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and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as indicated:

By Mr. JACKSON (for himself, Mr. RANDOLPH, and Mr. MAGNUSON):

S. 1871. A bill to amend the Youth Conservation Corps Act of 1972 (Public Law 92-597, 86 Stat. 1319) to expand and make permanent the Youth Conservation Corps, and for other purposes. Referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. RIBICOFF:

S. 1872. A bill to amend title XVI of the Social Security Act to provide for the Federal employment of certain employees of States and political subdivisions thereof, and for other purposes. Referred to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. MOSS:

S. 1873. A bill to amend sections 403 and 1002 of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958, as amended, relating to tariff changes and suspensions. Referred to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. DOLE:

S. 1874. A bill to encourage health professionals to practice in critical health manpower shortage areas. Referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

By Mr. RANDOLPH (for himself, Mr. CRANSTON, Mr. STAFFORD, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. WILLIAMS, Mr. EAGLETON, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. MONDALE, Mr. PELL, Mr. SCHWEIKER, Mr. STEVENSON, Mr. TAFT, Mr. BAYH, Mr. BIDEN, Mr. BURDICK, Mr. GRAVEL, Mr. HUMPHREY, Mr. MUSKIE, Mr. PASTORE, Mr. PERCY, Mr. HARTKE, Mr. BENTSEN, Mr. BEALL, Mr. BROCK, Mr. BROOKE, Mr. DOMENICI, Mr. DOMINICK, Mr. FONG, Mr. FULBRIGHT, Mr. MATHIAS, and Mr. DOLE):

S. 1875. A bill to amend the Vocational Rehabilitation Act to extend and revise the authorization of grants to States for vocational rehabilitation services, to authorize grants for rehabilitation services to those with severe disabilities, and for other purposes. Referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

By Mr. BURDICK (for himself, Mr. HRUSKA, and Mr. HART):

S. 1876. A bill to provide for the division of jurisdiction between State and Federal courts, and for other purposes. Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HUMPHREY:

S. 1877. A bill to create river basin waste treatment authorities for the purpose of assuming control over, planning, construction, and operating waste treatment facilities throughout the United States in order to eliminate water pollution in our Nation's river and streams. Referred to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. GRAVEL:

S. 1878. A bill for the relief of the heirs of Joseph Knight. Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HART (for himself, Mr. PROXMIER, and Mr. MOSS):

S. 1879. A bill to regulate commerce in order to protect the environment by decreasing the quantity of materials moved in commerce which must be disposed of ultimately as solid waste; to stimulate the movement in commerce of recycled and reused materials; and for other purposes. Referred to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. HARTKE (for himself, Mr. PROXMIER, Mr. METCALF, Mr. ABOUREZK, Mr. STEVENSON, Mr. NELSON, and Mr. HUMPHREY):

S. 1880. A bill to protect hobbyists against the reproduction or manufacture of certain

imitation hobby items and to provide additional protections for American hobbyists. Referred to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. HARTKE (for himself, Mr. HUMPHREY, Mr. HART, Mr. HATHAWAY, and Mr. McGOVERN):

S. 1881. A bill to regulate the sale of used cars in or affecting interstate commerce by prescribing the terms and conditions of warranties given in connection with their sale, and to provide for a program of State inspection of used motor vehicles. Referred to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. MONDALE:

S. 1882. A bill to provide certain services for Government employees in order to assist them in preparing for retirement. Referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

S. 1883. A bill to provide for the establishment of an independent Office of Federal Elections to investigate and prosecute violations of Federal law occurring in connection with Federal elections, and for other purposes. Referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

By Mr. BELLMON:

S. 1884. A bill to permit national banks to invest in agricultural credit corporations. Referred to the Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs.

By Mr. MAGNUSON:

S. 1885. A bill to provide for the mailing of certain election material to voters free of postage, and for other purposes. Referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. HATHAWAY:

S. 1886. A bill to amend section 5(1)(1) of the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 to simplify administration of the act; and to amend section 226(e) of the Social Security Act to extend kidney disease medicare coverage to railroad employees, their spouses, and their dependent children; and for other purposes. Referred jointly, by unanimous consent, to the Committee on Finance and the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

By Mr. FULBRIGHT (by request):

S. 1887. A bill to provide for the appointment of alternates for the Governors of the International Monetary Fund and of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. TALMADGE (from the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry):

S. 1888. An original bill to extend and amend the Agricultural Act of 1970 for the purpose of assuring consumers of plentiful supplies of food and fiber at reasonable prices. Ordered placed on calendar.

By Mr. JOHNSTON (for himself and Mr. LONG):

S. 1889. A bill to allow the refinancing of loan assistance to victims of Hurricane Betsy and subsequent disasters. Referred to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

By Mr. BARTLETT:

S.J. Res. 115. A joint resolution requesting the President to require Federal agencies to use economy cars and to limit the use of limousines. Referred to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. STEVENS:

S.J. Res. 116. A joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States with respect to the minimum age qualifications of Representatives and Senators. Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. INOUE:

S.J. Res. 117. A joint resolution to authorize and request the President of the United States to issue a proclamation designating September 17, 1973, as "Constitution Day." Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

By Mr. JACKSON (for himself, Mr. RANDOLPH, and Mr. MAGNUSON):

S. 1871. A bill to amend the Youth Conservation Corps Act of 1972 (Public Law 92-597, 86 Stat. 1319) to expand and make permanent the Youth Conservation Corps, and for other purposes. Referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I introduce for appropriate reference a bill to expand the Youth Conservation Act of 1972 from its very modest and temporary status to a full-scale permanent youth and natural resources conservation program.

This measure expands the existing Youth Conservation Corps program to provide employment for up to 150,000 young men and women each year, and also enables the States to benefit more fully through a cost-sharing arrangement with the Federal Government for operation of the Youth Conservation Corps on State lands by State agencies.

The original YCC legislation I sponsored in Congress became Public Law in 1970, and established a 3-year pilot YCC program for young men and women between the ages of 15 to 18, and from all socioeconomic and racial backgrounds. During the first 2 years of operation, approximately 6,000 youths were provided with summer jobs in the YCC. Another 3,500 youths from all 50 States, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and American Samoa will be employed this summer on lands administered by the Department of the Interior.

Based upon the success of the first years program, last Congress, I introduced S. 2454, a bill nearly identical to today's measure. S. 2454 passed the Senate on May 23, 1972, and was ultimately enacted into law (Public Law 92-591) late in 1972. Unfortunately, Public Law 92-597 extended the YCC program only through the summer of 1974 and limited the authorization for appropriation to \$60 million. I am convinced that the Senate- and House-passed versions of S. 2454 could have been resolved in conference if we had not faced an adjournment deadline. Under the circumstances, there was no alternative but accept the House passed bill and try again in the 93d Congress. The measure I am introducing today is designed to remedy the situation we now face—the YCC program will die an untimely death in 1974 unless we act expeditiously.

I should emphasize that the present program, and the expanded YCC bill I am introducing today, will include youngsters from all backgrounds, thereby representing a cross section of the American population. It is my belief that too many Federal youth programs provide opportunities to only the economically disadvantaged. Moving people from homes of despair to camps of despair is not the answer. When you isolate the economically or socially disadvantaged

any employee of an agency which is to provide preretirement assistance under such program. If deemed advisable, the Commission may enter into contracts with educational and other institutions to provide such training.

"(2) The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare may provide—

"(A) such training and other assistance in the development and evaluation of such programs as the Commission may request; and

"(B) technical assistance and formulate such program models as may be necessary to meet the specific needs of an agency subject to the provisions of this section. Such models may be used in formulating the standards prescribed in the regulations promulgated by the Commission under paragraph (1) of this subsection.

"(3) (A) If the Commission determines, upon request of an agency, that it is not practicable for the agency to comply with the provisions of subsection (b) of this section, the Commission may grant such agency an exemption from providing a program of preretirement assistance for its employees. Such exemption shall be reviewed at least once every six months and shall remain in effect if, at the time of each review, there is a determination by the Commission that it continues to be impracticable for the agency to provide such a program.

"(B) If an exception is granted under this paragraph, the Commission shall take such measures as may be necessary to provide employees of such agency with an appropriate program of preretirement assistance.

"(e) Such interagency cooperation as is necessary to obtain maximum utilization of resources shall be undertaken to achieve the purposes of this section. The head of an agency is authorized and requested to provide informational materials, group training services, group and individual counseling services, and other assistance to another such agency or to employees of such other agency when it is more economical or feasible to do so."; and

(2) by adding at the end of the analysis of such subchapter, preceding section 8301, the following new item:

"8302. Preretirement assistance."

Sec. 3. The Civil Service Commission shall make a study of existing and recommended practices, both within and outside the Government of the United States, which relate to work-life and study programs, including phased retirement, trial retirement, new kinds of part-time work, and sabbaticals. With the assistance of agencies and officers of the Government of the United States, including the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and educational institutions, the Commission shall, based on such study, establish guidelines concerning such programs for the information and use of such agencies.

Sec. 4. Within eighteen months after the date of enactment of this Act, the Civil Service Commission shall submit a report to the President and the Congress on the programs of preretirement assistance required by the amendment made by section 2 of this Act and on the development of new work-life and study programs by agencies of the Government of the United States.

Sec. 5. Not later than ninety days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Civil Service Commission shall promulgate regulations to establish standards for conducting programs of preretirement assistance as authorized by section 2 of this Act. Not later than six months after such date of enactment, the Commission shall place into operation a program for providing the training required by section 8302 (d) (1) of title 5, United States Code (as added by section 2 of this Act).

Sec. 6. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

By Mr. MONDALE:

S. 1833. A bill to provide for the establishment of an independent Office of Federal Elections to investigate and prosecute violations of Federal law occurring in connection with Federal elections, and for other purposes. Referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

INDEPENDENT OFFICE OF FEDERAL ELECTIONS
NEEDED TO INVESTIGATE AND PROSECUTE
ELECTION CRIME

Mr. MONDALE, Mr. President, I am today introducing legislation to establish an independent Office of Federal Elections to investigate and prosecute any violation of Federal law occurring in connection with Presidential and congressional elections.

In addition, this bill would transfer the responsibility for supervising and receiving campaign spending reports under the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to the new Office of Federal Elections. This responsibility is now lodged in the Clerk of the House for House candidates, the Secretary of the Senate for Senate candidates, and the Comptroller General for Presidential candidates.

The still unfolding Watergate affair has made it clear that politicians are not likely to investigate themselves, and that prosecution of political crimes will not likely be pursued vigorously by political appointees.

No matter how great the integrity of those charged with investigating and prosecuting political crimes, we put them in an impossible position if they remain answerable to political appointees. Even if their work is totally untainted by political considerations, too many will believe that it is not.

We need an agency insulated from politics—free from control by either the Executive or the Congress—to investigate and prosecute political crimes.

The General Accounting Office—in its oversight of Presidential elections—is such an agency. It is accountable to Congress of course, but it is free from political control by the Executive. Perhaps as a consequence, it has done an admirable job of investigating and making public violations of the campaign reporting and disclosure laws that occurred in connection with the 1972 Presidential campaign. However, the GAO has no subpoena power, and it must refer findings of violations to the Justice Department—which is controlled by the Executive.

Therein lies the problem. The GAO has reported a number of apparent violations of the reporting and disclosure laws to the Justice Department with recommendations for action, but no action has been taken.

In a report to the Justice Department on April 27, for example, the GAO outlined evidence that the Finance Committee To Reelect the President had "additional cash in huge amounts" on hand on April 7 which was never reported to GAO as the 1971 act required. The GAO report concluded with the following criticism of the Justice Department for, in

effect, dragging its feet in pursuing the apparent violations uncovered by GAO:

In our report of March 21, 1973 on the Vesco cash contribution, we reiterated our concern that full disclosure may not have been yet achieved. We urged investigation by the Department of Justice which is equipped with subpoena powers and enforcement authority not available to our office. Since that time, we have had no direct response from the Department of Justice as to the nature of its efforts or intentions, if any, in this direction. We again recommend that the Attorney General be urged in the strongest terms to take the initiative with regard to these reported violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act, and with the investigative resources available to his Department, determine the full extent to which officials of the Committee to Re-elect the President may have failed in their responsibilities under the Act in their dealings in cash funds.

The Justice Department—controlled by the Executive—has shown little eagerness to pursue possible election crimes, while the independent GAO has moved forcefully within the limits of the authority granted it. The lesson is obvious—the agency charged with investigating political crimes must be free from political control.

Senators have insisted—rightly—that the Watergate special prosecutor must have full and complete independence. The circumstances which led to this demand will be present whenever crimes committed in connection with an election are at issue. There will always be at least the appearance that the crimes of an incumbent administration are being covered up—or that candidates of the nonincumbent party are being unfairly pursued.

Any agency set up to monitor campaigns on a long-term basis will need the same independence that the Senate has demanded be granted to the Watergate prosecutor. We need a permanent independent prosecutor, and the bill I propose would provide one.

The Senate Commerce Committee reported a bill last week (S. 372) to set up a Federal Election Commission to supervise the Federal Election Campaign Act. While this Commission would be an important step forward, I believe it stops short of what Watergate shows we must do.

The Commission set up by S. 372 would have the requisite independence from political control, but its mandate would be too narrow.

It could investigate and prosecute violations of the spending limit and disclosure provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act, but that is all.

It could do nothing about the kind of bugging, wiretapping, campaign sabotage, obstruction of justice, perjury, subornation of perjury, and other Federal crimes associated with the Watergate affair. Any of these crimes, as we have seen, can fatally taint an election, but the Commission set up by S. 372 would not be able to investigate or prosecute them.

We would have to continue to rely on politically appointed U.S. attorneys and the Justice Department to investigate and prosecute what are clearly political

crimes—crimes committed to affect the course of an election. The political pressures to cover up and ignore these crimes are fully as great as the pressures to ignore violations of campaign spending and disclosure laws. But only the latter violations could be investigated and prosecuted by the Commission established by S. 372.

An independent prosecutor is needed to deal with all criminal attempts to subvert our electoral process—not just those which violate the narrow provisions of the 1971 Federal Election Campaign Act.

Therefore, the Office of Federal Elections which my bill would establish is given authority, through its Director to: "Investigate the violation of any law of the United States occurring in connection with any campaign for nomination for election, or for election, to Federal office or occurring in connection with any attempt to influence the outcome of any such election," and to prosecute any violation of such law.

A second important difference between this legislation and the bill reported by the Commerce Committee is that this bill would set up an office headed by a single director, while S. 372 would set up a nine-member Commission with staggered terms. The term of office for both the Director under my proposal and the Commissioners in S. 372 would be 15 years. Both the Director and the Commissioners would be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

I believe experience has shown that lodging full responsibility in one person has substantial advantages over dividing responsibility among a number of commissioners.

Decisions are made and actions are taken more quickly and firmly in a body headed by one person. As President Roosevelt's Committee on Administrative Management observed in 1937:

For the purpose of management, boards and commissions have turned out to be failures. Their mechanism is inevitably slow, cumbersome, wasteful, and ineffective. . . . Even strong men on boards find that their individual opinions are watered down in reaching broad decisions. . . . The conspicuously well-managed administrative units in the Government are almost without exception headed by single administrators.

One person can be held more accountable than a commission. When everyone is partly responsible, no one is fully responsible and everyone has an excuse.

As former Federal Trade Commissioner Philip Elman put it in a speech to the American Bar Association 3 years ago:

When the public is only dimly aware of an agency as a distant and impersonal institutional entity, when one man cannot clearly be identified as responsible, who is there to hold accountable for the agency's shortcomings?

Finally, giving one person full responsibility will make it easier to find a strong and able person to fill the job. Good people thrive on responsibility and challenge. Yet both are diminished when authority is diffused as it inevitably must be in a multimember commission. When people are asked to serve 15-year terms—to take 15 years out of their lives—they

must be given truly important and responsible work to do. It is at least an open question whether being one member of a nine-member commission would be sufficient for an able person. There is a strong possibility that only time-servers would accept appointment.

There is, of course, a danger in putting all authority in the hands of one person, as the bill I propose would do. There are some checks on the Office and its Director, however.

First of all, the Senate must give its advice and consent to the appointment of the Director. It is clear that whoever is nominated as Director will receive the most careful and thorough scrutiny in the Senate. All of us will be aware that the person who fills this office will have significant authority for years to come over matters that are of more than passing concern to us. None of us will want a partisan or incompetent Director looking over our shoulders in the next campaign.

Second, funding for the new Office would have to be voted each year by Congress, and clear abuse of the powers of the Office could lead to a cutoff of funds.

Third, Congress could change the law and limit the powers of the Office if its powers were abused.

Fourth, the President could remove the Director "for cause." Under the case law which has grown up around similar provisions in other legislation, cause for dismissal would include crimes committed in connection with the duties of the office or conduct amounting to gross impropriety.

Finally, the scrutiny of the press and public opinion would be so great that a Director concerned for his reputation, his credibility, and his continuing ability to perform his duties would have a strong incentive to act responsibly.

In short, the bill I propose seeks to establish an investigator and prosecutor of political crimes who will be as independent as possible of political control, while still remaining subject to the checks and balances our constitutional system requires.

By Mr. BELLMON:

S. 1884. A bill to permit national banks to invest in agricultural credit corporations. Referred to the Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs.

Mr. BELLMON. Mr. President, yesterday, during the Senate deliberations on S. 1798, I offered an amendment to improve the availability of credit to the agricultural sector of our economy. This amendment was identical to S. 3540 which was introduced last year during the 92d Congress and received a favorable report from the Department of Treasury and the Office of Management and Budget. Unfortunately, this report came too late in the session for the Banking Committee to hold hearings and the Congress to take action on this legislation.

After conferring with the distinguished chairman of the Senate Banking Committee, Senator SPARKMAN, I decided to withdraw my amendment and to reintroduce it today as a bill with the understanding and firm assurance from Senator SPARKMAN that his committee would

hold hearings on this measure sometime during the first 2 weeks in June.

The intent of this legislation is easily understood. This bill would permit national banks to join together in forming corporations engaged solely in providing credit to farmers and ranchers for agricultural purposes. Under existing law and regulations, a national bank can only invest in an agricultural credit corporation if it controls a majority of the stock in such corporation. My measure would remove that prohibition and allow any number of national banks to join together to form such corporation, with the provision that a single bank can invest no more than 20 percent of its unimpaired capital and surplus in stocks, bonds, or other obligations of the corporation.

Mr. President, low lending limits, coupled with the accelerating size of farm units, have created the necessity for farmers and ranchers to seek credit from institutions outside of their local area. Most would prefer to do business with their local banker. Passage of this bill would allow these local banks to combine their assets in an agricultural credit corporation and then discount loans made by the corporation with the Federal Intermediate Credit Banks. This would allow the farmer and rancher to continue to do business with his local banker and at the same time give his local banker access to additional capital to lend.

I ask unanimous consent that the letter from the Treasury Department in support of S. 3540 be printed following my remarks, and urge swift action by the Congress in order to make this new credit tool available to the agricultural sector of our economy.

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

SEPTEMBER 19, 1972.

HON. JOHN SPARKMAN,
Chairman, Committee on Banking, Housing,
and Urban Affairs, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Reference is made to your request for the views of this Department of S. 3540, "To permit national banks to invest in agricultural credit corporations."

The proposed legislation would amend section 5136 of the Revised Statutes (12 U.S.C. 24) to permit a national banking association to purchase stock of corporations organized solely for the purpose of making loans to farmers and ranchers for agricultural purposes. It would provide that unless the association owns at least 80 percent of the stock of such corporation, the amount invested by such association at any one time in the stock of such corporation shall not exceed 20 percent of the capital stock of the association actually paid in unimpaired surplus of the association.

The Department would have no objection to the proposed legislation.

The Department has been advised by the Office of Management and Budget that there is no objection from the standpoint of the Administration's program to the submission of this report to your Committee.

Sincerely yours,

ROY T. ENGLERT,
Acting, General Counsel.

By Mr. MAGNUSON:

S. 1885. A bill to provide for the mailing of certain election material to voters free of postage, and for other purposes.