

UNITED STATES



OF AMERICA

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 91st CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

VOLUME 115—PART 29

DECEMBER 12, 1969, TO DECEMBER 18, 1969
(PAGES 38621 TO 40114)

The Secretary acknowledged, what has been publicly known for some time, that in July 1969, during tests conducted on a nonflight static test specimen, a crack occurred in the right wing at 125 percent of design load limit. The Secretary commented:

This is the equivalent of 1.25 times the maximum maneuverable load ever expected in normal operations of the aircraft.

I might add that this is far in excess of the structural requirements of the aircraft that carry passengers in this country.

I continue with Secretary Seamans' statement:

Since that time Lockheed under Air Force surveillance has established a proposed fix which will reinforce the wing at 11 points. Tests completed to date substantiate the integrity of this fix. As they continue, the static test will be run up to 150 percent of design load limit as required by the contract.

In the meantime we have imposed a maximum gross weight restriction of 332 tons at 2.0 G's until the wing fix is incorporated. This will not preclude effective operational use of the aircraft.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD the full text of the Lockheed and the Air Force statements regarding the C-5A.

There being no objections, the statements were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LOCKHEED STATEMENT REGARDING C-5A FOLLOWING CONGRESSMAN MOORHEAD'S PRESS CONFERENCE ON DECEMBER 11, 1969

Lockheed denies any C-5A is flying at the risk of the lives of any crew members as it was reported to have been said today by Congressman Moorhead. Nine airplanes have completed approximately 1700 hours of strenuous flight testing under conditions more rigorous than will be encountered in operations. Congressman Moorhead's statement that Lockheed is delivering defective C-5's obviously is based upon misinformation or misinterpretation of facts.

AIR FORCE STATEMENT REGARDING C-5A FOLLOWING CONGRESSMAN MOORHEAD'S PRESS CONFERENCE ON DECEMBER 11, 1969

Secretary Robert C. Seamans said today that based on his monthly reviews on C-5 aircraft performance, schedule and cost he has confidence in the decision to accept the first C-5 aircraft for operational training use next week.

There are nine C-5 aircraft flying. They have accumulated 1650 flight hours in a structural flight test program including one take-off which set an unofficial world weight lift record of 798,200 pounds.

In July 1969 during tests conducted on a non-flight static test specimen a crack occurred in the right wing at 125% of design load limit. This is the equivalent of 1.25 times the maximum maneuverable load ever expected in normal operations of the aircraft.

Since that time Lockheed under Air Force surveillance has established a proposed fix which will reinforce the wing at 11 points. Tests completed to date substantiate the integrity of this fix. As they continue the lead static test article will be retested to 150% of design load limit as required by the contract.

In the meantime we have imposed a maximum gross weight restriction of 332 tons at 2.0 G's until the wing fix is incorporated. This will not preclude effective operational use of the aircraft.

Appropriate Congressional committees

have been kept fully informed of our progress with the C-5. We have every confidence that the C-5 being delivered next week and the ones to follow will add immeasurably to our airlift capability.

AMERICA THE BEAUTIFUL

Mr. HART. Mr. President, last night, at home, I picked up a magazine, entitled "The Quaker Notes." It is the fall issue of 1969. It is published by the Sidwell Friends School here in Washington, D.C.

Leafing through it, I came on a three verse poem written by a seventh grader.

Mr. President, the name of this seventh grader is Caron Cadle. I do not know how many of us can carry a tune in our heads, but all of us know the music of "America the Beautiful." These three verses are written to the theme of "America the Beautiful." Listen to the cry of this seventh grader. I will read just the first stanza:

AMERICA THE BEAUTIFUL

Oh beautiful for voltage dams,
For garbage and debris,
For rainbow-colored oil leaks,
That well pollute the sea!
America, America
We shed our wastes on thee,
And crown this lump,
This Garbage dump
With "progress" verily!

Mr. President, if a seventh grader can see what we are doing to ourselves and express it this vividly, we—all of us—should be able to respond more effectively.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this young lady's sensitive cry be printed in the RECORD for all to read.

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

AMERICA THE BEAUTIFUL

Oh beautiful for voltage dams,
For garbage and debris,
For rainbow-colored oil leaks,
That well pollute the sea!
America, America
We shed our wastes on thee,
And crown this lump,
This garbage dump
With "progress" verily!

Oh beautiful for smoggy skies
In New York and L.A.
For ghettos, filth and misery
You take the cake today!
America, America,
Equality for all
Just that some peoples'
Portions are
A little bit too small!

Oh beautiful for grey concrete
And creatures killed by cars,
For poor and underprivileged,
As we reach for the stars!
America, America,
Just smell the sewers sweet!
Do not forget that living here
Is really quite a treat!

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. EAGLETON in the chair). The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

COUNCIL OF SOCIAL ADVISERS— AMENDMENT

AMENDMENT NO. 428

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I submit for myself and the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. MONDALE) an amendment intended to be proposed by us, jointly, to S. 5, the bill introduced by Senator MONDALE which would create a Council of Social Advisers. The amendment would establish an Office of Goals and Priorities Analysis within the Congress to conduct a continuing nonpartisan analysis of national goals and priorities and to provide the Congress with the information, data, and analysis necessary for enlightened priority decisions.

S. 5, which was introduced by the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. MONDALE) on January 15, 1969, and which I cosponsored, is designed largely to further the study and collection of social information and indicators in this country. A Council of Social Advisers, analogous to the existing Council of Economic Advisers, would publish an annual social report, and a Joint Committee on the Social Report would have functions parallel to those of the Joint Economic Committee. Our hope is that the creation of these mechanisms would stimulate the search for improved social data and indicators, in much the same way that the establishment of the Council of Economic Advisers and a Joint Economic Committee resulted in great advances in the consideration of the economic health of our Nation.

Mr. President, S. 5 is an important piece of legislation. We must know more about the existing social conditions in our country before we can expect to be successful in improving these conditions. Time and again, in preparing and enacting social legislation, it has been necessary to enact programs on the basis of inadequate knowledge and of incomplete understanding of the social problems we are striving to cure.

But social data and research alone are not enough. Even if our statistics and indicators were perfect, they would not be sufficient. We must gather the data and research results, compile the statistics, and evaluate the indicators, and then use all of this information as a basis for formulating goals and priorities. It is not enough to discover that millions of people in the United States are hungry; we must also set a goal and find the means to eliminate hunger. It is not sufficient to conduct studies which demonstrate that the crime rate has been increasing; we must set a goal and find the means to lower the level of crime. And these goals must then be weighed one against the other, since in the face of limited resources it is naive to hope that all of our objectives can be reached at once, and we must arrive at a rational and explicit ordering of priorities.

The amendment I am submitting today is aimed at improving our formulation of goals and our determination of priorities. It would establish within the Congress an Office of Goals and Priorities Analysis, similar in many structural respects to the General Accounting Office, which would assist in establishing a framework of

national goals and priorities and would provide Congress with the detailed data and analysis needed to make informed decisions. The Office would submit to the Congress on the first day of March of each year a national priorities report, which would include, but not be limited to:

First. An analysis, in terms of national priorities, of the annual budget submitted by the President and of the Economic Report of the President.

Second. 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.

Third. 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.

The Office is also directed to make such other studies as it deems necessary to carry out its stated purposes, and to provide upon request to any Member of the Congress further information, data, or analysis relevant to an informed determination of national priorities.

The Joint Economic Committee would hold hearings on the national goals and priorities report and on other reports and studies of the Office. That Office is given powers similar to those held by the GAO; Government agencies are authorized and directed to furnish to the Director upon request such information as he considers necessary to carry out the functions of the Office.

The Office is designed to be directly responsible to the Congress. For this reason, the Director and Assistant Director are appointed jointly by the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House, and may be removed by a resolution of either House. Terms of office are 4 years, timed to coincide with the organization of a new Congress following each presidential election.

There is a great need for the several services which would be provided by the Office of Goals and Priorities Analysis. Since our resources, although vast, are not unlimited, we must make choices. Our goals must be formulated carefully, and our priorities ordered wisely.

There is a need for an overview, for some sort of coordinating mechanism which would consider all of the alternatives and options open to us. At present, each item considered by the Congress is viewed almost in isolation from every other. Although changes made in the poverty program are likely to have profound effects on the welfare program, for example, the two are handled by different committees and may be taken up months apart on the floor. Each appropriations bill is considered by a separate subcommittee, and is enacted on its own merits with little regard to the implications for other appropriations bills.

Every time we enact a program or an appropriation, we are in effect making a priority decision, since we are de-

creasing the resources available for other programs. Yet there are probably few Members of Congress who have available to them a clear and up-to-date picture of what has already been enacted or appropriated during that session of Congress, what remains on the agenda or is likely to come up for enactment or appropriation, or what constitutes the total amount of resources available to the Nation that year. It is my hope that the Office of Goals and Priorities Analysis will assist in making available this kind of information, and in spelling out the interrelationships and future implications of various programs and courses of action.

There is also a need on the part of the Congress for a greater knowledge of the cost-benefit ratio of each of the measures on which it must decide. A law was passed in 1956 which requires that each executive proposal for new legislation include a 5-year cost projection, but this requirement has been honored more in the breach than in the practice. The Office of Goals and Priorities Analysis, by invoking this law, by using the powers assigned to it to request information from Government agencies, and by using its skills in analysis and evaluation, should be able to help the Congress to bring more information and enlightenment to each of its decisions.

Increasing attention has been paid in recent months to the question of goals and priorities. The fulfillment of the goal set in 1961 by President Kennedy of landing a man on the moon by the end of the decade has prompted many people to suggest other goals which they feel ought to be adopted by the Government, in the hope of obtaining similarly spectacular results. The hope that the war in Vietnam may soon be over has stimulated a great debate over the priorities which ought to be followed in spending the expected "peace dividend." The cost of the war itself, and the huge size of the military budget, has caused much questioning of the methods by which our goals and priorities are presently determined, especially with regard to choices between military and domestic spending.

Although there has been a renewed interest in the explicit and rational determination of goals and priorities, the idea is by no means a new one. President Hoover appointed a Committee on Recent Social Trends in 1929, and President Eisenhower established a Commission on National Goals in 1960. The minority members of the Joint Economic Committee have been recommending for years, beginning in 1963, that measures be taken to examine Federal expenditure policy in an objective and nonpartisan manner.

This year the main body of the joint economic report, as well as the section on "minority views," included a recommendation for a comprehensive study of national goals and priorities. Stating that "too often public policy has been formed in an ad hoc fashion because of an absence of clearly stated national objectives and priorities," the report urged that—

The Congress, with guidance from its leadership, and the administration undertake a formal and comprehensive study of national goals and priorities with a view to establishing guidelines for legislation and expenditure policy.

I ask unanimous consent that the relevant portion of the 1969 joint economic report be included at the close of my remarks.

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

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, on July 13 of this year, President Nixon announced that he was establishing a national goals research staff within the White House. This was certainly a step in the right direction, and hopefully will contribute to President Nixon's stated objective of charting "the future as consciously as we are accustomed to charting the past." However, it was made clear that the staff will not recommend or determine priorities in any sense; its function will be to collect, correlate and process data relating to social needs, and to project social trends. Furthermore, the staff has no statutory authority, and is designed primarily to serve the executive branch. The Office of Goals and Priorities Analysis which I am proposing today would build upon and extend the action taken by the President.

Although the efforts I have cited so far all have been the work of Republicans, the matter of goals and priorities is not and should not be a partisan one. The Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. PROXMIER) recently suggested that a staff unit be created within the Joint Economic Committee to analyze and evaluate the Federal budget, although he has not yet proposed specific legislation. His Subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee has been holding hearings dealing with the need for the Congress to gain access to more program evaluation and analysis. On the basis of these hearings, he concluded:

Congress requires an in-house staff capability to assist it in obtaining program analysis studies and translating their results into a form appropriate for Congressional debate.

Senator RIBICOFF's Subcommittee of the Government Operations Committee has been holding hearings with a view to increasing the ability of the GAO to answer Congress' needs for more information and analysis. The Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. NELSON) has introduced legislation which would create a Joint Committee on National Priorities, to review and recommend changes in national priorities and resource allocation.

The Office of Goals and Priorities Analysis would not determine or legislate goals. But it would give the Congress an invaluable tool in an area where executive prerogative has far outstripped congressional responsibility.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be printed as a part of my remarks; and also that it be printed under the rule and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, where the bill is pending.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The

amendment will be received, printed, and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare by unanimous consent; and, without objection, the amendment will be printed in the RECORD.

The amendment (No. 428) is as follows:

S. 428

On page 1, line 3, after the word "Opportunity" insert the words "and National Goals and Priorities".

On page 1, between lines 3 and 4, insert the following: "Title I—Full Opportunity".

On page 1, line 5, strike out "2" and insert in lieu thereof "101".

On page 2, line 9, strike out "3" and insert in lieu thereof "102".

On page 2, line 13, strike out "2" and insert in lieu thereof "101".

On page 2, line 20, strike out "2" and insert in lieu thereof "101".

On page 2, line 24, strike out "2" and insert in lieu thereof "101".

On page 3, line 5, strike out "2" and insert in lieu thereof "101".

On page 3, line 9, strike out "5" and insert in lieu thereof "104".

On page 3, line 11, strike out "4" and insert in lieu thereof "103".

On page 3, line 19, strike out "2" and insert in lieu thereof "101".

On page 4, line 22, strike out "2" and insert in lieu thereof "101".

On page 5, line 1, strike out "2" and insert in lieu thereof "101".

On page 5, line 5, strike out "2" and insert in lieu thereof "101".

On page 5, line 11, strike out "2" and insert in lieu thereof "101".

On page 5, line 19, strike out "2" and insert in lieu thereof "101".

On page 6, line 2, strike out "2" and insert in lieu thereof "101".

On page 7, line 6, strike out "4(c)" and insert in lieu thereof "103(c)".

On page 7, line 16, strike out "5" and insert in lieu thereof "104".

On page 9, after line 10, add the following new title:

TITLE II—NATIONAL 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 goals and priorities within which individual decisions can be made in a consistent and considered manner, and to stimulate an informed awareness and discussion of national goals and priorities, it is hereby declared to be the intent of Congress to establish an office within the Congress which will conduct a continuing nonpartisan 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 within the Congress an Office of Goals and Priorities Analysis (hereafter referred to as the "Office").

(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 President pro tempore 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.

(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 appointment, as provided in this section for the remainder of the unexpired term.

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 the first day of March of each year a National Goals and Priorities Report. The Report shall include, but not be limited to—

(1) an analysis, in terms of national goals and priorities, of the annual budget submitted by the President and of the Economic Report of the President;

(2) an examination of resources available to the Nation, the foreseeable costs and expected benefits of existing and proposed Federal progress, and the resources and cost implications of alternative sets of national goals and priorities; and

(3) recommendations concerning spending priorities among Federal programs and courses of action, including the identification of these 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 Congress;

(3) to obtain the services of experts and consultants, in accordance with the provisions of section 3109 of title 5, United States Code, at rates for individuals not to exceed \$125 per day; 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) 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.

(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 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 studies of the Office as it deems advisable.

AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 206. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this title.

EXHIBIT 1

[From the 1969 Joint Economic Report]

NATIONAL GOALS AND PRIORITIES

The budget of the Federal Government accounts for over 20 percent of the Nation's total output of final goods and services. The allocation of this nearly \$200 billion budget among the multitude of Federal programs has an enormous influence on both the structure of outputs produced by the U.S. economy and the distribution of the Nation's income. Because of this impact of Federal revenues and expenditures on the society, it is essential that allocation decisions be based on a clear statement of national goals and priorities. This necessity is reinforced by the rapid growth in Federal expenditures over the past several years.

Too often public policy has been formed in an *ad hoc* fashion because of an absence of clearly stated national objectives and priorities. Public expenditures have grown with no assurance that the objects of expenditure were those which we would have chosen if we had a clearer set of priorities and better information on the values generated by dollars spent in different areas. Indeed, much public apprehension concerning the efficacy of government is due to the fact that private citizens discern no consistent set of objectives to which they can relate and about which they can debate. Because of the Government's failure to define priorities clearly and to evaluate the social contributions of tax dollars spent in different areas, wastage and inefficiency in public expenditure programs can develop and persist, and vital social needs can remain unmet.

Recently, a number of official and semi-official bodies have studied and spoken out on the question of national goals and priorities. These efforts have been useful. Currently, our society is confronted by serious social problems. Increasing demands for assistance and redress are arising from the poor and minority groups, from small business and labor, from consumers, and from institutions of health and education, to mention only a few. We judge that current circumstances require that Congress and the administration openly and explicitly address the question of national objectives. For the past several years, this committee has

recommended that a comprehensive study of national goals be undertaken and, in the coming year, we hope to provide leadership in initiating this effort.

We urge that the Congress, with guidance from its leadership, and the administration undertake a formal and comprehensive study of national goals and priorities with a view to establishing guidelines for legislation and expenditure policy.

We recognize the serious difficulties which plague efforts to seek general agreement on these basic questions of national direction. Indeed, the vitality of this Nation's political system stems from the diversity of opinions and values held by the populace. We have, however, recently witnessed a period of intense study of a large number of issues which pertain to national goals. While many of these issues were related, the task forces which were responsible for the analysis and recommendations properly viewed their mandate as being limited in scope. It is now time to seek a broader perspective: an overview in which the urgency of the individual demands generated by these reports can be subjected to a comprehensive appraisal. We believe that the following considerations are basic to any serious discussion of national priorities.

1. The study of goals and priorities should determine the dollar costs required to attain each of the substantial number of objectives which are often cited as being primary social goals. It is important that public decision-makers have before them an estimate of the costs of each item in the array of social objectives, all of which would be chosen if they could be afforded. This information, by demonstrating that the devotion of resources to one objective implies a foregone opportunity to support another, leads to improved public decisions by clarifying the real costs associated with any decision.

2. The study of goals and priorities should evaluate the output and financial resources which the economy and the Federal Government can call upon in attaining social objectives. It is now possible to project with some accuracy the future output of the economy and, given the existing tax structure, the budgetary resources which will become available to the Federal Government. Moreover, it is possible to estimate confidently the future expenditures in a substantial number of Federal governmental programs which, for all intents and purposes, are beyond the annual control of the appropriations process. By ascertaining the difference between these two flows—projected revenue increases and increases in unavoidable Federal outlays—we obtain what is sometimes called the fiscal dividend. This figure provides both the Congress and the executive branch with meaningful information on the future availability of resources which can be allocated among the various social objectives. Such estimates should be developed for a range of plausible assumptions and should be updated and published on an ongoing basis. This information, it should be noted, is the complement of the data on the total costs required for attainment of each of the objectives.

3. The study of goals and priorities should focus on the allocation of Federal revenues between the military and civilian budgets. Because the defense budget is substantially less visible than budgets for civilian programs and because of our past experience with national security costs which have substantially exceeded initial estimates, this allocation question should not be neglected in an analysis of national priorities. Information concerning the budgetary implications of a number of possible national security postures is essential to meaningful public policy decisions and a rational allocation of the Federal budget among its competing claims.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. 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. HOLLAND. 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 SO-CALLED TAX REFORM BILL

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, on December 11, I voted against the so-called tax reform bill. My reasons for voting against it were stated in full in the RECORD at that time.

In voting against that bill, I was following a course which I have followed heretofore. I wish to state the latest example prior to that date when I voted against a tax bill with the hope that it would be improved in conference and was then able to vote later for the conference report. In 1967 I voted against an overloaded social security bill, H.R. 12080, exactly as I voted against the so-called tax reform bill on December 11, a few days ago. The vote appears in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 113, part 25, page 33637. My statement as to why I voted against the bill appears on page 33647.

When that particular bill came back from conference, I was glad to vote for it, as shown in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 113, part 27, page 36924. My statement explaining the great improvement of the conference bill and why I was glad to vote for it appears on pages 36925 and 36926.

I hope we shall have the same experience this year on the so-called tax reform bill, and that I shall be able to vote for it. However, I am glad to note that several of the thoughtful editorialists of my State have pointed out that the tax bill which we passed the other day was anything but an appropriate tax reform bill.

I ask first that an editorial from the Tampa Tribune entitled "Senate Santa Is Overloaded" be placed in the RECORD at this time as a part of my remarks.

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

[From the Tampa (Fla.) Tribune, Dec. 10, 1969]

SENATE SANTA IS OVERLOADED

Yes, said President Nixon, he would shoot Santa Claus.

The President was replying to a question at his Monday night press conference whether he would sign the pending tax reform bill if, after final adoption, it contained the \$800 individual income tax exemption and 15 per cent-plus Social Security increase added by the Senate.

Mr. Nixon had an unequivocal answer: "No."

It was not an answer calculated to please millions of Social Security pensioners and middle income taxpayers. But it was the only answer a President concerned with fiscal soundness could give.

The Senate has loaded so many goodies onto the tax reform bill which came from the House that Senator John J. Williams of Delaware called it "the \$10 billion christmas tree."

If all were enacted into law, the Federal Government would run a multi-billion-dollar deficit at a time when the Nixon Administration is struggling to contain inflation. One result would be more inflation and a rapid erosion of the benefits granted taxpayers and pensioners.

There is not much doubt that a substantial Social Security increase will be enacted, as it should be to make up for the dollar shrinkage of the last two years, but it should be handled separately from the tax bill. And there is question whether the Social Security tax program can stand the entire \$6.5 billion increase proposed by the Senate, including a \$45-a-month boost in minimum payments as well as a general 15 per cent raise.

Certainly a good case can be made for increasing the present \$600 personal income tax exemption, originally regarded as a cost-of-living allowance. But the Senate proposal to raise it to \$700 next year and \$800 in 1971 would cost the Treasury \$2 to \$3 billion a year.

Similarly, every parent with a child in college knows there is justification for a tax credit for education costs. But the Senate plan for \$325 per year per student would cut Federal revenues an estimated \$2.4 billion.

The Senate Christmas tree holds presents for business, too. Special exceptions to the House-approved repeal of the 7 per cent investment tax credit would amount to a billion dollars in giveaways.

As passed by the House, the tax reform bill would increase taxes on the wealthy and on business, mainly by reducing or removing present exemptions, and thus would raise an additional \$6 to \$7 billion revenue. It would, at the same time, give about \$9 billion in relief to lower and middle income taxpayers. The Nixon Administration hoped to be able to offset the net loss in revenue by reducing expenses, particularly defense. But it cannot absorb the additional \$5 to \$6 billion loss contained in the Senate bill.

All families are confronted, at this season, with the problem of balancing Christmas gift lists against present savings and future income. Excessive generosity now means financial anguish later.

The problem is the same in Washington.

It's easy for Senators to play Santa Claus—they don't have to try to balance the Federal books next year. When Majority Leader Mike Mansfield was asked yesterday by a reporter if he would sign the Senate tax bill, if he were President, he gave an evasive but revealing answer: "I'm not President."

Richard Nixon is President and he has to worry about paying the bills. His plain promise to shoot the Senate Santa Claus should help persuade the House-Senate conference committee to reduce this gift pack to a more sensible size.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I ask next that an editorial from the Miami Herald of December 13, 1969, entitled "Senate Makes a Hash of Tax Reform Bill," be placed in the RECORD at this point as a part of my remarks.

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

SENATE MAKES A HASH OF TAX REFORM BILL

In a rush to adjourn before Christmas, the Senate has made an inedible hash of the so-called tax reform bill. Actually, there was no need for haste. Effective dates of most sections of the bill do not depend on when it passes.

Inflation is the principal condiment of this unhappy Christmas dish. Its traces are found conspicuously in the Social Security amendments. To be sure, that system needs to be brought up to date, but not piecemeal, in a tax bill, as the Senate has done.

Indeed, the proposal to let workers retire at age 60 on two-thirds of their Social Se-