

S. 3044

April 9, 1974

Program	1940	1950	1960	1971
Amount of benefits (millions) ¹				
Veterans' health and medical care.....	70	573	848	2,087
Public assistance vendor payments.....		52	522	6,918
Individuals receiving cash payments ¹⁰ (thousands)				
Social insurance:				
Old-age, survivors, disability, and health insurance.....	113	3,012	14,298	26,797
Railroad retirement.....	144	387	792	980
Public employee retirement ⁴	249	596	1,448	3,269
Unemployment insurance ⁵	1,024	1,414	1,799	2,007
Veterans' pensions and compensation.....	933	3,359	4,271	5,555
Public aid:				
Special types of assistance ⁶	3,183	5,120	5,811	13,552
General assistance.....	4,038	1,105	969	982
Work programs ⁹	2,817			

¹ Includes benefits to dependents where applicable.
² Includes lump-sum payments.
³ Excludes net payments in lieu of benefits (transfers) under financial interchange with railroad retirement system.
⁴ Excludes refunds of employee contributions to those leaving the service; includes benefits to retired military personnel and their survivors.
⁵ Benefits under State unemployment insurance laws, unemployment compensation for railroad workers, for Federal employees, for ex-servicemen, for veterans under the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 and the Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952, and payments under the extended unemployment insurance programs and the Automotive Products Trade Act of 1965. Includes cash allowances to unemployed workers in training under the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962.
⁶ Benefits paid under Federal workmen's compensation laws and under State laws by private insurance carriers, by State funds, and by self-insurers; 1940 and 1950 data exclude Alaska and Hawaii.
⁷ Includes payments under private plans where applicable in the jurisdictions with programs.
⁸ Includes primarily the federally aided programs of old-age assistance, aid to families with dependent children, aid to the blind, and aid to the permanently and totally disabled.
⁹ Includes work relief earnings and other emergency aid programs. Number of recipients partly estimated.
¹⁰ For OASDHI, average monthly number; for railroad retirement, public employee retirement, public aid, and veterans,

programs, number on rolls, June 30; for unemployment insurance, average weekly number. Data for workmen's compensation and temporary disability insurance not available.

Mr. PROXMIRE. The budget for fiscal year 1975, which casts these items in a somewhat different way and which is also more up to date, indicates that outlays for fiscal year 1975 for income security provided by the Federal Government will total more than \$100 billion. Medicare and medicaid payments will add another \$20.7 billion to this total. I ask unanimous consent that the table entitled income security, found on page 125 of the Budget of the United States for fiscal year 1975 be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

INCOME SECURITY

(In millions of dollars)

Program or agency	Outlays			Recommended budget authority for 1975 ¹	Program or agency	Outlays			Recommended budget authority for 1975 ¹
	1973 actual	1974 estimate	1975 estimate			1973 actual	1974 estimate	1975 estimate	
Retirement and disability:					Food stamps.....				
Old-age survivors, and disability insurance: ²					2,208	2,992	3,926	3,985	
Present programs.....	48,288	55,258	64,351	65,173	School lunch and other child nutrition.....	693	914	1,389	1,468
Proposed legislation.....			-345	11	Assistance to refugees.....	135	128	72	60
Federal employees retirement and disability ^{2,3}	4,514	5,935	7,230	10,240	Subtotal, public assistance.....	8,999	11,573	14,505	14,685
Railroad retirement: ^{2,3}					Social services:				
Present programs.....	2,440	2,679	2,801	2,776	Grants to States for social services.....	1,614	1,786	2,078	2,079
Proposed legislation.....			198	238	Rehabilitation services.....	699	760	788	769
Special benefits for disabled coal miners.....	952	998	879	876	Services for the aging and other special groups.....	63	224	296	265
Subtotal, retirement and disability.....	56,194	64,871	75,114	79,315	Allied services (proposed legislation).....				20
Unemployment insurance^{2,3}.....					Administrative expenses and other ³	144	217	227	226
	5,362	5,566	7,065	6,655	Subtotal, social services.....	2,520	2,987	3,389	3,359
Public assistance:					Deductions for offsetting receipts:⁴ Proprietary receipts from the public.....				
Supplemental security income.....	41	2,192	4,770	4,774		-1	-1	-2	-2
Grants to States for maintenance payments: ²					Total.....	73,073	84,995	100,071	104,012
Present programs.....	5,922	5,347	4,550	4,601					
Proposed legislation.....			-203	-203					

¹ Compares with budget authority for 1973 and 1974, as follows: 1973, \$79,818,000,000; 1974, \$81,015,000,000. Entries net of offsetting receipts.

² Includes both Federal funds and trust funds.
³ Excludes offsetting receipts which have been deducted by subfunction above: 1973, \$1,508,000,000; 1974, \$1,761,000,000; 1975, \$1,680,000,000.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Thus, we now have in place an income security system plus Medicare and medicaid programs with total outlays or benefits of over \$120

billion yesterday, the President of the United States signed a minimum wage law which increased the minimum wage to \$2.30 an hour over a period of time. I can recall very well when the minimum wage was 25 cents an hour. That means that the minimum wage has increased almost tenfold within the last few decades. Allowing for the enormous inflation we have suffered, allowing for almost any kind of consideration one wishes, this is clearly a massive and substantial increase and improvement in the minimum wages that can be paid to people in interstate commerce. Of course, that definition, too, has expanded, and the coverage of the minimum wage has vastly increased.

CONCLUSION

In a period of less than 2 decades the Federal Government has established a comprehensive social security and social services system which now covers almost all of those who are gainfully employed, their dependents, the elderly, the disabled, the unemployed, veterans, and the poor.

This was a major undertaking which has greatly benefited the citizens of this country. Far from discouraging the system of private insurance, as early opponents claimed, it has provided a nucleus around which a more extensive system of public and private social insurance has been built.

Social security, medicare, medicaid, disability, public assistance, and other income support programs are now universally accepted.

In the last decade alone, since about 1960, the benefits paid out have more than tripled. In the last 2 decades, the annual outlays for benefits have gone up at least 12 times, and they have increased more than 25-fold since 1940. Meanwhile, the coverage has been extended to almost every needy or elderly or disabled person in the country.

While there is room for improvement, the fundamental system has been established, put in place, and greatly broadened and expanded.

At a time when there is so much skepticism and discouragement about the performance of our Federal Government, it seems to me that we should recognize that this is one of a number of achievements—I am going to go on and on in the next few days speaking about many

others—of the Federal Government for which all of us can be proud and which should give us confidence that we are making progress in this Government of ours, not retrogressing.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Senator from Vermont (Mr. AIKEN) is recognized for not to exceed 15 minutes.

FEDERAL ELECTIONS CAMPAIGN ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1974

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, the so-called "clean elections" bill now pending before this Senate was laid before the Senate on March 22, 18 days ago.

If this bill had any faint resemblance to a "clean elections" bill at the time it became the pending business, it is hardly deserving of the title any longer.

To be sure, we have had dishonesty, cheating, and law violations in every election campaign since my earliest recollection.

But, at no time has there been so much encouragement to continue such practices as may be found in the bill before us—as it now stands.

I wish we could find some way to eliminate the purchase of high positions in Government by those who are able to pay the price.

I wish we could instill in every voter in this country the necessity for eliminating dishonesty, corrupt practices, and dirty tricks at election time.

I would like to support legislation which would actually take us a step nearer to clean and honest elections than we have now, although I realize that we cannot attain perfection in this field.

The bill before us, as it now stands, only makes matters worse.

I am not going to burden the Senate with a recital of all the things pertaining to this proposed legislation that simply lend more encouragement to the practices which we publicly condemn.

I am not going to waste any time in discussing the merits or demerits of financing political campaigns at taxpayers' expense, which means expense to our Government, since the money authorized by the income taxpayer for political financing simply means that that money does not get into Uncle Sam's coffers.

I just want to point out a few matters pertaining to this bill which, in my opinion, would justify throwing the whole thing down the drain without delay.

The bill has been amended in several ways:

First. One amendment requires polls to open and close across the country at a uniform period of time.

The effect of this amendment on Vermont would require polls to open at 11 a.m. and close at 11 p.m.

It would mean the abolition of each State's right to establish its own voting practices which are most convenient to the voters of the State.

It would mean that our States in New England would have to set the voting hours to satisfy the convenience of the States in the Rocky Mountains region.

Second. Only last Wednesday, the Senate accepted an amendment to exempt congressional campaign committees from contribution and expenditure limitations for Federal candidates.

This was a beautiful loophole in itself, for a contributor, otherwise limited to \$3,000 contribution to a candidate, could contribute his whole permissible \$25,000 contribution to a congressional campaign committee which could pour the funds into one particular Federal congressional race.

But, word from home was heard so quickly and loudly that on Monday this Senate went into reverse so fast that I am sure some political gears got stripped.

Third. The Senate has accepted an amendment which prohibits the broadcast of any Presidential election returns prior to midnight, eastern standard time.

Even a layman can see the unconstitutionality of this proposal, since Congress can make no law which abridges the freedom of the press.

I agree that certain sections of the news media sometimes become so biased and unfair and get so far away from the facts that there is an urge to restrict them.

But, in spite of this, I still believe that we should stick to the Constitution.

If we think we have leaks in Government now, just imagine what the leakage would be if all the election districts in the East were prohibited from telling the outcome of the voting to their friends and relatives in the West before midnight.

The Senate has also rejected certain proposed amendments which could, perhaps, have made election campaigns a bit more honest.

One of the proposals which was rejected could have deterred Government contractors from making political contributions direct to candidates who, if elected, would be most likely to remember their benefactors.

Another proposed amendment rejected would have prohibited Members of Congress from receiving outside money for making lectures and speeches.

While this amendment may have been open to question, it is common knowledge that the campaigns may be financed not by direct political contributions, but by paying potential candidates several thousand dollars for a 50 speech or lecture.

In stating this, I am not referring to ancient history.

After defeating a proposed amendment which would have made Members of the 93d Congress ineligible for public financing for nominations for the Presidency, the Senate then accepted an amendment to preclude any public financing for elections until January 1, 1976.

The question many will ask is this:

If it is proper to finance opposition to a sitting Member of the Congress running for reelection in 1976, why is it not equally fair to finance opposition to sitting Members of the 93d Congress who are running for reelection in 1974?

It seems to me there is a decided conflict of interest in this amendment.

The bill under consideration proposes to permit Government contractors to make political contributions.

A motion to prohibit such contributors from receiving a noncompetitive Government contract for 2 years after election was defeated by a vote of 62 to 28.

The defeat of this amendment should assure Members of the 93d Congress running for election this fall that contributions from Government contractors to their present campaigns would be perfectly legal and that such contributors would not be denied the right to receive noncompetitive contracts for the next 2 years.

I am not going to point out any more of the loopholes or shortcomings of this bill.

There are other objectionable features.

I am simply going to say that it is a travesty on the supposed intelligence of legislators and it should be consigned to the lower regions as quickly as possible.

I realize, however, that it was laid down before this body 18 days ago and with a number of pending amendments awaiting action and discussion, it could be with us 18 days or, indeed, a much longer time unless action is taken to bring consideration to a close.

I voted against cloture last Thursday.

I usually vote against cloture the first time it is proposed.

Now, I think it is time to bring debate to a close and shall vote accordingly.

I will not vote for passage of the bill.

If it became law, matters would be infinitely worse.

It is too loaded with hypocrisy and loopholes and I fear its adoption would be considered by many as a reflection on this Congress.

I would be greatly surprised if the majority of the House Members would accept this bill and if they did, I would be even more surprised if the President would sign it into law. If he vetoed it, I would support the veto, but I doubt it would come back here.

Right now, I want to say let us get it out of the way one way or the other as soon as we can.

I wish to commend Senators who have taken part on both sides of this debate the Senator from Alabama (Mr. ALLEN) and Senators who ardently support the proposal to let taxpayers pay the cost of their campaigns in 1976, but not the cost of the campaigns of their opposition in 1974. That is why I shall vote for cloture now. We have been with this bill long enough. We should attend to our authorizations and our appropriation bills and get them out of the way, work which needs to be done, and not let delay and so impede work on the legislation which is absolutely necessary.

TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HUBLESTON). Under the previous order, there will now be a period for the transaction of routine morning business for not to exceed 15 minutes, with statement limited therein to 5 minutes.

HANK AARON BREAKS HOME RUN RECORD WITH NO. 715

Mr. NUNN. Mr. President, last night in Atlanta Stadium, Hank Aaron broke the most revered record in American sports. Following a highly publicized assault on the career home run record of 714 by the immortal Babe Ruth, Hank took his place in the record books by hitting his career home run number 715.

The immortal Babe Ruth hit his last home run as a member of the Braves and it is fitting that Hank Aaron has played his entire career for these same Braves. Georgia can now claim the greatest home run hitter of all times and the greatest base runner, Ty Cobb.

True, Hank Aaron is now the greatest career home run hitter in the history of the game, but he has also contributed in many other ways. Last season, at the age of 40, Hank hit .301, and along with teammates Darrel Evans and Dave Johnson set a record for the only 3 players to hit 40 or more home runs for the same team, in the same season.

Besides being the greatest home run hitter, Hank holds numerous other major league records. He has the most career extra base hits—1,395; the most career total bases—6,432; the most years with 30 or more homers—15 years; and the most consecutive years with 20 or