified material to the House Intelligence Committee after it made public four apparently innocuous words—"and greater co-operation in non-military intelligence security"—it was because of fears that the words would reveal to the Egyptians, to whom they referred, that the United States had pierced deeply enough into their communications to detect important changes. Where, for example, the right of privilege for private firms to keep them from furnishing information to a House committee investigating the theft of private geographical and topographic maps, it was also for fear of compromising N.S.A. procedures.

In doing so, the agency doesn't just bust in on the receivers and go out hunting for codes to break. It gets its assignments from other elements of the Government. They tell the N.S.A. what they are hot on. Then the information they need that the N.S.A. can probably provide. After board approval, the Director of Central Intelligence levies the requirements upon the N.S.A. Typical assignments might be to eavesdrop on all the communications of the divisions of the Chinese Army, to determine the range and trajectory of Soviet ICBM's, to ascertain the characteristics of radars around East Berlin. In all of these, the first step is to seek out the relevant foreign transmissions.

Some of the intercepts come from N.S.A. teams in American embassies. The team in Moscow has been spectacularly successful—at least before the Russians began flooding the building with low-intensity microwave radar transmissions, which are supposed to jam between Soviet leaders in their radiotelephone-equipped automobiles and other officials in the Kremlin.

Most radio intercepts come from manned intercept posts. Some of these are airborne. The Air Force patrols the edges of the Communist bloc with radio reconnaissance airplanes, such as the supersonic SR-71, the EC-135, and the EC-121, which carries a crew of 30. Six times a week, these airplanes, upon command to American ground stations.

ELINT plays an important role in modern war. Suppose the Air Force were to send a bomber force against Moscow, Soviet radars would first have to know the frequency, direction and speed, enabling its fighters to attack. To delay this, the Americans would have to jam the radars, or "spoof" them—i.e., omit counter all radars. These satellites can do it quickly, without revealing to the bomber force. These planes concentrate not on communications intelligence (COMINT) but on the second branch of signals intelligence—electronics (ELINT)

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with a Russian sub in the Barents Sea in 1969, were eight sailors working for the Navy's N.S.A.-related security group. The Navy's fleet of surface ships operates in a certain distance from the shores of the Soviet Union. (The N.S.A.'s covert mission is the interception, by an intercept, of communications intelligence.) It decommissioned this mode.

The major powers are the descendants of the Soviet Union. They are the descendants of the second world. They are the descendants of the third world. They are the descendants of the fourth world. They are the descendants of the fifth world. They are the descendants of the sixth world. They are the descendants of the seventh world. They are the descendants of the eighth world. They are the descendants of the ninth world. They are the descendants of the tenth world. They are the descendants of the eleventh world. They are the descendants of the twelfth world. They are the descendants of the thirteenth world. They are the descendants of the fourteenth world. They are the descendants of the fifteenth world. They are the descendants of the sixteenth world. They are the descendants of the seventeenth world. They are the descendants of the eighteenth world. They are the descendants of the nineteenth world. They are the descendants of the twentieth world. 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dations on the N.S.A. contained in the committee's recent report on the intelligence establishment as a whole. The committee finds, said the report, that "there is a complex need for toughness and our recommendations designed to prevent a repetition of the known abuses of the past."

The House Intelligence Committee, in its report, pointed out that basic changes are needed in the monitoring of communications of Americans, declaring that "the existence of the National Security Agency should be recognized by specific legislation," which would "define the authority and under the jurisdiction of Army intelligence.

There is no question that the National Security Agency, in the words of the Senate Intelligence Committee, is "vital to American security." In fact, in this nuclear age, when danger-fraught situations can be best handled with knowledge about the "other side" and when many international agreements, such as SALT, are dependent on, say, America's ability to verify Soviet compliance by its own technical means, like all intelligence, can be a stabilizing factor in the world.

There is also no question that we need a new statute. No law can guarantee prevention of abuses, especially if lawlessness is condoned in the higher echelons of government and the rinse and washover that agency from overspending its bounds. But a gap in the law is an invitation to abuse. An institutionalized mechanism to seek out violations and a government body to deter the sort of intrusion that so many Americans fear—and that destroys the very freedom the N.S.A. was created to protect.

Mr. MONDALE. Next, Army Counterintelligence, which would be another agency exempt under this pending amendment, was found spying on innocent Americans, burglary tapping of illegally opening mail. That record is also spelled out in the reports of our committee. Some of the early pioneering work in the area of intelligence abuse came as a result of the hearings before Senator Ernest Gruening's Committee on Civil Rights Subcommittee relating to the abuses of the Army Intelligence Agency against innocent Americans. Thus there is a very rich and broad record that demonstrates that abuse has occurred within the authority and under the jurisdiction of Army intelligence.

Next, the military has provided the backbone for the major paramilitary activities. These are activities which have been carried on in Laos, the Bay of Pigs, in which an attempt is made to suggest that it is not direct U.S. military intervention by federal law. It is under our control and direction, often U.S.-trained military personnel who have been, in the jargon of the business, "sheep-dipped." They have been clandestine in their outward marks, but they are, in fact, U.S. military personnel involved in those activities.

Those paramilitary activities occurred outside the Constitution. If you read the Constitution and the declaration of war powers contained therein you will find no exception in there permitting military activities outside the United States except through a declaration of war, and there is no exception in there for such activities if you call them paramilitary. If you did, of course, there would be no constitutional protections at all. This is another area of abuse, another area of major significance that would be beyond reach of this oversight committee if this amendment is adopted.

The military clandestine intelligence activities are supervised by the CIA. Only half of what the CIA spends comes from the Defense Department. The other half comes out of defense appropriations through transfers or advances, and thus if you controlled only the CIA it would be a simple matter to shift intelligence operations, covert operations, dirty tricks—under the jurisdiction of this oversight committee.

Anything the CIA does or the FBI does the military can do and has done. You either have to oversee all of them or, in all likelihood, we will not have restrained what we are seeking to restrain.

Finally, let us look at the Huston report. The Huston report or the Huston plan was apparently that classic official document of lawlessness ever prepared and signed off by high officers in the history of America. It was approved by the President, it was approved by representatives of every intelligence agency in the country. Congress did not even consider it. It sanctioned a broad range of illegal and unconstitutional activities: reading mail without a court's warrant, contrary to law; black bag jobs; breaking and entering the homes of American citizens, contrary to the fourth amendment; torturing people with secret power, particularly with great secret power. If we are not careful, it will almost inevitably lead to abuse.

Recently, the Director of the Bureau, Mr. Kelley, said, "Well, the real problem is that in Hoover's twilight years he was acting foolishly," and I think that is true. But I do not think the villain theory answers our question because many of these things occurred before Mr. Hoover's twilight years. They were committed by many people in the Bureau and in these other agencies, other than Mr. Hoover.

Mr. Hoover does not explain the CIA; he does not explain the DIA; he had nothing to do with assassinations and the rest of the abuses that we have seen here were not the contribution of Mr. Hoover.

Mr. Hoover had little or nothing to do with the "Palmer Raids" in World War II.

What we have seen, if we look at the history of secret intelligence agencies, is that if we are not careful and if we do not have oversight, we can expect, based on the record, that human nature is such that those who wield this power will find it very hard to restrain themselves from doing precisely what they are supposed to do. God when we have the right to do it outside the law and protected by censorship.

That is why, above all, we need what Madison once called auxiliary precautions.

I do not think it is any insult to those now running these agencies to say that we need that oversight and that we cannot accept their argument that, "we are different people than those other people who have been involved in such activities." I do not think that answers the question. I do not think the experience and history justifies it.

I often like to quote Madison's Fed-
eralist Paper No. 51, which I think underscores the need for what he called "auxiliary precautions."

He said this:

"Even when angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary. In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself."

and that he said:

"Experience has taught mankind the necessity of auxiliary precautions. I think that is what this record shows: experience has taught us that we need auxiliary precautions against abuse, particularly the abuse of power in the intelligence field, which, by necessity, operates in secret."

Secrecy, yes. Unaccountability, no. That is why we simply must have full jurisdiction in this oversight committee.

It seems to me that, when we strip the arguments down to their essentials, what many people are really arguing in these agencies is that this Nation cannot defend itself unless it can do so with the protection their secret nature and unless it can from time to time proceed illegally. In other words, in order to defend this country, it is necessary to do something that the framers of this country found abhorrent, namely, to have censorship.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. MONDALE. May I have 5 more minutes, please?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields the floor?

Mr. RIBICOFF. Yes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MONDALE. So that we can proceed with secrecy and protect ourselves from the Congress, from the American people, and second, to have the right to act illegally and in violation of the rights of the American people from time to time in order to defend this country from its real dangers.

I say that is their essential argument. When we, the Congress, get down to it, and certainly the record will demonstrate that time and time again they said almost exactly that, because that would be the only reason for saying that they should have the right to operate in secret and beyond the reach of the Congress.

How do we prevent that right if they are operating legally and responsively? What is their fear?

I think the fear is that it would deny them this broad freedom they have had to pursue whatever course they wanted, no matter how illegal or dispersive of constitutional rights it should be.

But that would seem, to me, the absurdity of anything, is that this Nation can defend itself fully and effectively, as it has for 200 years, within the law.

For some months we have looked through the FBI files; we asked them which dangers they wanted to defend us from. We did not look at logic, we did not look at theory. We looked at real life, and we found out that this Nation can clearly defend itself within the law and within the Constitution from every threat to this country, terrorists, bombers, foreign spies, rioters, civil unrest.

I want to know what right any of us have, those of us who have taken the oath to uphold the Constitution of the United States, to grant authority to anyone, the President or anyone in his behalf, to determine these things in his own hands and in secret and in that fact threaten the constitutional rights and the constitutional system of this Nation.

It is not necessary and it is the most dangerous thing that this Nation can do.

If our study has concluded anything, it is this, that those framers of our Constitution nearly 200 years ago came up with a document that was shrewd and profound in terms of how human nature worked, but shrewd and profound in terms of giving us the full authority we needed, the power we needed to protect us from our dangers at home and abroad, and at the same time to restrain the hand of Government. Because we do not want to go beyond that line, beyond enforcing the law, interfering with the political rights and freedoms of the American people.

It is the most sacred and important line drawn in the Constitution. I cannot think of anything better that we could do to celebrate this Bicentennial and more meaningful than to say that 200 years later we agreed that line is right and that in the face of this record we are going to insist that these agencies observe the line and to make certain they obey it, that they are going to have to report their activities to this Congress, all of them.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE COMMISSION AUTHORIZATIONS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, in order to keep the calendar clear and to take only a few minutes of the Senate's time, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate turn to the consideration of S. 3420 which provides budget authorization and within the law.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I fully support S. 3420 which provides budget authorization for the United States International Trade Commission. The Finance Committee has approved the amounts requested by the Commission for fiscal year 1977 and 1978, and I would like briefly explain the need for this level of funding.

The Trade Act of 1974 has placed increased responsibilities on the Commission. For example, in fiscal year 1975, about one-third of all Commission resources were devoted to the development of advice to the President on the probable economic effect of trade concessions. Additional work in this area has been necessary this year and more is expected as negotiations proceed. Undoubtedly, the Commission will be called upon to furnish additional support to U.S. representatives as negotiations intensify in fiscal year 1977. The new escape clause provisions, for example, have already required an expanded effort.

Further, as the multilateral trade negotiations proceed in Geneva, the Commission will play an increasingly important role in the economic impact of proposed tradeoffs and the negotiations must be adequately staffed to carry out this important task.

Mr. President, it is essential that the International Trade Commission remain responsive to the needs of government and the American business community, and I strongly urge my colleagues to support S. 3420.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to amendment. If there be no amendment to be proposed, the question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed as follows:

(a) There are authorized to be appropriated to the United States International Trade Commission $11,780,000 to carry out its duties and functions during fiscal year 1977.

(b) There are authorized to be appropriated to such Commission $12,036,000 to carry out its duties and functions during fiscal year 1978.

(c) In addition to the amounts authorized under subsections (b) and (c), there are authorized to be appropriated to such Commission such amounts as may be necessary for fiscal years 1977 and 1978 for increases required by law during such fiscal years in salaries, pay, retirement, and other employee benefits.

ORDER REFERRING S. 3091 TO COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that S. 3091, which was reported on Friday from the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry be re-