vive our city centers, to open up the flexibility of movement to the jobs that will help our disadvantaged citizens, and to help reduce air pollution is to provide the modern mass transit facilities that will attract all who travel within our cities.

I would like respectfully to suggest to the members of this committee that when the 1964 Mass Transportation Act was passed, the Congress made a commitment to the Nation for Federal support for mass transit—a commitment, I should like to think and would suggest to you, gentlemen, that was an enduring one—until such time as the mass transit systems of the urban centers of America have caught up with other means of travel which, in the past, have been so heavily supported by the Federal dollar. The word on everyone's lips is, of course, "balance". I believe that is what we all seek—a balanced National, State, and local transportation policy seeking appropriate emphases on rubber and rail, in order that the Nation might have the maximum benefit of each to the exclusion of neither.

If, then, this is what the Congress did—surely it is what the President urged it to do—then I respectfully submit that we must be realistic in terms of the future. We must think in terms of billions of dollars for capital expansion of our mass transit systems.

In 1962, the Institute of Public Administration made a report to the Secretary of Commerce and the then Housing Administrator which estimated the national total capital requirement for mass transportation through 1972 at $9.8 billion. This was only a rough and tentative estimate based on limited data. Other urgent needs may exist, but planning in many communities had not reached the point of cost estimates.

I believe that that need is seriously underestimated, and I suggest that ultimately the figure of $12 billion is more realistic. I intend to seek from the New York City fathers a total of $1½ billion for subway expansion in New York City over the next 10 years.

Let me, at this point, suggest to you a rather panoramic view of what could be done in America if we change our way of thinking about this program in terms of its basic financing. If this bill passes, the Congress will have appropriated some $470 million in 4 years for capital expansion of mass transit systems. This is on the average of $117,500,000 per year. If, instead of outright grants, this money had been used for grants for the debt service requirements on State and local public agency bonds sold to finance mass transit facilities, the moneys the Congress has already made available would have supplied nearly $2.5 billion of capital. On a 50–50 Federal and local matching grant basis, almost $5 billion of capital expansion in mass transit systems all over America would have been available if the Federal Government were willing to continue even this limited present rate of outlay.

Gentlemen and Mrs. Dwyer, I suggest to you that if such a program had been approved, we would already have been transfiguring the face of America. We would be doing it now; we would be enjoying the benefits sooner—and the costs of the improvements would be lower now than they will be 10 or 20 years from now if we continue the present method of financing. The very thought of what could be done on a pay-as-you-use basis is breathtaking. For example, under