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**THE 1967 ECONOMIC REPORT
OF THE PRESIDENT**

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
NINETIETH CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

FEBRUARY 7, 8, AND 9, 1967

PART 2

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THE 1967 ECONOMIC REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1967

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE,
Washington, D.C.

The joint committee met at 2 p.m., pursuant to recess, in room S-228, the Capitol, Hon. William Proxmire (chairman of the joint committee) presiding.

Present: Senators Proxmire, Ribicoff, Javits, Symington, Miller, and Percy; and Representatives Reuss, Griffiths, Moorhead, Curtis, Widnall, Rumsfeld, and Scheuer (visitor).

Also present: John R. Stark, executive director, James W. Knowles, director of research, and Donald A. Webster, minority economist.

Chairman PROXMIRE. The committee will come to order.

We expect to vote in the Senate in 5 or 10 minutes and Senator Javits and I will have to leave. Before we do, however, I believe Senator Javits would like to make a statement. Senator Javits?

Senator JAVITS. I would like to make my statement now because it is not directed to this particular Secretary who is to be our witness today, but to the Secretary of the Treasury, who testified yesterday. Mr. Chairman, I rise to a point of personal privilege in this matter. The outburst of the Secretary of the Treasury yesterday with respect to me personally was both intemperate and injudicious and not warranted by the facts which were clearly before him.

He apparently needed a scapegoat for what I considered to be a serious mistake in administration policy and he chose me. I am honored because it was a serious mistake and I repeat it.

Now, Mr. Chairman, what apparently aroused the Secretary's ire is that as the senior Republican present in the absence of my beloved colleague, Congressman Curtis, I read the unanimous statement of the minority taking exception to various policy decisions which had been made by the administration in the preceding year and the word used by the Secretary quite gratuitously was to challenge my qualifications to speak "purportedly" for the minority. This is baseless and untrue. The minority statement is before the Secretary, it is unanimous. Indeed it has been unanimous, Mr. Chairman, for the last 5 years. It was unanimous in 1966. I joined them in it then and it had been unanimous for some years before. I read it because of the absence of Congressman Curtis. I hardly think that any other appellation but intemperate can be applied to an attack which he made from the theory that I "purported" to represent the minority when I read its unanimous statement, as it was my duty to do.

I was the senior Republican present. I am sorry about this incident. Secretary Fowler, I thought, has been a friend of mine for many years and I really deplored, terribly, this outburst. I will forgive him, but I see no excuse for it and it did not help his case.

Now, as to the merits—as long as he did challenge me—the fact is that I have stood with the minority on this committee for years and perhaps it might be of interest that an analysis of the 2 years during which I have been the ranking Republican member on Labor and Public Welfare indicates that the minority was never more together there than it is now and has been for the past 2 years. Many of the things I advocated, my party has been against, many they have been for. That is the fate of everyone. I guess it is the fate of every Senator or Congressman including the chairman of this committee, and I honor them for it. I would not pick on them for it.

I do think that a case was made of the kind of personal sort, and it seems to be almost an attempt to divert attention from the merits. I had my say on that and I hope neither of us will bring the question up again, although I will be happy to debate it ad infinitum if Secretary Fowler desires it. If he does that is fine with me.

The allegation that the Republicans had a position different from mine on a tax increase is simply untrue. The fact is that though there was evidence to that effect in the House, the Senate minority leader was for a tax increase and I call attention to the President's press conference on February 26 where the President of the United States was asked this question: "What is your reaction to Senator Dirksen's statement earlier this week that a 5-percent tax increase is in the offing?" Then in July we have again in the Congressional Quarterly a flat statement that Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen urged the President to increase taxes to dampen inflation.

As Secretary Fowler admits, this view was backed by the leading experts at the time. The Council on Economic Advisers itself was pretty much bound by the administration. They seemed to me at least hearing their testimony last year, to lean toward tax increase and there was a tremendous body of opinion for it.

Now, finally, and I shall not deal with the matter beyond that, I would like to make just one other statement.

It seems to me that the primary economic explanation the Secretary gives for the apparent contradiction that interest rates this year are going down while last year they were going up—which he claims justifies the policy which I assume was his, he espoused—is that this year the demand for credit is softer, whereas last year interest rates were pushed up by too many conditions which could have been abated by a better fiscal policy.

The Federal Reserve Board had to use its muscle because the administration was not using its muscle in the form of a tax increase. This resulted in a disastrous burst of inflation which is now leading us to an economic softening as witnessed by the drop in housing starts—probably the single most deleterious economic fact which developed in that time.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I think the Secretary had better think pretty coolly and not let his anger run away with his reason. The administration is putting forward a tax increase proposal with all this heat, whereas the Council of Economic Advisers sat here the other day and

told us, "Take 90 days to think it over and watch the economy, it is not all that hot."

The most persuasive argument on behalf of the minority statement is the fact that interest rates last year reached their highest levels in 40 years, and that the economy was threatened with a serious financial crisis in late summer of 1966. The tightness of monetary policy last year was dramatic proof that fiscal policy did not adequately restrain the economy, whatever the Secretary or other administration spokesmen may now claim.

The Federal Reserve in December 1965 raised the discount rate—2 months later than it wished to do so—after becoming convinced that the administration was not pursuing, and had no intention of pursuing, a sufficiently restrictive fiscal policy. Subsequent events bore out that judgment.

To be sure, the administration did take some restraining actions, but they were not adequate to cool down the booming economy and moderate the excessive demand for credit throughout the year. Interest rates rose in response to market forces which could have been restrained only by an appropriate fiscal policy. Had the Federal Reserve supplied adequate reserves to meet the extraordinary demand for funds without an increase in the level of interest rates, prices would have gone through the roof. Even with a tight money policy, price increases were sharp and—as stated by the administration—we have not yet seen the end of the inflationary road.

Secretary Fowler chides the minority for being Monday morning quarterbacks on the question of advising a tax increase for 1966. The record shows that the minority members of the Joint Economic Committee, last March, unanimously said that the administration's fiscal policy was not adequately restraining and that monetary policy would have to carry too heavy a burden. We said that reductions in non-essential Federal expenditures would be preferable to a tax increase, but we clearly said a tax increase would be necessary in the absence of genuine expenditure restraint.

Expenditure restraint was not forthcoming. 1967 administrative budget expenditures are now estimated to be \$14 billion higher than the estimate made by the administration in January 1966.

Nor was the minority alone in calling for further fiscal restraint during the year. Walter W. Heller, former Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers and the architect of the "New Economics," said repeatedly that a tax increase was needed. That recommendation was echoed by Arthur F. Burns, Chairman of the Council under President Eisenhower, and Otto Eckstein of President Kennedy's Council of Economic Advisers. A number of eminent witnesses who appeared before the Joint Economic Committee at its annual hearings last year said that restraint in the administration's fiscal program was more apparent than real. Chairman Ackley of the Council of Economic Advisers, told this committee just last Thursday that the question of a tax increase in 1966 was "a close question" throughout the year.

It is beyond my comprehension how the Secretary can now say fiscal policy was perfect last year when all the signs point the other way. Does he mean to suggest that the high level of interest rates was a plot by the Federal Reserve and had nothing to do with underlying

economic forces? Does he suggest that the break in price stability which began in 1965 would have occurred even if fiscal policy had been tighter? If fiscal policy was sufficiently restraining in the first half of the year, why did the administration ask for suspension of the investment credit in the second half?

Secretary Fowler tells us now that an increase in taxes early last year would have been a mistake because of "selective weaknesses" that were developing in the economy. These weaknesses, particularly in the housing industry, were the direct result of the administration's high-interest policy that was made so necessary by the absence of adequate fiscal restraint. It seems clear today, as it did all last year, that the policy mix was wrong and that spokesmen for the administration simply cannot bring themselves to admit the error of their policies.

After having derided the minority members of the committee for their support of greater fiscal restraint, not to speak of the many eminent economists who supported this position, Secretary Fowler now says that a tax increase is needed this year. What was wrong last year, when the economy was booming, has suddenly become right this year, when weakness is pronounced. The only explanation the Secretary can give for this apparent contradiction is that interest rates this year are going down, while last year they were going up. He misses the point entirely, which is that interest rates are going down this year because the economy and the demand for credit is softening, whereas last year, interest rates were pushed up by boom conditions which could have been abated by a better fiscal policy.

Last year the administration relied too heavily on monetary policy and not enough on fiscal policy. This year it seems determined to rely too heavily on fiscal policy and not enough on monetary policy. Last year the result was serious inflation, a recession in housing and other "selective weaknesses" in the economy. This year the result could be a sharp slowdown in growth and a deepening balance of payments deficit.

So, as I love our country more than I care about any personal slight to me, Mr. Chairman, I urge the Treasury and the Secretary of the Treasury to divest himself of these petty, intemperate remarks and to get down to cases and to bring himself in line with the Council of Economic Advisers as to what the policy which he recommends really means as far as we are concerned.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Our witness this afternoon is the Secretary of Labor, Willard Wirtz, and accompanying him is the Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Arthur Ross.

We are delighted to have both these extremely able representatives from the executive branch.

Mr. Wirtz, you have a concise statement; go right ahead.

**STATEMENT OF HON. W. WILLARD WIRTZ, SECRETARY OF LABOR,
ACCOMPANIED BY ARTHUR M. ROSS, COMMISSIONER, BUREAU
OF LABOR STATISTICS**

Secretary WIRTZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee. It is a short statement.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Senator Javits and I are going to have to leave for a vote in the Senate but we will be back soon and Congressman Reuss will chair the meeting while we are gone.

(At this point Congressman Reuss assumed the chair.)

Secretary WIRTZ. Mr. Chairman, and members of the joint committee, the brevity of this statement marks my respect for the broad understanding the members of this committee have of the vitally important subject of these hearings, and my concurrence in the views other members of the administration have already presented to you, and I mean all of the views of the other members of the administration.

If there is a single point of particular emphasis in my own measurement of the condition of the economy it is this: It seems to me right to assert full employment (in the fullest sense of that term) at wages producing a decent standard of living for everyone as a first-priority national purpose.

I expect there is probably no disagreement about this—except as there may be differences of judgment about the operational relationship of the means of serving this purpose to the means of serving other purposes. I recognize these differences are important.

This testimony may also reflect another possible bias which should be made clear. Respecting a strong, continuing constantly expanding economy as the most important single element in the achievement and maintenance of full employment at adequate wages, it seems to me no less necessary to center a full employment policy on that type of unemployment which will not yield to overall economic growth.

We are today at that point where the most serious remaining unemployment is more personal than economic, where there are skill shortages, and where the primary need is to develop people's abilities so as to permit their using the opportunities that are available.

If the economy were to falter, this situation would worsen immediately. Continued economic growth is the essential condition of full employment at fair wages. But it is not, alone, enough.

This is the context for the following somewhat more detailed observations.

EMPLOYMENT

Employment increased in 1966 by a solid and phenomenal 1.9 million. This is *people in jobs*.

The civilian labor force increased by 1.8 million which is half a million more than would have resulted from population growth (and the continuation of normal trends) alone. (See chart 1, p. 253.) Most of the unexpected increase affected adult women and teenagers.

The "unexpected" additional workers were primarily adult women and teenagers.

The number of adult women (20 years and over) was expected to increase by about 470,000; it increased in fact by 740,000. Almost all of this extra gain of 270,000 was among women 20 to 34 years of age. This development is apparently associated with the recent decline in birth rates, especially in the number of children born to mothers in the 20- to 24-year age group.

Among teenage girls, the labor force increase was about 230,000 more than the trend expectation of 190,000. The employment op-

portunities provided by the expanding economy as well as the special youth program were the primary factors in pushing up the labor force participation rates for teenage girls as well as for the 16- and 17-year-old boys.

Despite this unprecedented expansion in the work force, unemployment was reduced by 400,000. The jobless rate for married men dropped to 1.9 percent, its lowest point since this series began in 1955. (See chart 2, p. 254.) On the average, only 1.1 million adult males were jobless and looking for work, compared to nearly twice that number in 1963.

Adult female employment rose by 900,000 to a record 23.5 million, while teenage employment recorded its largest annual gain on record, rising by 750,000 to 6.9 million. Three times as many teenagers found jobs in 1966 as in 1964.

There were three-fourths of a million more teenagers in the labor force in 1966 than there had been the year before. Due to the high level of economic activity and the concerted efforts on the part of governments, private industry, and community organizations, the number of unemployed in this group did not increase. It remains, however, too high.

Teenage unemployment has been one of the most troublesome manpower problems of the 1960's. Between 1963 and 1966, teenage unemployment remained at the 1 million level and as a result steadily made up a larger proportion of total unemployment. At the same time, the number of teenagers in the labor force increased by 1.5 million—more than during the entire 10-year period from 1953 to 1963. The generation of jobs kept this large increase in the teenage labor force from creating an increased level of unemployment, but the teenage jobless rate is still an unacceptable 12 percent. (See chart 3, p. 254.)

In 1966, the unemployment rate for Negroes dropped to a post-Korean low of 7.5 percent. At the same time, however, there was a slight slowdown in the rate of improvement for Negroes compared with that for whites.

If you look at the figures for teenage Negro boys and girls the improvement for their chance slowed up in comparison with the improvement of the employment situation as far as the white group is concerned.

The jobless rate for Negroes, which had declined steadily between 1963 and early 1966, moved upward toward midyear and failed to return to the 7.1-percent rate (seasonally adjusted) established in the first quarter. In 1963, the jobless rate for Negro boys (teenagers) was 1.8 times as large as that for white boys; in 1966 this ratio increased to 2.1. For Negro girls, the differential has moved from 2.4 to 1 in 1962, to 2.8 to 1 in 1966.

MANPOWER PROGRAMS AND POLICIES

The Economic Report for 1967 contains this statement:

"Although precise targets cannot be set for the ultimate minimum levels of unemployment or the speed of the downward movement, it is clearly unnecessary and undesirable to accept 4-percent unemployment as a permanent objective of U.S. economic policy."

I agree with this suggestion—the first is that we must keep constantly in mind that the way we measure unemployment in this country limits it only to those who are looking for work and unable to find it. It does not include those who have given up or who are non-participants in the work force for one reason or another and does not include an undercurrent factor of which we are becoming increasingly aware and concerned.

Agreeing completely with this statement, I note three points:

First, as regards the concept of unemployment itself, a person is counted “unemployed” if he has no job and is actively seeking one. This omits significant factors of “nonparticipation in the work force,” and underemployment.

Second, there is an enormous variation in the elements which are taken together to develop an “average” unemployment rate.

The rate of unemployment in the United States for 1966 was 3.9 percent.

It was only 1.3 percent for professional personnel, but 31.1 percent for Negro teenage girls.

It was only 1.9 percent for married men as a whole, but 21.2 percent for Negro teenage boys.

It was only 2.8 percent for skilled workers, but 7.3 percent for the unskilled.

The first two points preface the third: We are developing manpower policies and programs aimed directly at *hard core* unemployment.

This means not waiting for the unemployed to come to us, but going out to reach them with programs which will help motivate them, enhance their employability as well as their basic education, give them occupational training, develop and place them in jobs, and follow them up with support services so that whatever initial success is achieved with them “takes.”

Employers are being much more active participants in the development of recruitment, referral, training, and work-training programs.

Two-thirds of the training slots available under the Manpower Development and Training Act are being allocated to the hard-core unemployed. The trainee population now includes much larger proportions than before of youth, minority group members, and long-term unemployed (table 1).

The remaining third of the training opportunities under MDTA are being used to help meet particular and serious skill shortages. During this fiscal year, about 82,000 trainees out of the projected total of 235,000 are being deployed explicitly in that direction. Special training programs are being set up for hard-to-fill occupations requiring only relatively brief periods of learning, such as nurses aids and hospital orderlies, and for some of the entry jobs in the repair and mechanic fields. Refresher training is also being provided for professional personnel for whom there are large unfilled demands. For example, refresher training for 10,000 professional nurses was authorized for this fiscal year, 10 times the corresponding number for last year. In 1966, more than one out of every four persons enrolled in MDTA courses (27 percent) received training for occupations in which personnel shortages had developed.

A 1966 amendment to the MDTA which permits adequate allowances for employed persons taking part-time training should help meet these manpower demands, by enabling persons to upgrade their skills while employed.

There has been a large increase in on-the-job training, so that it now takes equal rank with institutional training. Such on-the-job training has the advantages of lower average cost per trainee, greater specificity in learning content, the earnings it offers during the learning process, and a 90 percent job placement record.

Most of the OJT programs have been generated by industry and labor organizations which have served both as prime contractors and as providers of opportunities for this kind of training on their own sites.

WAGES

Hourly labor costs, including expenditures on supplementary benefits, rose more rapidly in 1966 than during recent years. Yet production and nonsupervisory workers' real take-home pay was lower at the end of 1966 than at the end of 1965 in most majority industry divisions.

The increase in hourly earnings and hourly labor costs in 1966 resulted from wage and fringe increases, a more rapid growth of unemployment in some of the higher wage manufacturing industries than in lower wage activities, and the increase in social security taxes (affecting employers' hourly labor costs).

The fall in real spendable weekly earnings was due to a decline in weekly hours worked, the rise in the consumer prices, and the employees' part of the increase in social security taxes effective in January 1966.

Analysis of major collective bargaining agreements concluded during 1966 indicates—for other than construction industries—we have given you the fairest figures—

(1) For key contracts, a median package (wages plus benefits) increase of 4.1 percent a year, assuming equal spacing of changes over the life of the contract. This compares with 3.3 percent last year.¹ (table 2).

(2) Considering wage rates alone, an increase of 3.7 percent a year as measured over the life of the contract, compared with 3.3 percent in 1965 and 3 percent in 1964.

(3) A median first-year wage adjustment of 4.4 percent, compared with 3.8 percent in 1965 and 3.2 percent in 1964. Negotiated adjustments were the largest since 1957. Despite the fact that the rate of unemployment in 1955, 1956, and 1957 was slightly higher than in 1966, first-year rate adjustments were larger in those years than in 1966. (See chart 4, p. 255.)

During 1966, settlements in the construction industry continued to be larger than those in other industries (table 3).

An unusually high proportion of workers in nonunion establishments received increases in 1966—about 80 percent as compared with a previous record (before 1965) of between 50 and 60 percent. About

¹ Limited to contracts of 5,000 or more in 1966 and 10,000 or more in 1965; other information refers to contracts affecting 1,000 or more.

half of the workers in nonunion factories received wage rate increases in both 1965 and 1966, where the previous experience was that they usually received rate increases about once every 2 years.

Labor cost developments in 1967 will be affected by the usual collective bargaining forces; the increase in the minimum wage under the Fair Labor Standards Act and the extension of this act to additional groups of workers; an expected smaller rise in the CPI during 1967 than during 1966; the fact that deferred increases under long-term contracts will be somewhat smaller on the average this year than they were in 1966; and the social security tax increase which became effective at the beginning of the year (but which represents a smaller change than did the 1966 increase).

The most clearly identifiable factor is the extension of the Fair Labor Standards Act and the increase there results in the increase in the hourly labor cost of the economy as a whole.

It is estimated that the direct effect of the increase in minimum wage rates under the Fair Labor Standards Act and its extension to additional groups of workers will be to increase the hourly labor costs for the economy as a whole by approximately three-tenths of 1 percent. The effect in certain industries will, of course, be larger.

PRODUCTIVITY

In both 1965 and 1966, productivity in the private economy rose at a rate of about 2.8 percent, compared with the long-term (postwar) trend of 3.2 percent, and with a 3.5-percent average annual rate during the most recent 5-year period (tables 4 and 5, p. 249).

Usually, some slowing down in the large rate of increase in output—such as is anticipated in 1967—is accompanied by a decline in the rate of productivity growth. Other factors in the economy may tend, however, to run counter to this pattern and stimulate rather than retard productivity growth. Foremost among these factors is the high level of investment in new plant and equipment which has been growing at an unprecedented rate since 1963. In each of the last 3 years, non-residential fixed investment rose by at least 10 percent. Just as investment in capital which incorporates technological innovations serves to stimulate productivity growth, investment in human resources, through the manpower development programs and other training programs, will also serve to stimulate productivity growth.

Unit labor costs in the private economy rose by 3.7 percent in 1966. This was the largest increase in over a decade and was twice the average annual rise for the entire postwar period (tables 6 and 7). This increase represented a sharp break in the pattern, which had developed since the beginning of the current expansion, of unit labor cost increases averaging about one-half of 1 percent per year from 1960 to 1965 and with only small year-to-year fluctuations.

PRICES

The December, 1965 to December, 1966 increase in the Wholesale Price Index was 1.7 percent. The increase in the Consumer Price Index was 3.3 percent. (Tables 8 and 9 and chart 5, pp. 251, 252, and 256.)

(At this point Senator Proxmire assumed the chair.)

The details set out in table 8, 9 and chart 5, and I call your attention to it because you get quite different figures depending whether you take a December through December approach or whether you take an average for one year or the other. Both are set out in the accompanying tables and charts.

Over one-third of the average family spending is on services, and they caused half of the total 1966 increase in the Consumer Price Index. (Table 10 and chart 6, pp. 253, 257.) Pressures in this area will continue, although with perhaps some moderating influences, as, for example, in connection with mortgage interest costs. But since service industries are still low paid, there will be likely wage movements required to obtain and keep competent employees; and since wages in these industries constitute a large element of operating costs, these increases are apt to be passed on. The increasing demand for medical care services, stimulated by a growing population, higher income levels, group insurance plans, and the medicare program, will also mean continuing upward pressures on service costs in this area.

So far as other sectors of the economy are concerned, agricultural supply and demand during 1967 are expected to be more nearly in balance; pressure on industrial capacity probably will lessen; few, if any, raw material bottlenecks are expected; and the more moderate pace of economic advance that is anticipated should further diminish inflationary pressures.

THE GUIDEPOSTS

Committee members have inquired of earlier witnesses about the guideposts. I summarize my own position on this very briefly, and only as a basis for whatever questions the committee may have.

First. The guidepost principle, that unless prices and wages stay in line with productivity for the economy as a whole there will be inflationary pressures, is clearly sound.

Second. This is one principle that should guide price and wage determinations in particular cases. There are also others.

Third. This productivity principle had been too little recognized and understood prior to the Council of Economic Advisers' statement of it in its 1962 report, and in subsequent reports. It is not yet fully understood, and it should continue to be developed and emphasized.

Fourth. The only real question is what governmental procedures or methods should be followed in trying to influence the economy as a whole, or to influence particular price and wage determinations, so that this principle will be followed as far as is practicable. My judgment on this is:

That legislative enactment of wage and price controls would be a mistake;

That the adoption, by statute, of new procedures for reviewing wage and price developments in the economy warrants consideration, but is not required by present circumstance;

That there should be continuing efforts by the administration and by everybody informed and concerned to press the common interest reflected in the guidepost principle; and

That these efforts will be more successful if it is not attempted to develop a specific guidepost figure for prices and wages. There aren't such figures which take proper account of the applicability of the productivity principle to present circumstances, and its necessary relationship to other operative facts and principles.

I commend to the committee's consideration the unanimous report of the tri-partite President's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy, dated August 18, 1966. It seems to me to state the key and relevant facts and considerations here exceedingly well. I attach copies for this committee's convenience.

(The document referred to follows:)

PRESIDENT'S ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON LABOR-MANAGEMENT POLICY

REPORT SETTING FORTH THE COMMITTEE'S VIEWS ON THE GUIDEPOSTS FOR NON-INFLATIONARY WAGE AND PRICE BEHAVIOR, AUGUST 18, 1966

I. Introduction

A. The purpose of this memorandum is to provide the President with the Committee's views on what are referred to in the 1962 Annual Report of the Council of Economic Advisers and subsequent reports of the Council as "guideposts for non-inflationary wage and price behavior."

B. In our judgment the 1962 report of the Council relative to the guideposts is of particular significance. A copy of the relevant portions of the 1962 report is attached. We desire to emphasize the following portions of the report:

1. "Productivity is a *guide* rather than a *rule* for appraising wage and price behavior for several reasons. First, there are a number of problems involved in measuring productivity changes, and a number of alternative measures are available. Second, there is nothing immutable in fact or in justice about the distribution of the total product between labor and non-labor incomes. Third, the pattern of wages and prices among industries is and should be responsive to forces other than changes in productivity."

2. "These are not arbitrary guides. These describe—briefly and no doubt incompletely—how price and wage rates would behave in a smoothly functioning competitive economy operating near full employment. Nor do they constitute a mechanical formula for determining whether a particular price or wage decision is inflationary. They will serve their purposes if they suggest to the interested public a useful way of approaching the appraisal of such a decision."

3. "These are advanced as general guideposts. To reconcile them with objectives of equity and efficiency, specific modifications must be made to adapt them to the circumstances of particular industries. If all of these modifications are made, each in the specific circumstances to which it applies, they are consistent with stability of the general price level. Public judgments about the effects on the price level of particular wage or price decisions should take into account the modifications as well as the general guides."

C. Consistent with this approach we have agreed on the recommendations that follow.

II. Recommendations

A. That in the near future and at least once a quarter thereafter an objective evaluation should be made of the economy by the Council of Economic Advisers to determine the extent to which the economy as a whole is achieving the goals reflected in the guideposts.

B. That if the evaluation indicates that the overall economy is falling short of the goals reflected in the guideposts, the following steps be taken:

1. The Council of Economic Advisers should identify the nature and apparent chief causes of the major problems or shortcomings.

2. To the extent that the causes may relate to matters within the purview of the President's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy, representatives of that Committee and the Council of Economic Advisers should discuss those problems to determine whether any appropriate corrective action can be recommended.

3. The President's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy should submit to the President a report identifying the problems or shortcomings and including recommendations for corrective action.

III. Conclusion

A. We believe that it is essential to the continued economic growth and health of the country that the present inflationary trends be stopped, and that maximum efforts should therefore be made to restrain, through voluntary procedures, unjustified wage or price behavior.

B. We believe that the goals reflected in the guideposts as set forth in the 1962 report of the Council of Economic Advisers providing for the alignment of wages and prices with productivity in the economy as a whole need and deserve support.

C. We believe that the procedures set forth in the section headed "Recommendations" will assist in providing such support in that they will help to develop a more general understanding of why voluntary restraints serve both the national and private interests.

D. We also believe that it is impractical if not impossible to translate the goals reflected in the guideposts into formulae for application to every particular price or wage decision.

E. We believe that in a free society any policy to achieve price stability will be acceptable and effective only if it bears equitably on all forms of income.

TABLE 1.—*Characteristics of persons enrolled in MDTA courses, calendar year 1966*

Characteristics	Institutional program, estimated total enrollment			On-the-job program, estimated total enrollment		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total.....	165,000	193,390	71,610	80,000	161,360	18,640
Percent.....	100.0	56.6	43.4	100.0	76.7	23.3
Percent distribution						
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Family status:						
Head of family or household.....	55.7	62.7	46.6	54.7	64.6	22.2
Other.....	44.3	37.3	53.4	45.3	35.4	77.8
Education, grade:						
Less than 8th.....	6.4	8.7	3.4	3.6	3.4	4.2
8th.....	9.8	12.6	6.2	6.9	6.6	7.8
9th to 11th.....	36.0	38.2	33.0	26.3	23.8	34.6
12th.....	41.4	35.1	49.5	53.0	55.4	45.2
More than 12th.....	6.4	5.3	7.9	10.3	10.9	8.3
Years of gainful employment:						
Less than 3.....	35.5	27.5	46.0	33.6	29.9	46.0
3 to 9.....	38.7	39.5	37.7	38.6	40.4	32.4
10 or more.....	25.7	33.0	16.3	27.8	29.6	21.6
Number of dependents:						
0.....	47.2	40.9	55.3	45.3	37.7	70.0
1.....	14.9	13.3	17.1	17.0	18.0	13.8
2.....	12.5	13.3	11.5	13.8	15.7	17.4
3.....	9.4	11.0	7.3	11.2	13.5	3.8
4.....	6.5	8.2	4.2	6.3	7.5	2.7
5 and over.....	9.5	13.2	4.6	6.4	7.6	2.3
Wage earner status:						
Primary.....	69.6	78.8	57.6	69.3	81.3	30.0
Other.....	30.4	21.2	42.4	30.7	18.7	70.0
Eligibility for allowance:						
Yes.....	70.5	80.0	56.6	13.9	15.9	8.0
No.....	29.5	20.0	43.4	86.1	84.1	92.0
Type of training allowance for which eligible:						
Regular.....	50.3	52.1	46.5	65.9	64.9	71.7
Augmented.....	31.3	32.6	28.6	28.3	29.9	19.6
Youth.....	18.4	15.3	24.9	5.8	5.3	8.8
Unemployment insurance claimant status:						
Yes.....	14.5	19.3	8.2	7.3	8.5	3.5
No.....	85.5	80.7	91.8	92.7	91.5	96.5
Public assistance status:						
Yes.....	11.8	9.0	15.5	1.3	1.0	2.4
No.....	88.2	91.0	84.5	98.7	99.0	97.6
Prior employment status:						
Unemployed.....	87.0	87.7	86.1	61.7	59.7	67.7
Family farmworker.....	1.6	2.5	.3	.5	.6	.1
Reentrant to labor force.....	2.3	.7	4.6	1.9	.8	5.0
Underemployed.....	9.1	9.1	9.1	35.9	38.9	27.2
Duration of unemployment:						
Less than 5 weeks.....	32.2	36.6	25.5	46.0	51.9	30.7
5 to 14.....	23.5	26.6	18.8	22.4	24.8	16.3
15 to 26.....	13.4	13.9	12.7	10.6	10.5	10.7
27 to 52.....	10.9	10.1	12.1	7.4	5.9	11.1
Over 52.....	20.0	12.7	30.9	13.7	6.8	31.2
Prior military service:						
Veteran.....	17.5	29.8	11.1	25.6	32.9	.6
Peacetime service.....	8.1	13.9	.2	12.9	16.6	.4
Rejectee.....	4.4	7.6	1.1	3.9	4.9	.1
Other nonveteran.....	70.0	48.8	98.5	57.6	45.5	98.9
Handicapped:						
Yes.....	8.7	12.1	4.3	3.5	4.0	1.9
No.....	91.3	87.9	95.7	96.5	96.0	98.1
Race:						
White.....	61.8	66.4	55.7	84.6	86.0	79.9
Negro.....	35.9	30.9	42.4	13.8	12.2	18.9
Other nonwhite.....	2.3	2.7	1.8	1.6	1.8	1.1

¹ Percent based on reports on approximately 68,000 trainees in institutional programs and 17,000 in on-the-job training programs, received through Nov. 30, 1966.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor.

TABLE 2.—*Estimated annual rates of increase in hourly cost of wage and benefit changes negotiated in key collective bargaining settlements, 1966*¹

Annual rate of increase	Percent of workers affected.	
	Equal timing ²	Actual timing ³
Under 3 percent.....	5	5
3 and under 3½ percent.....	16	6
3½ and under 4 percent.....	20	12
4 and under 4½ percent.....	38	18
4½ and under 5 percent.....		17
5 and under 5½ percent.....	⁴ (21)	20
5½ or more.....		22
Number of workers (thousands).....	1,400	
Median increase (percent).....	4.1	4.5

¹ Excluding construction, finance, and insurance. Estimates were prepared only for settlements affecting 5,000 workers or more.

² Based on estimated increase in hourly costs at end of contract period and assumes equal spacing of wage and benefit changes over life of contract.

³ Takes account of actual effective dates of wage and benefit changes during contract period.

⁴ Grouped to avoid disclosing estimates for individual settlements.

NOTE.—Because of rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

TABLE 3.—*Estimated annual rates of increase in hourly cost of wage and benefit changes negotiated in key collective bargaining settlements in construction, 1966*¹

[Percent of workers affected—Equal timing²]

Annual rate of increase:	
Under 4½ percent.....	1
4½ and under 5 percent.....	12
5 and under 5½ percent.....	14
5½ and under 6 percent.....	6
6 and under 6½ percent.....	13
6½ and under 7 percent.....	22
7 and under 7½ percent.....	8
7½ and under 8 percent.....	3
8 and under 8½ percent.....	6
8½ and under 9 percent.....	8
9 and under 9½ percent.....	1
9½ and under 10 percent.....	2
10 or more.....	4
Number of workers (thousands).....	310
Median increase (percent).....	6.6

¹ Based on settlements affecting 1,000 workers or more.

² Based on estimated increase in hourly costs at end of contract period and assumes equal spacing of wage and benefit changes over life of contract.

NOTE.—Because of rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

TABLE 4.—Year-to-year percent change in output, output per man-hour, man-hours, 1947-66¹

	Total private economy			Farm			Nonfarm		
	Output	Output per man-hour	Man-hours	Output	Output per man-hour	Man-hours	Output	Output per man-hour	Man-hours
1947-48.....	4.8	4.3	0.4	11.8	16.5	-3.9	4.4	3.1	1.3
1948-49.....	-3	3.2	-3.3	-3.2	-2.6	-7	-1	3.9	-3.9
1949-50.....	10.2	8.2	1.9	5.4	14.0	-7.4	10.6	6.3	3.9
1950-51.....	6.3	3.0	3.2	-5.2	.5	-5.6	7.0	2.1	4.9
1951-52.....	2.4	1.8	.6	3.3	8.7	-5.1	2.5	.8	1.6
1952-53.....	5.1	4.3	.8	5.3	13.2	-7.0	5.1	3.0	2.1
1953-54.....	-1.3	2.3	-3.6	2.0	5.2	-3.0	-1.5	2.1	-3.7
1954-55.....	8.5	4.4	3.9	2.5	.8	1.6	8.8	4.5	4.2
1955-56.....	1.9	.1	1.7	-5	4.3	-4.6	2.0	-.5	2.6
1956-57.....	1.4	3.0	-1.4	-2.4	6.0	-7.9	1.6	2.1	-.6
1957-58.....	-1.3	3.0	-4.2	2.5	10.4	-7.1	-1.5	2.6	-3.8
1958-59.....	7.0	3.6	3.2	1.4	1.7	-.4	7.3	3.4	3.7
1959-60.....	2.4	1.5	.9	3.8	5.6	-1.7	2.4	1.3	1.2
1960-61.....	1.9	3.3	-1.5	1.4	7.9	-6.0	1.9	2.8	-1.0
1961-62.....	6.8	4.7	2.0	-.5	2.3	-2.7	7.1	4.6	2.5
1962-63.....	4.2	3.5	.6	3.2	8.9	-5.4	4.3	3.0	1.2
1963-64.....	5.5	3.8	1.7	-3.5	.5	-3.8	5.9	3.7	2.2
1964-65.....	6.2	2.8	3.2	8.2	11.3	-2.7	6.1	2.1	3.8
1965-66.....	5.3	2.8	2.5	-5.0	4.7	-9.3	5.8	2.4	3.4

¹ Output refers to the gross national product in constant dollars; man-hours based primarily on establishment reports of the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

TABLE 5.—Average annual percent change¹ in output per man-hour and related data, 1947-66

Item	1947-66	1961-66
Total private economy:		
Output per man-hour ²	3.2	3.5
Output.....	3.7	5.5
Employment.....	.9	2.0
Man-hours.....	.5	1.9
Farm:		
Output per man-hour.....	5.9	5.7
Output.....	1.4	.8
Employment.....	-3.6	-4.8
Man-hours.....	-4.2	-4.6
Nonfarm:		
Output per man-hour.....	2.6	3.1
Output.....	3.8	5.7
Employment.....	1.4	2.5
Man-hours.....	1.1	2.5

¹ Computed from least squares trend of the logarithms of the indexes.

² Output refers to gross national product in 1958 dollars; man-hours based primarily on establishment reports.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

TABLE 6.—*Indexes of output per man-hour, compensation per man-hour and unit labor costs in the private economy, 1947-66*

[1957-59=100]

Year	Output per man-hour	Compensation per man-hour	Unit labor costs
1947	69.1	54.9	79.4
1948	72.1	59.9	83.1
1949	74.4	60.7	81.6
1950	80.5	64.9	80.6
1951	82.9	71.2	85.9
1952	84.4	75.4	89.4
1953	88.0	80.2	91.1
1954	90.0	82.5	91.7
1955	94.0	84.6	90.0
1956	94.1	90.0	95.7
1957	96.9	95.8	98.9
1958	99.8	99.8	100.0
1959	103.4	104.4	101.0
1960	105.0	108.5	103.3
1961	108.5	112.4	103.6
1962	113.6	117.3	103.3
1963	117.6	122.0	103.7
1964	122.1	128.2	104.9
1965	125.5	132.9	105.9
1966	129.0	141.6	109.8

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

TABLE 7.—*Average annual rates of change in output per man-hour, hourly compensation, and unit labor costs in the private economy, for selected years¹*

Item	1947-66	1961-66
Unit labor costs	1.7	1.1
Output per man-hour	3.2	3.5
Compensation per man-hour	4.9	4.6
Real compensation per man-hour	3.1	3.0

¹ All rates computed from the least squares trend of the logarithms of the index numbers.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

TABLE 8.—Key wholesale price trends, 1964-66

Wholesale price indexes	Quarterly percent changes, 1966				Year-to-year percent changes		
	December 1965 to March	March to June	June to September	September to December ¹	December to December		Annual averages
					1965 to 1966	1964 to 1965	1965 to 1966 ¹
All commodities.....	1.2	0.3	1.0	-0.8	1.7	3.4	3.3
Farm products and processed foods.....	2.7	-1.6	3.5	-4.3	1.2	9.6	2.0
Farm products.....	3.7	-2.4	4.3	-6.3	-1.2	11.1	4.2
Fresh fruits and vegetables.....	10.3	-2.0	10.7	-8.2	9.9	-6.8	4.3
Grains.....	3.8	4.5	10.2	-3.0	12.7	0	-1.4
Livestock.....	3.0	-3.0	-8	-10.3	-12.5	34.2	8.6
Fluid milk.....	4.3	-1.1	11.4	-1.4	14.5	2.9	13.2
Eggs.....	1.3	-23.3	40.8	-14.8	-7.8	38.6	1.5
Processed foods.....	1.9	1.0	2.9	-2.8	1.1	6.1	3.0
Cereals and bakery products.....	1.6	-3.7	4.3	-6.3	-6.5	2.8	1.1
Meats.....	3.3	1.3	3.0	-1.5	10.0	29.3	9.0
Dairy products and ice cream.....	3.8	-1.9	3.3	1.3	2.2	2.2	9.3
Industrial commodities.....	3.9	8.0	-3.3	-1.1	2.2	1.4	3.9
Crude materials.....	11.7	2.0	-16.0	-18.9	-17.4	46.7	26.6
Hides and skins.....	3.1	1.0	-2.7	0.5	2.8	3.7	8.8
Nonferrous metals.....	5.5	1.1	2	0	1.9	1.6	2.1
Intermediate materials.....	3.7	4.5	-2.2	-4.2	1.3	1.3	1.3
Finished steel products.....	3.8	1.0	0	1.2	3.8	4.3	6.5
Finished: Producer goods.....	1.0	1.3	0	1.2	1.4	1.2	1.2
Nonelectrical machinery.....	1.7	1.6	.4	2.1	5.0	2.2	3.5
Electrical machinery.....	1.4	.8	.1	1.2	1.7	1.3	1.7
Finished: Consumer nondurables.....	4.4	1.1	3	1.5	1.3	2.3	0
Apparel.....	4.4	.8	.3	1.5	1.2	1.9	1.2
Gasoline.....	1.8	6.8	0	-2.5	2.8	1.9	3.9
Footwear.....	1.4	3.0	3.1	1.0	5.7	4.4	2.9
Finished: Consumer durables.....	1.1	4.4	0	1.3	1.7	4.3	2.0
Passenger cars.....	1.1	4.4	0	1.3	1.7	4.3	2.0
Household furniture.....	-3	-7	-1	2.4	4.7	-8	-3
Household appliances.....	.5	1.6	-1	1.7	4.7	-8	-7
Household appliances.....	.3	.3	-3	.6	.5	-2.0	-2.3

¹ December 1966 data preliminary.

Source: BLS, Office of Prices and Living Conditions, U.S. Department of Labor, Jan. 27, 1967.

TABLE 9.—Key consumer price trends, 1964-66

Consumer price indexes	Quarterly percent changes: 1966				Year-to-year percent changes			
	December 1965 to March	March to June	June to September	September to December	December to December			Annual averages
					1965 to 1966	1964 to 1965	1965 to 1966	
All items.....	0.9	0.8	1.1	0.5	3.3	2.0	2.9	1.7
Food 1.....	3.1	-2.2	1.1	-3.3	3.8	3.5	5.0	2.3
Food away from home.....	1.1	1.3	1.5	1.4	5.3	3.4	4.6	2.3
Food at home 1.....	3.4	-4.4	1.2	-7.7	3.4	3.6	5.0	2.4
Cereals and bakery products.....	1.2	1.0	3.2	-3.3	5.9	1.1	4.1	1.5
Meats 1.....	7.1	-2.1	-3.5	-1.0	2.8	13.5	0.3	7.5
Beef and veal 1.....	5.6	1.0	-3.1	-3.3	2.8	6.8	6.2	4.8
Pork 1.....	8.9	-6.8	-4.7	-3.3	-6.4	28.7	14.4	13.8
Dairy products 1.....	2.5	2.5	4.6	-1.1	9.8	5.5	0.5	3.3
Fresh fruits and vegetables 1.....	2.5	2.5	4.6	-1.1	9.8	5.5	0.5	3.3
Eggs 1.....	4.9	-1.2	0.4	-3.9	6.0	-6.0	1.8	2.1
Nondurables except food 1.....	6.7	-9.4	1.0	4.6	2.1	15.5	13.9	-2.3
Apparel less footwear 1.....	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.7	2.8	2.0	2.3	1.4
Footwear 1.....	1.8	0.6	0.8	0.8	3.1	9.9	1.8	1.8
Gasoline.....	1.4	2.5	1.2	1.2	6.3	3.5	5.9	1.7
Durable commodities 1.....	1.4	0.7	1.7	1.5	3.4	4.0	3.8	3.8
Furniture.....	-1.1	1.5	1.3	0	4.5	1.0	2.5	-4.4
Used cars 1.....	-7.7	-7.7	1.0	-3.6	-3.4	-4.4	-2.5	-7.7
New cars 1.....	-7.7	-5.4	-1.2	1.4	-1.1	-2.9	-1.8	-2.2
Appliances.....	-2.2	-4.4	0	-1.1	-7.7	-5.1	-3.1	-3.2
Services.....	0.7	1.6	1.2	1.4	4.9	2.7	3.8	2.3
Rent.....	1.4	1.3	1.5	1.5	1.6	1.0	1.4	1.0
Household services less rent.....	1.1	2.7	1.1	1.5	5.5	2.4	3.8	1.9
Mortgage interest rates.....	1.7	6.0	2.1	3.1	12.4	9.9	6.4	4.4
Transportation services.....	1.1	0.5	1.9	3.7	4.3	3.9	4.2	3.7
Local transit.....	1.3	0	8.9	1.1	9.1	1.8	4.4	2.1
Auto insurance.....	1.3	9.9	1.6	0.6	4.4	1.7	7.2	9.5
Medical care services.....	1.5	1.7	2.4	2.3	8.1	3.5	5.4	2.8
Physicians' fees.....	1.8	2.0	2.2	1.0	7.8	3.8	5.8	3.6
Daily hospital charges.....	2.4	2.1	5.1	6.0	16.5	6.6	9.6	5.8

¹ Seasonally adjusted, quarterly data only.

Source: BLS, Office of Prices and Living Conditions, U.S. Department of Labor Jan. 27, 1967.

TABLE 10.—Price trends for selected consumer services, 1963–66

Consumer price indexes	December-to-December percent changes			
	Total, 1963–66	1963 to 1964	1964 to 1965	1965 to 1966
All services.....	9.7	1.8	2.7	4.9
Rent.....	3.7	1.0	1.0	1.6
Transportation services.....	11.3	2.7	3.9	4.3
Auto repairs.....	5.6	.5	2.6	2.4
Auto insurance.....	23.7	7.0	10.7	4.4
Registration and license fees.....	12.8	2.3	—1	10.3
Parking and garage rent.....	4.1	.8	2.2	1.1
Local transit.....	13.1	1.8	1.8	9.1
Taxicabs.....	11.4	3.6	2.1	5.3
Railroad fare, coach.....	.6	.6	.1	—1
Airline fares.....	.5	.2	.5	—2
Bus fares, intercity.....	6.9	3.0	1.6	2.2
Medical care services.....	14.9	2.6	3.5	8.1
Physicians' fees.....	15.3	3.0	3.8	7.8
Dentist's fees.....	10.8	3.1	2.7	4.6
Eye examination and eyeglasses.....	8.1	1.5	2.5	3.9
Hospital daily rates.....	29.9	4.6	6.6	16.5
Operating room charges.....	19.0	2.8	5.9	9.3
Household services.....	9.6	1.4	2.4	5.5
Mortgage interest.....	12.7	—6	.9	12.4
Property taxes.....	10.6	2.1	4.5	3.7
Property insurance.....	18.2	5.5	6.8	4.9
Home maintenance and repair services.....	13.3	2.4	3.6	6.8
Gas.....	.4	1.1	—4	—3
Electricity.....	—8	—7	—2	.1
Telephone.....	—2.0	—2	—1.7	—1
Domestic service.....	18.8	5.3	5.8	6.6
Baby sitters.....	11.0	.3	5.8	4.6
Day care.....	13.8	1.5	4.9	6.9
Laundry, flatwork.....	17.9	2.4	5.4	9.3
Other services.....	10.1	2.3	2.8	4.6
Laundry—men's shirts.....	11.4	1.2	3.6	6.3
Dry cleaning.....	10.0	1.1	2.6	6.0
Tailoring charges.....	7.4	.2	1.1	6.0
Shoe repairs.....	.9	.4	.4	0
Men's haircuts.....	15.8	3.9	3.5	7.7
Beauty shop.....	8.8	1.8	2.8	3.9
Movie admissions.....	24.3	6.9	7.6	8.0
Bowling fees.....	2.6	—2	.4	2.4
Film developing.....	4.7	2.1	1.6	1.0
Funeral services.....	4.7	.4	1.8	2.4
Bank service charges.....	2.5	.8	—1	1.8
Legal services.....	15.9	8.0	3.2	3.9

Source: BLS—Office of Prices and Living Conditions, U.S. Department of Labor, Jan. 27, 1967.

CHART 1

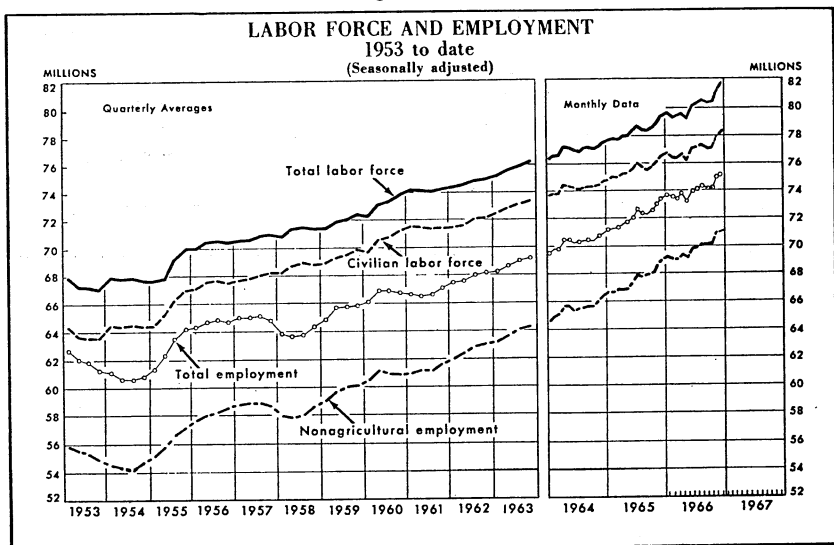


CHART 2

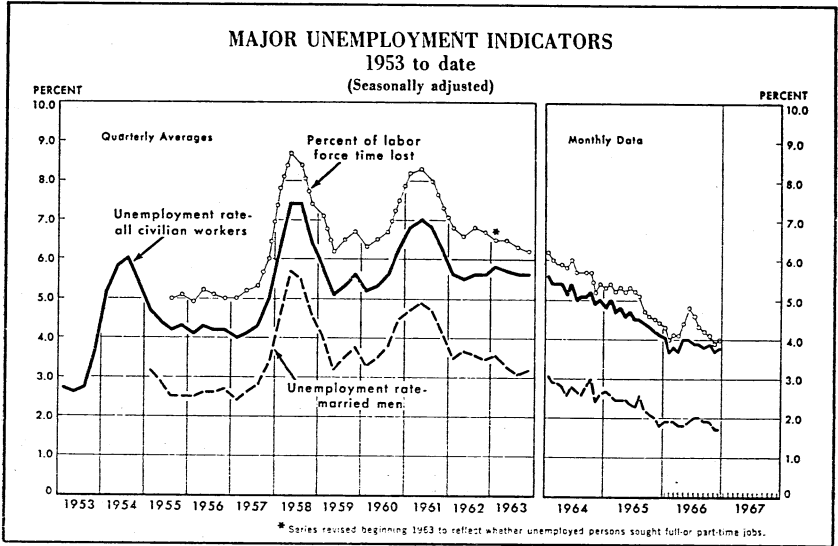


CHART 3

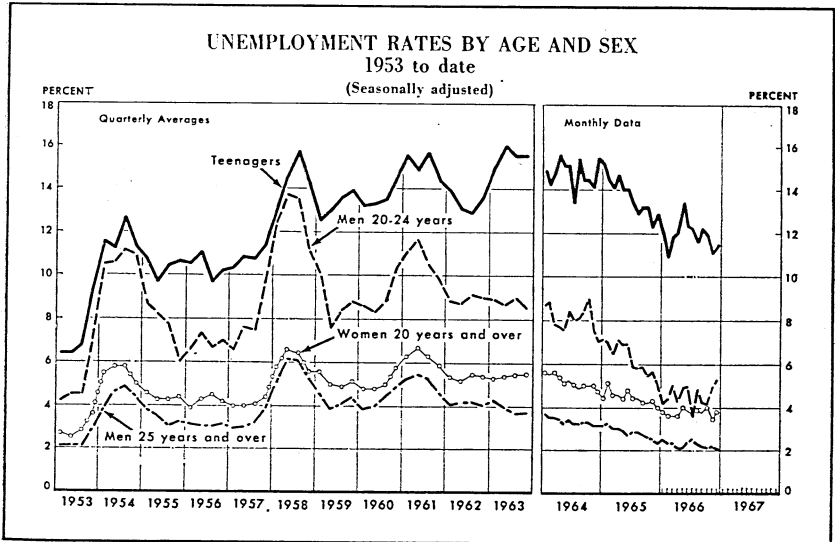
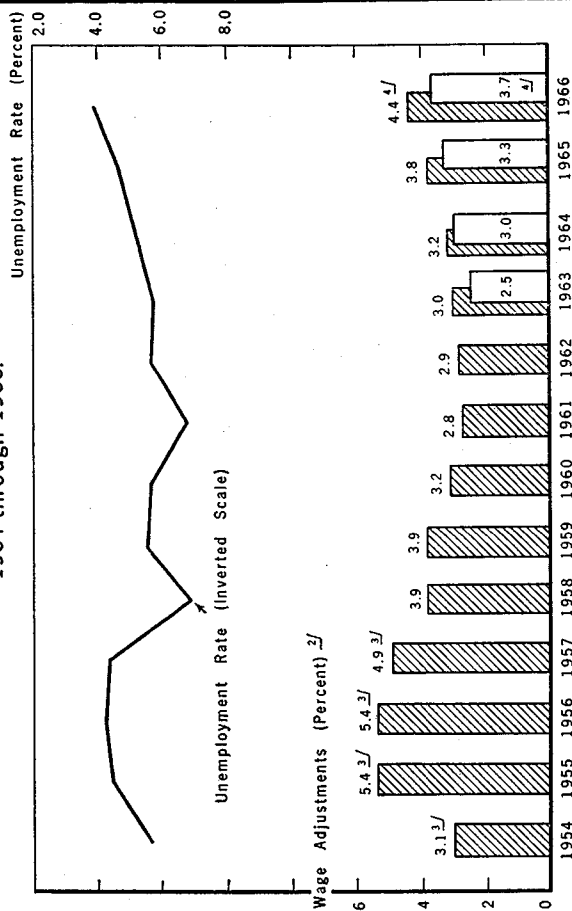


Chart 4 Negotiated Wage-Rate Adjustments^{1/} and the Unemployment Rate, 1954 through 1966.



NOTE: The striped bars represent the median first contract year wage adjustment. The white bars for 1963 through 1966 represent the total percentage wage increase during the life of each contract, converted to an annual rate.

^{1/} Median adjustments include no wage changes, decreases in wages, and increases in wages, but exclude the cost of fringe benefits.

^{2/} Percent of average hourly earnings, adjusted to exclude the effect of premium pay for overtime work.

^{3/} Estimated.

^{4/} Preliminary.

Chart 5. WHOLESALE AND CONSUMER PRICES BY MAJOR SECTORS

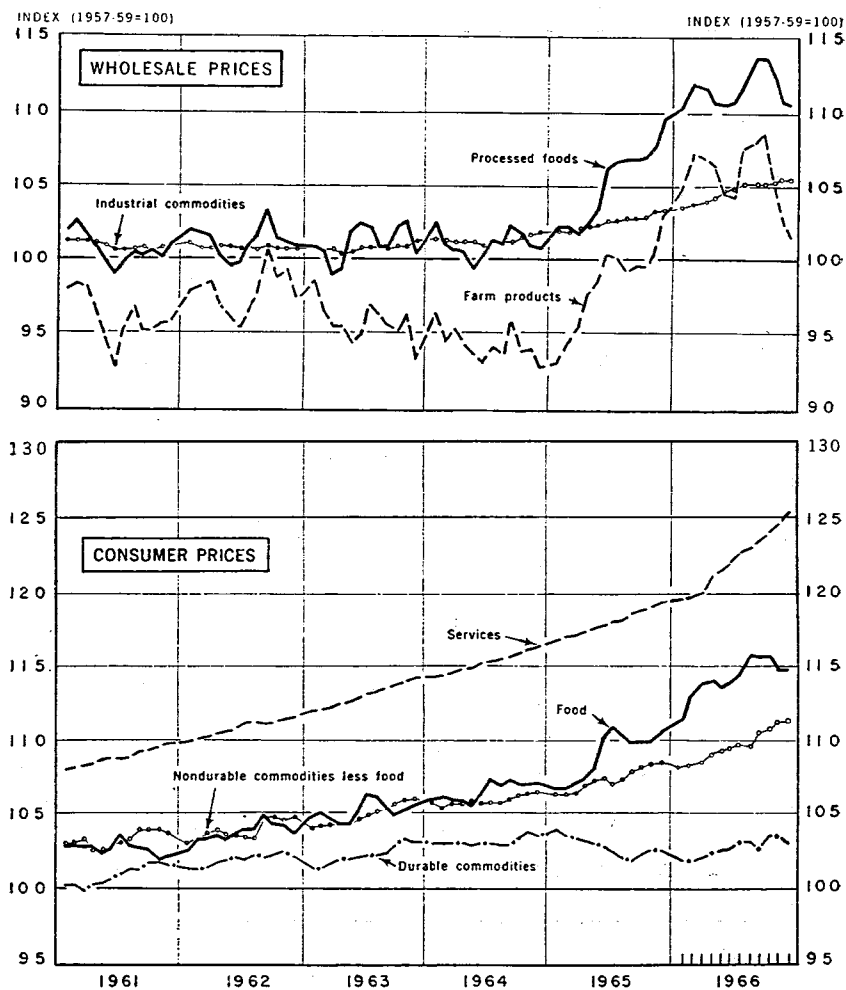
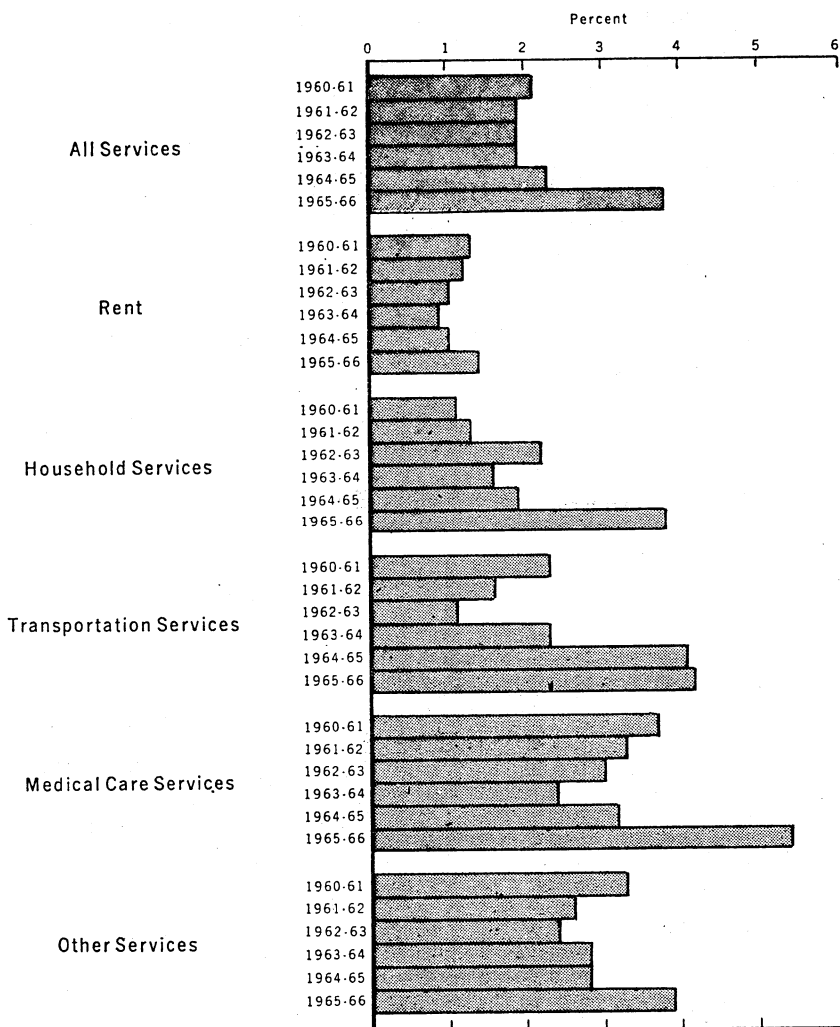


Chart 6. YEAR-TO-YEAR CHANGES IN CONSUMER SERVICE PRICES
(Percent changes in annual averages)



Secretary WIRTZ. I will be glad, Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee to respond as helpfully as I can to whatever questions you may have.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Thank you for a very fine statement, Mr. Secretary.

Remember, last year, Mr. Secretary, you made a very vivid impression on me and other members of the committee when you zeroed in on this 4-percent interim goal of unemployment and you said:

It will be very much the theme in my testimony here this morning that I point out that even as we stand now on what we have thought of as the interim goal for so long, 4 percent unemployment, we realize that it really isn't the goal at all. It is only the 10-yard line and that the problem left before us is to make the last 10 yards, which we propose to do.

It is now a year later, the December figure was 3.8 and for the year 1967 it is projected by the Council of Economic Advisers to rise to about 4 percent. It looks as if we are not making very much progress and of course the implicit or explicit reason is that there is a feeling that if we get unemployment much lower we are going to have a lot more trouble with inflation.

I call your attention to our experience in the years 1952, 1953, 1954, and 1955, especially the first 3 years I mentioned. In 1952 it was 3.1, in 1953 it was 2.9, and in 1954 it was 5.6. Credit controls came off in mid-1952 and price controls were off in April 1953. In spite of the fact that they came off and there was some pent-up demand and unemployment was below 3 percent, the cost of living rose only eight-tenths of 1 percent—2.2 percent in 1952, and only eight-tenths of 1 percent in 1953, and the following year rose only four-tenths of 1 percent.

What I am trying to say is I think we ought to have a better analysis in the Council of Economic Advisers than the Council has given us. They have done fairly well but I think we should pursue it a little further, of the notion that in the coming year we cannot get below 4 percent without unacceptable inflationary pressures.

Secretary WIRTZ. I didn't say which 10-yard line we were on.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Maybe we have 90 yards to go.

Secretary WIRTZ. That is what I mean. There has not been a very large advance, as large a gain in those terms as I would have hoped. I do point out this, Mr. Chairman, and members of the Joint Economic Committee, that there has been an extraordinary increase in the labor force during this same period and we ought to count our gains, not only in terms of that unemployment figure but also in the increased participation in the labor force.

There has been a big increase in the number of jobs and some of them have gone to people outside the labor force rather than those who were unemployed. But I should like to say this: I think it would be a mistake to suggest that there has been a basic difference on whether you can go below the 4-percent unemployment figure without having inflation. I do not understand the Council to take the position, which is taken by some economists, that there is an immutable Keynesian principle that you do not go below 4 percent on unemployment without having inflation. I don't understand that to be the Council's point.

I understand it to be, rather, when we get to that 4-percent figure, it is up to us to push it on down by increasing the manpower supply situation, by training those who are not presently trained and by making further use of the potential that we have.

I have no trouble with that approach and with the function of responsibility, not in personal terms, but in program terms for moving it on down below the 4-percent level through an affirmative manpower program. I go into this detail because I think there has been some misunderstanding. I know the Council does not take the position that we have to stop at that point.

Chairman PROXMIRE. I am sure they do not, but they do project 4 percent or expect this kind of unemployment at the end of the year. We have table 18 on page 109 of the Economic Report which shows 273,000 persons, number of trainees involved in manpower involvement and training in fiscal 1966 and fewer, 250,000 in 1967.

What is the projection on the present budget for fiscal 1968? What is the expectation of the number of trainees, taking manpower training in fiscal 1968?

(Table 18, from the Economic Report, is reprinted below:)

TABLE 18.—*Training opportunities, fiscal years, 1966–67*

Program	Number of trainees (thousands)	
	1966	1967 ¹
Manpower Development and Training Act program	273	250
Institutional training	160	125
On-the-job training and other	113	125
Job Corps	10	31
Neighborhood Youth Corps: ²		
In-school	106	125
Out-of-school	55	60
Summer	209	165
Work experience	64	46
Adult work program		25
Special impact		8

¹ Estimates.

² Each position may be occupied by more than one person in the course of a training period, since trainees often do not occupy positions for the full period.

Source: Bureau of the Budget.

Secretary WIRTZ. About 275,000—250,000 to 275,000, depending on the mix.

Chairman PROXMIRE. So it has not changed much in the past 3 years?

Secretary WIRTZ. It is about the same.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Does not that indicate we do not have much of a drive to get down to the level of unemployment by the training programs?

Secretary WIRTZ. I answered your question, Mr. Chairman, perhaps not in the terms in which it is put—with reference to the Manpower Development and Training Act program. We must take into account the expectations of what can be accomplished through the other work training programs. Quite an arsenal of weapons has been developed which includes, as far as the youngsters are concerned, the Neighborhood Youth Corps program and Job Corps program.

Chairman PROXMIRE. This table includes the Job Corps and Neighborhood Youth Corps, work experience, special impact, adult work program, institutional training, on-the-job training.

Secretary WIRTZ. And the total was—

Chairman PROXMIRE. 273 in 1956, 250 in 1967, and you indicated it would be around that general figure in 1968.

Secretary WIRTZ. As far as MDTA figures are concerned. I think that last group of figures is too low, or putting it differently, it is conservative. But if your question is whether it is through the direct effects of government training, work-training programs, we will take sufficient strides toward the elimination of this last—I think in terms of about a million—the answer is no, and it will have to depend upon expansion of private training programs and on coordination of our public and private training programs.

I know what you are reaching for and perhaps I erred in suggesting to you that it is possible to do this with the present-day work training programs. If we can enlist the coordinated support of private industry, where we must look for these employment opportunities, or almost all of them eventually, we can do most of this job in the next 2 or 3 years and by the job, I mean moving in on that part of the remaining unemployment, which is susceptible to a work-training, public-private approach. I would hope, and this is obviously a risky statistic—I would hope that if the economy continues to do its part—we can train as a consequence of public and private effort in the next 2 to 3 years, approximately three-quarters of a million people. This would cut out most of the area which remains to be cut out. It is a rule of thumb.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Would you submit a comparison of how we are doing now as compared in the last 3 or 4 years, overall? The figures I asked about were only partial. You are giving me a more comprehensive one and I would like to have some comparison to see what progress we are making.

Secretary WIRTZ. I will give you the figures. You are right. What I have tried to project here is a more subjective judgment of what involves a fairly complicated—I hope sophisticated—estimate of how many people there are remaining who, as a result of progressive training programs, can be brought into employment.

(The table below was later submitted by the Department:)

Training opportunities, fiscal years 1964-68

Program	Number of trainees (in thousands)						
	Total in years	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967 ¹	1968 ¹
Manpower Development and Training Act...	1,219	59	125	232	273	250	280
Institutional training.....	733	57	112	167	160	125	112
On-the-job training and other.....	486	2	13	65	113	125	168
Job Corps.....	41	-----	-----	-----	10	31	-----
Neighborhood Youth Corps ²	1,384	-----	-----	278	401	350	355
In school.....	463	-----	-----	102	106	125	130
Out of school.....	237	-----	-----	62	55	60	60
Summer.....	684	-----	-----	114	240	165	165
Work experience.....	110	-----	-----	-----	64	46	-----
Adult work program.....	25	-----	-----	-----	-----	25	-----
Special impact.....	8	-----	-----	-----	-----	8	-----
Totals.....	2,787	59	125	510	748	710	635

¹ Estimates.

² Each opportunity covers a "full-time training period, although more than 1 person may undergo training in the position during the course of the training period.

Source: Office of Manpower Research, Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor.

Chairman PROXMIRE. This is all related to the question raised by your "Projections 1970" which is, I think a wonderful study and did get proper support and praise in the press.

One of the most interesting statements in the study is as follows:

GNP would have to grow by about 4.3 percent a year between 1965 and 1970 to provide jobs for additional workers and to maintain the unemployment rate at 4 percent.

The expectation of the Council is that the growth rate in the coming year would be 4 percent—not 4½ percent or 4.3 percent. This means we are not going to make the kind of progress on unemployment, and it would suggest that perhaps our fiscal policy is too constrained and we could have more expansive fiscal policy—maybe we should not have the tax increase the President is talking about, and at the same time not have stringent monetary policy, lest it be easier than it has been in order to get at this 4.3 percent growth which the Council is not planning.

Secretary WIRTZ. I understand the analysis and you understand my response more in terms of operational possibilities and I do not pretend an independent mastery of the relationship of the fiscal policy to the unemployment figures. I have set myself to this extent—that I think that the rate of growth which the Council projects will probably result in an extension of about the present unemployment situation and that the gain on that has got to come from these other programs—I believe, Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee, that most of those who will be employed as a result of the expansion of the economy are employed and putting it this way, most of those who remain unemployed except for the frictional and seasonal unemployment—most of the others who remain unemployed will not be affected by an expansion of the economy. I know the point that you are making and can only say that I think as far as the effects of the expansion of the economy on unemployment is concerned, it will be maintained on the basis of the growth which the Council anticipates and that the remaining problem, of an affirmative program to reduce unemployment ought to be in this separate area.

Chairman PROXMIRE. My time is up.

Congressman CURTIS?

Representative CURTIS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Secretary WIRTZ. Could I add one other point because it is closely related?

Whatever I may have said just now about 1967 does not apply in the future, and I think that while my statement will stand, the projection for 1967 will cover that situation. I do not suggest that a continuation of a growth rate beyond 1967 would do the job because I don't think it would.

Representative CURTIS. Mr. Secretary, when you talk about productivity rates, you give us 2.8 percent and you project that in 1967 this will go down in the same degree. I note on tables 4 and 5, you apparently gave us fiscal years. Have we got the first half of fiscal 1967 available; namely, the last 6 months of calendar 1966?

Secretary WIRTZ. I wanted to check, Congressman CURTIS—you mean the statement of productivity for 1967?

Representative CURTIS. The figure you give us is 2.8 percent. Really these are fiscal years in the table rather than calendar years, aren't they? What I want to know is what is the projection for the equivalent which would be 1966-67?

Secretary WIRTZ. Fiscal 1967-68?

Representative CURTIS. I am trying to correlate it with your own table. Your table 4 has these figures, and I presume they are giving fiscal years. I do not understand them otherwise. Maybe that is the first question.

Secretary WIRTZ. Table 4?

Representative CURTIS. Table 4. You have 1964-65, 1965-66. Maybe I am wrong. I interpret that to mean fiscal years.

Secretary WIRTZ. It is the average for 1 calendar year as compared with the average for the preceding calendar year.

Representative CURTIS. Then is 1966 actually 2.8 percent?

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes, sir, average for that year.

Representative CURTIS. Very Good. What do you anticipate this to be in calendar year 1967? You said it is going to decline, but have you made any estimate of what your rate of decline might be?

Secretary WIRTZ. On the suggestion of a decline, Congressman, I think you refer to what I said in my statement which notes that usually some of these factors are accompanied by a decline in the rate of productivity growth and I have gone on to point to what I confess to you is entirely secondhand information.

Representative CURTIS. You have no estimate?

Secretary WIRTZ. I am working operationally on the principle that it is likely to be about the same as it has been this year, perhaps slightly lower, but it is a complicated situation because the change in these factors resulting from this investment is such that there could be an increase in productivity which would be different from what we have experienced as a result of the change in the gross national product as we approached it in the past.

I am advised that there are factors at work which would mean a larger productivity increase this next year compared with the same expansion in the economy. But I cut through my own ignorance to say to you that for operational purposes and on the best advice I can obtain, I assume, I am expecting to see that productivity figure about the same in 1967 as it was in 1966, but possibly slightly lower.

Representative CURTIS. Most estimates I have seen are a lower figure.

Secretary WIRTZ. You hear 2.5 or 2.6; it is in that area.

Representative CURTIS. I wonder how much we might go further. You say unit labor costs in the private economy rose by 3.7 percent in 1966.

Have you got any estimate for 1967?

Secretary WIRTZ. That doubles the previous difficulty because I would have to add an explanation of what happens on wage costs as well as productivity and I frankly have not done this.

Representative CURTIS. Now, to the wage-price guidelines and the discussion there. I am quite pleased to see your statement because I think it is getting back to what the guideposts were when they were originally presented.

I always look at them simply as an economic exercise and a valuable exercise. But when the administration went through actually formalizing the guideposts and putting figures on them and working to obtain compliance, I thought it got way beyond that original purpose.

Now, I have heard you were quoted as saying a 5-percent wage guide possibility would be appropriate this year in view of inflation. Is this accurate?

Secretary WIRTZ. I thought it was accurate as reported originally. But time has eroded the accuracy of it, I think. It was with reference to the wage increases taking place this year, a good many of them which have been in the neighborhood of 5 percent.

My comment was to the effect that I did not consider that an unreasonable application of the various principles bearing on this situation, and so in general, I was quoted correctly.

Representative CURTIS. Many people feel we are developing a wage-cost push this year and with the large number of labor contracts that are due this year, this can be a very serious matter as far as Consumer Price Index. Will you comment?

Secretary WIRTZ. May I make it clear—I wanted to emphasize that in my previous statement it was a direction of what was happening and had happened and it was a comparative reasonableness of that and not a suggestion of a specific figure.

Representative CURTIS. I am trying to direct your attention to what might be the situation in this calendar year 1967 in respect to inflation. The experience I would say here is entirely too high level of inflation, and it looks like there is a real element of a cost-push situation. That is why I asked the question of your estimate on productivity increases which I myself think are going to go down. At the same time, mostly due to the inflation of 1966, and the wage contracts coming up, it looks like our wages are going to be pushed considerably beyond productivity.

Secretary WIRTZ. The point that you just made is vitally important. To whatever extent there is a carryover from previous experience, and that takes its most precise form in the extended contracts, that is one thing. And one about which I cannot do very much.

If, on the other hand we can say ourselves there is not an increasing head of steam on that, and that it may be decreasing, which I think to be the case, then we are in a more satisfactory condition. You are very right in suggesting there are some carryovers, cost-push effects.

Representative CURTIS. Some companies I understand have agreed to give the Council of Economic Advisers advance notice of proposed price increases. I wonder if any labor unions are going to give advance notification of their demands? Have they come to you in a comparable way?

Secretary WIRTZ. We all have a common experience that the advance notices are usually considerably higher than the final settlement, and if your question is whether I have any basis of knowing what the final settlements are going to be, I do not.

Representative CURTIS. I was very much interested in the process, of which a great deal was made last year by the Council of Economic Advisers, as to the techniques used by the administration in the area of wage-price guideposts. Frankly, I was a little bit alarmed. I thought they were somewhat extra legal.

If this is going to go on, and apparently the Council of Economic Advisers is going to continue discouraging industry price increases, I am trying to see whether there are any plans to go in the other direction, especially since it looks like we have some real momentum going toward a wage push beyond productivity increases, probably because of previous inflation.

Secretary WIRTZ. I am not quite sure as to the question.

Representative CURTIS. The question is: Whether or not you are going to try to use exhortation to get the labor unions to try to hold back on their wage demands in a way comparable to which the administration is going, to encourage industry to hold the price level?

Secretary WIRTZ. Let me answer you in different words and if they are not sufficient for an answer, come back and use your form of it.

There will be a stronger effort made to sell the general interest and the self-interest of restraint on the wage side as on the price side because you can't separate the two out.

Representative CURTIS. I appreciate that.

Secretary WIRTZ. I think the year's record ends up with a fairly complete public appreciation of the fact that even to the extent of going too far occasionally, we have tried to drive that home to everybody concerned during 1966. There were errors. There were errors of exhortation but they had a saving quality of evenness. They will in the future.

Representative CURTIS. In respect to the Manpower Training Act, what have you done this year to get the job vacancies statistics?

Secretary WIRTZ. You and I have talked about that over a number of years and I told you before that we haven't been able to get the appropriation from Congress, so we are postponing it. I can tell you now, in one way or another we have managed to get a pretty complete picture of that situation now through Mr. Ross' office, not only collecting, but publishing each month a quite comprehensive statement of the shortage situations. They are not statements that will satisfy the purest among the statisticians. They do jibe with general information, enough that there has not been much complaint about them. We are doing it on an occupation-by-occupation, area-by-area basis. I think I can say to you with confidence that that picture is now perhaps not statistically accurate, but practically sufficient.

Representative CURTIS. My time has expired.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Congressman Reuss?

Representative REUSS. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Secretary, your excellent presentation includes the disheartening fact that unemployment among Negroes, and particularly young Negroes, is trending up. That is unhappily true, is it not?

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes, sir. Trending up—not in absolute terms, but in percentages. We are just barely holding our own. The numbers are increasing but we are not pushing the rates down significantly.

Representative REUSS. The administration has recommended a 6-percent across-the-board tax increase to take effect on July 1. Will not this have some effect on increasing unemployment, and will not that effect bear very largely on Negroes and young Negroes in particular?

Secretary WIRTZ. I don't believe very much, Mr. Reuss. Because I think that it is particularly true of this group that was involved is perhaps less a shortage of opportunity than a completion of the requirements for taking advantage of it and that this is peculiarly a remaining area of unemployment which will not be remedied by an expanding economy and will require affirmative individualized concentrated attention. I think there will be only a small incremental effect.

Representative REUSS. I think every member of this committee would agree, it needs tailormade, ad hoc attention. It needed that all the way down from the 7-percent unemployment figure that we had a few years ago. But a moment ago you said that most of the current unemployed could be helped only by tailormade manpower training methods, not by general increase in demand. Is it not true that a substantial portion of the unemployed could be helped some by general increases in demand, and will not therefore the proposed tax increase, which means there will be less demand from the consumer to buy goods, and less ability of investors to invest—will not the effect of that tax increase be, on the margin, to deny a job to some Negroes, and particularly young Negroes, who would get a job were it not for that tax increase?

Secretary WIRTZ. I don't mean for a moment to avoid the obvious fact that there is a relationship between the tax increase and the rate of expansion of the economy, and that that has some relationship to jobs. But I can't help coming back to the fact that a third of our unemployment is among the youth and a lot of these are nonwhite.

But the point is, as far as I am concerned, they shouldn't be working, anyway. They ought to be in school or in training. So in terms of the problem you pose it does not seem to me that the answer lies in putting them into the jobs that an expanding economy would give them—most of them being dead end jobs that the machines are just waiting to take over. The answer to that problem lies in an extension of education and training programs rather than in increasing the number of jobs.

Representative REUSS. You do not think it lies in both?

Secretary WIRTZ. It does lie in both, of course, especially in the sense that if there should be a slipback in the economy, then that situation would worsen terribly. If the economy should fall back so that there would be an increase in unemployment, this would happen for the very reason that you are talking about. This situation would be exceedingly serious.

My point is that as far as an affirmative improvement is concerned, we have a lot bigger job in moving in on the personal aspects of it than is involved in the economic application.

Representative REUSS. I agree with that.

Let me now turn to the wage-price guideposts and call to your attention the very instructive and perceptive testimony you gave before the House Government Operations Committee last fall.

Secretary WIRTZ. I remember the occasion even with that description.

Representative REUSS. The Government Operations Committee following its hearings brought out a series of recommendations which

are contained in its October 11, 1966 report¹ and I would like to ask unanimous consent that those recommendations be included at this point in the record.

Chairman PROXMIRE. It is so ordered.

The recommendations referred to appear below:

* * * * *

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. That the President continue the present practice of including wage-price guideposts in his Annual Economic Reports as required by section 3(a) of the Employment Act of 1946 and that he make comments on or revisions of such guideposts in supplementary reports he may transmit to the Congress under section 3(b) of the act.

2. That the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress continue its present practice of holding full public hearings on the President's Economic Report and that these hearings give special attention to the wage-price guideposts contained therein providing an opportunity for representatives of labor, management, and the public to give their views on the guideposts.

3. That the Joint Economic Committee, in its report to the Congress, specifically include its findings and recommendations on the guideposts. If the administration's guideposts are approved by the committee, this congressional action will strengthen their public acceptability. If the Joint Economic Committee's position on the guideposts differ from that of the President, it can be expected that the President would review them in the light of the committee's recommendations and that should result in greater public acceptance and, thus, opportunity of success. This is particularly important with respect to the forthcoming January 1967 guideposts since they inevitably must come to grips with the erosion in the cost of living which has occurred, with the problem of equity between different segments of our economy, and with the problem of the utilization of manpower.

4. We recognize that the application of the guideposts in specific wage or price cases is a different and a complex matter. Here we endorse the suggestions of Secretary of Labor Wirtz and the President's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy for action by that advisory committee in specific cases. This would be consistent with section 4(c) of the Employment Act which permits the Council of Economic Advisers to constitute advisory committees and to consult with representatives of various groups as it deems advisable. Inasmuch as the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress is already authorized by law to hold hearings, we recommend that where the committee feels that it may usefully supplement the work being done within the administration on specific cases, it hold hearings on them and make its own findings and recommendations. We believe that such action on specific cases and when "crises" arise would help reconstitute and reinvigorate the guideposts in a manner designed to secure the greatest degree of public agreement and support. Thus, the essence of H.R. 11916 will have been obtained.

* * * * *

Representative REUSS. Have you had an opportunity to look at those?

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes, I have, Mr. Reuss, and I don't recall them in sufficient detail. I do remember the report.

Representative REUSS. They are here at this point in the record, and may I ask you to make your comment when you have a chance to review them? I strongly suspect from the testimony you gave that you will approve of every comma in those recommendations, but that is for you to say.

Secretary WIRTZ. I testified on the basis of my general recollection to that effect. I don't recall the detail.

¹ Strengthening Wage-Price Guideposts, 41st report by the Committee on Government Operations, H. Rept. 2231, 89th Cong., 2d sess.

Representative REUSS. Among the recommendations made were that this committee include its findings and recommendations on the guideposts, and if the administration's guideposts are approved by the committee, this congressional action will strengthen their public acceptability. If the Joint Economic Committee's position on the guideposts differs from that of the President, it can be expected that the President would review them in the light of the committee's recommendations and that should result in greater public acceptance and, thus, opportunity of success.

You might comment on that particular point.

Secretary WIRTZ. It makes good sense to me.

Representative REUSS. There have been expressions from members of this committee during these hearings—in which, incidentally, we are doing precisely the kind of review of the guideposts that the Committee on Government Operations had in mind—There have been expressions from members of this committee that the removal of numbers from the guideposts this year is not desirable, that it does not tell labor and management what their obligations are. There is a suggestion before this committee that meaningful guideposts next year in wages would be a particularization of the CEA's past guideposts, taking into account, perhaps, in addition to the productivity increase of 3.2 percent, about half of last year's cost of living increase, working out at something like a 5 percent wage guidepost, subject to all the "ifs," "and" and "buts" of the guideposts; and that the price guideposts should likewise follow the past productivity trend recommendations of the CEA, but with special emphasis this year on meaningful action to urge price decreases where the over-average productivity trend of the particular industry permits that.

I would like your comments on that proposal. Suppose the Joint Economic Committee thought it wanted to state something like that?

Secretary WIRTZ. One question to make my answer as helpful as possible. Does your question anticipate one figure which effects the productivity principle which was in the guideposts, or does it reflect one figure which represents the proposed application of productivity principle, costs of living, ability to pay—is it just the productivity point that is to be put in the single figure or would all of these be brought together?

Representative REUSS. The suggestion is that we use the same formulation in other years as the Council has given it, that is to say, in recent years like 1965 and 1966, but that we provide some partial reckoning of the cost-of-living increases, added to productivity, which would come to about 5 percent, and then on the price guideposts we would suggest about what the Council did in 1965 and 1966, with a little more meaningful public education on the ability of overaverage productivity industries to reduce their prices.

Secretary WIRTZ. I would respectfully disagree and be in complete opposition for these reasons. Starting from the one which is implicit in your last point—it will never be possible for this country to learn a price guideposts expressed in specific figures the way it learns a wage guideposts because of the difficulties of communication which attend the situation. It is one of the great misfortunes.

Representative REUSS. I did not suggest they should be.

Secretary WIRTZ. I am talking about the difficulty. It was easy for somebody to translate a single point affecting wages into a single percentage point, and by "somebody" I mean the American public, and to translate a principle into a decimal point—it was never done on the price side, not because of any lack of attempt, but because that message for interesting reasons just didn't get across and there is a lopsided reaction because the one was reduced to a decimal point and the other was not.

My first point is in answer to your question, unless that problem can be solved I think it would be a mistake to do it again.

My second point is, in the guideposts, 3.2 percent was intended to reflect the productivity element. It was interpreted as reflecting all elements. It was intended at least until 1966 to be a statement of general application to the economy as a whole. It was applied and interpreted in 1966 and the administration would share the responsibility for this as a result, for particular cases. I don't suppose we will ever get out of that habit. I don't think you could arrive at a single figure, given today's circumstances, which would represent a rational application of the productivity principle and the other relevant factors, and if you could, Mr. Reuss, and respectively I would point out that I think there is a built-in reaction in this country against being told that matters of the nature that we are talking about here should be reduced to a specific decimal point figure.

This country doesn't like being told "not to put beans up its nose" and that psychology was at work last year and it was 3.2 and this is the second time this country has learned that a specific figure—and, coincidentally, 3.2 is a poor translation of a broad set of principles in a particular point and so I don't think that another translation into a specific formula is recommended by present circumstances.

Representative REUSS. I would suggest to you that this country has not minded being told for a good long time that someone who reaches his 21st birthday is thus an adult and subject to all the legal consequences of being an adult.

Secretary WIRTZ. But the kids reject it.

Representative REUSS. And the day before he was not an adult, and I have not heard great outcries in this country for changing that rule and instead substituting one which says a person shall be an adult, and so considered for legal purposes, when he becomes rationally mature, because such a rule would be very difficult to apply.

Secretary WIRTZ. Your children are more mature than mine.

Representative REUSS. It would be difficult for society to decide whether somebody was an adult or not. My big difficulty with having vague guideposts is that nobody can tell whether he is being a "good guy" or a "bad guy."

Secretary WIRTZ. I don't believe it is that simple any more than I could translate moderation into 3.2 in the 1930's. I don't think you can translate this situation into a decimal point figure. I have a good deal of sympathy with a member of my family who says, "How old do I have to be to be a member of this society, and why should I be denied all kinds of things just because I have not reached the age?". I think there's got to be a point where you have to have a specified limit at a fixed rate. Probably true of the age, although I have more trouble there. But when it comes to translating all of the subtleties—the

sophistication, experience, wisdom, responsibility—of setting wages and of setting prices of this country into a single decimal point, I think we have a very good tradition from the one which we had in deciding how fast you could drive along the highway.

Representative REUSS. As a Milwaukeean, I recall I welcomed the 3.2 beer guidepost in the early 1930's, and I think in the recollection of most people who were around then it was a great thing.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Senator JAVITS?

Senator JAVITS. Mr. Secretary, what is the outlook for labor disputes this year and how will they affect the economic situation?

Secretary WIRTZ. I could answer you in terms of cases which are coming up which are significant of the portions which I think you refer to.

That list includes—and this listing is not exclusive or complete—the oil case which is already eventually settled. It includes the railroad case which gives promise of settlement right down to the last two or three or four issues. That was on a 5-percent basis. It includes the trucking case which is presently in active negotiation. There is another New York newspaper case shaping up and I don't know with what degree of concern it should be viewed. The meatpacking contracts are open this year, so are the nonferrous metals. Pulp and papers are coming up, and there are automobiles and farm implements, and if I didn't include rubber—the rubber industry—in that listing, I should have.

Those are the principal ones, and I can only expect our problems may come from one I haven't included at all. As nearly as we can anticipate the problems lie in those areas. I mean our prospects lie in those areas.

Senator JAVITS. That represents a large share of the U.S. economy, does it not? For example, trucking is absolutely based to the whole economy. Is that not correct?

Secretary WIRTZ. These are vital industries.

Senator JAVITS. What effect is this going to have on all these forecasts?

Secretary WIRTZ. The total in those industries would be about 3 million workers.

Senator JAVITS. Three million workers?

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes.

Senator JAVITS. What effect do you see the labor-management picture having upon the economy? Do you expect any big strikes this year?

Secretary WIRTZ. I can't answer that question.

Senator JAVITS. You just do not know?

Secretary WIRTZ. I just don't know.

Senator JAVITS. Does the administration have any feeling about any preparations it has to make to meet any such problems?

Secretary WIRTZ. Does it have any feelings about any preparations?

Senator JAVITS. Are there any preparations being made?

Secretary WIRTZ. The matter is, as it has been for some time, under serious consideration. You mean whether there should be some recommendation to the Congress, is that it?

Senator JAVITS. I was not really thinking about that.

Secretary WIRTZ. I am glad.

Senator JAVITS. Does the administration really expect to have a troublesome period of labor disputes this year which could be disruptive to the economy?

Secretary WIRTZ. I don't know how to answer that question helpfully. I hope I reflected it already. I have a feeling it is a matter that must be watched very carefully and it is being. It is surely being watched with the hope that every one of those cases will work out privately. But it is—we are not sitting back and assuming that nothing can happen.

Senator JAVITS. In the 1966 Economic Report, the statement was made as follows:

The recent transit strike in New York City illustrates our helplessness in preventing extreme disruption of the lives and livelihoods of a city of 8 million people. I intend to ask Congress to consider measures that without improperly invading State and local authority, will enable us to deal with strikes that may cause irreparable damage to the national interest.

That was on page 17 of the 1966 Economic Report of the President. Now, in 1967, not a word about emergency strike legislation.

Will you tell us, Mr. Secretary, whether the administration thinks it is no longer necessary to consider what it proposed to consider in 1966 and if it does consider it still necessary what does it intend to do about it?

Secretary WIRTZ. I will answer the first question, that interpretation would not be permissible and I'm not in a position to answer the second, because it is a matter which, as I say, the administration has before it in a formal sense and you would appreciate my inability at this point to speak to that.

Senator JAVITS. When do you think we may expect an answer from the administration on this subject? Is there any time fixed?

Secretary WIRTZ. I couldn't without sparring with you by helpful on that and there is not a time fixed.

Senator JAVITS. Do you think we in the Congress would be right or wrong in trying to fix a time?

As you know, Senator Morse and I and many others have moved in this matter and I have no—personally I have no particular desire to press that resolution, which incidentally the Senate has passed three times in other legislation, but I would like to lay before you the proposition that we ought to know.

This is a critically important aspect of the U.S. posture to meet the contingencies of, let us say, a national trucking strike.

May I therefore ask, Mr. Secretary, with the Chair's permission, should the administration choose to make a statement upon this subject, and I hope and pray—I have no desire to do anything but find out what it has in its mind—I ask unanimous consent that should the administration choose to make such a statement that it may be made part of Secretary Wirtz' statement?

Chairman PROXMIRE. Without objection.

Senator JAVITS. Mr. Secretary, I agree with you, there is no use in sparring and I admire you for your frankness. Mr. Chairman, it is understood that I cannot hold up the printing of the record but I assume the administration will let us know and if they do not file, then certainly they do not want to.

Secretary WIRTZ. I will be glad to complete the record with any proposal which is available before the record closes.¹

Senator JAVITS. I will do my best to give you notice.

One of the things we have been considering very seriously in the hearings on cities of the Government Operations Committee is some underlying replacement for the basic welfare idea and one of those concepts which has been underlying the replacement would be for the Government to act as an employer of last resort.

Do you, as a Secretary of Labor, have any views upon that subject—that is, the need to deal with the hard core unemployed and the need to put them into some form of useful community enterprise by making the Federal Government an employer of last resort?

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes, I do have a view; and it would be that, as this situation has worked out in its complete form, it may include something of that kind.

I think we are presently at a point where all of our available resources and all of our available personnel are to be put rather toward the development of the private employment very frequently as a result, as an end result, training programs which might be quite long and which might sometimes go on indefinitely, but not by design. With the economy working the way it is now, with as many potential private employment possibilities as there are, with as much to be done as needs to be done to complete the training of individuals for those, I think our emphasis should at this point be on that, rather than on the public employer of last resort point. But I am sure, Senator Javits, that eventually we will come to a recognition that there are about, as nearly as I can tell, a half of 1 percent of the people in the potential workforce who won't make it and eventually will get there. It is in terms of priorities. And I think these other things ought to come first.

Senator JAVITS. You do not care much for what we call the negative income tax, basic family payment, or what? Would you care to comment on that?

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes, I would.

Senator JAVITS. What is your position on it?

Secretary WIRTZ. I am in the minority as far as that view or the view of that group is concerned. I don't think it advances our present purpose in this country to be talking about a negative income tax. My logic tells me that there is nothing wrong with that proposition, but my practical good sense, or what passes for it, suggests to me that pushing along that line, at this point, probably slows up our progress in some of these other directions; and so I should like to see that item put down lower on the agenda, because I think it gets in the way, as far as the public is concerned, of doing some of these other things that we ought to do first.

Senator JAVITS. Let me recapitulate because my time is up. You are for government being the last resort in training?

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes, sir; and that's an important distinction.

Senator JAVITS. That you are all for?

Secretary WIRTZ. For the time being. Eventually it ought to be private, but for the time being.

¹ At time of publication of the hearings, no further information was available.

Senator JAVITS. Which would include stipends if necessary?

Secretary WIRTZ. Training allowances? Yes, sir.

Senator JAVITS. And, finally, your own individual sentiment is for the Government being the employer of last resort for the hard-core unemployed left beyond the training stage?

Secretary WIRTZ. But that we ought to postpone that and not let it get in the way of some of these more immediate things we like to do. I think the President's suggestion of a Commission to look at this set of problems or possibilities is a good one.

Chairman PROXMIER. Mrs. Griffiths?

Representative GRIFFITHS. Mr. Secretary, you refer, in your statement, to the training slots allocated to the hard-core unemployed. How many are allocated to women, and how many to men?

Secretary WIRTZ. My recollection is that—and I think your question proceeds on the basis that it is about 35 percent women—between 30 and 35 percent women and 60 and 65 percent men.

Representative GRIFFITHS. In fact there are more women unemployed, am I right?

Secretary WIRTZ. I don't believe it is. I will have to check that. (The following information was later supplied:)

1966 unemployment totals-----	2, 976, 000
Males -----	1, 622, 000
Females -----	1, 354, 000

Representative GRIFFITHS. If a young teenage woman draws ADC, does she go off the unemployed list? Does she draw unemployment?

Secretary WIRTZ. I am advised that it would depend not if she is getting payment, but if she is not actually looking for work. If she were actively looking for work she would be counted for unemployment.

Representative GRIFFITHS. If a young man draws welfare and is looking for work, I take it he is counted as unemployed. Would he be if he is not employed?

Secretary WIRTZ. He would not be counted as unemployed and would not be counted in the work force.

Representative GRIFFITHS. Are those women whose husbands are disabled, and who have several children and are drawing Social Security—are those women counted as unemployed?

Secretary WIRTZ. It would be the same answer.

Representative GRIFFITHS. Same answer?

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes.

Representative GRIFFITHS. How much success have you had with the relocation program?

Secretary WIRTZ. Very little. You mean the mobility?

Representative GRIFFITHS. Yes. Have you made any effort to relocate women as domestics?

Secretary WIRTZ. I will check, but unless I supplement the answer to the contrary, the answer is "No."

Representative GRIFFITHS. There are some jobs as domestics that are wonderfully good-paying jobs and many women certainly would enjoy having them. I know a woman who tried for weeks to hire one, at \$75 a week, to cook only, 1 day off, and the employer would furnish a car, furnish the medical care and provide for social security pay-

ments, and the family would arrange a pension program. At the present time we are bringing women in from foreign countries for such jobs. They return to those foreign countries and draw social security payments. So you are hurting the balance of payments.

Secretary WIRTZ. I want to check about the social security.

Representative GRIFFITHS. I am sure this is right. I do not have any question about it at all. To my amazement we have substantial numbers of people even in Yugoslavia who do nothing but check on social security recipients and some of these people in some countries are women who have worked here as domestics. So it seems to me that it would be to our interests if you would move some of these women around.

(See pp. 366ff. for tables relating to above.)

Secretary WIRTZ. There is a very real question as to whether the American people are going to do this type of work.

Representative GRIFFITHS. If they know such jobs are available, I am sure they will respond. I came from a very poor area of this country, Mr. Secretary, and I know that a lot of these people have no idea that such work is available and that it pays these prices.

Do you or do you not have a group within your Department that is seeking equal pay for equal work?

Secretary WIRTZ. We do have.

Representative GRIFFITHS. How large is that group?

Secretary WIRTZ. I would have to supply that for the record. It is handled by the Wage and Hour people and I do not think that there is a large, separate group on it.

(The information requested follows:)

The Equal Pay Act was incorporated by the Congress into the FLSA so as to make possible a check on compliance with the equal pay standard in each investigation conducted under the Act. Originally the proposal considered by the Congress was for a separate equal pay act. As it now stands, a check on compliance with the equal pay standard was made in each one of the more than 57,000 investigations completed in the last fiscal year and in the more than 28,000 completed in the first six months of this fiscal year. It would be fair to say that the equal pay investigatory staff comprises all of the investigators of the Wage and Hour Division.

Representative GRIFFITHS. I have a letter from a woman in Pennsylvania who writes, "I have worked in a large factory near Pittsburgh for 15 years. In 1963 the company and union signed into the labor agreement a labor pool which included job class 1 through 4 which is common laborer. We worked in this pool. Now the union of which I am a member signed a new agreement which classified male and female jobs with the company.

"Now, instead of going into this pool I am laid off when the job is slow. The union said no woman will take the job. The company has gone right along with it. Can title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 help us? There are about 50 of us women laid off and the company is hiring men to sweep and do common labor which we have done in the past." Can you help them, Mr. Wirtz?

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes, ma'am.

Representative GRIFFITHS. Will you do it?

Secretary WIRTZ. If you give me their names.

Representative GRIFFITHS. I have sent the letter to you, but what can you do for them?

Secretary WIRTZ. If the facts stand up as she suggested them to you, the complaint would seem to come clearly within title VII. Now, it is a gray area, but with the truth of those facts there would be a basis for recovery.

Representative GRIFFITHS. It is a phony classification.

In the city of Detroit, in some plants we have receivers and shippers. The shippers are women. They draw less than the men who are the receivers. The women have great responsibility. They can be suspended for an error where a man cannot be suspended at all.

Under any circumstances if you can enforce equal pay for equal work in our judgment, what would the effect be upon the economy?

Secretary WIRTZ. In dollars?

Representative GRIFFITHS. Yes.

Secretary WIRTZ. That will be a hard question to answer, but I think I could get an approximation of it, because we have made quite a study of it and I would like to supply it for the record. I do not have such figures here.

(The information furnished in answer to above follows:)

Since the Equal Pay Act went into effect, investigations have disclosed more than 10,000 employees underpaid under this provision. The amounts of underpayments involved were about 3¼ million dollars.

Representative GRIFFITHS. In quantitative terms how much is discrimination of Negroes costing the American economy?

Secretary WIRTZ. Against Negro workers? That figure has been estimated by the Council—the figure I have in mind is that an estimate was made in the range of \$15 to \$16 billion in terms of the gross national product, that being the price of discrimination. I will check that and correct it for the record and will try to supply copies of the figures as far as women are concerned.

Representative GRIFFITHS. Thank you. I would be very interested in seeing them.

(The information later supplied follows:)

The Council of Economic Advisers, in the 1966 Economic Report estimated that the annual economic loss to the Nation on account of discrimination amounts to \$27 billion in terms of the gross national product.

Chairman PROXMIRE. I would ask Mrs. Griffiths to take over the Chair for a few minutes.

(At this point Mrs. Griffiths assumed the Chair.)

Representative GRIFFITHS (presiding). Senator Miller?

Senator MILLER. I understand we have a vote in the Senate.

Representative GRIFFITHS. Congressman Rumsfeld?

Representative RUMSFELD. Mr. Secretary, in your statement you indicate that on the average only 1.1 million of adult males were jobless looking for work and nearly twice that number in 1963.

Could you compare that with 1960? Do you have the figures for 1960?

Secretary WIRTZ. I can supply it, but I can bet it was about cut in half between 1960 and 1963 and then cut in half again between 1963 and 1966. So that would carry it to—my first figure may be a little high, but it won't be far off.

(See table, p. 275.)

Representative RUMSFELD. I believe you have indicated that it was only 1.3 for professional personnel, but 31.1 percent for Negro teenage girls. This is the rate of unemployment in the United States for 1966?

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes, sir.

Representative RUMSFELD. What was the figure for 1960 versus the other 31.1 percent for Negro teenage girls?

Secretary WIRTZ. I will supply it for the record and it will be lower than this figure. That figure has increased over that period of time.

Representative RUMSFELD. The percentage has increased as well as the number of individuals?

Secretary WIRTZ. No; the percentage has increased. The number of employed Negro teenage girls—employed has increased and the number of unemployed has increased, I think.

Representative RUMSFELD. I would like that figure for, say, 1960–63, and 1966.

Secretary WIRTZ. These are readily available.

(The information requested above and subsequently supplied follows:)

Adult males unemployed

	Thousands
1960	2, 060
1961	2, 518
1962	2, 016
1963	1, 971
1964	1, 718
1965	1, 435
1966	1, 119

Employment status of nonwhite females, 14 to 19

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966
Employed	202, 000	193, 000	191, 000	184, 000	197, 000	200, 000	231, 000
Unemployed	58, 000	70, 000	75, 000	91, 000	87, 000	85, 000	104, 000
Unemployment rate (percent) ..	22.3	26.6	27.2	33.1	29.6	29.8	31

Representative RUMSFELD. I would also like for the comparison with the 21.2 percent for Negro teenage boys.

Secretary WIRTZ. All right, sir.

(The table below was furnished in answer to above request:)

Employment status of nonwhite males, 14 to 19

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966
Employed	340, 000	324, 000	323, 000	314, 000	341, 000	378, 000	406, 000
Unemployed	96, 000	106, 000	84, 000	107, 000	104, 000	111, 000	109, 000
Unemployment rate (percent) ..	22.2	24.8	20.9	25.3	22.9	22.7	21.2

Representative RUMSFELD. And for the 7.3 percent for the unskilled.

Secretary WIRTZ. Right.

(The information requested follows:)

Employment status—Nonfarm (unskilled) laborers

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1954	1965	1966
Employed	3,665,000	3,477,000	3,559,000	3,574,000	3,644,000	3,875,000	3,727,000
Unemployed	522,000	588,000	502,000	492,000	430,000	354,000	288,000
Unemployment rate (percent)	12.5	14.5	12.4	12.1	10.6	8.4	7.3

Secretary WIRTZ. On the first two the pattern will be the same, number of employed has increased, number of unemployed has increased, the unemployment rate has increased and that will be different for the third. That percentage has gone down.

Representative RUMSFELD. I suppose to make the number more meaningful it would be helpful for me to have the total number of individuals in each category in each of those periods, also?

Secretary WIRTZ. We can give you both that in the percentage and in absolute numbers. (See preceding table.)

Representative RUMSFELD. Fine; you also indicated that there has been a large increase in on-the-job training?

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes, sir.

Representative RUMSFELD. Which, personally, I can say I am very pleased with. I feel that this is important and very valuable.

I would be interested to explore with you briefly some facts about what many Members of Congress in both Houses have talked of as the Human Investment Act. I have in mind that at one point you indicated you were not enthusiastic about the tax credit approach and I recollect that at some point subsequent to that you indicated that this might be a possibility. I feel very strongly that it would be a way to bring the private sector into this to a greater extent, and that, in keeping with your earlier remarks about the unemployment level and the problems of inflation, this might be a technique or mechanism whereby we could do this country a great service.

I would like some comment from you and hopefully a favorable comment about this concept and about the administration's possible position with respect to it?

Secretary WIRTZ. It is more operational than it is a point of policy. If there were some way of accomplishing the purpose, which we all seek, by a tax credit. I think there would be unanimity of reaction to it. The difficulty is in trying to work out a program which would subsidize, and I use that term in its sympathetic sense, the training of those who would not otherwise be trained. It would seem a mistake to subsidize training that would be done anyway. You could properly point out that that is true of the investment credit as far as equipment and machinery is concerned.

Representative RUMSFELD. I was about to do that.

Secretary WIRTZ. And that leaves this remaining problem. It doesn't matter what machinery and equipment somebody buys; it does matter that there is a social interest in trying to direct the training where it is needed most, which distinguishes these two situations.

The on-the-job training program, if properly administered does permit the sharing in that decision of the employer and the public. We have continued to proceed on the assumption that as we make the on-the-job training procedures more flexible, reduce the amount of redtape, diminish the number of restrictions upon it, be more flexible about it, and leave more to the employer's discretion, we perhaps move toward the same result that you are talking about in connection with the tax credit.

Now, you realize from what I have just said and from your proper reporting of the previous development I am by no means ready to propose to do away with that approach. I would go through with it—I would go through with the on-the-job training program. We would concentrate the subsidy on the cases which needed it most.

Representative RUMSFELD. Does the category of opportunity which you are referring to as on-the-job training program offer the same advantages as would a tax-credit incentive to the private sector in terms of seeing that the individuals once trained are trained for a job that does in fact exist? This is a problem. You were talking about statistical information with Mr. Curtis concerning what openings really exist. The knowledge, it seems to me, as to what is actually needed and available, exists in the private sector. And I am wondering if this apparent advantage in the tax credit mechanism—in addition to the on-the-job training, might be sufficient to swing you over.

Secretary WIRTZ. We are still proceeding on the assumption that if we perfect the on-the-job training there can be the full measure of the employer direction of the program and the particular training.

We are also hoping to meet this other situation. If you put a tax credit into effect and an employer has the possibility of on-the-job training, of Mr. A whom the employer is relatively sure he can make into a good working asset within 6 months, and Mr. B, who also requires some basic education, and who, therefore, probably will take 2 years to become a comparable asset, he will take A. We are hoping we can make arrangements which will encourage him to consider B if we supply the supporting services of one kind or another. But I didn't mean to take advantage of your question to answer another one.

I do think that the on-the-job training program can properly be administered with sufficient delegation, not in the constitutional sense, of authority to the employer, and can achieve the full purposes of the tax credit.

Representative RUMSFELD. You mention real take-home pay was lower at the end of 1966 than at the end of 1965. I would like to have those figures; and for 1960, also.

Secretary WIRTZ. We can give them—the figures are relatively complete for the production workers in the manufacturing industries and we can give you those. The tables are incomplete when you get outside of that. You want only the end round figures for production workers and manufacturing.

(The information below was subsequently supplied:)

Real spendable average weekly earnings, in 1957-59 dollars, for a worker supporting 3 dependents

	December 1960	December 1965	December 1966
Manufacturing.....	\$76.09	\$89.75	\$88.13
Mining.....	87.89	102.32	101.20
Construction.....	92.03	111.77	112.35
Trade.....	¹ 62.26	64.63	64.17
Finance insurance and real estate.....	(²)	74.59	73.23

¹ Data for eating and drinking places are excluded in 1960, included in 1965 and 1966.

² Not available.

Representative RUMSFELD. May I ask another question? It is a bit remote, but of interest to me.

You have talked of the unemployment in the lower age groups, late teens and early 20's. In the event that it were possible for this country to recruit sufficient manpower for military purposes through a voluntary system and could elevate the compulsory system to fit on top of the voluntary system, to be activated and utilized only in the need of a major increase in military manpower, what effect might this have on the psychology of this age group and their employment rates? Does it seem to you that this question of the draft in this area causes some of the problems as far as placement, training, getting going from the young person's standpoint—the questions from management's standpoint as to their willingness to undertake training and take a chance on somebody who has his military obligation still facing him.

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes, sir, I think it would have an effect. When you find these young Americans as they did last Sunday, you are impressed and as long as your question is put in terms of psychological effect, there are some very important psychological effects on their thinking about the whole thing. I am sure that enters into their thinking.

Representative RUMSFELD. As the Secretary of Labor in command of this Department, have you communicated this to the President's Commission on the Draft with a view toward seeing if this administration might be willing to revise military personnel practices in terms of pay and other aspects of personnel policy so they might be able to recruit a substantially larger, if not all the military manpower required through a voluntary mechanism, rather than through the compulsory mechanism?

Secretary WIRTZ. I did testify before that group on the subject matter of this line of questions in October, I believe.

Representative RUMSFELD. Thank you, Mr. Secretary.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Senator Miller?

Senator MILLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Secretary, at the beginning of your statement, you say:

It seems to me right to assert full employment (in the fullest sense of that term) at wages producing a decent standard of living for everyone as a first priority national purpose.

The Full Employment Act of 1946 states, and I am going to skip some parts of it: "The Congress hereby declares that it is the continuing policy and responsibility of the Federal Government to use all practicable means to promote maximum employment, production, and purchasing power."

I was wondering why you would not have used that language rather than what you used, or if as you see it there is any basic difference between the two policies?

Secretary WIRTZ. Senator MILLER, you refer to that as the "Full Employment Act of 1946."

There is irony in the history which is that there was introduced to the Congress a full employment bill which Congress enacted as the Employment Act—they struck "Full" from the title of the bill and I think the point has relevance only to the psychology which has attended the subsequent development of our thinking in this area.

We have been afraid—too many of us—to say "full employment" and mean it. And so my answer to your question is that I would not be content with the philosophy of the full employment bill.

Senator MILLER. Why would you not seek to have Congress amend that act? It seems to me, as just one member of this committee, that if we are trying to promote maximum employment, we are trying to promote full employment in the best sense of the word.

Secretary WIRTZ. I don't think there is a shortage of legislation on this point. I think the Congress has responded to this problem in the enactment of the Manpower Development and Training Act in 1962 and in its subsequent amendments on four different occasions. Each time we have come up with needed additions developing a program which is still surely not complete. So I think it is a relatively good legislative picture. I think that the largest thing we need to do now is to further develop and integrate the efforts of government and of the private employer in this area.

Senator MILLER. Then would you agree that the Employment Act of 1946 objectives which I have read coupled with the subsequent legislation would indicate that the Congress intended by maximum employment the concept of full employment in the best sense of the word?

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes, I think that is right.

Senator MILLER. In addition to that is this word "purchasing power." Would you not consider that stability of the purchasing power of the dollar is an inherent part of that policy, not only the policy as set forth in the Employment Act of 1946, but the policy that you have stated in your statement?

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes, I would.

Senator MILLER. Then to the extent that you have indicated real wages went down last year, we have fallen short of attaining that purpose and policy, have we not?

Secretary WIRTZ. I think that's right.

Senator MILLER. How many employees—if you have the figures, fine—if you do not, I would like to have you supply them for the record—by year—how many employees are covered by escalation clauses in the United States?

Secretary WIRTZ. We can supply that figure. My offhand estimate would be 3 to 5 million. We will supply the specific figures.

(The information below was later supplied in answer to above:)

About 3 million workers were covered by cost-of-living escalation at the beginning of 1967, compared with 2.5 million at the beginning of 1966. In 1958 and 1959, when escalation was at a peak, the total was about 4¼ million.

Senator MILLER. It is going up each year as I understand it, is it not?

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes, it has gone up.

Senator MILLER. I understand that there is a demand for escalation clauses and there is a forecast for a number of potential renewals.

Secretary WIRTZ. That is correct.

Senator MILLER. If a guidepost is developed, should it not have a fluctuating factor, based upon the stability of the dollar, so that when there is an inflationary factor, that will be taken into account, so that there will be a real wage increase, rather than one that has been diluted by inflation?

Secretary WIRTZ. It presents a problem of terminology. If by guideposts we are meant to refer in what I understand to be the original, now almost in the classical sense, the phrase would apply only to the productivity factor in this equation and if it were taken in that sense, the answer to your question is that it would not be so effect. But surely the guideposts, that phrase has come to mean in the popular transfer, popular understanding, a net figure to be applied to wages or to prices, a net concept, and my answer would be that if that is what it means, it should reflect what has happened.

Senator MILLER. Do you think that is what it should reflect?

Secretary WIRTZ. You see my difficulty is that I am opposed to the attempt at this point to encompass all of these things in a single figure, so my approach would be to rather emphasize all of the subtle factors, and I could answer your question in these terms, too, and I would emphasize what has happened to the cost of living and real wages as one of the factors to be taken into account.

Senator MILLER. May I say that would be completely consistent with your answer to my question regarding your statement of policy at the beginning of your statement.

You have stated that employment increased in 1966 by 1.9 million people?

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes, sir.

Senator MILLER. If you do not have the figures, I would appreciate your supplying them for the record. I would like to know how many of the 1.9 million are represented by increased civilian Federal employees; how many are represented by additions to the Armed Forces and how many are represented by increases in defense plant workers?

Secretary WIRTZ. I don't have it on a year-by-year basis. I noticed your attention to this yesterday, Mr. Miller, and I did try to get the best figures we have and we do come out with a different set of figures from those. You were talking over a 5-year period. I can give you the answer to the question in terms of yesterday's question, but not in terms of today's.

Senator MILLER. I am not particularly bound by the years. I think it would be helpful, however, in the context of the statement, to have the additions in these particular three fields.

Secretary WIRTZ. I can give them to you off the cuff.

In terms of 5 years our figure shows 274,000 increase in Federal employment and 500,000 increase in terms of the production, the defense industries.

Those are somewhat different from the figures you used yesterday but I will complete the record if I may with those figures on a year-by-year basis over the last 5 years.

Senator MILLER. Yes, and further, if you would, define the term "defense workers."

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes, surely. I wonder if it would be helpful to include, because it has the same relevance in the economic trends, the employment of State and local governments because there has been a much larger development in that area than there has been in the Federal Government.

Senator MILLER. I would like to see a balanced picture. I think that would be helpful and meaningful, too. I am particularly interested in the impact of Federal employment, armed services and the defense plants' increase of workers.

Secretary WIRTZ. We will supply that.

(The table which follows was supplied in answer to the previous dialog:)

Employment

[In thousands]

	1966	1965	1964	1963	1962	1961	1960
Armed Forces.....	3,390.0	2,841.0	2,726.0	1,942.0	2,764.0	2,813.0	2,530.0
Defense industries (total).....	2,127.1	1,849.3	1,670.4	1,756.9	1,794.6	1,702.2	1,617.5
Ordnance and accessories.....	268.1	233.7	225.1	266.2	271.6	252.9	235.9
Aircraft and parts.....	818.7	675.0	603.2	638.7	654.1	629.4	607.1
Ship and boat building.....	171.3	164.7	154.1	137.2	141.1	141.2	141.7
Electronic components.....	391.6	339.4	279.0	260.3	269.2	255.6	229.9
Communications equipment.....	477.4	436.5	409.0	424.5	458.6	423.1	402.9
Federal Government.....	2,769.0	2,543.0	2,483.0	2,482.0	2,492.0	2,510.0	2,506.0
State and local government.....	8,675.0	8,095.0	7,541.0	7,150.0	6,781.0	6,489.0	6,270.0

Senator MILLER. Mr. Secretary, there was quite a bit of conversation about saddling you with a child known as the Job Corps. I presume you have made some studies about the potential handling of the Job Corps if it were to be absorbed by the Labor Department. You have made some studies on that point, have you not?

Secretary WIRTZ. No, sir, I have not. It will be an unplanned parenthood, if that happens.

Senator MILLER. I wonder if you could have somebody on your staff give us a memorandum on this subject, analyzing the pluses and minuses?

Secretary WIRTZ. I should be a little hesitant, if you don't mind. That program is administered by another agency of the Government and whatever critique I might have in the form of a statement as to what would be involved—if it would be a part of the Department of Labor—would present possibilities of embarrassment. I should be glad to give you a statistical and financial reporting on it because those are matters within the purview of my responsibility as a member of the Council.

Senator MILLER. I certainly do not want to cause you any embarrassment, Mr. Secretary, and you know that.

Secretary WIRTZ. I do.

Senator MILLER. We may be faced with a problem in proposed legislation which will be submitted to your office for comment. This might anticipate something, but if you could do something which would give use some feasibility analysis, quite apart from your own evaluation, which might not be embarrassing, I think it would be helpful.

(No additional material had been received for inclusion in the record at time this volume went to press.)

Senator MILLER. Well, there has always arisen some concern over whether or not the minimum wage law applied properly to State employees. Have you made an analysis of that legal question?

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes; but I suppose I am not only entitled, but obligated, to repeat at this point and regret to say to you behind the defense that this is presently before the courts and the first case was instituted on January 17. This is litigation to which I am party defendant and I would regret that I cannot answer any specific questions on this.

Senator MILLER. Here again I would not want to embarrass you.

Perhaps this point was raised and an analysis made at the time of the minimum wage increase bill?

Secretary WIRTZ. That proposal was not in the administration bill. It came up, one part of it, in the House Ways and Means Committee and the other part came out of a conference and lacked the legislative history which you have so properly assumed it might have. I have checked that history and it does not include the kind of consideration to which you refer because it all came up in—as a matter of fact, it came up in the House committee and another part of it was added on the floor of the House. It went out in the Senate. It came back in conference. So it does not have the legislative history which includes an analysis.

Senator MILLER. Was there a recommendation by your Department?

Secretary WIRTZ. There was not.

Senator MILLER. To the extent you could give us a memorandum on this matter, would you, without embarrassing your position in connection with the litigation, I would appreciate it.

Secretary WIRTZ. I can easily describe the scope of the coverage. As a matter of fact, it is about 1.7 million employees. I think I should add that my impression, and I don't mean to suggest I haven't been interested in it, my impression is that it presents a quite, almost novel issue in the sense that there will be no exact precedent. So the various courts approaches to it will be almost a case of first impression. I will be as helpful as I can in giving you whatever background I can on it.

Senator MILLER. One further point. Is there anything, say in recent times, in the last 15 or 20 years, that has been gone into by the Labor Department on this point, and perhaps you could provide us something on that.

Secretary WIRTZ. I will check.

(The information requested follows:)

FEDERAL REGULATION AFFECTING STATE ACTIVITIES AND INSTRUMENTALITIES

The Department of Labor studied the legal issue of extending the Fair Labor Standards Act to employees of State schools when amendments for this purpose were under consideration in 1966. It was our conclusion that the Federal power

to regulate interstate commerce supported the proposed amendment. We, therefore, saw no legal objections to the proposal. However, our opinion was not asked on this point and we made no specific recommendation to the Congress regarding this coverage. Cases upholding the applicating of Federal regulation to State activities under other laws include, *United States v. California*, 297 U.S. 175; *California v. Taylor*, 353 U.S. 533, *City of Tacoma v. Taxpayers*, 357 U.S. 320; *Parden v. Terminal Ry. of Alabama*, 377 U.S. 184 and *Oklahoma v. Atkinson Co.*, 313 U.S. 508.

Senator MILLER. Thank you, Mr. Secretary.

Chairman PROXMIER. Senator Symington?

Senator SYMINGTON. Mr. Secretary, it is good to see you. I am sorry to be late, but we had a Space Committee hearing on the tragic accident.

In your statement you talk about Government procedures and the economy as a whole. In your second point you say, the adoption, by statute of new procedures for reviewing wage and price developments in the economy warrants consideration, but is not required by present circumstance.

What is the definition of "new procedures" to which you refer?

Secretary WIRTZ. That is perhaps too precise a reference to rather extended testimony which I submitted before the House Government Operations Committee on September 12 and I should be glad to supply that.

(The testimony referred to was subsequently supplied for inclusion in the record of these hearings and follows:)

TESTIMONY OF SECRETARY OF LABOR W. WILLARD WIRTZ BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE REORGANIZATION OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS, REGARDING H.R. 11916, SEPTEMBER 12, 1966

I testify in support of the proposal in H.R. 11916 for joint executive and legislative consideration of "price-wage guideposts which would, if observed, achieve noninflationary price and wage behavior." (Sec. 2(a) of H. R. 11916).

I would recommend further consideration, however, of the provisions in the bill which appear to contemplate the establishment of "guideposts" as operative rules (Sec. 2(b): "The price-wage guideposts . . . shall take effect upon transmittal . . ."), and the provision (in Sec. 3) establishing procedures for consideration by the Joint Economic Committee of particular cases.

The debate and controversy there has been about the "guideposts" set out in the last five Annual Reports of the Council of Economic Advisers has tended increasingly to conceal their unquestionable value.

In its 1962 Report, the Council enunciated this principle: that *for the economy as a whole* price levels should remain constant and wages should increase only as productivity does.

This principle is essentially right, and its enunciation was extremely important.

There isn't much general understanding of the "laws" of economics. As the society becomes more complex, and with increasing recognition of the role of public policy-making in the operation of these laws, this lack of understanding becomes increasingly significant. Identification of this relationship between productivity and prices and wages permits a more meaningful and discriminating expression of what is otherwise expressed only as the "public interest." It is at least a little like the value of the original identification of the implications of an apple's dropping from a tree.

An infinitely larger number of people in this country understand today that if either prices or wages or both move up faster than productivity warrants there is trouble ahead—or at least the possibility of it.

This has become a significant and meaningful part of the good sense which goes into private price and wage decisions in this country—even though it may not be articulated, or sometimes even recognized, in particular cases. A new factor has taken its proper place beside the previous recognized factors (taking

wage decisions as an example) of "inequities," "ability to pay," costs of living," and so forth.

I support strongly the general provisions of H.R. 11916 because it will permit the fuller and more effective development of this principle of sound reason and good sense.

First, it will offer larger assurance that the right answers will be developed to some still unresolved problems about the productivity guidepost principle.

Second, it will work into this policy-formulation process an element of broader *participation*, which will increase the acceptability of the answers which are worked out. A good deal of the objection to the Council's formulation is that it seemed to constitute stabilization without representation.

Third, this proposed procedure may be expected to focus additional public attention on this matter and to increase public understanding—both of what guideposts are and of what they are not.

There *are* hard problems regarding the productivity guideposts which remain to be resolved. I mention some of them briefly here, but only for the relevance their identification has to the subject of the effectiveness of the type of governmental procedure proposed in H.R. 11916.

If the wage-price guideposts are to be more than statements of an ideal—and therefore unreal—set of facts, they have to include provisions for adjustment when the facts get out of kilter.

There is the problem right now of what to do when prices for food and services (and for goods in general) go up by more than the overall increase in productivity. For the guideposts assume that *real* wages will increase as productivity does—and this would require significantly more than 3.2% wage increases today.

What account is to be taken of the fact that wages have been traditionally—but irrationally—lower in agriculture and food processing and in a good many service trades than in most durable manufacturing industries? If these wages are to go up, by more than the productivity "par" for the economy as a whole, is this to mean lower increases for manufacturing workers—whose cost of living increases as a result of higher prices for food and services?

Is there a place in guidepost theory for the inevitable effect on wages and prices of a shortening of the supply of skilled workers in certain industries as unemployment rates drop—but still stay at about 4%? Does this theory contain some unarticulated or even unrealized assumption that a certain *unemployment* figure constitutes "full employment"—because anything below that will create upward price and wage pressures? If so, it is wrong.

There is also the practical question, obvious in the light of present circumstance, as to whether it is the more advisable public policy to press the guideposts in terms of a specific decimal point conclusion or in more general terms. They appear to have more utility right now as the basis for a defense in depth rather than as a Maginot line.

There are *hard* questions—that warrant the fullest possible consideration in a variety of forums.

There has been legitimate objection that the CEA's development of the productivity guideposts has included too little participation by those whose experience includes fuller participation in the functions of price and wage determinations. The point is made both in terms of the quality of the policy formulation and in terms of the pragmatics of general acceptance of the conclusions which are reached.

It could also be expected that the type of proceeding contemplated in Section 2 of H.R. 11916 would result in a much fuller public understanding than there is today of how the productivity guideposts actually operate in practice—and particularly of what is involved when they don't operate.

The general public impression today is that "the guideposts were broken" in a series of several specific cases, principally cases involving wage settlements. They were broken in fact (if that form of statement is permissible regarding the working of an over-all principle rather than a specific rule) when food and service prices went up so that the *real* earnings of workers were not advancing in line with increased productivity. The rest was inevitable. The importance of an understanding of this is that it affects materially the direction of the force of public opinion in connection with repairing the "breach."

All of these considerations point to the advisability of the kind of procedure proposed in Section 2 of H.R. 11916 for the participation by representatives of the Congress in the kind of policy development represented by the productivity guideposts.

More difficult questions arise in connection with *applying* the guidepost principles to particular cases.

During the past five years the *wage* guideposts have been applied consciously and meaningfully in collective bargaining and by employers unilaterally in a substantial number of specific wage cases. The 1965 maritime settlement is illustrative. There have been others. Particularly in the last year or so, the guideposts have affected materially the policies of the Federal Government in the making of wage adjustments for its own employees. It is more than *just* a matter of averaging, that the over-all wage movement in hard goods manufacturing industries over most of the period between 1962 and 1965 came out very close—just a little below—the 3.2% productivity increase figure.

There is less basis for evaluating the extent to which the guideposts have had a comparable effect on particular *price* setting practices during the past few years. To the extent—largely overlooked in public discussion—that the guideposts require price *decreases* where productivity goes up more than is true in the economy generally, that they have been paid exceedingly little respect—virtually none.

The hard problems are about the propriety and the effectiveness of the use of the guideposts principle *as a standard for the Government's influencing, in one way or another, the price or wage decisions in particular cases*; and these are the hardest problems that would arise under H.R. 11916 in its present form.

So far as the experience to date is concerned, it shows a variety of results virtually defying generalization. On the wage side, the experience ranges from the 1965 steel case (where the guideposts were an extremely important and constructive factor) to the 1966 airlines case (where they weren't). So far as prices go, the Administration has been effective in preventing and even pushing back certain increases, which couldn't be justified on guidepost principles; in other areas (particularly where small unit industries are involved) there have been no effective methods available to achieve these results; and here again it has proved impracticable to attempt to get *any price reductions*—even where this is what the guideposts indicated.

Consideration of the statutory formalizations of a process of "review" of particular situations—as contemplated in H.R. 11916—warrants the clearest thinking through of the implications of the Government's assuming responsibility in matters of this kind without establishing a basis for the exercise of authority.

The idea of "bringing to bear an informed public opinion . . ." with respect to "individual price and wage behavior" is appealing. But it may exaggerate both the public's desire to be advised and its willingness (or ability) to do anything if it is. The searing experience of years of representation of the public interest, especially in labor disputes, is that the public is an inconstant client who wants most of all not to be bothered any more than is absolutely necessary.

There is another factor here: There is a strong strain in the practice of government of caution about expressing *official* views in the absence of authority to back them up. And for good reason—part of it that the effectiveness of government is weakened whenever its expressed views are disregarded.

The judiciary has stayed almost completely away from this kind of practice, for a combination of constitutional and practical reasons. Advisory opinions are not issued, declaratory judgments resorted to sparingly, and obiter dicta counted as probably causing as much trouble as they cure. There is proper recognition that "the law" should speak authoritatively or not at all—for fear of weakening its authority.

The tradition of executive pronouncement designed to guide voluntary private action along the lines of the public interest is, on the other hand, more clearly established. Indeed the ability to lead is as important an element in the executive function as is the power to command. In scores of situations, many of them now so common-place as to go unnoticed, executive persuasion is relied upon as a desirable alternative to legislation. Yet here, too, sharp issues sometimes arise regarding the extent to which persuasion is appropriate without the authority to back it up if it gets into trouble.

So far as legislative action is concerned, there is a less clearcut tradition of either abstaining entirely from or entering freely into situations in which no authoritative action is contemplated. The recognized difficulties are reflected in the general rule of restricting legislative inquiry to situations in which such action is envisaged, at least as a possibility. But there have clearly been applications of this principle which would provide at least tangential precedent for the procedures suggested in H.R. 11916.

The question of legislative function is, however, more one of pragmatic than of either philosophical or constitutional considerations, and a certain presumptuousness attends any testimony I might offer here on this point.

I commend to the Subcommittee for its consideration the August 18, 1966 report to the President by his Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy, and attach it to this statement as Appendix I.

This Advisory Committee report reflects the *unanimous* conclusions of this tri-partite group regarding the validity of the wage-price guideposts as they were originally enunciated. It makes clear the important implications of the distinction between (i) guidepost statements of economic policy, and (ii) rules to be applied in every case. It suggests the constructive possibilities of broader participation in the further development of these policies. It also proposes what I would consider a more effective procedure for review of particular situations than the legislative review proposed in H.R. 11916. Indeed, it would perhaps be recognized generally that if the procedure outlined in the Advisory Committee report became operative, the original purpose of H.R. 11916—so far as the review of particular cases is concerned—would be substantially served.

In any event, the action of the President's Advisory Committee confirms the essential wisdom of the underlying proposal in H.R. 11916.

In short, I conclude that there is very real promise in the proposal in H.R. 11916 for the formulation of general guidepost policy as a basis for voluntary private decision-making and as a means for the public to make up its mind when it wants to; but that the provision for price-wage guideposts that "shall take effect" misconstrues their real nature; and that the proposal for formal determinations in specific situations warrants reconsideration.

I suggest, finally, that the future will testify to the foresight of the sponsor of H.R. 11916 in his recognition that by declaring our independence of the doctrines of economic determinism, and by asserting the human authority and ability to control economic as well as physical forces, we have assumed a responsibility to direct certain key economic actions on a much more rational basis than before. Recognition of the importance of sound public fiscal, monetary, and budgetary policy requires fuller realization than there is yet about the related necessity of "guiding" such decisions as those regarding wages and prices to some still undefined extent.

H.R. 11916 is a pioneering proposal for making the free economy work.

Secretary WIRTZ. It had to do with the bills which were then before the Congress involving the question of whether there should be established by legislative action special review procedures. The proposal at that time contemplated review procedures which would go into the fact of particular cases and also into the general economic implications of what was going on. My testimony was to the effect that I would oppose—would recommend against legislation which at this stage would go into particular cases. But would support or would recommend favorably with respect to a procedure which would involve any economic review of the situation. This is a reference to that.

Senator SYMINGTON. I understand, and will read that testimony with interest.

In your statement you also say that you believe we should do our best, voluntarily, both business and labor, to conform to the concept of the guidepost principle. Is that a correct interpretation?

Secretary WIRTZ. It would be.

Senator SYMINGTON. Your last point. In effect, you do not want to develop specific guideposts as to prices and wages, for the future; is that correct?

Secretary WIRTZ. That is right.

Senator SYMINGTON. That differs from what has been done in the past; does it not?

Secretary WIRTZ. As a practical matter, yes; I think it is a fair interpretation to be placed on the 1966 experience—was that the country

and the administration did translate those concepts into a quite specific figure and the Council's report in the President's Economic Message did take a different approach.

Senator SYMINGTON. Now, let me ask you this question. If you increase labor rates you increase the gross national product; is that right?

Secretary WIRTZ. That would be right. I think that is out of my Department.

Senator SYMINGTON. I think it would be difficult to get you out of any department because of your experience. Now, some people justify the cost of the Vietnamese war on its percentage of the gross national product?

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes.

We got two gross national product measurements. We sometimes talk about it in price terms and sometimes in real terms. If we talk about it in price terms it would include all the factors to which you refer.

Senator SYMINGTON. The reason I ask is that, to me, the increasing cost of the Vietnamese war is a matter of grave concern. It is hard to get these costs together. The staff of the Senate Appropriations Military Committee estimates some \$2.5 billion a month. But it is defended constantly on the grounds that it is the same percentage, or a less percentage, of the gross national product. If that is going to be the gage, I have a suggestion to make, being distressed to note the increasing fall in the private sector, of our excess of exports over imports. When you do have increases in the GNP that do not necessarily reflect increased productivity, you are liable to find yourself in a competitive jam as far as competing against other countries, are you not?

Secretary WIRTZ. Senator, you would understand by my previous answer, I wouldn't for a moment justify one single penny of expenditure for war or for anything else on the basis of gross national product permitting it by its gross. I think it is a matter of putting any figure of this kind in its context, but I don't think of that as a defense.

Senator SYMINGTON. I am delighted to hear you say that. When this question came up in another committee about 2 weeks ago, I said: "How long do you think this economy can stand the multi-billion-dollar cost of this war, which is steadily increasing?" The answer was, "Forever." It seems to me forever is a long time. This statement worried me a great deal. The next thing, you know, you will find people going back to the old Communist cliché, that capitalists promote war in order to have a more successful economy.

Secretary WIRTZ. I do think the analysis carries over to any expenditure which every simple purpose would like to see cut down as soon as it can be.

Senator SYMINGTON. I am glad to hear that.

This balance-of-payments problem. I have great respect for Dr. Heller, have just read his thoughtful new book in which the word "gold" in its relationship to currency reserves, does not appear. It seems to me, gold is currently one of the basic aspects of any fiscal or monetary consideration in government. I am not saying it is vital, do not know enough about it.

What worries me a great deal is that we keep saying it is a serious matter, and that we are going to correct it "next year." But we never do. In this balance-of-payments situation, we are getting to a point where we have to make some major decisions incident to our position with other countries, else we are going to have some real problems. Would you agree?

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes.

Senator SYMINGTON. The way I have it figured out is that we now have about 10 percent of free gold to pay off, if called our current obligations in foreign countries. I do not want to get you into a discussion of this very complicated subject.

Secretary WIRTZ. I do not, sir.

Senator SYMINGTON. But it worries me, continuing to use the percentage of the gross national product as a defense of the increasing cost of this war. I think the figure of the budget for defense this year is about \$74 billion, with a \$12 billion supplemental, total about \$86 billion. We could use a lot of that money in many other programs, domestic programs you are vitally interested in. So I would hope that if the administration continues to defend the growing cost of this Vietnamese war on the grounds it is a lessening percentage of the gross national product, therefore a justified expense, all that would be looked at from a financial standpoint. I do not see, necessarily, any direct connection between a country's economic capacity, and its fiscal and monetary international position. Is that a fair observation?

Secretary WIRTZ. As far as I know. Let me say again, I don't believe anybody has every justified military expenditures on the basis that you do not need to worry about it as long as it stays within a certain percentage of the gross national product.

Senator SYMINGTON. For that answer I am grateful.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Congressman Widnall?

Representative WIDNALL. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Secretary. In your statement you say among teenage girls the labor force increase was about 230,000 more than the trend expectation of 190,000. To what extent did Government employment contribute to that?

Secretary WIRTZ. I don't know. We are trying to find out whatever we can. It would be a very small figure. There are not many teenage girls involved as far as Government employment is concerned. We will see what we can do about it.

Representative WIDNALL. Are there not a great number of people employed on an hourly basis in connection with some of the poverty programs?

Secretary WIRTZ. Let's see. If we called Neighborhood Youth Corps trainees Government employees, they would be a substantial group there. That would be the only area that I can think of with any substantial number. I just would have to check on that.

Representative WIDNALL. I would like to see the total figure of those employed.

Secretary WIRTZ. You would like to have whatever identification we can arrive at of the number of teenage girls and the increase in the number of teenage girls whose employment is with the Federal Government?

Representative WIDNALL. That is correct.

(In answer to the above request the Department supplied the following:)

Most of the young people participating in the Neighborhood Youth Corps' In-School, Out-of-School, and Summer programs are teenagers. (Table, page 260.) Approximately 1,384,000 young people have participated in the NYC programs since their inception, including the 355,000 projected in training during the 1968 fiscal year.

The Civil Service Commission and other Federal Departments and Agencies hire teenagers in conjunction with the President's Youth Opportunity Campaign. We have been informed by the Commission that data on this program and on the age and sex of teenagers hired by the Federal Government for the years 1965 and 1966 are not available.

Representative WIDNALL. As I understand you today, according to the major problems, one of the major problems of unemployment has to do with teenagers?

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes, sir.

Representative WIDNALL. I have several questions in mind with respect to that.

To what extent does the draft prevent employment of the teenager?

Secretary WIRTZ. It doesn't prevent it. It might reduce it some. I am not sure of the direction of your question. It is an interesting thing that we have still the largest unemployment in the age groups which are subject to the military draft.

Representative WIDNALL. There are many employers who do not want to employ a teenager with the hatchet hanging over his head, so to speak.

Secretary WIRTZ. We have paid considerable attention to that and are concerned about it and feel it is very unfortunate and have wondered whether we can undertake some educational program to try to diminish that effect but recognize it as exceedingly difficult.

Representative WIDNALL. From my own observation that would seem to be a great limiting factor and once we can firm up what a teenager is supposed to do with respect to his military and nonmilitary commitment to the Government I think we could solve a great deal of the problems within the teenage group, particularly with the male.

Secretary WIRTZ. It would help some and I did discuss that with that Commission. It is a problem. I think it is not a large factor, but it does contribute.

Representative WIDNALL. Also in this respect, one of the real handicaps in employment of the teenager is the restrictive labor laws. There are many that are thoroughly employable, thoroughly physically capable, but because of age limits that have been written into the law it is not possible to employ them when there are employment opportunities that go begging because no male adult will take the job. Do you think it would be wise to have a good look at some of these to see whether or not we could loosen up some of these labor laws?

Secretary WIRTZ. The first relates to your previous question.

The unemployment is higher among the girls than it is among the boys which is one thing that makes us think it is not of great magnitude.

The second one is—and February 1 the minimum wage law became effective applicable for the first time to school bus drivers and we

found that a very large number, some 19 States employ 16- and 17-year-old boys as school bus drivers and we have that specific matter under particular study at the moment.

I am impressed, too, Mr. Widnall, that compulsory education in this country extends only to 16 and in some States below that, but we prohibit a considerable number of kinds of employment below 18 and so there is a kind of limbo period in there and I would agree. We are just starting an analysis of the relationship of those two.

Just one illustration. I suppose a good many years ago it was good sense not to let a child run an elevator because it was a hard operation. The same thing does not apply in elevator operation today. I agree with your point.

Representative WIDNALL. Another factor, too, you partly touched on, when you spoke about the minimum wage increase. It seems to me this has also been a limiting factor where people ought to pay the limiting wage that was going into effect, they will do their utmost to employ an adult rather than a teenager because they will feel they will accept more responsibility in handling the job. I have found that true locally in the metropolitan area, right as of today. Do you not think that there should be consideration of the minimum wage as it applies to teenagers?

Secretary WIRTZ. No, sir, I do not. I appreciate the problem. We have a congressional direction study every year under Section 4(d) of the Fair Labor Standards Act. This matter of whether the changes in the minimum wage law has affected employment with respect to the various industries, with respect to the various age groups—and we have reported each year to the Congress those results. They have never shown any evidence of the development to which you refer but I should add this. Every time there has been a change it has been on an upswing in the economy so there probably would have been an increase in employment anyway. So I don't know how to evaluate those two factors, but we find no evidence of its increasing youth unemployment.

Representative WIDNALL. There is one other phase of that that I would like to know more about.

It had to do with apprentice training programs of the unions. Does the teenager have the same opportunity to get into the apprentice training program as an adult does?

Secretary WIRTZ. I rather suspect that whatever problem there is there is less on the apprenticeship side than it is on the employer's side. We find an increasing practice in some industries to stay away from the young person, frankly, because of the education—the education isn't what it ought to be and we are talking very frequently about a nonwhite situation.

I will make a check, but I don't believe we have any evidence or basis to believe that the apprenticeship programs have shown an age bias. A good many of those programs have been on the father-son basis in the past which would neutralize that fact. I only testified to the best of my present knowledge. I don't believe the age factor to which you referred was a material factor in the administration of the apprenticeship program but I will ask our Bureau of Apprenticeship people about it.

Representative WIDNALL. Will you submit it for the record if you find it?

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes, sir.

(The information referred to follows.)

Teenagers have the same opportunity to enter apprenticeship programs as adults, provided they meet the qualifications. In general, 18 years of age is the minimum—in part because high school graduation is usually required and because hazardous working conditions are relatively common.

Evidence of the acceptance of teenagers in apprenticeship is shown by the average (median) age of apprentices already in training—22.9 years. Therefore, many of these apprentices would have started their training during their teens. In addition, a recent check on the ages of 2,495 beginning apprentices in the Washington, D.C. area showed 935 entrants under 20 years of age.

It is quite possible, however, that some employers might prefer older boys as apprentices, particularly in the light of the fact that younger ones may be subject to the draft at some time during their training.

Representative WIDNALL. The Council of Economic Advisers foresees a 4 percent growth of real output this year. Louis Paradiso of the Department of Commerce estimates the growth would have to increase 4½ percent to absorb all the new entrants into the labor force. If this is correct what will be the anticipated unemployment rate by the end of this year?

Secretary WIRTZ. There were different statements as to what is going to happen as far as productivity is concerned. We have all done our homework on that. I think all we can say to you from our various studies—Mr. Ross and his people in the Bureau of Labor Statistics have made the same approach. We all come out in a range of 4, 4½ percent for 1967 and I don't think any of us can be sure of the refined figures much more than that. Our own figure comes out in between those two as to the percentage that would be involved.

I think the important thing, at least to me, is that whatever we decide about 1967 that figure is going to have to be higher after 1967 and I would be very much concerned about the country settling back into thinking that 4 percent or 4-plus percent increase in the gross national product is going to carry us on through. There is doubt in all of our minds about the precise answer to your question for 1967, but we are all agreed that it is going to have to be higher than the identifiable factors we can see for this year in order to keep up with the expandable work force. That I can say to you with considerable certainty.

Representative WIDNALL. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Thank you, Mr. Widnall; and since you leave off exactly where I want to begin, I would like to follow up along the same lines.

I understood when we were discussing this earlier, Mr. Secretary, you said most of those not now employed would not—or perhaps should not—be employed, that they ought to be either in school or in training rather than at work, and at least they would not be employed without further training. That was the impression I got. Was that correct or not?

Secretary WIRTZ. That would have been my thought with respect to those under 20 years of age.

Chairman PROXMIRE. We now have 2.7 million out of work. Some of them are teenagers and I am talking about the overall picture. I want to press on you the notion that perhaps we should try to get

unemployment down, and that we can do it without a risk of substantial inflation this year.

Secretary WIRTZ. You would not need to press that, Mr. Chairman. I agree completely with you on it and I want to make quite clear there are a great many unemployed today who ought to be and can be employed and that figure should go down below 4 percent to someplace between $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3.

Chairman PROXMIRE. That answer seems to me has great implications for our fiscal and monetary policy.

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes, sir.

Chairman PROXMIRE. It would mean if you followed that through that we should have a tax policy of probably no tax increase this year, a policy of more expansionary fiscal policy generally and lower interest rates.

Secretary WIRTZ. No; it is a much more complicated thing than that. I am afraid I overstated it.

First, I cannot be talking in terms of a single year.

Second, I am talking in terms principally of what I think can be done by training and educating, and qualifying the people who are not today trained, educated, and qualified.

Chairman PROXMIRE. You know far better than I know, Mr. Secretary, that most of the training is in private industry. You also know that when private industry trains they have a demand for manpower; when they can sell what they produce and they will go out and make an effort, they will train teenagers, train minority groups, train women, and they will do everything to get people into the work force. They will do everything they can to get people who are out of work at work; is that not correct? Doesn't demand pressure step this up more than anything else?

Secretary WIRTZ. That is true down to a point, and I think we are about at that point. I don't think that we will go any further into the hard core area, absent the pressures that we had in 1940 to 1946, which is the only time they did so.

I think that the next million will not be taken by private employers except as we help out in the training of it.

Chairman PROXMIRE. What is the difference between our situation now and our situation in 1952 and 1953 after the Korean war, especially 1953, after we had eliminated price controls? At that time—I am not talking about teenagers, experienced wage and salaried workers—the unemployment rate was 3.3 and 3.2 and now it is 3.5. For blue collar workers generally, it was then 3.6 and 3.4 and now it is 4.2. It would seem to me that there has not been that much of a change in the last 15 years in the nature of our economy, absent teenage problems which I am trying to separate out.

Secretary WIRTZ. I believe there has been and I appreciate your analogy. The point that you leave out is that the machines have had an extra 15 years of education, and that now the machines are so sophisticated that they can do more cheaply the work which was turned over to individuals at a period of comparable pressure heretofore.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Is there not—behind all this—an assumption that because prices did rise sharply in the first part, first 7 or 8 months of 1966, that the scarcity of labor had a lot to do with it? And when we analyze the nature of that price increase we find it was in food, No. 1, and in services. When you look at services increase, one-third of the rise in these prices was the very sharp increase in interest rates which went up 12 percent. When you look at that and consider the experience we had in 1952 and 1953, it does raise a question that we could probably push unemployment down below $3\frac{1}{2}$ percent without necessarily having a serious inflationary problem.

Secretary WIRTZ. That is my view completely and that factor was exaggerated quite seriously last year.

Chairman PROXMIRE. The CEA tells us that we are going to be at 4 percent at the end of the year, not $3\frac{1}{2}$ or 3.4 or 3.3 and there would be no progress. That is the Council's position. I take it you do not agree with that.

Secretary WIRTZ. I do not know where we will be and I think I have more confidence in what can be done on the affirmative manpower side than the Council does. They have the experience lessons to support their pessimism. I think we can do a good deal more on that side. I don't know what unemployment will be at the end of this year.

But on the analysis that you made concerning the wage rate factor, I couldn't agree more.

Chairman PROXMIRE. I appreciate that a great deal.

Secretary WIRTZ. May I add in fairness, we would both recognize there was a wage factor that had to do with the very low wage industries—services, food, and some of those—in which for independent reasons, because they were low wage industries there had been a slackening, a lowness of wage which had to be corrected. That factor I think was quite real and did bear on the service and the food industries. But I think the Nation, understanding that, would agree 100 percent that we had better push those wages up.

Chairman PROXMIRE. What evidence is there to indicate or measure the success of our manpower programs such as manpower development and training, the Job Corps, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, and work experience? Can we apply PPBS analysis to this?

Secretary WIRTZ. Several ways, and none of them satisfactory. It won't surprise you that I have sometimes wondered whether the Keynesians haven't taken too much credit for the gains we have made in the unemployment situation. I rather think that the manpower programs, training programs of the Government as well as private training programs have contributed quite significantly to the reduction in unemployment in this country.

The next set of evidence has to do with the numbers who have actually gone through these programs and with their subsequent employment record. Those figures are quite encouraging, but again it is hard to settle because of the argument that things were going quite well and they would have been employed anyway. I don't know how you prove that.

I am more interested, and I know you are, too, in the problem remaining to be done rather than what we have already accomplished and here the problem is painfully clear. We know a great deal more than we did before about the people who needed this help; who they are, where they are, and what the situation is. I could be quite specific about that. It is an area in which it is hard to measure your gains especially if you have to argue with the economists about whether it was the economy or the program. It is very hard to measure your gains but very easy to measure the jobs that are left.

Chairman PROXMIRE. I am not so sure the fiscal analysis is right. One of the big reasons they point out for the rise in personal compensation in 1966 is the movement of people off the farms, especially marginal farms where income is low, into industry where wages are high. I'm afraid this is too easily taken as evidence that wages are pushing up prices. This is not true at all. This means that the jobs were there and people left employment where they were not needed and you could produce much more efficiently and move into an area where they are producing more and earning more.

Secretary WIRTZ. The figure on this line is, that is so often left out, is the increase in the work force. We talk about unemployment —

Chairman PROXMIRE. I'm talking about people working on the farm, leaving it and then working in a higher paid category.

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes, and they are moved from the lower paid to the higher paid category, the mix has changed, the number of people who have come into it has changed. All these things could happen. The standard of living in this country can go up substantially and the unemployment rate stays the same. It is an incomplete index and so often the answers to all these things we are talking about is that it has been a combination of factors.

When you ask me how do we measure our activities, all I can say is that it took both an expandable economy and a conscious manpower program.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Because of the analysis and nature of price increases and they are so important, I would like to ask Mr. Ross if he could supply either now or for the record an analysis of the proportions of the overall rise in the Consumer Price Index accounted for by its major components, for example, services, particularly interest rates, food, et cetera.

The table given by the Council is too big in my view to break it down to determine what are wage sensitive and what are not. It is difficult for the staff of this committee and for myself to make any kind of an estimate as to how inflationary fiscal policy is unless we have this kind of breakdown.

Mr. Ross. We will supply that, Senator.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Thank you very much, Mr. Ross.

(The information requested, later supplied, follows:)

Percent change and contribution to total change, selected Consumer Price Index components, December 1965 to December 1966

Component	Percent change	Percent of total	Component	Percent change	Percent of total
All items.....	3.3	100.0	Transportation—Continued		
Food.....	3.8	25.8	Private—Continued		
Food at home.....	3.4	18.4	Tires.....	2.4	.8
Food away from home.....	5.3	7.3	Auto repairs.....	2.4	.7
Housing.....	3.3	32.0	Other auto expense.....	4.1	3.4
Shelter.....	4.1	24.7	Public.....	6.4	2.4
Rent.....	1.6	2.7	Health and recreation.....	3.8	21.9
Hotel and motel room rates.....	5.6	.6	Medical care.....	6.6	11.4
Homeownership.....	5.0	21.4	Drugs and prescriptions.....	.2	.1
Purchase.....	1.2	2.2	Professional services.....	6.3	5.0
Mortgage interest.....	13.8	11.5	Hospital services.....	16.5	1.9
Taxes and insurance.....	4.2	2.8	Health insurance.....	9.0	4.4
Maintenance and repairs.....	5.5	5.0	Personal care.....	3.4	2.7
Commodities.....	2.6	.7	Toilet goods.....	1.5	.6
Services.....	6.8	4.3	Barber and beauty shops.....	5.5	2.1
Fuel and utilities.....	.3	.4	Reading and recreation.....	2.6	4.5
Fuel oil and coal.....	1.5	.3	Recreation goods.....	.5	.4
Gas and electricity.....	-1.1	-1.1	Recreational services.....	4.6	2.2
Telephone, water, and sewer.....	.3	.2	Reading and education.....	3.8	1.9
Household furnishings and operation.....	3.0	6.8	Other goods and services.....	2.2	3.3
Textile house furnishings.....	3.2	.7	Tobacco products.....	3.5	2.0
Furniture.....	4.5	1.7	Alcoholic beverage.....	1.2	.9
Floor coverings.....	.6	.1	Personal expense.....	2.7	.4
Appliances.....	-3	-1.1	Financing charges.....	3.4	.4
Other house furnishings.....	2.7	.6	Commodities.....	2.5	49.7
Housekeeping supplies.....	2.2	1.0	Nondurables.....	3.3	46.3
Housekeeping services.....	5.9	2.8	Durables.....	.7	3.4
Apparel and upkeep.....	3.9	12.0	Services.....	4.9	50.3
Men's and boys'.....	3.0	2.5	Commodities less food.....	1.9	23.9
Women's and girls'.....	3.6	4.2	Nondurables less food.....	2.8	20.5
Footwear.....	6.3	2.8	Apparel commodities.....	3.7	9.9
Other apparel.....	3.7	2.4	Apparel less footwear.....	3.1	7.0
Commodities.....	1.3	.3	Nondurables less food and apparel.....	2.3	10.6
Services.....	4.9	2.1	New cars.....	-1	-1
Transportation.....	2.0	7.9	Used cars.....	-3.4	-2.3
Private.....	1.5	5.6	Household durables.....	1.7	2.7
New cars.....	-1	-1	Housefurnishings.....	2.2	3.1
Used cars.....	-3.4	-2.3	Services less rent.....	5.5	47.7
Gasoline and motor oil.....	3.4	3.4	Household services less rent.....	5.5	22.1
			Transportation services.....	4.3	6.4
			Medical care services.....	8.1	11.3
			Other services.....	4.6	7.9

Chairman PROXMIRE. Now, I would like to ask this question before I yield to Mr. Curtis.

I would like to ask Mr. Wirtz if it is not true that the Government training programs, though very vital, are really very small in relationship to the problem?

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes, sir.

Chairman PROXMIRE. I think this is the one part of Government expenditure that is deflationary in the best and most constructive sense. You are taking people who are unemployable in some cases, people who in some cases do not have the motivation, and give them the opportunity to work in a Job Corps camp, where they can develop motivation and skill. These will be producers and not consumers. I cannot think of a better investment and the deflation effect is a matter of months in many cases. It is not a matter of years. Are we not

really missing a good bet by not putting more into an area which seems to be so rewarding for the national interest?

Secretary WIRTZ. Senator, you know the easy answer for me to that question and it is, "Yes," put more money in. I am sobered by the realization of the extent to which this program has changed from year to year in our own administration, sobered to the extent of realizing that I am not certain that we could have economically and efficiently administered a larger program.

Chairman PROXMIRE. It is hard to get instructors and teachers?

Secretary WIRTZ. It is very hard. That is the single worst shortage. When I realize how rapidly we have shifted from institutional training to on-the-job training, I guess I would have to be cognizant of the fact that one of the implications is getting further action rapidly on institutional training. It has caught up with us so fast we might have been training people for jobs at that point which did not need to be filled.

There are expansions contemplated for this year. The biggest single point that makes me reluctant about answering your question the easy way is that I think as we move into this next period we are going to be shifting more and more of the responsibility to employers and picking up the marginal or submarginal costs. I have a strong feeling we can direct more and more of our money to work out the relationship between public training and private employment, so I cannot answer unhesitatingly your request about whether we should have an expansion now in terms of dollars.

Chairman PROXMIRE. I want to apologize, Congressman Curtis. I said I would yield. I have one other question to ask.

This relates to guidelines.

Mr. Secretary, you are Vice Chairman, as I understand it, of the President's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy and the Secretary of Commerce is the Chairman. The report on the guidelines recommended quarterly reports from the Council to identify the nature and chief cause of major shortcomings and recommendations to correct any within the purview of the President's Commission.

Now, in view of the fact that the administration has decided to drop the figure which so many of us are concerned about, it would seem to me that this kind of report should certainly be made and I am informed by the staff that no report has been made, this recommendation was August 18, and this is February, 5 months later and not a quarter, not 3 months, and this is exactly the kind of study which, in the absence of a precise guideline figure would be most helpful.

Secretary WIRTZ. That report was not made formally, but was made by the Council on Economic Advisers to the Committee at its December 14 meeting. It was not a written report. It was an extensive full-day discussion on a sector-by-sector basis.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Would this not be invaluable to the members of this committee and the Congress if we could get this on a quarterly basis, absent the figures, the 5-percent figure or some other figure, to have this kind of information publicized and made known?

Secretary WIRTZ. I think so. That is what the position is some of us took with respect to the proposed legislation before the Government Operations Committee.

My answer would be an unqualified "Yes." That kind of quarterly reporting would seem to me all to the good to this committee, to the country.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Is there any prospect we can get that?

Secretary WIRTZ. It would lie within the province of the Council, but those conversations have been sufficiently complete I think and there would be great interest on the part of the Council in doing this. I answer subject to that consultation.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Congressman Curtis?

Secretary WIRTZ. We on our part, as far as the Bureau of Labor Statistics are concerned, would be doing that kind of quarterly reporting from here on.

Representative CURTIS. Let me commend you for that approach. That is where I think the value of the wage quidepost lies, and as I said, going back to 1962, I want to be sure it is clear, I do not share the view of Senator Javits or Mr. Reuss. When I was interrogating, I said I was rather pleased that you had gotten away from the actual figure. But, to give productivity information, yes, this is an economic exercise and it is the data that is needed. I might add, Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to have your emphasis on getting the data out and distributed widely.

As I understand your response, that is what you were responding to; am I correct?

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes.

Representative CURTIS. I probably do want to direct written questions to you on job vacancy statistics. I think you are aware of the fact that our Subcommittee on Economic Statistics, under our present committee chairman, went further into the job vacancy statistics, and the testimony we heard showed that there was only one person, representing AFL-CIO, who was against it. What I am fearful of is that the data you mentioned is not anywhere near what I thought we had in mind when we were talking about job vacancy statistics and what we were talking about in reference to the \$2.5 million needed to get this kind of data. It seems to me that for manpower training programs to work we need as much data as we can add in this area of job vacancies. Would you care to comment on that?

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes, sir, my view would be the same as it was in the previous testimony, we would like to do it on the basis that we have been proposing over the years. I think it might be helpful if I were to transmit to you on a personal basis the set of reports for 1966 which we have been able to assemble and which represent in my judgment the best we can do with the material at hand.

Representative CURTIS. I would appreciate it. I have asked our staff to see if we could get those reports and possibly make an analysis of them and then see what we might have to do further on this. I think it is very important.

I think I understood what Senator Miller was asking in regard to the manpower utilization in the armed services, the civil service, as well as in the munitions industry. I am interested in getting some estimates of how much additional manpower utilization there is as a result of the Vietnam war. Do you have that? Have you attempted to get statistics on that?

Secretary WIRTZ. We will identify that in that report which Senator Miller has requested—we will identify it as far as we can, anything allocable to the Vietnam situation.

Representative CURTIS. Also, when the day comes when we end the war, we have the other side of the coin of what our problem might be in getting these people back into the labor market. I am just trying to get some idea of the size of the problem.

Secretary WIRTZ. I think of that not only as a problem but as a prospect.

Representative CURTIS. It is a problem. When we shifted from the Korean war, I recall all sorts of talk. Well, I identified a good deal of the unemployment then as a shift from a war economy to a peace economy, and we have now shifted to a degree from a clearly peace economy to one that is partially war. I want to see through the labor statistics, the extent of this.

During World War II we had a Manpower Utilization Board which, partly considered deferment cases for munitions industries and so forth. There is a similar board today or commission, is there not?

Secretary WIRTZ. No, it is a function that I exercise as Secretary of Labor with respect to occupations, and the Secretary of Commerce with respect to industries. The function is carried out but it is carried out in a line department basis. There is an interagency committee.

Representative CURTIS. That is what I thought. Has that been active in recent years—in the recent year and a half or two years?

Secretary WIRTZ. I can tell you exactly. As far as the occupations are concerned, and I answer because I am chairman of that committee, there have come up from the interagency committee several recommendations about deferments. I felt that the circumstances did not warrant any additional deferments, so there has been in terms of change—in the last 4½ years there really has been no extension of that.

Representative CURTIS. In other words, what deferments there are we might relate to peacetime kinds of deferments?

Secretary WIRTZ. Developed before 1963.

Representative CURTIS. Thank you very much.

Chairman PROXMIER. Congressman Scheuer? Congressman Scheuer is not a member of the committee but he has an interest in this.

Representative SCHEUER. I am grateful to join you for a few moments. I have enjoyed your testimony very much, Mr. Secretary.

In your statement you emphasize the point that we are developing manpower policy and programs and in your remarks you emphasize the affirmative statement that you believe these are necessary.

What is your estimate of the total pool of unemployed persons in the country, somewhere between 2½ or 3 million that would make sense for us to develop these special manpower training programs, for training, educating, and qualifying these people, either in public or in the private sector?

Secretary WIRTZ. I am afraid I missed the specific form of the question, Mr. Scheuer.

In terms of occupations or in terms of areas?

Representative SCHEUER. You mentioned in your testimony that these programs to train, educate, and qualify people could be aimed at developing their talents in the private sector primarily, but also in the public sector, too. Of the pool of unemployed who presumably

are structurally unemployed, what part of that polo or somewhere between $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 million persons do you think we ought to engage?

Secretary WIRTZ. I don't believe it is that large. I suggest merely—thinking in terms of a million who are clearly identifiable and who warrant this kind of intensive approach—we are out in a point where your monthly unemployment figure is about $2\frac{1}{2}$, $2\frac{3}{4}$ percent. I think this is what you have in mind—I think of a million and a half of that is being the so-called frictional employment, and including part of the seasonal unemployment and in answer to your question leaving about a million. That is a different million from month to month so that that figure could perhaps be enlarged on that basis, but just in round figures it is like that.

Representative SCHEUER. Would you say we ought to be developing programs to involve that?

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes.

Representative SCHEUER. How would you divide these programs where the Government would be the trainer of last resort, but would sluice or channel presumably a major portion of them into the private sector and the rest into public service employment?

Secretary WIRTZ. I would put into the area where there ought to be coordinated public and private operation everybody except for those who are without a basic education and some of those who have a serious handicap, an unusual handicap of one kind or another. And again, in round figures, if we are talking about a million, I would put three-quarters of that million into one category and a quarter of a million in the other.

Representative SCHEUER. Three-quarters ultimately in the private sector?

Secretary WIRTZ. In that area where we would be coordinating public and private jobs.

Representative SCHEUER. You would say three-quarters of a million ought to be trained—ought to be undergoing training, education, and qualifying that would enable them to participate in the public sector or private sector?

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes.

Representative SCHEUER. How would you define the three-quarters of a million?

Secretary WIRTZ. Ultimate gainful participation in the private sector. I do my thinking in terms of ultimate private employment. There was some discussion of that—that is an operational principle instead of a total principle because I know that if we got all of the rest of it done we would end up with a group which did not lend itself to that approach. I used the figure of half a million before. I am talking about a million with whom we can do something here—but to clarify the situation I work on the basis that there probably are close to half a million whom we are kidding ourselves about ever putting into private employment.

Representative SCHEUER. Even with training, educating, and qualifying them, they would probably never be appropriate for unassisted employment?

Secretary WIRTZ. That is right. That is not an idle figure. That arose during the war when there was pressure to use every person we could possibly move. It ended up with a half of 1 percent. In the

other foreign countries, Western European countries and others where they have what they think of as full employment situations, it points in the same direction. So that you will get a figure some place around a half of 1 percent.

Representative SCHEUER. So of this million, roughly half of them could be trained and qualified and educated so that they could make it in the private sector?

Secretary WIRTZ. The figures got confused because you and I started talking about the unemployed. Now, another part of the group that we are both thinking about is not technically unemployed because they are not looking for work.

Representative SCHEUER. They are out of the statistical universe?

Secretary WIRTZ. That is right. That is why my last figures goes up again a half million.

Representative SCHEUER. I take it there would not be any doubt in your mind that as to the million who have—who could be constrained and qualified for private sector employment that our private enterprise economy could absorb them?

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes, sir; there is no doubt in my mind about that.

Representative SCHEUER. Do you have any doubt that as to the other half million who presumably would be trained for some kind of sub-professional or service job, that there is the need for them in public services?

Secretary WIRTZ. I have no doubt about that.

Representative SCHEUER. Do you feel that our economy at the present could afford the cost of educating and training and qualifying these million people?

Secretary WIRTZ. It will cost us less to do it than the cost after the second year if we don't do it.

Representative SCHEUER. How much do you feel?

Secretary WIRTZ. If I make my point clear—

Chairman PROXMIRE. Will you yield a moment? You are telling us that it will cost us less to do it than it would within 2 years in welfare costs, and so forth, if we do not do it?

Secretary WIRTZ. That is right. These are not idle figures.

Chairman PROXMIRE. You make that estimate based on a study?

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes; and one other thing—

Chairman PROXMIRE. Will you supply us with the data?

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes, sir. It is not exact or precise.

(The information requested follows:)

ON-THE-JOB TRAINING PROGRAMS

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

You have stated that a major purpose of your Administration is to make the poor, the unemployed, and the disadvantaged taxpayers rather than tax eaters.

I am happy to report that Manpower Development and Training Act on-the-job training programs are doing just that.

These programs will repay their cost to the U.S. Treasury many times over. The average trainee repays in taxes the cost of his training in less than two years.

The programs are sound investments for the Nation, both in human and in fiscal terms.

The facts are these:

The average MDTA on-the-job trainee earns \$57 a week during 14 weeks of training, and \$73 a week as a fulltime worker after his training. Thus the average trainee earns \$3,572 the first year.

The cost to the Government of regular on-the-job training averages about \$500 a trainee. Some cost more, some less.

According to the Internal Revenue Service, income taxes on earnings of \$3,572 range from \$419 for the trainee with no dependents to \$74 for trainees with three dependents.

More than 45 percent of the trainees are single; another 15 percent claim only one dependent; 14 percent have two dependents; 12 percent have three, and the remaining trainees have four or more.

Of the 182,000 on-the-job trainees approved since the program began in 1963, the incomes of nearly 163,000 are taxable, after deductions.

Of the 182,000 men and women who have had or are now being given on-the-job training, 163,000 are taxable, after deductions.

The Federal Government allocated \$95.8 million for their training.

The Federal treasury has so far received back \$50.5 million in taxes from these trainees, or better than 53 percent of what was spent on them.

An average on-the-job trainee in his first year repays the Federal Government over one-half of its total investment in him. Before the second year is over, the Government has been repaid in full.

And the Nation will continue to profit thereafter because the trainee becomes a productive citizen and a taxpayer who can carry his fair load.

On-the-job training programs are one of the soundest investments we can make. Trainees not only pay back the cost of their training, they add to the production and prosperity of the Nation.

These programs have been warmly received by American employers, who, in the long run, must provide the jobs for American workers. The business community along with American labor has cooperated in making MDTA on-the-job training one of the most exciting and successful aspects of our Manpower policy.

W. WILLARD WIRTZ,
Secretary of Labor.

September 2, 1966.

Chairman PROXMIRE. It does not matter if you can supply us with the general data.

Secretary WIRTZ. In 4 years it will be paid back in taxes.

Representative SCHEUER. In 4 years after employment, after training?

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes, sir.

Representative SCHEUER. Could you give us the approximate cost of training involved?

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes, sir; we work on the rules of thumb. The figure, and it cannot be precise, but it is this, if we are talking of a Neighborhood Youth Corps in a school situation, we are talking about \$500 in round figures. If we are talking about on-the-job training, our experience pinpoints that to \$800 and \$1,000. This is to pull a person back to the point of where he can be self-supporting. On institutional training it is about \$1,500 to \$2,000. Until we get to the cases where there is a lack of basic education, at which point again, the need for greater support of services, it goes up to \$3,500.

Representative SCHEUER. What is the cost of your jobs?

Secretary WIRTZ. That is only a 2-week brushup program.

Chairman PROXMIRE. There is a vote on the floor. Congressman Scheuer, will you take over until I return?

Representative SCHEUER. Yes, Mr. Chairman; I would be happy to preside.

(At this point Representative Scheuer assumed the chair.)

Secretary WIRTZ. To answer your question, we are using present day figures of \$400 and I think that has been lower, no doubt, and it would be a lot lower.

Representative SCHEUER. It might be helpful in the committee if you would submit some of the experiences that you have had with the on-the-job program.

(The material below was subsequently submitted for inclusion in the record:)

It is difficult to provide the average illustration. Programs vary from the most expensive, during which 52 weeks of training is provided, to those lasting only 3 weeks.

Some widely varied types of on-the-job training programs, illustrate, however, how they pay for themselves:

Tidewater Oil Company estimated that \$567,000 will be paid in income taxes by 1,080 service station manager trainees while they are earning approximately \$5,400,000 during 44 weeks of training. This program will pay for itself the first year.

Forsyth Memorial Hospital in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, said \$22,353 will be paid in income taxes by 353 health care trainees who will receive a total of \$159,665 in annual wages. Federal funds totalling \$44,611 have been allocated. This is 50 percent repayment the first year.

Leverenz Shoe Company in Sheboygan, Wisconsin, estimated that \$22,477 will be paid in income tax by 70 trainees who will earn \$236,600 in annual wages. Federal costs of the program were \$33,135. The first year's return on this program is about 68 percent.

Winzen Research, Inc., of Mount Vernon, Texas, said \$10,374 will be paid in income tax by 42 trainees who will be paid \$109,200 in annual wages. Federal funds of \$3,970 were approved for the six-week OJT project. This program is making a 260 percent return in its first year.

Sixteen Fiberglass layup trainees at Ramco Manufacturing Company in Gainesville, Texas, will pay \$4,446 in income taxes from their annual earnings of \$46,800. Total Federal cost of the program was \$3,836. The return on this program the first year will be more than 115 percent.

While these illustrations cover only some 1,500 trainees, they also would apply to the more than 63,000 on-the-job trainees approved during 1965.

Representative SCHEUER. It is a million and a quarter we are talking about, and three quarters of a million can probably end up in private sectors, and a half million will end up in the public sector if they get the training, education, and qualifying that you are talking about?

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes: we both realize we are using the best figure available for discussion purposes, and they are not statistically refined at all.

Representative SCHEUER. I am most impressed by the judgement that you gave that these costs would be returned in 2 years from, say, the welfare expenditures and 4 years out of tax revenues that these people would produce.

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes.

Representative SCHEUER. If that is true, and I am sure it is, is there any reason—and I think that is a rate of return that any corporation would feel is an extremely satisfactory rate of return on capital investment on its plant and equipment over the years or even workers.

Is there any reason why we should not gear up to such a national program right now?

Secretary WIRTZ. I think the limiting factor is personnel and the building up of experience with these programs. So there is a limiting factor of know-how and personnel.

Representative SCHEUER. No limiting factor as to ability of the factor to support these training and orientation programs or the ability of a need of the private and public sector to absorb these?

Secretary WIRTZ. To any extent—this is manpower. To the extent it has come from manpower agencies, it should alleviate this. There is no limitation.

Representative SCHEUER. From the point of view of general economic policy, the economy needs them, the economy can absorb them, and the cost of such a program would be paid in perhaps 2 years out of welfare expenditures; and, again, in the first 3 or 4 years of tax payments.

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes, sir.

Representative SCHEUER. Thank you.

(At this point Senator Proxmire resumed the chair.)

Chairman PROXMIRE. A very interesting line of questioning. You say the limiting factors are personnel and what else?

Secretary WIRTZ. Know-how.

Chairman PROXMIRE. What can we do to start moving as fast as we can in that area? What can we do about personnel in this tight market?

Secretary WIRTZ. That is very hard to answer, Mr. Chairman. I wish it could be answered more easily. The testimony this morning before the Government Operations Committee concerned social science research; and we ran into the same question there, with the same difficulty there. There just are shortages right now. We are trying to develop training programs of one kind or another. We tried, Mr. Chairman, 2 years ago, and the year before, to develop a summer training program of personnel; and it was called CAUSE. It was a program in which we took college graduates and put them through an intensive 12-week on-the-job training program. It didn't work too well. One, we were just that much ahead of the development of this program that we got them trained before the programs were ready to pick them up.

It was the year the Poverty Act passed, and so forth.

The other mistake we made was putting some questions on reactions and attitudes into a test which got us into all kinds of trouble.

We are trying very hard to present to the Congress an employment service bill which meets this problem where it is most serious, which is not in Washington, but in the State agencies of one kind or another. I do not believe there is any one single answer.

Chairman PROXMIRE. We also need some kind of priority system for training manpower, for the manpower that is capable of doing training, for teaching, who have been able to move in here so we can use at least the discretion of the Federal Government to make and break the bottleneck that way.

Secretary WIRTZ. Yes, sir. We are trying all varieties of ways. You have given us authority to authorize research in the colleges and universities and we are doing it frankly where they are not only getting research, but researchers.

Chairman PROXMIRE. All these programs are good, the Teacher Corps and so forth, and my colleague, Gaylord Nelson is one of the principal sponsors on this. It is a fine program, but it runs into this terrific shortage of teachers; and it would seem to me that some kind of priority system—do we have the available data on who are where, or where are the teachers, or who can be brought into the teaching picture, that kind of thing. Do we know that?

Secretary WIRTZ. I don't believe we do. Mr. Ross could respond to this. We can manufacture an answer to that in the affirmative but the real answer is no, there has not been a good job done.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Why would this not be desirable to do?

Secretary WIRTZ. It would. We have tried an approach to that in the establishment of the President's Committee on Manpower. We have that as a committee covering all of the agencies. It is a committee which has worked extraordinarily well together but which has had a good many energies directed toward the immediate problems but the committee hasn't functioned very well on the development of personnel in this field. I say this critically of the President's Committee on Manpower. There is a forum there, a forum for doing this. It also gets into the competition between this area and the whole area of the physical researchers. I suppose one of the things that has put as much push on this area is the development of the Medicare program.

Chairman PROXMIRE. If we cut a billion dollars out of the Space Program, say, let the Apollo program stand but cut a billion out of the non-Apollo space requests of a billion and a half dollars this would ease a lot of pressure on extremely able instructors in universities around the country not engaged in teaching, but engaged in space research. Would this kind of thing be helpful?

Secretary WIRTZ. You will understand my answering only that I would expect it would have some effect in loosening up that kind of personnel. I think that in order to answer your last question, we ought to pursue the preceding question. There ought to be some clearinghouse for information within the country—not just within the Government—and there ought to be some opportunity to analyze ways for making use of limited personnel.

Chairman PROXMIRE. One closing question. Gerhard Colm recommended the establishment of what he calls a high level unit in the Executive Office to assemble and analyze data concerning prices, productivity, inputs, and incomes. This is something that I understand Mr. Ross does now, does a very fine job and makes the information available to the Council of Economic Advisers. The staff of this committee wants it, but does not get it, the public in general does not get this information.

What prospects would there be that this could be opened up to the public?

Secretary WIRTZ. Information which is available to the Council and is within the Department but not available to this committee?

Chairman PROXMIRE. That is my understanding. Maybe I misunderstood my staff.

I am told that we had excellent cooperation from the Council. They give us whatever we ask for. But we think it would be helpful if the whole academic community throughout the country could get this and get it on a regular basis.

Mr. Ross. Senator, we have always tried to give the Congress everything we have been asked for and I am sure we will do that in the future. I don't know of any large body of information we give the Council that is not available to the Congress on the matter of prices. We have tried to set this out.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Prices, productivity, outputs, inputs.

Secretary WIRTZ. Is it the projections or information on present data?

Chairman PROXMIRE. To assemble, analyze data concerning these things.

Secretary WIRTZ. The only thing I can think of is, when we get into this business of the basis of projections which we make in a variety of ways and the predictions that are involved, I can see some sense there. Aside from that I do not see any reason that I could not explore any matter with you and with Commissioner Ross and with your staff.

That is the only exception I can think of offhand.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Well, Mr. Ross has been extremely cooperative.

I want to thank you gentlemen, very much.

This has been a wonderful afternoon for all of us.

Secretary WIRTZ. I appreciate it.

Chairman PROXMIRE. We will convene tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock, weather permitting, to hear Wilbur J. Cohen, Under Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

(Whereupon, at 4:55 p.m. the committee adjourned to reconvene at 10 o'clock, February 8, 1967.)

(The following material is made part of the record at this point by order of the chairman:)

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY
February 13, 1967.

HON. W. WILLARD WIRTZ,
Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I am very sorry that I was called away from the Joint Economic Committee's hearing on Tuesday afternoon, February 7, to answer a rollcall vote on the floor of the Senate. Because I was unable to ask you about a subject of interest to me, I would appreciate your answering the attached questions for inclusion in the hearings record.

Thanking you for your assistance in this matter, I am

Sincerely yours.

CHARLES H. PERCY,
U.S. Senator.

Enclosure

QUESTIONS

1. (a) How many job vacancies now exist in our economy?

(b) How many persons are now participating in Federal job training programs?

(c) How many persons need job training or retraining and are not now in a private or public training program?

2. I am fully aware of the stress that you put on training programs and have noted that in your testimony before this Committee last year, you said, "training programs have become increasingly important."

I certainly agree with you, for I feel that our nation has a commitment to continually upgrade the skills of its workers. Therefore, I have cosponsored a bill to give private employers a tax credit to cover employee training expenses.

Feeling as I do that the tax credit approach is a good one, I was happy to see

that in an address at Catholic University on November 29, 1966 you stated that essential to expanding job opportunities will be "social invention more than increased appropriations." And you went further in suggesting the use of tax credits to encourage enlarged employee training programs.

Secretary Wirtz, I assumed from this statement that this year you will lend your support to legislation such as the Human Investment Act which would provide tax credits for private employer training programs; and therefore, I would like to ask you:

(a) What caused you to reconsider your negative opinion on the tax credit approach as stated in February 1966 before the Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee?

(b) What is the Department of Labor doing to pursue the idea of a tax credit approach?

(c) Will you propose legislation?

3. I do not wish to suggest that the present Federal training programs should be replaced. In last year's hearings you stated that about half of the reduction in unemployment during 1965 was due to the effect of these programs. However, I also noted that you went into great detail (in response to a question from Congressman Curtis) to explain what the Department of Labor has done to attempt to coordinate the many existing federal training programs.

From the point of view of economy and efficiency would you not think it wise to begin to think in terms of a block grant program to the states for training programs? Do you think that a State administered program (funded with "no strings attached" Federal money) would be far more efficient and far more flexible in meeting the individual needs of each community?

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, March 29, 1967.

Hon. WILLIAM PROXMIRE,
Chairman, Joint Economic Committee,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Enclosed for the Committee's information is a copy of a letter which I have sent today to Senator Percy replying to certain questions to be forwarded to me after the February 7 hearing of the Joint Economic Committee.

Sincerely,

W. WILLARD WIRTZ,
Secretary of Labor.

[Enclosure]

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, March 29, 1967.

Hon. CHARLES H. PERCY,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR PERCY: I am glad to make further response to your letter requesting information for the record in the recent hearings on the Joint Economic Report. Your questions and my answers follow.

Sincerely,

W. WILLARD WIRTZ,
Secretary of Labor.

[Enclosure]

1. (a) *How many job vacancies now exist in our economy?*

We do not at present have any figures on total job vacancies in the United States. Such information is now available only for about fifteen metropolitan areas, as part of a Department of Labor experimental program initiated several years ago. This pilot program, operated by the United States Employment Service and the affiliated State Employment Services in cooperation with the Bureau of Labor Statistics, provided one time job vacancy estimates for each of these areas for the fall of 1964, for April 1965, and for April 1966. Another such survey will be conducted in these areas later this spring.

The best available indication of vacancies now at hand is the monthly listings of unfilled job openings held by public employment offices throughout the country.

These total about 322,500 at the end of February (slightly less than the year-ago level of 344,400). Unfilled job openings generally range between a quarter and a third of the total vacancies in the areas included in our pilot program.

(b) How many persons are now participating in Federal job training programs?

In 1966 the number of trainees, in thousands, were as follows:

Manpower Development and Training Act program-----	273
Institutional training-----	160
On-the-job training and other-----	113
Job Corps-----	10
Neighborhood Youth Corps:	
In school-----	106
Out of school-----	55
Summer -----	209
Work experience-----	64
Total-----	771

(c) How many persons need job training or retraining and are not now participating in a private or public training program?

Any estimates we could make on this point would be highly tentative and speculative. We have requested \$500,000 in our fiscal year 1968 manpower research budget to collect information about the adequacy, extent, and quality of training in the United States. With these funds we hope to find more statistically reliable answers to the kind of question you have raised.

2. What are your views on the tax credit approach as a means for inducing private employers to increase their training efforts?

It is clear that we are both very much interested in new methods which will induce private employers to increase the training efforts they now undertake.

The problem is one of finding suitable means. I have not given up the search for a suitable proposal which can operate through the tax system and would be very much in favor of one if we could find a practical approach.

Although we have examined carefully and sympathetically the bills which have been introduced by members of the Congress, we have not yet seen one which is not deficient in one respect or another. Some might involve great windfalls. Others would probably not reach the people who are the primary objectives of our manpower program or our public concern, or are deficient for other technical reasons that affect both the Nation's tax and manpower policies.

I do want to assure you, however, that we have not given up the search for an appropriate method. Members of our staff are in active consultation with representatives of the Treasury Department and are exploring a number of avenues involving both the tax system and other methods which can increase training.

I am confident that we will be able to find a method which we can recommend to the Congress.

3. From the point of view of economy and efficiency would you not think it wise to begin to think in terms of a block grant program to the States for training programs?

The Labor Department has explored block grant programs thoroughly. Our present grants to the States are based on their budgeted needs, subject to review by the Secretary of Labor for administrative efficiency. The States present to us their broad program requirements broken down by functions, and the grants are made on the basis of function. The Department is additionally moving in the direction of greater delegation of responsibility, to give the States greater authority to shift funds from program to program within the broad functional allocation within which they have evaluated their needs, and within which funds have been allocated.

The chief objection to the block grant is that it does not give the Department enough discretion to allocate among States by need, to assure efficient administration, and above all, to move in the direction of national (as compared with State) goals. The executive branch of the Government would be less than responsible if it did not maintain some flexibility in fund allocation to enable it to be most effective in meeting national needs and objectives, as well as sufficient control to protect the Federal purse.

THE 1967 ECONOMIC REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1967

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE,
Washington, D.C.

The joint committee met at 10:05 a.m., pursuant to recess, in room S-228, the Capitol, Hon. William Proxmire (chairman of the joint committee) presiding.

Present: Senators Proxmire, Talmadge, Ribicoff, and Javits; and Representatives Reuss, Griffiths, Curtis, Widnall, Rumsfeld, Brock, and Scheuer (visitor).

Also present: John R. Stark, executive director; James W. Knowles, director of research; and Donald A. Webster, minority economist.

Chairman PROXMIRE. The committee will come to order.

Our witness this morning is the distinguished Under Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Wilbur Cohen, an old friend of the committee, and he is accompanied by Robert Myers, who is the Actuary for the Social Security Administration.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is responsible for the operation of the social security programs in addition to including the old-age and survivors insurance. It also contains a substantial portion of what we know as the "Great Society" programs. In addition, that agency has a major responsibility for the education and health programs of the U.S. Government, both of which represent very important sectors of the Great Society program.

I should say that from the standpoint of economic policy, this is an operation which can only be compared with the Defense Department. The figures that have just been given me by the staff is that altogether, counting HEW funds of \$13 billion and trust funds of \$27 billion, the total amount involved here is \$40 billion. I might also add that we are always hopeful that the Defense Department expenditures decline; we want those to decline as rapidly as possible. We certainly expect them to be lower in the future. On the other hand, it is anticipated HEW-supervised expenditures will be constantly increasing, and the impact on economic policy is conspicuous and definite.

For this reason, the testimony this morning of the very able Mr. Cohen will be most useful to us. Mr. Cohen, you may begin.

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STATEMENT OF HON. WILBUR J. COHEN, UNDER SECRETARY, DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE; ACCOMPANIED BY ROBERT J. MYERS, CHIEF ACTUARY, OFFICE OF THE ACTUARY, SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION; AND MRS. IDA C. MERRIAM, ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER, OFFICE OF RESEARCH AND STATISTICS, SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

Mr. COHEN. Thank you, Senator. I am also accompanied by Mrs. Ida Merriam, who is the Assistant Commissioner for Research of the Social Security Administration.

I would like to add that in the difficulties yesterday of getting the statement prepared, I inadvertently left off one table, which I would like to have included in the record. It includes the monthly social security cash benefits under the present law and under the President's proposal, which supplements the tables I have in the testimony.

Chairman PROXMIRE. That will be done. Do you have duplicates of that table?

Mr. COHEN. No; I don't. I will be glad to give you that one copy.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Why don't you keep it with you for now, since you may need it for reference during questioning?

Mr. COHEN. All right.

(Table 8, referred to, appears on p. 333.)

Chairman PROXMIRE. In other words, you have given us the bad news here in the presentation, but not what we get for it.

Mr. COHEN. That is correct; and I don't know whether that was inadvertent or intentional, but when I looked at it this morning, I saw that it should have been the last table, which was left off.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Joint Economic Committee, it is a pleasure to participate in your consideration of the Economic Report of the President.

The health, education, and welfare of the American people are the Nation's greatest resources. Investment in these resources yields benefits to the individual and to the society. They are essential to individual fulfillment and to the economic growth and stability of the society. In turn, economic development also contributes to the development of these resources. Thus, the Department that I represent shares with you a deep interest in a healthy economy, with its resulting full employment and economic growth.

The singular objective of all the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's programs is the development of the individual's capacities to their fullest extent. Programs are designed to prevent disease and improve health, to support and encourage education, to provide a strong social insurance system, and to seek ways through welfare programs to reduce dependency as well as reduce the causes and meet demonstrated need. Legislation enacted by the last several Congresses has reinforced the Department's efforts in carrying out its objectives.

President Johnson noted in his state of the Union message on January 10, that:

We tried to meet the needs of our people. And we have succeeded in creating a better way of life for the many as well as the few. And now we must answer whether our gains shall be the foundations of further progress or whether they shall be only monuments to what might have been—abandoned now by a people who lacked the will to see their work through.

I believe that our people do not want to quit.

In my testimony today I will discuss the Department's concern for reinforcing the gains that have already been achieved from the Nation's investment in human resources and some of the problems and needs in the years to come. In this respect I would like to review the areas in which we are developing proposals to expand the opportunities of the American people and to bolster the growth of the economy.

TOTAL PUBLIC AND PRIVATE EXPENDITURES FOR HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

At this point I would like to discuss the totality of public and private expenditures for health, education, and welfare, no matter what their source or what their method of payment, to give you a full picture of their impact on the Nation's economy as related to the gross national product.

The extent of the Nation's commitment to programs for strengthening human resources is clearly evident in the amounts spent in fiscal year 1966 on health, education, and welfare from both public and private funds. The combined expenditures amounted to \$131 billion—or 18.4 percent of gross national product.

I might add at this point that the \$131 billion is the unduplicated count of expenditures—that is the total amounts are adjusted to eliminate duplication resulting from use of cash insurance benefits to purchase medical care and educational services. The individual areas will add up to a couple of billion dollars more when you look at them separately, but this is the attempt to appraise an unduplicated expenditure of organized funds in this area. It doesn't include every single type of personal expenditure that might be involved, but rather broadly, organized public or private expenditures of funds for health, education, and welfare. This comes, as I said, to 18.4 percent of the GNP.

In fiscal year 1962, expenditures were \$93 billion or 17.2 percent of GNP. The growth rate in expenditures between these 4 years exceeded that in GNP.

Total expenditures for these functions under public programs—Federal, State, or local—reached \$88 billion: Federal expenditures accounted for \$47 billion, and State and local expenditures for \$41 billion. In recent years, total public expenditures for health, education, and welfare have also been increasing faster than the GNP and the share of GNP devoted to these areas has risen from 11.5 percent in fiscal year 1962 to 12.3 percent in fiscal year 1966.

As President Johnson pointed out in his Economic Report: “ * * * Americans have insatiable appetities for more education and better health.” This is reflected in the rapid rate of increase in public funds that are devoted to these programs.

For example, between fiscal year 1962 and fiscal year 1966, total public expenditures for these programs rose by 41 percent while GNP rose only 31 percent—with a 54 percent increase in educational expenditures and a 61-percent increase in spending on public housing leading the way among traditional programs. In addition, the new programs authorized under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 have grown rapidly.

The figures on public expenditures that I am discussing, if you wish to go into the details, are in table 1, following. The table shows the total public expenditures, expenditures from State and local funds and from Federal funds since 1934–35.

Expenditures for the Federal programs rose more rapidly than did State and local government spending—in total amount and in almost every major category. By the end of fiscal year 1966 the total Federal expenditures of \$46.8 billion exceeded the State-local total by \$6 billion as compared with 1961–62 when State-local expenditures exceeded Federal expenditures by almost \$1 billion.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE PROGRAMS

The President's 1968 budget for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare calls for expenditures of \$11.7 billion—an increase of \$1 billion over the previous year—in addition to social security trust fund payments in the neighborhood of \$31 billion. Assuming the President's recommendations are carried out, the budget as you said, Senator Proxmire, will total \$44 billion.

These expenditures will be made through programs, most of which are carried out through the active cooperation and active participation of State and local governments, nongovernmental institutions and individual citizens. About 90 percent of Department of Health, Education, and Welfare funds derived from general revenues are allocated to State and local governments, other non-Federal institutions and individuals. This is how "creative federalism" works and it has been through this venturesome partnership that we have made great economic and social gains.

We can expect in the future, as in the past, that increasing shares of the Nation's output will be devoted to the development of human resources. By strengthening the programs of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, we seek to strengthen the entire system for providing services at every level. Through better management and more careful evaluation of the effectiveness of programs, we can insure more effective use of all of our resources.

TRENDS IN POVERTY

Now I would like to turn to another aspect that I think the Members of Congress will be interested in, how our particular programs relate to the national objective of minimizing and reducing the extent of poverty in the United States.

Rapid economic growth combined with increasing expenditures for health, education and welfare and related areas have had a significant impact on poverty. Over the past several years, as GNP grew rapidly, unemployment rates declined and public expenditures for health, education, and welfare, and related activities increased, the incidence of

poverty declined. In 1959 some 38.9 million individuals—or 22.1 percent of the total population lived in households falling below the poverty levels of income developed by the Social Security Administration; by 1965 the number had declined to 32.7 million individuals—or 17.1 percent of the population. The sharpest declines have been among families with a male nonaged head of household, and the declines have been greater for whites than nonwhites. Increasingly, the poverty roster is becoming the hard-core groups: Aged persons, families headed by a woman and the disabled. Thus, we cannot rely on economic growth alone to pull households out of poverty as heavily in the future as in the past. This is a major reason why we must continue to improve our social security and other income maintenance programs—particularly for those not in the labor force.

Some of the worst pockets of poverty are in those parts of the central cities where living costs are highest and where resources for aiding the poor are inadequate. As compared with surrounding suburbs, central cities of our metropolitan areas have disproportionate numbers of the aged poor and of children in poor families. For example, within the central cities, 17 percent of the total population is poor, by the standards I previously stated.

Twenty-seven percent of the aged are living in poverty and 66 percent of the individuals in nonwhite families headed by a woman are living in poverty. In metropolitan areas, there are 10 million poor persons in the central cities while 6 million poor live in the surrounding suburbs. It is more likely that the head of a family living in the city will be out of the labor force than the head of the family in the suburbs. If he is working the chances are greater that he will have a low-skilled, low-paid job.

The increasing demand for health, education, and welfare services for the groups who remain in poverty in the city is growing, particularly as our awareness of their special needs grows—but the resources for meeting these demands are not growing at a fast enough pace.

INCOME MAINTENANCE

A reasonable level of living for all Americans is the ultimate objective of our income maintenance programs. Putting a floor under income through income support programs so that no one falls below a minimum of need, is an intermediate step in achieving this objective. Although the objective of social security is not solely the reduction of poverty it is a major instrument in reducing the extent of poverty in this country. Public assistance programs are directed to the poor and have provided a basic income for several millions of persons. Without these programs many more persons would be in poverty and the disparity in income much greater. It is estimated that—

Without social security payments a much larger fraction of the aged would be poor. We estimate that about 37 percent of the aged beneficiaries under social security have been brought out of poverty as a result of the social security benefits that were added to whatever other income they might have had.

Of the \$3.5 billion of public assistance payments to noninstitutional recipients in 1965, virtually all went to the poor.

The income deficiency of the poor, that is the gap in the amount of income between what they actually have and the social security standard of poverty in 1965 was \$11 billion; this is the total amount by which their incomes fell short of the poverty line. Without the social security and public assistance programs the deficiency would have approached \$20 billion. The impact of the present programs is very substantial, but of course a substantial gap remains as well.

Despite the improvements that have been made in these programs in recent years many persons still remain poor. Legislation proposed this year, both for social security and public assistance will further improve these programs—but we will still be short of filling the basic income needs of the poor—even of the poor who could not be considered potential labor force members.

SOCIAL SECURITY PROPOSALS

The President has proposed a number of significant improvements in the social security program. They are designed primarily to raise benefits from their present inadequate levels, but there are other objectives as well; to permit greater work force participation of beneficiaries who are able to work; to provide health insurance benefits to disabled beneficiaries; to seek better coverage of farmworkers who are presently severely disadvantaged because of the transitory nature of their employment; to provide benefits for disabled widows; and to guarantee at least \$100-per-month benefit for anyone who has worked substantially in covered employment, under the social security program, for 25 years. There are other significant but less general changes proposed. These revisions will increase old-age, survivors, and disability insurance (OASDI) outlays by about 20 percent—by \$4.1 billion—in the first year after they take effect in July 1, 1967.

Many people not only have been but are disturbed when they learn that almost 2.5 million OASDI beneficiaries have benefits of \$44 or less per month; that 2 million aged persons are receiving public assistance; and that one-half of the OAA recipients are OASDI beneficiaries whose incomes are below destitution level even though they earned social security eligibility. It is an uncomfortable fact that despite OASDI over 5 million of the aged have incomes below the poverty level at the present time.

Some persons are convinced that we should not spend additional amounts for social programs at the present time. The administration has taken the view that although some types of expenditure should be postponed; others should not. There is a vast difference between rescheduling the completion of public works such as superhighways and putting off action on the plight of elderly citizens. Similarly, action must be taken promptly for widows and children who are trying to subsist on lagging survivor benefits.

The administration seeks in its proposals:

(1) To make some adjustments which improve protection for currently active workers. For most of them the social security system is their major bulwark against income loss when they retire, are disabled, or die leaving dependents.

I want to emphasize, Mr. Chairman, and members of the Joint Economic Committee that the social security system is not solely a

retirement system. It also provides disability insurance and survivors benefits—what you might call a form of monthly life insurance protection. Survivors' benefits for the widow and children are really a form of monthly payments of a life insurance character. There are three types of benefit provisions.

The proposed revisions increase coverage for some new workers and in a series of steps broaden the base upon which benefits are calculated. The base will increase by steps from the current \$6,600 a year to \$10,800 in 1974. The change will increase the value of survivor's insurance for the worker's family. It will do that, of course, reasonably promptly.

It also raises the size of the disability and retirement benefit which the average worker may ultimately receive. As a result he may look forward to a more satisfactory level of income replacement when he becomes disabled or retires.

(2) To raise benefits for the 23 million beneficiaries already on the rolls who have been experiencing loss of real purchasing power because of price increases and whose benefits even before such deterioration were lower than I think this country should accept. At the present time a man who had earnings at about the average for male workers today will get a retirement benefit that replaces only about 30 percent (the man and wife both of whom are 65 and over, about 45 percent) of his previous earnings. Each of the 23 million social security beneficiaries will gain as a result of the changes but gains will be relatively greatest for those currently receiving minimum benefits.

The proposed changes are designed to improve protection for both covered workers (roughly, 86 million if you take into account people who come in and out of the labor market and not just the ones who are just working at the given moment), and current beneficiaries (roughly, 23 million).

The new benefit formula provides that persons currently receiving minimum benefits will have their benefits increased by 59 percent. More than 1 million persons over 72 years of age who receive benefits although they do not meet the insured status requirements will receive sharply increased benefits. These changes, which seem modest in absolute terms (the minimum primary insurance amount will go up from \$44 to \$70; payments to the special group over 72 increases from \$35 to \$50 for an individual) should have a substantial impact on poverty among the aged.

New provisions extending coverage to an additional 500,000 farm-workers would increase protection for a group among whom the incidence of poverty is high.

The combined changes in social security suggested by the President would reduce by more than 1.5 million the number of persons in the United States living in poverty, and I think that is a rather striking and important aspect of these recommendations. It would reduce the number of aged poor as well as the number of disabled and survivors, who are living in poverty.

Proposals that would provide only an 8-percent-benefit increase, a number of which have been introduced in Congress, would reduce the numbers of persons in poverty by only one-half million.

The proposals, made by the President, also include liberalization of the retirement test. Beneficiaries who are in a position to earn will

be permitted somewhat more earnings than at present and still receive their full benefits.

Because of the pressure of time, it is necessary to pass over some of the other detailed proposals. The addition of benefits for disabled widows and the extension of health insurance to disabled beneficiaries are critical for the disabled persons involved and represent another advance in social awareness. Provisions to insure areas access to some type of protection through the social security program for workers who work for the Government for less than 5 years is no less vital to the large groups affected.

FINANCING THE PROPOSALS

Now I would like to discuss some of the broad financing implications of these recommendations.

The 1967 legislative proposals continue well-defined financing policies of the past. There has been a careful weighing of costs and provision of revenues to cover them. The benefit and contribution bases have been raised to reflect more nearly than at present the original relationship of taxable to total wages and salaries.

Emphasis upon full discussion of eventual costs and explicit provision of revenues required is a tradition of the social security program. For this reason Congress has, from the beginning, considered carefully the current and long-range level of costs and has made appropriate provisions for both short-range and longer range income to the system. From time to time Congress has created advisory councils composed of distinguished citizens to review the financing of the system.

The Chief Actuary of the Social Security Administration, Mr. Robert J. Myers, estimates that the combined changes in OASDI involve increases in level costs of 1.5 percent of taxable payroll. Part of this increased cost can be financed without changing the contributions because long-range income is now estimated to exceed long-range costs of present benefits. (Table 5, p. 331, shows that the present system has a positive actuarial balance, or actuarial surplus of 0.74 percent of payroll. That is roughly, three-fourths of 1 percent of payroll.)

Adequate financing for the other added costs in the OASDI program will be provided partly by the gradual increase in the contribution base; partly by an increase in contribution rates. Table 5 shows that the OASDI contribution rate increases proposed is equivalent to only 0.25 percent of payroll while the recommended contribution base increase is the equivalent of 0.50 percent of payroll.

In other words, when I said originally that the total benefit increase that we are recommending is $1\frac{1}{2}$ percent of payroll, roughly half of that, 0.75—the actual figure is 0.74—is made up of the favorable actuarial balance. Then a half of a percent of payroll is made up through the base increases, and a quarter percent is made up through the rate increases. That is why I said earlier the benefits proposed by the President are fully financed through these three sources.

The rates are altered (table 6) and the total contributions of individuals, particularly those with higher incomes are increased (table 7). Both aspects are fully presented in order to avoid any suggestion that the significant improvements sought are costless, or nearly so. They involve acceptance of higher long-term commitments.

Although the contribution rates recommended do not change in 1967-68, there will be an immediate fiscal impact.

Both income and outlays of the trust funds will be higher than they otherwise would be. In both calendar 1967 and calendar 1968 the excess of income over outgo will be less if the changes are made than if no benefit increases are made. This decrease, unless other offsetting actions are taken, will have a stimulating effect upon the economy. The Actuary estimates that, if the 1967 proposals are adopted, the OASDI trust funds will sustain a \$1.7 billion excess of income over outgo in calendar 1967; or about \$600 million in calendar 1968. If no changes are made, the excess would be \$3.8 billion in calendar 1967 and \$4.2 billion in calendar 1968.

Representative REUSS. May I interrupt you there to do a little arithmetic?

What is the difference between adopting the proposal and not adopting it?

Mr. COHEN. If the proposals are adopted, the buildup in the reserves in those 2 years would be \$2.1 billion less in calendar year 1967 and \$3.6 billion in calendar 1968.

We believe that the policy which has been pursued by Congress since 1950—a policy of virtual pay-as-you-go financing accompanied by frequent examinations of longer range actuarial needs—has proven it merit and should be continued.

The President's proposals would make important improvements in the social security program that would help to meet the needs of the aged and reduce the extent of poverty. There is no reason, in my opinion, in a country as prosperous as the United States why social security beneficiaries—the retired, widowed, orphaned, and disabled—should be denied a measure of dignity and self-sufficiency in our society. They have contributed a share in the growth of this Nation and I believe that the social security system is a mechanism by which they should and can share in our expanding prosperity.

HEALTH AND EDUCATION

Now, turning very briefly to some of the education and health aspects of our Department, which are, of course, among the Nation's overriding concerns. They are essential to human development and fulfillment. Unnecessary suffering and illness, illiteracy and inferior education hold men in bondage.

While great strides have been made in recent years in both health and education, there are still many unfilled needs and our task is not yet complete. Thus, the President has proposed major improvements in education and health programs. These include—

Additional funds for the Elementary and Secondary Education Act so that we may reach an additional 1 million culturally deprived children.

An increase in the amount of aid provided or guaranteed to college students of \$200 million allowing an increase of over 300,000 in the number of students aided or a total exceeding 2 million individuals.

Additional funds to increase the number of community mental health centers, the number of medical schools, and the number of students enrolled in the health and allied health professional fields.

Funds to develop improved methods of child health care and expanded efforts in early case finding and treatment of children in low-income areas. As a matter of fact, Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee, the President is sending his message on children and the youth to the Congress today which will, of course, discuss in substantially more detail recommendations in this area.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I believe that great opportunities are being realized through the Department's programs. The advances that can be made in the well-being of our citizens are closely related to the Nation's economic progress. Each benefits from the other. There is a distinct correlation between a healthy, educated citizenry and national productivity. Better qualified workers produce more. Healthier workers also produce more, and so on, in other aspects of the security of the people. Thus, the Department shares your concern for a healthy, stable, and growing economy and through its programs attempts to reinforce other efforts in this direction.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Thank you, Mr. Cohen. I take it that your supplementary statement is part of your presentation.

Mr. COHEN. Yes.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Without objection that will be printed in the record, and the following tables, which are very, very useful, will also be printed in the record in full.

(The material referred to follows:)

SUPPLEMENT TO STATEMENT OF UNDER SECRETARY COHEN

1967 SOCIAL SECURITY RECOMMENDATIONS: SUMMARY OF MAJOR PROPOSALS

The President has recommended improvements in the social security program that would result, in calendar year 1968, when all of the proposals will have gone into effect, in an overall 20-percent increase in benefit disbursements.

The increase, in terms of additional cash payments, would be the largest increase in benefit payments ever enacted; it would result in additional cash benefit payments of \$4.5 billion in calendar year 1968.

The level of living of the 23 million people who are now getting social security benefits would be greatly improved, and 1.4 million aged people among them would be moved out of poverty. In addition, the protection of current workers and their families—about 86 million will work under social security in 1967—would be very significantly improved.

Following is a list of the major proposals that the President has recommended:

1. A benefit increase amounting to at least 15 percent for all beneficiaries now on the rolls, with a minimum benefit of \$70.

This provision would result in additional payments of \$3.9 billion in the first 12 months of operation.

2. A special minimum benefit of \$100 for workers with at least 25 years of coverage under social security; the special minimum would be equal to \$4 multiplied by the number of years of coverage up to 25.

About 100,000 people would benefit under this provision. About \$7 million in additional benefits would be paid in the first 12 months of operation.

3. An increase from \$1,500 to \$1,680 in the amount of annual earnings a beneficiary under age 72 can have without having any benefits withheld, and an increase from \$125 to \$140 in the amount of monthly earnings a person can have and still get a benefit for the month. Under the proposal, as under present law, \$1 in benefits would be withheld for each \$2 of the first \$1,200 of earnings above the annual exempt amount, and \$1 in benefits would be withheld for each \$1 in earnings thereafter.

About 750,000 people would get additional benefits under the provision. An estimated \$185 million would be paid out in additional benefits in the first full year of operation.

4. Monthly cash benefits for the disabled widow of an insured worker where the widow becomes disabled before 7 years after the worker's death or before 7 years after termination of her entitlement to benefits as a mother.

About 70,000 widows would benefit immediately and about \$75 million in additional benefits would be paid out in the first 12 months of operation.

5. Health insurance benefits for disabled beneficiaries—disabled workers, disabled adults getting benefits on the basis of disabilities that have continued since childhood, and disabled widows under age 65.

An estimated additional 1.5 million social security beneficiaries—1.2 million disabled workers, 200,000 people getting disabled child's benefits, 100,000 disabled widows under 65—would be eligible for health insurance benefits. Benefit payments under this proposal in the first year are expected to be \$225 million under the hospital insurance program and \$100 million under the medical insurance program. (Similar protection would be provided for qualified disabled railroad retirement annuitants.)

6. Social security credit, through transfers of credit, for Federal employment of workers whose Federal service is subject to the civil service or the foreign service retirement system if benefits are not payable to the workers or their families under such system at the time they retire, become disabled or die.

Adoption of this proposal would prevent losses of protection by employees who leave Federal service in the future.

7. An increase from \$35 to \$50 (from \$52.50 to \$75 for a couple) in the special payments that were provided under the 1965 amendments and the Tax Adjustment Act of 1966 for certain people age 72 and over who cannot meet the regular insured status requirements of the program.

The increase in these payments would amount to about \$240 million in additional benefit payments during the first 12 months of operation. Of this amount, \$215 million would be met from general revenues. (The old-age and survivors insurance trust fund pays for the cost of benefits only for those who have worked for more than half a year under the program.) About 1.2 million people would qualify for some payments or higher payments as a result of this proposal.

8. A change in the present coverage requirements for agricultural workers which would provide coverage for the farmworker if he was paid at least \$50 (instead of the present requirement of \$150) in a year for farmwork by an employer or if he worked at least 10 days (instead of the present requirement of 20 days) in a year for that employer.

This proposal would improve the social security coverage of 500,000 agricultural workers, including migratory workers, who in many instances do not meet the coverage requirements in present law.

9. Coverage of podiatrists' services under the supplementary medical insurance program where the services are of the type now covered if performed by a physician.

10. An increase in the contribution and benefit base to \$10,800, to be reached in 3 steps—\$7,800 in 1968, \$9,000 in 1971, and \$10,800 in 1974.

11. Increases in the contribution rates for the cash benefits part of the program. The change scheduled in the employer-employee rate for 1969 under present law (from 3.9 percent each to 4.4 percent each) would be raised by 0.1 percent, to 4.5 percent each. The change scheduled under present law for 1973 and thereafter (to 4.85 percent each) would be raised by 0.15 percent each, to 5.0 percent each.

For the self-employed, the increased scheduled under present law for 1969 (from the present 5.9 percent to 6.6 percent) would be raised by 0.2 percent and thus would come to 6.8 percent. This rate would remain in effect until 1973, at which time the increase to 7.0 percent scheduled under present law would go into effect.

At the present time, the social security program has a significantly favorable actuarial balance; that is, it is expected that over the long-range future the income to the program will considerably exceed the costs of the program. The benefit improvements recommended by the President will cost about $1\frac{1}{2}$ percent of covered payroll. It is possible to meet about half of the cost of the recommended benefit improvements from the present favorable balance. The remainder of the cost of the proposed changes would be met through the increases in the contribution rates for the cash benefits part of the program and in the maximum amount of annual earnings subject to the tax and used in computing benefits.

The rate increase averaged over the long run would be equivalent to one-fourth of 1 percent of payroll; the earnings base increase is equivalent to one-half of 1 percent of payroll. These two financing recommendations would yield income equal to three-fourths of 1 percent of payroll, which, when combined with the actuarial balance of the present system, would fully meet the cost of the recommendations.

Hospital insurance protection for the disabled could be made available without any increase in the hospital insurance contribution rate because of the additional income that would result from the increased contribution base. Supplementary medical insurance protection would also be made available on the same basis as it is for the aged—that is, on a voluntary basis, with the beneficiary paying a monthly premium of \$3 and the Federal Government paying a matching amount.

TABLE 1.—*Social welfare expenditures under public programs, selected fiscal years, 1934-35 through 1965-66*
 [In millions; revised estimates]

Program	Total expenditures										1965-66 ^a
	1934-35	1939-40	1944-45	1949-50	1954-55	1959-60	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64	1964-65	
Total	\$6,417.0	\$8,701.7	\$8,850.0	\$22,972.6	\$32,243.9	\$52,154.4	\$62,203.9	\$66,542.9	\$71,031.7	\$77,505.4	\$87,578.2
Social insurance	383.9	1,217.7	1,418.5	4,873.0	9,854.2	10,207.4	24,109.9	25,592.0	26,966.8	28,078.2	31,905.8
Old-age, survivors and disability insurance ¹	28.1	266.8	784.1	2,784.1	3,436.3	11,092.3	18,984.6	15,344.3	16,200.8	16,907.2	20,202.3
Railroad retirement	115.7	143.7	304.4	304.4	576.6	1,033.2	1,033.2	1,033.2	1,033.5	1,136.7	1,204.9
Public employment retirement ⁴	210.0	254.5	382.8	743.4	1,388.5	2,500.9	3,189.7	3,569.3	4,066.7	4,620.0	5,150.8
Unemployment insurance and employment service ⁵		663.0	216.7	2,191.9	2,080.8	2,820.6	3,893.8	3,373.0	3,270.2	2,976.3	2,608.0
Railroad unemployment insurance		18.9	4.3	110.6	158.6	215.2	103.3	122.8	92.6	70.7	64.4
Railroad temporary disability insurance				31.1	54.2	68.6	56.8	52.8	50.1	40.5	53.4
State temporary disability insurance, total ⁶			5.1	72.3	217.5	347.9	407.1	444.2	467.9	486.9	502.0
Hospital and medical benefits ⁷				2.2	20.0	40.3	45.6	48.4	50.4	50.7	56.0
Workers' compensation, total ⁸	173.9	247.5	300.1	625.2	942.6	1,308.5	1,505.4	1,611.8	1,725.0	1,847.3	2,025.0
Hospital and medical benefits ⁷	163.0	237.0	290.0	613.0	915.0	1,280.0	1,475.0	1,580.0	1,695.0	1,810.0	2,000.0
Public aid	2,997.6	3,598.7	1,030.5	2,496.2	3,003.0	4,101.1	4,945.1	5,203.4	5,642.0	6,177.6	6,824.1
Public assistance ⁹	623.9	1,124.3	1,028.8	2,496.2	2,941.1	4,101.1	4,945.1	5,203.4	5,381.3	5,873.8	6,456.9
Vendor medical payments ⁷				51.3	211.9	402.5	812.4	1,000.7	1,147.0	1,307.1	1,520.0
Other ¹⁰	2,373.7	2,474.4	1.7	6.0	61.9	50.4	270.1	200.7	200.7	303.8	368.2
Health and medical programs ¹¹	494.4	681.7	2,331.0	2,097.1	3,054.4	4,454.8	5,225.8	5,608.7	6,010.5	6,420.8	7,179.8
Hospital and medical care	230.8	440.0	1,985.7	1,230.1	1,980.7	2,817.0	3,115.1	3,248.8	3,504.7	3,607.1	3,930.6
Civilian programs	231.8	340.5	364.7	914.5	1,217.3	2,817.0	3,115.1	3,248.8	3,504.7	3,607.1	3,930.6
Defense Department and medicare	28.0	99.5	1,631.0	315.6	763.4	1,962.2	1,320.0	2,274.5	2,446.8	2,511.8	2,593.9
Maternal and child health services ¹²	6.7	13.8	62.1	23.8	92.9	130.4	174.1	186.2	201.0	222.5	258.2
Medical research ¹³		3.0	15.0	68.2	132.8	448.9	780.5	920.3	1,042.5	1,160.6	1,347.5
School health (educational agencies) ¹⁴	0.9	17.9	23.3	30.6	65.9	101.0	129.0	128.4	127.7	132.0	135.0
Other public health activities ¹⁴	118.7	106.6	195.0	358.6	404.6	431.6	506.0	576.5	602.3	713.2	843.5
Medical-facilities construction	38.3	40.4	50.0	368.3	377.5	516.9	521.1	548.5	532.2	588.4	606.0
Defense Department					33.0	40.0	24.0	23.0	42.4	34.8	28.0
Other					344.5	476.9	497.1	525.5	480.8	553.6	577.4
Other welfare services	38.3	40.4	50.0	368.3	377.5	516.9	521.1	548.5	532.2	588.4	606.0
Vocational rehabilitation, total	58.9	77.0	168.0	422.7	573.4	1,014.1	1,304.0	1,448.4	1,562.9	1,648.9	1,730.2
Medical rehabilitation ¹⁵	2.2	4.1	10.2	30.0	41.4	100.4	135.3	166.6	194.3	222.5	238.2
Institutional and other care ¹⁶	24.5	27.9	45.9	96.1	9.2	17.7	22.5	26.0	31.2	34.2	54.3
School lunch ¹⁷					103.3	170.0	306.5	386.9	306.4	398.5	410.5
Child welfare ¹⁸				191.7	283.0	620.2	615.8	636.6	698.7	797.1	752.0
Special programs ¹⁹	20.0	45.0	55.5	104.9	135.1	211.5	246.4	268.3	313.4	352.4	381.0
Veterans' programs ¹⁹	440.8	535.1	802.1	6,380.8	4,480.5	5,106.4	5,379.8	5,584.6	5,740.2	5,965.1	6,333.5
Pensions and compensation ²⁰	390.2	447.8	715.0	2,922.8	2,712.5	3,425.7	3,884.8	3,947.4	4,083.1	4,186.1	4,465.1
Health and medical services	58.0	80.3	115.5	746.8	761.1	697.1	1,047.0	1,121.7	1,170.4	1,260.6	1,330.8
Hospital and medical care	58.0	72.1	108.2	685.9	722.0	884.5	1,068.0	1,022.0	1,090.9	1,132.8	1,205.4
Hospital construction	2.9	14.1	16.2	168.2	38.0	57.5	52.1	69.8	76.4	80.9	83.2
Medical and prosthetic research				3.7	8.5	15.1	28.8	29.9	33.2	36.9	42.2
Education				2,639.1	608.9	404.7	163.3	97.5	66.1	41.4	35.4
Welfare and other ²¹	7	1.0	10.0	853.1	196.0	318.7	414.6	418.1	470.6	487.0	502.2

From Federal funds

	2,098.3	2,647.3	3,017.5	6,995.3	11,294.2	18,003.9	20,949.9	22,005.9	24,878.4	28,591.5	32,248.4
Education.....											
Elementary and secondary, total.....	1,890.1	2,380.5	2,666.4	5,724.3	10,006.8	15,598.6	18,028.6	19,369.7	23,105.1	25,805.3	28,805.3
Construction ¹	157.3	289.0	83.7	1,018.7	2,362.4	2,868.7	3,073.8	3,227.7	3,510.0	3,795.0	3,795.0
Higher and other, total.....	208.2	286.8	361.1	974.0	1,292.4	2,405.4	2,921.2	3,397.2	4,072.5	5,483.1	6,443.1
Construction ¹			22.9	315.5	1,198.8	395.0	409.8	518.8	550.4	1,158.1	1,392.8
Public housing ²		4.2	10.4	14.5	89.3	176.7	216.4	246.9	271.9	314.3	347.5
	3,107.2	3,466.8	4,083.2	9,995.1	14,230.9	24,724.3	30,630.4	32,967.1	35,591.4	38,786.9	40,804.5
Social Insurance.....											
Old-age, survivors, and disability insurance ³	98.9	354.9	769.8	2,028.1	6,404.7	14,298.0	18,295.6	19,395.6	21,778.8	25,008.3	28,248.4
Railroad retirement.....		28.1	266.8	784.1	4,436.3	11,032.3	13,984.6	15,344.3	16,997.2	20,292.3	22,805.3
Public employee retirement ⁴	90.0	115.7	143.7	304.4	675.6	1,073.5	1,093.2	1,145.3	1,226.7	1,310.0	1,395.0
Unemployment insurance and employment service ⁵		107.5	184.8	433.4	808.5	1,519.9	1,903.7	2,145.3	2,486.7	2,780.6	3,225.8
Railroad unemployment insurance.....		70.5	145.5	330.4	321.0	473.5	1,086.2	584.4	628.3	673.5	707.5
Railroad temporary disability insurance.....		18.9	4.3	119.6	158.6	215.2	163.3	122.8	92.6	76.7	54.4
Workmen's compensation total ⁶	8.9	14.2	14.7	31.1	54.2	68.6	56.8	52.8	50.1	46.5	43.4
Hospitalization and medical benefits ⁷	3.0	5.2	4.7	23.1	50.5	63.1	67.8	72.2	76.3	77.6	80.0
				3.2	6.9	9.0	8.4	10.2	10.4	11.3	12.0
Public aid.....	2,373.7	2,245.9	420.1	1,103.2	1,442.3	2,116.9	2,741.0	2,996.1	3,207.1	3,488.1	3,854.9
Public assistance ⁸		281.1	418.4	1,097.2	1,442.3	2,057.5	2,470.9	2,732.4	3,046.4	3,486.7	3,854.9
Vendor medical payments ⁹					28.3	199.6	394.8	510.0	593.0	743.0	743.0
Other ¹⁰	2,373.7	1,964.8	1.7	6.0	61.9	59.4	270.1	206.7	260.7	303.8	368.2
Health and medical programs ¹¹	50.1	159.9	1,775.6	586.0	1,174.4	1,748.9	2,237.8	2,456.3	2,751.1	2,951.5	3,517.8
Hospital and medical care.....	39.6	124.4	1,660.6	529.8	66.4	1,031.1	1,096.1	1,093.8	1,188.7	1,231.1	1,539.6
Civilian programs.....	11.6	24.9	29.6	46.4	66.4	103.1	113.0	119.5	130.8	135.8	143.9
Defense Department and medicare.....	28.0	99.5	1,631.0	315.6	763.4	864.8	983.1	974.3	1,057.9	1,095.3	1,395.7
Maternal and child health services ¹²		7.8	55.2	20.1	23.7	33.3	50.1	50.8	59.1	69.6	82.2
Medical research ¹³					2	6	8	1.0	2.7	4.3	5.8
Medical research ¹⁴		3.0	15.0	69.2	132.8	425.9	743.5	875.3	992.5	1,111.6	1,286.5
Other public health activities ¹⁵	7.2	24.3	44.8	67.9	70.6	87.9	112.0	176.9	223.6	293.5	293.5
Medical facilities construction.....	3.3	.4	(24)	66.8	117.5	233.9	236.1	259.5	287.2	316.7	316.7
Defense Department.....					33.0	40.0	24.0	23.0	42.4	34.8	28.6
Other.....	3.3	4.5	(24)	66.8	84.5	193.9	212.1	236.5	244.8	267.4	287.4
Other welfare services.....	1.8	4.5	64.2	166.7	243.4	407.9	509.3	548.2	619.8	876.8	1,519.5
Vocational rehabilitation, total.....	1.0	2.0	7.5	21.0	26.4	64.3	86.7	100.9	127.1	145.7	231.9
Medical rehabilitation ¹⁶	.1	.2	.7	3.7	5.7	11.2	14.2	16.1	19.3	21.2	33.7
Medical research ¹⁷					3	6.6	11.0	12.8	20.3	22.4	28.9
Institutional and other care ¹⁸	.8	.9	7.9	20.3	39.2	24.1	34.0	37.5	44.3	35.8	39.4
School lunch ¹⁹			47.4	121.2	170.7	306.1	370.4	383.2	419.1	504.7	428.0
Child welfare ²⁰		1.6	1.4	4.2	7.1	13.4	18.2	26.6	34.4	40.2	40.2
Special programs ²¹											
Veterans' program ²²	440.8	535.1	822.1	5,918.8	4,307.9	4,994.3	5,294.6	5,564.6	5,780.3	5,944.7	6,312.5
Pensions and compensation ²³	380.2	447.8	705.9	2,492.8	2,712.5	3,425.7	3,774.8	3,947.4	4,033.1	4,186.1	4,465.1
Health and medical services.....	58.9	116.5	176.8	761.1	957.1	1,037.0	1,047.0	1,121.7	1,179.4	1,230.4	1,330.8
Hospital and medical care.....	66.0	72.1	98.5	388.9	722.6	884.5	1,093.0	1,022.0	1,069.9	1,132.8	1,205.4
Hospital construction.....	2.9	14.1	16.2	18.2	32.0	57.5	62.1	68.8	76.4	80.9	83.2
Medical and prosthetic research.....		.1	6.7	18.7	6.6	15.1	26.8	29.9	33.2	36.9	42.2
Medical and prosthetic research.....			6.7	18.7	6.6	15.1	26.8	29.9	33.2	36.9	42.2
Education.....			10.0	391.1	699.9	404.7	15.3	97.5	66.1	41.4	35.4
Welfare and other ²⁴	.7	1.0			134.4	206.8	319.4	398.1	451.7	466.6	481.2

See footnotes at end of table.

TABLE 1.—*Social welfare expenditures under public programs, selected fiscal years, 1934-35 through 1965-66* 1—Continued

[In millions; revised estimates]

Program	From Federal funds										
	1934-35	1939-40	1944-45	1949-50	1954-55	1959-60	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64	1964-65	1965-66 2
Education 23	\$132.9	\$162.3	\$161.0	\$180.8	\$521.6	\$1,014.8	\$1,378.9	\$1,811.9	\$2,438.4	\$3,512.6	\$5,742.3
Elementary and secondary, total	99.2	74.2	48.2	73.1	341.8	507.2	557.8	614.7	665.9	880.6	2,253.3
Construction 1	42.0	31.0	7.6	5.2	130.3	70.8	71.6	67.7	23.9	59.4	63.0
Higher education and other, total	63.7	88.1	112.8	107.7	179.8	507.7	821.2	1,197.2	1,772.5	2,632.0	3,489.0
Construction 7	30.0	12.0	9.1	10.9	5.4	38.3	59.8	1,169.8	200.4	678.1	882.8
Public housing 22		4.2	10.4	14.5	74.7	143.5	173.2	191.4	206.4	234.4	249.3
From State and local funds 24											
Total	3,300.8	5,294.9	4,775.8	12,974.6	18,012.1	27,420.9	31,000.4	33,575.8	35,490.4	38,718.6	40,773.7
Social insurance	285.0	862.8	688.7	2,844.9	3,440.5	4,999.4	5,904.3	6,196.3	6,328.5	6,290.4	6,297.5
Public employee retirement 4	120.0	147.0	108.0	310.0	580.0	1,050.0	1,285.0	1,424.0	1,570.0	1,740.0	1,925.0
Unemployment insurance and employment service 5		482.5	71.2	1,801.5	1,759.9	2,356.1	2,777.6	2,788.5	2,641.9	2,302.8	1,900.5
State temporary disability insurance, total 6			5.1	72.3	217.5	347.0	407.1	444.2	467.9	486.9	502.0
Hospital and medical benefits 7				2.2	20.0	40.3	45.5	48.4	50.4	50.7	56.0
Workmen's compensation, total 8	165.0	233.3	384.4	601.1	802.1	1,245.4	1,433.6	1,539.6	1,648.7	1,769.7	1,970.0
Hospital and medical benefits 7	62.0	84.8	117.3	187.8	308.1	411.0	466.6	499.8	534.6	573.7	613.0
Public aid	623.9	1,352.8	610.4	1,393.0	1,498.8	1,984.2	2,204.1	2,206.3	2,434.9	2,680.5	2,969.2
Public assistance 9	623.9	843.2	610.4	1,393.0	1,498.8	1,984.2	2,204.1	2,206.3	2,434.9	2,680.5	2,969.2
Vendor medical payments 7				51.3	188.6	202.9	417.7	490.7	554.6	603.8	877.0
Other 10		509.6									
Health and medical programs 11	384.3	521.8	555.4	1,501.1	1,880.0	2,705.9	2,988.0	3,152.4	3,259.4	3,478.3	3,682.0
Hospital and medical care	220.2	315.6	325.1	868.1	1,150.9	1,849.1	2,019.0	2,155.0	2,316.0	2,376.0	2,450.0
Maternal and child health services 12	6.7	0.0	6.8	9.7	69.2	106.1	124.0	135.4	142.0	152.9	176.0
Medical research						23.0	37.0	45.0	50.0	55.0	61.0
School health (educational agencies)	9.9	17.9	23.3	30.6	55.9	101.0	129.0	128.4	127.7	132.0	135.0
Other public health activities 13	112.5	142.3	150.2	290.7	334.0	343.7	304.0	309.6	378.7	473.4	556.0
Medical-facilities construction	35.0	40.0	50.0	302.0	260.0	283.0	285.0	289.0	245.0	299.0	290.0
Other welfare services	51.2	72.5	94.8	256.1	330.0	606.2	794.6	900.3	943.1	1,072.1	1,219.7
Vocational rehabilitation, total	1.2	2.1	2.7	9.0	15.0	36.1	48.6	55.7	67.2	76.8	96.3
Medical rehabilitation 7					3.5	6.5	8.3	9.9	11.9	13.0	20.6
Institutional and other care 15	24.0	27.0	38.0	75.8	64.1	151.9	272.5	340.4	322.1	362.7	380.0
School lunch 16					122.9	220.1	245.4	263.5	269.6	292.4	324.0
Child welfare 17					70.6	129.1	228.1	253.5	284.2	318.0	341.4
Special programs 18	26.0	43.4	54.1	100.7	128.0	198.1	248.4	241.7	284.2	22.2	78.0

Veterans' programs ¹⁹	462.0	61.6	111.9	95.2	20.0	18.9	20.4	21.0
Education.....	2,856.5	5,517.5	10,777.6	16,989.1	19,571.0	20,955.0	22,440.0	24,506.1
Elementary and secondary, total.....	2,608.2	5,651.2	9,665.0	15,091.4	17,471.0	18,765.0	20,224.5	22,552.0
Construction ²⁰	238.3	1,013.5	2,223.1	2,788.9	3,000.0	3,180.0	3,450.6	3,733.0
Higher education and other, total.....	144.5	866.3	1,112.6	1,897.7	2,100.0	2,200.0	2,854.4	2,954.0
Construction ²⁰	20.6	304.6	103.4	356.7	350.0	350.0	480.0	510.0
Public housing ²¹			14.6	33.2	43.2	55.5	65.6	98.2

¹ Expenditures from Federal, State, and local revenues (general and special) and trust funds and other expenditures under public law; includes capital outlay and administrative expenditures, unless otherwise noted. Includes some expenditures and payments outside the United States. Fiscal years ended June 30 for Federal Government, most States, and some localities; for other States and localities, fiscal years cover various 12-month periods ended in the specified year.

² Preliminary estimates.

³ Excludes net payments in lieu of benefits (transfers) under the financial interchange with the railroad retirement system.

⁴ Excludes refunds of employee contributions to those leaving the service; Federal expenditures include payments to retired military personnel and survivors. Data for administrative expenses not available for Federal noncontributory programs.

⁵ Includes unemployment compensation under State programs and programs for Federal employees, for ex-servicemen, and for veterans under the readjustment acts of 1944 and 1952, payments under the temporary extended unemployment insurance programs and training allowances under the Manpower Development and Training Act and Area Redevelopment Act.

⁶ Cash and medical benefits, including payments under private plans where applicable in the 4 States with programs. Includes State costs of administering State plans and supervising private plans; data for administrative expenditures of private plans underwritten by private insurance carriers or self-insured are not available.

⁷ Included in total shown directly above; excludes administrative expenditures, not available separately but included for entire Federal program in preceding line.

⁸ Cash and medical benefits paid under Federal workmen's compensation laws and under State laws by private insurance carriers, by State funds, and by self-insurers. Excludes administrative costs of State agencies before 1949-50 and all administrative costs of private insurance carriers and self-insurers. Beginning 1950-50, includes data for Alaska and Hawaii.

⁹ Includes cash and vendor medical payments under old-age assistance, aid to families with dependent children, aid to the blind, aid to the permanently and totally disabled, medical assistance programs; and, from State and local funds, general assistance. For 1939-40, Federal expenditures include \$1,000,000 in administrative costs for which distribution by source of fund is not available.

¹⁰ Work program earnings, other emergency aid programs, and value of surplus food distributed to needy families.

¹¹ Excludes expenditures (1) for domiciliary care in institutions other than mental or tuberculosis (included under institutional care); (2) for health and medical service provided in connection with State temporary disability insurance, workmen's compensation, public assistance, vocational rehabilitation, and veterans' programs (included in total expenditures for these programs); and (3) those made directly for international health activities and for certain subordinate medical programs such as those of the Bureau of Mines, the National Park Service, and the U.S. Civil Service Commission.

¹² Services for crippled children and maternal and child health services.

¹³ Medical research of the U.S. Public Health Service, Food and Drug Administration, Atomic Energy Commission, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and Department of Defense.

¹⁴ Excludes expenditures for water supply, sanitation services, and sewage disposal but includes regulatory and administrative costs of these services; also includes expenditures for medical equipment and supplies for civil defense.

¹⁵ Expenditures for homes for dependent or neglected children and for adults other than veterans and the value of surplus food for nonprofit institutions.

¹⁶ Federal expenditures represent cash apportionment and the value of commodities purchased and distributed under the National School Lunch Act, the value of surplus commodities distributed under other agricultural programs, and, beginning 1954-55, special school milk program. Nongovernmental funds are also available from private organizations and from payments by parents (in 1955-56, parents' payments totaled an estimated \$335,000,000).

¹⁷ Includes foster-care payments and payments for professional and facilitating services; excludes expenditures of public institutions and public day-care centers, capital expenditures by courts and by youth authorities, payments from parents and relatives, and direct appropriations by State legislatures to voluntary agencies and institutions.

¹⁸ Programs authorized under the Economic Opportunity Act; excludes programs delegated to or reported with data for the Office of Education and the Welfare Administration.

¹⁹ Federal expenditures exclude bonus payments and expenditures from veterans' life insurance trust funds; State and local expenditures refer to State bonus and other payments and services (local data not available).

²⁰ Includes burial awards.

²¹ Includes vocational rehabilitation, specially adapted homes and automobiles for disabled veterans, counseling, beneficiaries' travel, loan guarantees, and domiciliary care.

²² Federal expenditures only, data for State and local expenditures not available.

²³ Federal and State subsidies (and administrative costs) for low-cost housing.

²⁴ Less than \$50,000.

²⁵ Represents Office of Education administrative costs; training of Federal personnel; and "grants" as reported in the summary table prepared by the Federal Education Program Branch, Office of Education, except (1) those covered under other social welfare programs such as veterans' programs and (2) the value of surplus property. Beginning 1937-38, includes revenue from public lands for education and, beginning 1950-51, includes training grants and basic research for which data were not available in earlier years.

²⁶ Except as otherwise noted (see footnotes 6 and 8).

²⁷ Data not available.

Source: Data taken or estimated from Treasury reports, Federal budgets, and available reports of Federal, State, and local administrative agencies.

TABLE 2.—Trends in poverty and low-income status, 1959-65—Number and percent of noninstitutional population who were poor or near poor

Type of unit and income level	The poverty and low-income roster						The incidence of poverty and low-income status							
	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965
	Persons poor or near poor ¹ (millions)							Percent of persons poor or near poor ²						
Total with low income.....	54.7	54.8	52.9	52.8	51.0	49.8	47.5	31.0	30.5	29.3	28.6	27.3	26.3	24.8
Poor.....	38.9	40.1	38.1	37.0	35.3	34.1	32.7	22.1	22.3	21.1	20.1	18.0	18.0	17.1
Near poor.....	15.8	14.7	14.8	15.8	15.7	15.7	14.8	9.0	8.2	8.2	8.5	8.4	8.3	7.7
Unrelated individuals.....	5.6	5.5	5.6	5.6	5.6	5.8	5.6	52.5	50.5	49.7	50.3	49.8	47.8	46.5
Poor.....	5.1	5.1	5.0	4.9	4.9	5.1	4.8	47.4	46.5	44.7	44.2	43.9	42.0	39.8
Near poor.....	.5	.4	.6	.7	.7	.7	.8	5.1	4.0	5.0	6.1	5.9	5.8	6.7
Under age 65.....	2.9	2.8	2.7	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.5	41.4	39.2	38.0	38.6	37.6	35.5	33.7
Poor.....	2.6	2.6	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.3	2.1	36.8	36.1	33.9	34.5	34.2	31.2	28.7
Near poor.....	.3	.2	.3	.3	.2	.3	.4	4.6	3.1	4.1	4.1	3.4	4.3	5.0
Aged 65 or over.....	2.7	2.6	2.8	2.9	2.9	3.2	3.1	74.2	73.0	71.0	69.4	69.6	67.4	66.9
Poor.....	2.5	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.8	2.7	68.1	67.1	64.4	60.0	59.7	59.3	57.5
Near poor.....	.2	.2	.3	.4	.4	.4	.4	6.1	5.9	6.6	9.4	9.0	8.1	9.0
Persons in families.....	49.1	49.3	47.4	47.3	45.5	44.0	41.9	29.7	29.3	27.8	27.2	25.8	24.8	23.4
Poor.....	33.9	35.0	33.1	32.2	30.4	29.0	27.9	20.4	20.8	19.4	18.5	17.3	16.3	15.6
Near poor.....	15.2	14.3	14.3	15.1	15.1	15.1	14.0	9.2	8.5	8.4	8.7	8.5	8.5	7.8
With no children under age 18.....	9.3	9.3	8.8	8.4	8.6	8.0	8.0	22.3	21.9	20.4	19.5	19.6	17.9	17.3
Poor.....	6.5	6.5	6.0	5.4	5.5	4.9	4.8	15.5	15.3	13.8	12.6	12.5	11.1	10.4
Near poor.....	2.8	2.8	2.8	3.0	3.1	3.1	3.2	6.8	6.6	6.6	6.9	7.1	6.8	6.8
With children under age 18.....	39.8	40.1	38.7	38.8	36.8	36.2	33.9	32.1	31.7	30.3	29.8	27.9	27.3	25.5
Poor.....	27.4	28.6	27.2	26.7	24.9	24.0	23.1	22.1	22.6	21.3	20.5	18.9	18.1	17.3
Near poor.....	12.4	11.5	11.5	12.1	11.9	12.2	10.8	10.0	9.1	9.0	9.3	9.0	9.2	8.1
Adults.....	16.1	16.5	16.2	16.0	14.7	14.5	21.4	26.9	26.8	26.3	25.5	23.5	23.0	19.0
Poor.....	10.7	11.4	11.2	10.8	9.6	9.2	13.6	17.9	18.5	18.2	17.2	15.4	14.6	12.4
Near poor.....	5.4	5.1	5.0	5.2	5.1	5.3	7.8	9.0	8.3	8.1	8.3	8.1	8.4	7.2

Children under age 18.....															
Poor.....															
Near poor.....															
23.7	23.6	22.5	22.8	22.1	21.7	20.4	37.1	36.2	34.1	33.8	32.1	31.3	29.3	28.5	27.4
16.7	17.2	16.0	15.9	15.3	14.8	14.3	26.1	26.4	24.3	23.6	22.2	21.3	20.5	19.0	18.2
7.0	6.4	6.5	6.9	6.8	6.9	6.1	11.0	9.8	9.8	10.2	9.9	9.9	8.8	7.2	7.3
Percent of households poor or near poor ²															
Households poor or near poor ¹ (millions)															
17.7	17.3	17.1	17.0	16.7	16.4	15.8	31.7	30.7	29.7	29.3	28.5	27.4	26.1	25.1	24.1
13.4	13.4	13.0	12.6	12.3	11.9	11.5	24.0	23.7	22.6	21.8	21.0	19.8	19.0	18.0	17.0
4.3	3.9	4.1	4.4	4.3	4.3	4.3	7.7	7.0	7.1	7.5	7.5	7.6	7.2	7.0	6.8
12.0	11.8	11.5	11.5	11.1	10.6	10.2	26.7	26.0	24.9	24.4	23.5	22.2	21.0	20.0	19.0
8.3	8.3	8.0	7.8	7.4	6.8	6.6	18.4	18.3	17.3	16.5	15.5	14.2	13.7	12.7	12.2
3.7	3.5	3.5	3.7	3.7	3.8	3.5	8.3	7.7	7.6	7.9	8.0	8.0	7.3	6.7	6.5
With no children under age 18.....															
4.3	4.3	4.0	3.9	3.9	3.7	3.7	23.6	23.2	21.5	20.7	20.7	19.1	18.5	17.5	16.5
Poor.....															
Near poor.....															
3.0	3.0	2.7	2.5	2.5	2.3	2.2	16.4	16.3	14.5	13.4	13.2	11.7	11.2	10.2	9.7
1.3	1.3	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.5	7.3	6.9	7.0	7.5	7.5	7.4	7.3	6.7	6.5
With children under age 18.....															
7.7	7.5	7.5	7.5	7.2	6.9	6.4	28.8	27.7	28.0	26.9	25.3	24.5	22.9	21.9	21.4
Poor.....															
Near poor.....															
5.3	5.3	5.2	5.2	4.9	4.5	4.4	19.7	19.5	19.2	18.6	17.1	16.0	15.6	14.6	14.1
2.4	2.2	2.2	2.3	2.3	2.0	2.0	9.1	8.2	8.8	8.3	8.2	8.5	7.8	7.2	7.0
1 to 2 children.....															
3.7	3.4	3.4	3.3	3.1	3.0	2.8	21.1	20.3	20.3	18.9	18.0	17.7	16.5	15.5	15.0
Poor.....															
Near poor.....															
2.5	2.3	2.4	2.3	2.1	1.8	1.9	14.3	13.6	14.2	13.2	12.0	10.8	10.9	9.9	9.4
1.2	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.2	1.0	6.9	6.7	6.1	5.7	6.0	6.9	5.7	5.2	5.0
3 to 4 children.....															
2.7	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.3	2.2	35.3	33.0	31.7	31.3	29.8	28.0	26.7	25.7	25.2
Poor.....															
Near poor.....															
1.8	1.8	1.8	1.7	1.6	1.5	1.5	23.3	22.9	21.9	20.2	19.5	18.8	18.2	17.2	16.7
.9	.8	.8	.9	.9	.8	.7	12.0	10.1	9.8	11.1	10.3	9.2	8.5	7.9	7.6
5 or more children.....															
1.5	1.5	1.5	1.7	1.5	1.6	1.4	67.9	68.2	63.0	65.3	58.8	56.6	52.0	49.0	47.5
Poor.....															
Near poor.....															
1.1	1.2	1.1	1.3	1.1	1.1	1.1	51.2	54.1	47.1	48.7	43.5	41.0	38.5	35.5	34.0
.4	.3	.4	.4	.4	.4	.4	16.7	14.0	15.9	16.6	15.3	15.6	13.6	12.6	12.1

¹ Income, for the specified year, of family unit or unrelated individual below the Social Security Administration index at the poverty level by family size and sex of head or, alternatively, at the somewhat higher low-income level. (See the Social Security Bulletin, April 1966 issue, pp. 20-21). The SSA index has been adjusted for price changes during the period.

³ Includes unrelated individuals shown separately above.

tions and children under age 14 who live with a family of nonrelatives are not represented in the low-income roster because income data are not collected for inmates of institutions or unrelated individuals under age 14. As of March 1966, there were about 346,000 such children and 2,133,000 persons of all ages in institutions.

³ Includes unrelated individuals shown separately above.

Source: Derived from special tabulations from the Current Population Survey for March 1960-66 by the Bureau of the Census for the Social Security Administration.

TABLE 3.—Incidence of poverty in 1964 of unrelated individuals and persons in families, by race and metropolitan-nonmetropolitan residence

Family status and race	Total, United States			Metropolitan area						Nonmetropolitan area					
	Poor persons			In central cities			Outside central cities			Nonfarm			Farm		
	Total number of persons	Num-ber	Percent of total	Poor persons		Total number of persons	Poor persons		Total number of persons	Poor persons		Total number of persons	Poor persons		Total number of persons
				Num-ber	Percent of total		Num-ber	Percent of total		Num-ber	Percent of total		Num-ber	Percent of total	
Total.....	189.9	34.3	18.0	58.6	10.1	17.2	62.6	6.3	10.0	55.4	13.5	24.4	13.3	4.4	32.9
Unrelated individuals.....	12.3	5.3	43.2	5.5	2.0	36.9	2.9	1.2	40.7	3.5	1.9	54.7	.4	.2	46.2
White.....	10.5	4.3	41.2	4.4	1.5	34.3	2.6	1.0	39.1	3.1	1.7	52.6	.3	.1	44.2
Nonwhite.....	1.7	1.0	55.3	1.1	.5	47.2	.2	.1	61.2	.4	.3	73.1	(1)	(2)	(2)
Persons in families.....	177.6	28.9	16.3	53.1	8.0	15.1	59.8	5.1	8.6	51.9	11.6	22.4	12.9	4.2	32.5
White.....	156.9	19.3	12.3	42.6	4.1	9.7	56.4	4.1	7.3	46.8	8.1	17.4	11.2	2.9	25.9
Male head.....	145.2	15.4	10.6	38.1	2.8	7.4	52.9	3.1	5.9	43.4	6.6	15.3	10.8	2.8	26.1
Female head.....	11.8	3.0	32.9	4.4	1.3	23.9	3.5	1.0	28.2	3.5	1.5	44.1	.4	.1	20.2
Nonwhite.....	20.7	9.7	46.7	10.5	3.9	37.0	3.4	1.0	29.7	5.0	3.5	68.9	1.7	1.3	75.1
Male head.....	16.1	6.4	40.0	7.9	2.2	27.5	2.9	.7	24.0	3.8	2.5	65.0	1.5	1.1	75.7
Female head.....	4.6	3.2	70.3	2.6	1.7	66.3	.5	.3	63.8	1.3	1.0	80.7	.3	.2	71.9

Source: Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

1 Fewer than 50,000 households.

2 Not shown for base less than 100,000.

TABLE 4.—*Number of poor persons and incidence of poverty, 1959 and 1965*

Characteristics of head of household ¹	Persons in poor households ² (millions)		Incidence of poverty (percent) ³	
	1959	1965	1959	1965
Total.....	38.9	32.7	22.1	17.1
Aged (65 years and over) ⁴	5.3	5.0	42.9	32.9
White.....	4.8	4.4	41.1	31.0
Male.....	2.7	2.1	33.6	21.6
Female.....	2.1	2.3	57.8	50.8
Nonwhite.....	.5	.6	70.6	60.1
Male.....	.3	.3	65.2	50.9
Female.....	.2	.3	79.9	73.9
All other ⁵	33.7	27.8	20.6	15.7
Farm.....	6.4	3.0	43.1	27.0
White.....	4.3	1.8	34.3	19.3
Male.....	4.1	1.7	33.8	18.8
Female.....	.2	.1	49.2	31.5
Nonwhite.....	2.2	1.1	87.5	80.1
Male.....	2.0	1.0	88.4	81.1
Female.....	.2	.2	79.9	(⁶)
Nonfarm.....	27.3	24.8	18.3	15.0
White.....	19.2	16.4	14.5	11.3
Male.....	14.3	11.8	11.8	8.9
Female.....	5.0	4.6	40.9	34.2
Nonwhite.....	8.0	8.4	49.0	42.5
Male.....	5.2	5.1	41.9	34.5
Female.....	2.8	3.3	71.4	66.4

¹ Household defined here as either a family or an unrelated individual.² Persons in households with family income or income of unrelated individual in 1965 below the Social Security Administration poverty index, taking into account family size, composition, and farm-nonfarm residence.³ Poor persons as percent of all persons in the category.⁴ Includes only 1- and 2-person households with head aged 65 years and over.⁵ Includes all households headed by persons under age 65 and families of 3 or more headed by an aged person.⁶ Percent not shown because of small number of persons.

Source: Derived by SSA from special Census Bureau tabulations of March 1960 and March 1966 Current Population Surveys.

TABLE 5.—*Financing OASDHI (percent of payroll)*

	OASDI	HI
Present program:		
Level equivalent of income.....	9.53	1.23
Level cost of benefits.....	8.79	1.23
Actuarial balance.....	+ .74	0
Effects of proposed changes:		
Cost of proposal:		
Benefit increase.....	1.36	
Other improvements.....	.12	.11
Total.....	1.48	.11
Additional income to finance proposal:		
Contribution base.....	.50	.21
Contribution rates.....	.25	0
Total.....	.75	.21
Net effect of proposal.....	-.73	+.10
Proposed program:		
Level equivalent of income.....	9.78	1.23
Level-cost of benefits.....	9.77	1.13
Actuarial balance.....	+ .01	+.10

TABLE 6

PRESENT & PROPOSED OASDI CONTRIBUTION RATES

YEAR	EMPLOYEE AND EMPLOYER, EACH		SELF-EMPLOYED	
	PRESENT LAW ^{1/}	PROPOSED ^{2/}	PRESENT LAW ^{1/}	PROPOSED ^{2/}
1967-68	3.9%	3.9%	5.9%	5.9%
1969-72	4.4	4.5	6.6	6.8
1973 and after	4.85	5.0	7.0	7.0

^{1/} \$6600 EARNINGS BASE^{2/} \$7800 EARNINGS BASE EFFECTIVE 1968 THROUGH 1970; \$9000 EARNINGS BASE EFFECTIVE 1971 THROUGH 1973;
AND \$10,800 EARNINGS BASE-EFFECTIVE 1974 AND THEREAFTER

TABLE 8

MONTHLY SOCIAL SECURITY CASH BENEFITS UNDER PRESENT LAW AND UNDER PROPOSAL

AVERAGE MONTHLY EARNINGS	RETIRED OR DISABLED WORKER ¹		RETIRED OR DISABLED WORKER AND WIFE ²		WIDOW AGE 62 OR OVER		YOUNG WIDOW AND 1 CHILD	
	PRESENT	PROPOSED	PRESENT	PROPOSED	PRESENT	PROPOSED	PRESENT	PROPOSED
MINIMUM BENEFIT	\$44.00	\$70.00	\$66.00	\$105.00	\$44.00	\$70.00	\$66.00	\$105.00
\$100	63.20	72.70	94.80	109.10	52.20	70.00	94.80	109.10
150	78.20	90.00	117.30	135.00	64.60	74.30	117.40	135.00
200	89.90	103.40	135.90	155.10	74.20	85.40	135.00	155.20
250	101.70	117.00	152.60	175.50	84.00	96.60	152.60	175.60
300	112.40	129.30	168.60	194.00	92.80	106.70	168.60	194.00
350	124.20	142.90	186.30	214.40	102.50	117.90	186.40	214.40
400	135.90	156.30	203.90	234.50	112.20	129.00	204.00	234.60
450	146.00	167.90	219.00	251.90	120.50	138.60	219.00	252.00
500	157.00	180.60	235.50	270.60	129.60	149.00	235.60	271.00
550 ³	168.00	193.20	252.00	283.20	138.60	159.40	252.00	289.80
650	168.00	221.00	252.00	311.00	138.60	182.40	252.00	331.60
750	168.00	248.00	252.00	338.00	138.60	204.60	252.00	372.00
900	168.00	288.00	252.00	378.00	138.60	237.60	252.00	432.00

¹ ASSUMES THAT RETIRED WORKER AND WIFE ARE AGE 65 OR OVER WHEN BENEFITS START.
² MAXIMUM POSSIBLE UNDER PRESENT LAW.

JAN 1967

Chairman PROXMIRE. I am a little bit confused by your analysis of the fiscal impact of your proposals. I had assumed superficially, without having had the very helpful presentation you have given us, that the impact of the 20-percent increase in social security payments on the economy, beginning July 1, would be about at an annual rate of \$5 billion—roughly \$5 billion—a year in increased Government expenditures, increased expenditures by beneficiaries.

Mr. COHEN. About \$4.5 billion.

Chairman PROXMIRE. About \$4.5 billion?

Mr. COHEN. Yes; at a full 12 months' rate.

Chairman PROXMIRE. It is fairly close to the impact of the expected increase in Vietnam expenditures—something like that, or maybe a little bit smaller. But you seem to say here that you would modify that to some extent through calendar 1967. Am I wrong, or is that about right?

Mr. COHEN. You are correct.

Chairman PROXMIRE. There would be no increase in contributions; no increase in taxes?

Mr. COHEN. That is right.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Until January 1, 1968. Is that correct?

Mr. COHEN. That is right. The full figure for the fiscal year 1968 is actually \$4.1 billion.

Chairman PROXMIRE. But it would be bigger than that, I should think, in the last half of 1967, inasmuch as there would be no increase in contributions in the last half of 1967. There will be an increase because of the larger base in the last half of the fiscal year or the first half of 1968.

Mr. COHEN. I was giving you the expenditures first, and you are correct, that in the last 6 months of calendar 1967, there is no proposed income increase—neither a rate increase or a maximum earnings increase. So for the last 6 months, roughly \$2 billion of that \$4.1 billion—the annual rate—would be a benefit expenditure without any increased income coming into the system.

Chairman PROXMIRE. This is spending in a way that is quite dynamic. Insofar as I understand it, my assumptions, at least, have been that this money is really spent. Relatively a small proportion is saved. For most income, I assume, the taxpayer when he gets a tax cut will save about 7 or 7½ percent of his tax benefit. I would assume that social security beneficiaries would save very little because of their age and because of their low income; is that correct?

Mr. COHEN. I think that is correct.

Chairman PROXMIRE. So that their saving might be only 1 or 2 percent.

Mr. COHEN. I think it would be very slight.

Chairman PROXMIRE. I would like to know how you anticipate this money is likely to be spent at this time. For example, my own assumption would be that very little of it would be spent on education, which is good, because we have terrific demand for education, facilities that strain the manpower available in educational facilities. Is that correct from an economic standpoint?

Mr. COHEN. Yes.

Chairman PROXMIRE. These are people who are over 65 and are not going to go back to school, in most cases. In some cases, I suppose, they would help the family to finance a child who is going to school.

Mr. COHEN. Yes.

Chairman PROXMIRE. But this would be rare.

Mr. COHEN. I don't have the exact number but as a result of the 1965 Amendments to the Social Security Act, a child age 18 to 22 attending school, whose father is retired, disabled, or deceased continues to get this social security benefit.

Chairman PROXMIRE. It would be relatively few.

Mr. COHEN. Yes; a relatively small number, but I do think that, although it is small, it has a very significant impact on the particular family.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Yes.

Mr. COHEN. We have many striking individual cases.

Chairman PROXMIRE. I am trying to look at this on the overall aspect of the impact of the economy, and particularly, in the first place, on prices.

Mr. COHEN. No; it probably would not have much effect.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Then there is another very strained area of our economy, and that has to do with medicine, doctors, nurses, and so forth. This particular increase would not greatly affect that, I should think, because most of these people are on medicare anyway; is that correct?

Mr. COHEN. Although I don't have any objective information—I rely mostly on my experience with members of my own family—I think the problem is that medicare only covers roughly about 40 or 45 percent of the total medical costs of aged people, and they still have an unfinanced burden. However, a substantial number of them do carry voluntary private insurance.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Are you talking about the total program?

Mr. COHEN. Yes, sir.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Including the voluntary program?

Mr. COHEN. Yes, sir. Even with the two combined programs there are still significant exclusions. For instance, consider drugs. The cost of drugs is a very notable exclusion. A very small part of the nursing home costs are covered by the medicare program. And there are others.

Chairman PROXMIRE. This is likely to put significant pressure in this area then.

Mr. COHEN. Yes: and I think quite frankly that since medical costs are still going up—

Chairman PROXMIRE. The most rapid rising elements.

Mr. COHEN. They are the most rapidly rising element in the CPI. I think that a part of the benefit increase would be spent on rising medical care costs.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Then I take it, in addition to this, you are going to have a salutary effect, I should think, in the construction and homebuilding area? I mean these people won't be buying homes, but they may be moving into somewhat better homes which might have an effect in this area which is so heavily depressed, or am I wrong about that?

Mr. COHEN. I think housing conditions for the bulk of aged people are very, very tragic.

Chairman PROXMIRE. This would help them improve those conditions.

Mr. COHEN. It would; although I think there is another factor and that is the tendency of older people not to leave their immediate neighborhoods or contacts, no matter how bad the housing is, because they don't like to move away from familiar circumstances. I think there is a built-in reluctance to move. The two big problems of the aged, medical care costs and housing conditions, still need a great deal of further attention.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Then can you summarize in general what effect you think this is likely to have on prices, this increase in benefits coming at this time, looking at the economy as you would, as an excellent economist and as a member of the administration?

Mr. COHEN. I would say, taking the disadvantageous aspect first; namely, in a period of rising prices and particularly, rising medical care prices, part of the benefit increase, in a sense, may be used up because aged people will be only meeting the cost changes that are occurring.

But, on the other hand, I think the benefits will be expanded rapidly, and they will serve to provide the aged with a somewhat better standard of living.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Yes. What I am concerned about, and of course, we are all deeply concerned with that, but I am also concerned right now with what effect this is going to have on prices across the board. They will spend less of this on housing because of patterns and habits and because they are older people and would be less inclined to move. They would be spending probably little on automobiles.

Mr. COHEN. That is right.

Chairman PROXMIRE. I imagine some in that area but not very much. Not much on recreation because these are people who need the money and have to spend it on necessities. Some on travel.

Mr. COHEN. A very major part would be spent for food.

Chairman PROXMIRE. A very major part would be food?

Mr. COHEN. A very major part, I think, would be spent for food. What the impact of that would be on prices in relation to agricultural products and demand I am not sufficiently aware of, but I do think that a benefit increase would be reflected in additional purchases in food, and unfortunately it may be reflected in somewhat higher rents for those who have rental housing. When social security beneficiaries get an increase it becomes known in the community and the costs which have been somewhat held down are reflected in higher prices for medical costs and housing.

Chairman PROXMIRE. We have been so much concerned with the impact of farm production policies on prices for food and so much less on the demand side that my instinct is that this would not have a great effect on increase in food prices.

Mr. COHEN. I would not think so.

Chairman PROXMIRE. We have almost an unlimited capacity for production of food. We have Government programs that try to help the farm income by retarding production. But I would think that from that standpoint, it would not be inflationary.

Mr. COHEN. I would not think that it would be substantial, even if there were some increase.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Secretary Wirtz said yesterday that we could practically eliminate unemployment if we only had the structural and administrative manpower and some additional know-how. From a national standpoint, how do we know to what extent our resources are being fully utilized?

What I am getting at, frankly, is that I am concerned with the enormous amount we spend on the space programs, which absorb the energies of people who I think ought to be active in the field of education, to a great extent. And, if we can save money in this program, and maybe in some other programs, or at least establish priorities, perhaps we could move ahead in this area, which is deflationary in my judgment, of getting more people educated, so that instead of being consumers strictly, recipients of benefits, they are people who can become productive and producers.

Mr. COHEN. I certainly share—

Chairman PROXMIRE. With the priorities we have.

Mr. COHEN. I share Secretary Wirtz' views. Secretary Gardner and I have met with him several times, to discuss what we think is one of the most difficult problems that we have to face; namely, the development of training programs for the hard-core groups in our society. They are the adults, many with fourth, fifth, sixth grade education, with very few skills, a great deal of repeated unemployment during the last 5 or 10 years, living in labor market areas where there are not always a full range of opportunities. How do you develop a program that will develop these individuals' potentialities and resources and encourage the attitudes, motivations, skills, ability, and I would even say dress, looks, composure, so that they can become persons in the labor market who can get jobs? I am not talking now of very highly skilled jobs, because I do not think that can be done as quickly or easily. But I am talking about the great host of barely semiskilled, even unskilled routine jobs that are going begging. Our training programs at the present time do not really help these untrained individuals become available for competitive work in our society.

Chairman PROXMIRE. My time is up, but until we come back, you might be thinking of this—if you can think while you are answering the other questions—but this is what I am going to go after on the next turn. I want to press this point. That is, how do we know that the resources we have, the people we have who are teachers, who are educators, who can work as instructors, that this vital and precious resource is being utilized properly? Why don't we have a priority system and so forth?

Mr. COHEN. Yes.

Chairman PROXMIRE. That is what I want to get. I don't want to impose on Congressman Curtis' time. I will come back to that question.

Representative CURTIS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

What I want to do first is to suggest three areas where I would like to see some studies. Maybe they are already in progress. If they are, then I would like to have a report for the record on that. If they are not in progress, what comments you might make as to why you think that they are not feasible. This all can be done for the

record. If they are in progress, some comment for the record would be helpful as to what stage they are in.

The first is a study of the economic impact of the payroll tax—it, in effect, being a tax on jobs—and the problems we have in this area of jobs versus machines.

The first question would be, what study might be in progress? If you aren't studying this, why don't you think that it is important?

The second one comes out of the interrogation of Secretary Wirtz yesterday. The figures that I worry about, and the Secretary presented them again in his paper, show the increase in unemployment among the young Negroes, male and female, particularly in the years 1965 and 1966, which is since the date that the war on poverty has started. Yet it would seem to me, if there were any group that were a major part of this war on poverty, it would be this group.

In other words, a study on why this increase in unemployment should be occurring when all of these programs, that are supposed to be hitting at that, have come into being. And this is in contrast to the rest of the society where the unemployment ratio is going down.

So again the question is, has this been studied? If so, what progress has been made? If it hasn't, what your comments might be about conducting a study.

The third area—and this, too, I touched on in my interrogation of Secretary Wirtz—is trying to find out what is the employment resulting from the Vietnam war, in the military establishment, including civil service employees, and certainly in the private sector, including those which we could identify in munitions industries. What is this increased employment, and what is its impact on the manpower programs that we have? This would relate, too, to this second area that I mentioned.

Again the question is, are there studies in this area? If so, what progress is there? This would have further implication for our problems if we shift from war to peace.

We have a Subcommittee on Economy in Government of this committee, which I hope will get into this very important area, both when we have to shift from a peace economy to a war economy, and likewise, when you shift back again.

I might add here that I am very disturbed when the administration spokesmen keep talking about how good the economy is, because it is not a peacetime economy. Even though this war is a lesser percentage of GNP, still, I think we would have to identify our present situation as a wartime economy. So that is the third area.

(The reports and comments in reference to the three areas presented by Representative Curtis follow:)

Question: What study is in progress on the economic impact of the payroll tax?

Answer: The Social Security Administration has a basic interest in studies of the effects of social security contributions. In June 1966, the Social Security Administration and Brookings Institution held a joint conference to discuss social security financing. It was an exploratory session at which a group of distinguished scholars discussed the basic issues. Representatives from the Treasury, the Bureau of the Budget, and from the Council of Economic Advisers attended the session. Arrangements are underway for follow-up meetings. We have in progress a study of the incidence by income group of contributions and benefits which involves careful analyses of payroll tax incidence based on new data developed by the SSA. The SSA is also keeping in touch with studies and

research on the impact of payroll taxes being carried on at the Brookings Institution and elsewhere.

Question: What is the reason for the increase in unemployment among young Negroes in 1965 and 1966?

Answer: A recent study published by the Department of Labor (*Negroes in the United States: Their Economic and Social Situation*, Bulletin 1551, June 1966) analyzes the problem as follows:

"Unemployment rates are especially high for all youths. When the disadvantages of inexperience and limited training are compounded by the results of discrimination and impoverishment, the barriers to employment become formidable.

"Nonwhite graduates do less well than white graduates in getting and keeping a job. They earn less than white youths who have left school before graduation. More of them begin in the lowest status jobs.

"Thus, the advantages of education to nonwhite youths are barely beginning to make themselves felt in the job market. . . . Clearly nonwhite youths are preparing for today's jobs faster than existing practices are changing to absorb them."

Question: What employment has resulted from the Vietnam war and what will be our problems if we shift from war to peace?

Answer: The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has not made estimates of the extent of employment resulting from expanded national defense activities. We have conferred with the Department of Defense and understand that they have a report on the economic impact of defense programs in preparation. This Department has in the past worked with the Disarmament Agency on policies that would ease the transition from substantial defense activities to peace-time activities.

Representative CURTIS. I want to interrogate you specifically on an item that is right before Congress and does come within the purview of this committee; namely, the social security trust fund. Secretary Fowler testified before the Ways and Means Committee that if Congress didn't give the administration its increase in the debt ceiling, that the payments out of the social security fund to social security beneficiaries would be cut back.

I, in cross-examining him, said I couldn't understand this. The social security trust fund is a contingent fund, and it is for the very purpose of taking care of contingencies so there would be no hiatus in the payment of benefits.

Then the Secretary went on in his testimony to talk about how this fund was not really liquid, so that you could immediately convert it to cash. He said there would be delays.

Well, this comes to the question whether, as I had thought, we looked upon this fund as a contingent fund in a liquid state. I would like to be reassured about this: That the social security fund is liquid, and would be available to take care of this kind of contingency. Therefore, I hope that you are going to say that the Secretary of the Treasury was uninformed on this point. Would you comment?

Mr. COHEN. Yes. Let me say first that I would certainly hope, whatever the technical financing problems of the Treasury Department are, that the day would never come when the social security beneficiaries wouldn't receive their checks on time.

Representative CURTIS. That is right. We all hope that.

Mr. COHEN. Yes, of course.

Representative CURTIS. But the point is, what is the debt ceiling argument?

Mr. COHEN. Yes.

Representative CURTIS. Which is a serious argument on its own merits.

Mr. COHEN. Yes.

Representative CURTIS. What has that got to do with paying social security benefits?

Mr. COHEN. Right.

Representative CURTIS. Inasmuch as we have \$20 billion in this contingent fund.

Mr. COHEN. Yes. I think the problem arises from the technical method of meeting the expenditures. There is roughly, and I will just use round figures now to illustrate it, about \$18 billion invested in U.S. Government bonds out of the total \$20 billion in the OASI fund.

Representative CURTIS. But are those marketable?

Mr. COHEN. Yes, some are marketable.

Representative CURTIS. That is right.

Mr. COHEN. Not all of them are marketable, but some are marketable.

Representative CURTIS. We are talking about liquidity, aren't we?

Mr. COHEN. Yes. But here is where that situation arises. There is about \$2 billion in cash that is not invested at a given moment of time—this is the amount at the end of the month. That is, there is roughly about 1 month's benefit that is not invested at this given moment of time. I think the problem that arises is if you have to redeem one of the special obligations, then the Treasury in effect has to raise the money elsewhere to pay for it.

Representative CURTIS. No, could I stop you there?

Mr. COHEN. Yes.

Representative CURTIS. This is the point. It is true if the Treasury had to do that. But if these are actually marketable bonds—like a company would hold or that an individual might hold—you don't have to go to the Treasury. The trustees of the fund certainly could just go out and say "I have got a perfectly good Government bond," just like anyone else might have, and sell it on the market. That is liquidity.

Now maybe the Secretary of the Treasury is right. We may have to do something about getting this trust fund into a real contingent fund to do this, but from what I understood, Mr. Secretary, there were about \$3 or \$4 billion of Government securities that are of the marketable type in the fund.

Mr. COHEN. That is about correct.

Representative CURTIS. Well then, as I thought, the Secretary of the Treasury is misinformed, and that is what I wanted to be sure of. Any further response you would like to make for the record on this point, I would appreciate. I do think though that when we have our big go around in the next month or so on the whole social security program, we will be wanting to look into the assumptions of the fund, and also this point.

Mr. COHEN. Yes.

Representative CURTIS. This point of liquidity, so that we can reassure the people that this really is a trust fund, that it is set aside for social security benefits, that the rest of the Government financing, whatever it might be, is not going to have an impact on that fund, at least until the fund itself is reduced enough.

Mr. COHEN. Yes. I would say personally that between the cash balances and the marketable funds, there ought to be some method to take care of the benefit payments for at least 1 or 2 months, so that there wouldn't be an immediate crisis.

Representative CURTIS. I think it would be more than that really, wouldn't it, because your collections are coming in?

Mr. COHEN. Yes.

Representative CURTIS. And that will take care of a good bit of it, and this is only the fact that it is a contingent fund?

Mr. COHEN. Yes.

Representative CURTIS. We have done that in the past. The fund went down from \$20 billion to around \$17 billion as I remember, and now we have built it back up again. Certainly you were drawing down, in effect, on the fund to meet benefit payments in the past.

Mr. COHEN. Yes.

Representative CURTIS. Thank you very much. My time has expired.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Congressman Reuss?

Representative REUSS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Cohen, we appreciate your help. One of the biggest items in the unsatisfactory cost-of-living increase in the last year was services, and one of the biggest elements in services was the cost of medical care, and one of the reasons for the increase in the cost of medical care is that there still aren't enough doctors in this country. I think all those assertions are valid, are they not?

Mr. COHEN. I do not think that is the whole story, though. I think that is part of the story. Just to give an illustration—one of the most significant factors in the medical cost situation is the increase in remuneration to nurses, which has been going on during this last year. Nurses in many communities were getting paid less than secretaries, and hospitals simply had to increase remuneration to nurses, in order to keep the hospitals going.

Representative REUSS. Yes.

Mr. COHEN. That is not the only thing. I am just giving another illustration of the factors involved in rising medical care costs.

Representative REUSS. I wasn't suggesting that the shortness of physicians was the whole story. On nurses, they have received, I understand, considerable remuneration increases in the last year or two, and we do have a series of programs designed to increase the number of students in nursing schools and also allied health and professional fields.

Mr. COHEN. Not a sufficient number of students, but we are starting, anyway.

Representative REUSS. On our medical school program of the Federal Government, I have the impression that aids under that program are giving primarily for so-called new activities by the medical schools. Let me give you an actual case that has recently come to my attention.

I have had long discussions with the administration of Marquette University Medical School in my city, and I am told by them that their problem is a very general one, that while they can get matching 50 percent Federal funds for new and somewhat exotic though worth while programs, they get very little or nothing to bolster existing programs, and thus, says Marquette, since they want to go into these new programs, if the Federal money is there, this takes a 50-percent sharing by them out of their meager budget, and as a result, these tried and true, but very necessary courses in, say, pharmacology or internal medicine, are shortchanged, and they are unable to turn out anywhere

near the number of pharmacologists and internists that our society needs.

Is that a valid appreciation of our present aid to medical schools program, and if it is, don't we need to alter the program and help medical schools on the tried and true conventional pharmacology, internal medicine elements, and not concentrate as much as we are apparently doing on the more exotic?

Mr. COHEN. I think there is a great deal of truth in what you say, Congressman Reuss. I think what has happened in the past has been caused by two factors.

First, through the National Institutes of Health, money is given on a project basis for research and training, and this tends to focus on special areas of great interest with which a particular scientist or a particular institution is concerned. I think this has resulted in some problems because it has motivated individual scientists, individual departments to work in a particular area. As a result, that particular facet of the institution expands so markedly that other supporting elements in the institution, which are necessary, relatively fall behind.

Then the second factor is the medical school program. The medical school program involved many years of debate, as you well know, about whether the Federal Government should get into this area. The final result was that the law put restrictions on the Federal Government and Federal moneys can be used only where additional students and expansion will result—again, a desirable objective.

But I think the time is ripe for a complete reexamination of whether there shouldn't be what I would call institutional support for medical schools, rather than this special type, so that the medical schools can be well rounded, that they have the supporting services that are necessary, and that they can expand in quite a number of areas that are essential to broad public interest.

Let me put it this way. I sense that the medical schools themselves are examining this matter right now, because they are taking a look at all these bits and pieces. When you realize that the Federal Government today, through all of these different programs, is paying for a very major part of both research and training, and to some extent construction of medical schools, it might be proper to completely reexamine the whole area and the Federal Government's role in financing medical education.

Representative Reuss. My hunch is apparently right then, that our so-called Federal aid to medical education program hits around the fringes in the new and exotic, all of which is fine. I have nothing against it. But it does not provide help to the medical schools, and training more students in internal medicine, pharmacology, pathology, and the more conventional elements of medical education.

Mr. COHEN. Well, let me put it this way. Through the National Institutes of Health, particularly through the fellowships, doctoral and postdoctoral fellowships, training of people in the medical and allied science fields and expansion of medical schools to take this on are encouraged. But the extent of the financial support at what you might call the regular student level—the person who is just going through 4 years of medical school and using costly services, facilities, and teaching resources—from the Federal Government is relatively little and goes through different types of programs.

It may well be that looking at the problem, as I say, on an institutional basis, and providing Federal grants on an institutional basis, may be useful.

The reason this hasn't happened up until now is that medical schools themselves were afraid that an institutional grant might involve Federal control of the medical schools. During the whole development and passage of this legislation, while Senator Ribicoff was Secretary, medical schools were assured that money would come to them without any Federal dictation or control over how they operated.

Representative REUSS. Hasn't this had the following ironic effect? In the process of assuring the medical schools that there wouldn't be any Federal control or supervision or skewing of what they are doing, haven't we achieved exactly that? We have skewed them in favor of the exotic in the use of Federal funds, and we have impoverished their central budget, which should be devoted to the job of producing more good, modern, all-around physicians and surgeons, the people who comprise 90 percent of the physicians of this country, who actually treat patients.

Mr. COHEN. First, I think institutional grants would give the institutions greater freedom and less Federal control. When you have categories and subcategories, as you say, the Federal Government is really prescribing the area where that money ought to go. I think institutional grants may be given without control.

Quite frankly, I think they are less attractive to Members of Congress. That is the difficulty. In going through the congressional process of both the legislative committees and the Appropriations Committees, my experience has been that the first question they ask is, "Mr. Secretary, what will this money be used for specifically?"

When you say "it will be used to provide a better medical school" or "more medical schools" that usually isn't a specific enough reason. Thus the legislation tends to become categorical, subcategorical, more limited, more prescribed. I think the Members of Congress have to be convinced consideration of the problem may be in the national interest.

Now there is one other problem. If you use institutional grants for medical schools, you might well have to consider this approach for institutions generally. A wide variety of other types of fellowships, scholarships, and so on, are earmarked through many different kinds of grants in education. Now university presidents are asking Secretary Gardner and me why we do not have institutional university grants generally. I think the question merits attention.

Representative REUSS. We may need some education of the Congress.

Chairman PROXMIRE. May I point out we have a terrific attendance here of committee members—with no television—which I think speaks both for the attractiveness of your subject and your capacity to present it, and also, of the quality of the members of this committee.

Mr. COHEN. I see many members of the committee who are on other legislative committees that I am to appear before during this session of the Congress, so I sense that this may be a little preview of what will come later. I am glad to have this opportunity to see what will be forthcoming.

Senator JAVITS. It is always good to have humility, Mr. Secretary.

Mr. COHEN. Yes.

Senator JAVITS. I would like to emphasize and call attention to the figures you bring forth in your statement, because I think they are so important. We speak loosely of 25 percent of the population living in a poverty situation, and 35 million Americans. Now those figures are out of date. I note it is now 32.7 million Americans and 17.1 percent of the population, and you expect, if these social security improvements go in, it will reduce that figure by one and a half percent, is that correct? That is an absolute one and a half percent.

Mr. COHEN. I said one and a half million persons.

Senator JAVITS. One and a half million persons?

Mr. COHEN. Yes. I actually think it is going to turn out to be a little larger. I hope that by July 1, 1967—these figures presented in the testimony are for 1965—the number in poverty possibly will be less than 30 million.

Senator JAVITS. Realizing your worst fears, I would like to ask you this question. We, in the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, were all interested in the hospital modernization bill, which is critically needed, and which the administration submitted last year, calling for \$1 billion a year for 10 years. You are not even proposing that this year in the budget. We are all interested in facilities for higher education. You are proposing \$408 million under the authorization and \$72.9 million under the fiscal year 1966 appropriation.

Part A of my question: Does this represent a calculated policy of the administration to cut down on major construction in this period, as these are two major construction propositions?

Part B: Has the administration considered, assuming the answer to A is in the affirmative, whether this would give us a backlog crisis situation like we faced after World War II, and whether in view of the fact that the Vietnam war, as these things go, is not a big war, is this justified?

Mr. COHEN. I think two streams of thought came together in this fiscal year. As you know, Senator, when we proposed the hospital modernization program last year, the hospitals of the United States were very unenthusiastic about our recommendations, because the proposal did not provide what they thought was an adequate Federal subsidy for the modernization program. As a result of that, I believe we never did have hearings on the proposal in your committee.

Senator JAVITS. One day of hearings in April 1966.

Mr. COHEN. One day of hearings. I guess that one day indicated that there wasn't much prospect of arriving at a solution to the problem. I think it is true that the administration does not wish to accelerate construction programs this year. When we reviewed the problems of hospital modernization programs last fall, we were aware that there are, as well, a whole series of problems with respect to the development of the extended care facilities for the medicare program and nursing homes.

We called a group of people in and discussed the problem. They gave us food for thought in saying that: "You had better look out before you expand and modernize." They said: "There is a kind of a Parkinson's law at work in medical facilities. If you construct more and build more, doctors in the communities will fill them up."

They asked us specifically to consider, before we went on an extensive new construction program, as important and as serious as we

think it is, as evidenced by our original recommendations, a whole series of other alternative proposals. They said that we should not come to the Congress only with a set of proposals for putting people in institutions, because that seems to be the easy way.

Some people when they are sick think they are better off in a hospital or a nursing home, whereas home nursing services, outpatient diagnostic and treatment centers, and a whole host of other types of institutions ought to be considered.

The Hill-Burton Act is expiring on June 30, 1969, and, I believe I testified before your committee and you cross-examined me extensively on it. The Hill-Burton Act has tended to build hospitals in the small towns and rural areas, where there was a great deficiency. It has been suggested that now more of the money ought to go to larger urban areas.

It is our thought that we would make a major reevaluation of the Hill-Burton program, along with other alternatives, and a modernization program. I would say, in summary, modernization is very essential, but it is one part of a total program that ought to be considered. The President's budget this year does include a total appropriation of \$280 million for all aspects of the Hill-Burton program.

Senator JAVITS. Mr. Cohen, I might say that I don't agree that you have to starve the hospitals in order to discourage doctors from putting people in them. I think there are better ways than that kind of bloodletting to deal with the hospital overuse, but we will not try you on that. I have other things I want to ask you.

What is the attitude of the Department, which I see an implication in your statement of these direct income support programs which have been testified to so much before the committee which Senator Ribicoff heads?

Incidentally, I would like to apologize to Senator Ribicoff, because I mentioned yesterday a concept with respect to housing—

Mr. COHEN. I didn't quite get the import of your question, Senator Javits.

Senator JAVITS. The import is: Does the Department look with favor on guaranteed minimum income programs, like Moynihan and others testified to, of which you get an implication at the bottom of your statement?

Mr. COHEN. We think there should be a complete study of all income guaranteed proposals. I think some guaranteed income plans, whether of the nature of the family allowance system that Mr. Moynihan has been suggesting, a negative income tax, or other proposals of that general type, raise a fundamental question in our wage related free incentive economy of paying some people who are employable as much money as they can get or more, paying them through an income program more than if they are working, which in turn raises very serious problems as to whether the plans, in the present situation, would be workable. The President has indicated he intends to establish a commission of leading Americans to examine these proposals.

Let me say this. I don't think the problem of meeting, of solving, the problem of poverty, is any longer an economic or a fiscal problem. As I said in my statement here, to meet the income deficiency so that poverty would no longer exist in this country would cost about \$11 billion. That is about 1.6 of the GNP. The problem is how to de-

wise an income guarantee program which would be acceptable in our economic system.

When I first started to work on social security 35 years ago, you could not have suggested a comprehensive income guarantee program, because it would have cost so much in relation to the GNP that it couldn't have been considered practical.

Now I think the problem has changed from one of money or cost. I don't see any reason why, with \$800 to \$900 billion GNP, you couldn't find some way, in the next year or two, to spend \$8 to \$10 billion to alleviate poverty, but when the type of a system is inaugurated to pay individuals who have an employable or semiemployable man or woman in the family, as much or more than he could earn in the labor market, I think that some people will think you are setting up disincentives to work, which may be difficult to overcome.

Now one way to overcome the problem, and there has been a lot of thought given to it, is not to pay an individual as much as he could earn.

Senator JAVITS. Of course.

Mr. COHEN. But then you don't fully meet the poverty problem. You are faced with a dilemma. For example, would an individual with say five, six, or seven children, under an income guarantee program, get much more than he would earn?

Now under both Mr. Moynihan's proposals and other proposals, you could say we would probably pay them a little less, as Mr. Moynihan does with the family allowance, but then we would still need a welfare program to support special types of cases.

The net effect of that type of program would not completely eliminate welfare—you would still have it, and you would also have another type of program. What would be the relation of an income guarantee program to the social security program? I think there are a number of questions which really have not been adequately solved which require further study. The relation of an income guarantee to a job guarantee and training program would need to be explored.

Senator JAVITS. Mr. Cohen, my time is up, but I have two other questions which I will dictate into the record and ask you to submit the answers. One is this:

How much of an increase in social security benefits can be financed, in the judgment of the Department, out of the current surplus in the social security trust fund?

The other question is: Does the Department have in contemplation any new plan for medicare-medicaid to deal with the problems of the unemployed and the retired or disabled persons, and what is its attitude on including in medicare the cost of drugs for patients outside of hospitals?

(The questions asked by Senator Javits and the responses by the Department, subsequently submitted for the record, follow:)

Question: How much of an increase in Social Security benefits can be financed in the judgment of the of the Department out of the current surplus in the Social Security Trust Fund?

Answer: According to the latest long-range actuarial costs, the Old-Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance Program has a positive actuarial balance (or "actuarial surplus") of 0.75 percent of taxable payroll. If this were utilized to increase benefits, an across-the-board increase of 8 percent could be made, and the system would be in actuarial balance. Under these circumstances, no

change would be needed in the presently-scheduled financing provisions (i.e. maximum taxable earnings base and contribution rates).

Question: Does the Department have in contemplation any new plan for Medicare-Medicaid, to deal with the problems of the unemployed and the retired and disabled as well as for cash assistance recipients?

Answer: As the President has announced, we recommend that the same medicare protection now provided for the aged be provided for social security beneficiaries getting disability benefits. Under this proposal hospital and medical insurance protection would be available to 1½ million disabled persons under 65—workers, adults getting benefits based on childhood disabilities, and widows. In addition, we will recommend several relatively other changes that will increase the administrative effectiveness of the medicare program.

We also recommend that the States be authorized to enter into agreements under which they can pay the \$3 monthly premium for supplementary medical insurance on behalf of the medically needy aged and disabled as well as for cash assistance recipients.

We are very much concerned about the problem older people have in meeting the cost of prescription drugs. We recognize that this matter deserves our prompt attention. The President has asked the Department to undertake a comprehensive study of the problems of including the cost of prescription drugs under medicare, and this study is underway.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Senator Talmadge?

Senator TALMADGE. Mr. Secretary, there was recommended in the report on public welfare minimum standards for public assistance payments below which no State may fall. Would you comment on this proposal?

Mr. COHEN. Yes; the Advisory Council report proposes two rather strikingly new principles in the public welfare program. It says that there should be a minimum standard of subsistence determined by Federal law.

But recognizing that many States, particularly the low-income States, and I should say they are largely the Southern States, cannot meet that minimum standard entirely out of their own income under the present matching formula, the Advisory Council proposed revising the Federal matching formula system to one where the Federal Government would assume the full responsibility for the difference in cost between the State share and the total cost of the State program.

Let me try to make it very simple. Let's say that the State share is one-half of 1 percent of the total personal income payments in that State. The Federal Government then would pay the whole additional cost above that to meet the standard.

In other words, my comment on that report is that it really involves a very interesting and striking change in Federal-State relationships and Federal-State financing. A Federal standard is proposed which heretofore has not been in the Federal law. The report proposed that in order to meet the standard, a different type of Federal matching relationship would be needed. It is certainly worth considering.

It, of course, would also take quite an additional amount of Federal money to carry out and I should add that as a third factor. It is of some significance, because you can't have a standard with a hundred percent Federal financing above the State's share without it costing the Federal Government more than at present.

Senator TALMADGE. Am I correct in assuming, therefore, that you oppose that recommendation?

Mr. COHEN. Well, I had not yet supported it or opposed it because we are studying it, but I recognize that there is a great deal of merit in it, because there are many people on the welfare rolls today who are

receiving amounts below the poverty level, and I think that is unfortunate. We must find some way to correct this situation.

On the other hand, I think it is also true that many Southern States are making as much or more effort in relation to their fiscal ability to try to meet this situation, and that probably some modification of the Federal matching formula is necessary.

Now the President's recommendations this year, which will be before your Senate Finance Committee and the Ways and Means Committee, do attempt to go a step in that direction by requiring the States to pay 100 percent of their standard of need as defined by the State, and in no case, less than two-thirds of what the medicaid standard would be.

This does involve a new principle because it says "We are going to hold the States responsible for trying to come up to some kind of a minimum standard" but the minimum standard would be the standard they set. I would be glad to discuss that at some length. It is a significant step.

Senator TALMADGE. In your response to Senator Javits' question a moment ago about your comment in your statement, and I quote:

Putting a floor through direct income support programs so that no one falls below a minimum need is an intermediate step in achieving this objective.

Am I correct in assuming that that is not to be construed that you are endorsing the so-called negative income tax proposal or guaranteed minimum wage for all citizens?

Mr. COHEN. I am neither endorsing or opposing those proposals, no, sir. I think they require very careful additional study.

Senator TALMADGE. In your response you point out some of the same problems that it would involve that I have. We have seen that no matter how much our prosperity increases, our job opportunities become greater, and our standard of living increases, our welfare benefits and our welfare costs also go up astronomically.

Now I hear from time to time reports from all over the country about people who are seeking employees to work for them, and they get a flat refusal, and sometimes I get letters telling me the reason they refuse them is because they are satisfied with living on their welfare benefits and don't want to work. Does the Department have any reports of a similar nature?

Mr. COHEN. Could I make several comments on that?

Senator TALMADGE. Now what program, if any, do we have—I think everyone is sympathetic with everyone in need, in ill health, that can't get a job and can't earn a living, but I have no sympathy with the individual who prefers not to work, who wants to live on welfare. What programs do we have that divest these people of welfare benefits when they have actually refused to work?

Mr. COHEN. Let me say, Senator, just taking one illustration, the Public-Welfare Amendments of 1962, which the then Secretary Ribicoff proposed to the Congress, included a program to encourage State welfare departments to set up training programs for employable people who are on welfare and to give them work experience. This was very minimal. This is not the kind of training we are talking about for very highly skilled people. This was to train people who had not had work experience over the years.

Yes, to date, only 11 States have taken advantage of that program, and in fact I have a list of 32 jurisdictions that have given us notice that they are not intending at the present time to implement it.

I think this is extremely unfortunate, and included in the President's recommendations this year, is a recommendation that, as a basis for getting welfare payments, the States would have to have a community work training program, so that employable people on welfare would be given an opportunity for work and training to help them get off the welfare rolls.

Senator TALMADGE. I supported that program and I am in sympathy with it, but I am talking about a citizen who is now drawing welfare benefits, and someone offers him a job, "Come go to work for me." He says, "No, I don't want to" and he continues to draw his welfare benefits. Do you have any programs that could cut them off and say, "You ought to quit loafing and start making a living for yourself?"

Mr. COHEN. Yes. I don't know all the facts about a particular type of case, but if he is an employable person and drawing benefits under the aid to families with dependent children, and refuses to accept a bona fide work opportunity, the State may exclude him from assistance.

Senator TALMADGE. One of the things that I also hear considerable criticism about, too, is the ADC program. Lots of women from time to time for various reasons find it a more interesting life to produce children and to receive welfare benefits than to work. I believe in some of our urban areas, they draw as high as several hundred dollars a month for aid to dependent children, don't they?

Mr. COHEN. For a family of three or four children, yes, that would be possible.

Senator TALMADGE. What programs does the Government have of trying to eliminate this subsidization of illegitimacy at the taxpayers' expense?

Mr. COHEN. We have this dilemma. After the child is born, we are faced with the problem of taking care of the child irrespective of what the family circumstances may have been or the previous situation, and I think it is important, whatever the situation may have been, that those children grow up to be responsible citizens. So we have that problem.

Over the course of the last year, we have announced to the States that they may use Federal funds for a family planning program. States may use the Federal funds to have a family planning program of information and services for people receiving cash assistance or medical assistance under medicaid.

Senator TALMADGE. Some of them are more interested in the money than they are the family planning aspect of it. I would hope, Mr. Secretary, that you would make a diligent effort to study these various programs. I think we ought to be careful so as not to destroy the incentive to work. I was happy to hear you make a similar comment.

Those in need, fine. Let's assist them all we can. But let's try to devise some program to keep it from becoming so attractive to make a life on welfare continue sometimes into the third generation. There ought to be some action whereby the States and the Federal Government could join hands and say to the welfare recipients, "Now look

here, you have been offered a job. You have turned it down. We are not going to continue to support you as long as you can get a job."

There ought to be some program it seems to me whereby people that are producing illegitimate families and find it attractive to do so, sometimes three generations live under one roof, all of them drawing ADC payments, and supporting their paramours too. I have known lots of families of that type. There ought to be some program whereby that is stopped, because the taxpayers of this country, if I judge the sentiment and attitude correctly, are greatly concerned, not about supporting the needy, not by helping those who need help, but by constantly and enormously raising taxes to support ladies who are shiftless and who don't want to work and who are satisfied to live off the taxpayers.

My time has expired. Thank you.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Mr. Widnall?

Representative WIDNALL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

At this point I would like to ask unanimous consent to insert in the record two articles that are pertinent to what we are talking about today, from nationwide magazines.

The first is from the U.S. News & World Report, dated January 30, 1967, entitled "Is Social Security To Get Out of Hand?" The second is from Business Week, February 4, 1967, entitled "White House Escalates War on Air Pollution."

Chairman PROXMIRE. Without objection those will be put in the record at this point.

(The articles referred to follow:)

IS SOCIAL SECURITY TO GET OUT OF HAND?*

New plans for Social Security, promising still more benefits and adding billions to costs, are raising questions about the future of the system.

LBJ urges higher pensions, broader medicare, easier rules. Price: well over 4 billions a year. And many argue the Johnson plan isn't enough.

In prospect is a cost explosion. The big question is where to get the money to finance it all.

Social Security in this country gives every sign of getting out of hand as it already has done in some countries of Western Europe.

Each generation of older people is insisting on higher and higher benefits, covering a wider and wider range of needs, to be available on retirement or sooner.

Few seem willing to pay the full cost of these benefits. Congress finds irresistible this demand of millions of voters to get something for nothing.

The result is an engine for pouring dollars into pockets of people who have not paid their way in taxes or savings—and on a scale that feeds the forces of inflation. This situation is causing concern among many officials of Government and analysts of private industry.

Even now the "unfunded liability" of the Social Security system—the obligation to pay benefits for which reserves are not now in hand—is estimated at around 400 billion dollars.

What President wants. President Johnson now is recommending that pensions of those drawing benefits, or who will draw pensions in the future, be increased by an average of 20 per cent.

This increase, when voted, will add about 100 billions more to the "unfunded liability," bringing the total to around 500 billions, which is half a trillion dollars. That is a total 50 per cent larger than the entire national debt on which interest is being paid.

However, to make sure that there is money enough to meet current benefits, it is going to be necessary to raise taxes on payrolls.

*Reprinted from U.S. News & World Report, Jan. 30, 1967.

The combined employer-employee tax now totals 8.8 per cent on \$6,600 of individual income.

It will have to go up to at least 9.3 percent on \$7,800 of income just to keep from falling behind. Mr. Johnson has not yet broken this news to the Congress. Yet today's situation is being described as only the beginning.

The history of the Social Security system in the United States, extending over the last 30 years, has been one of steadily rising benefits, steadily rising taxes and steadily rising obligations for which money some day will need to be found.

Nobody in an official position is willing to guess where this process will end. An "escalator clause" is being proposed in Congress to carry pensions higher almost automatically as the cost of living goes up, with no provision to add automatically to taxes.

Medicare, too, is only beginning. Experience in all nations abroad having comparable systems indicates that the public's demand for an expansion of medical-service programs is insatiable, tending to outstrip the demand for old-age pensions.

Pensions are a fixed obligation that can be figured accurately.

Medicare benefits are a service-type benefit for which no reliable estimate can be made.

The Social Security system was created by law in 1935, and a special tax on payrolls was first levied in 1937. The first pensions were paid in 1940, permitting a reserve to be built.

How tax has increased. The starting tax was 2 per cent—1 per cent each on employer and employee—levied against the first \$3,000 of income. The tax on Jan. 1, 1967, had moved up to 8.8 per cent on \$6,600 of income, and it will continue rising. Payroll taxes even now are second only to income taxes as a form of levy.

Old-age benefits have gone up steadily over the years. Coverage has been broadened, and the scope of protection has been increased.

In the original act, dependents of retired persons were not covered. They were brought into the system before the first retirement benefits were paid in 1940. In 1950, farm workers, domestics and nonfarm, self-employed persons were covered.

Six years later, pensions were provided for persons totally and permanently disabled at the age of 50 or above. In 1956, too, the retirement age for women was lowered to 62 from 65, and, in 1961, men were made eligible to retire at 62. In 1960, disability at any age was made ground for a pension.

At the start, a person retiring on a Social Security pension could earn only a nominal amount without facing a reduction in his pension. That amount gradually has crept up to \$1,500 a year.

President Johnson drew cheers from Congress with his recommendation that this amount now be raised further.

Many retired—and working. Many of the millions of Social Security pensioners are working on the side and are not really retired. Many others use Social Security pensions to supplement their private pensions.

This whole process of expanding coverage and broadening benefits is viewed as leading inevitably to coverage of most medical care as the years go on.

President Johnson is asking Congress in the present session to extend medicare benefits to those totally and permanently disabled who are under 65. It is just one jump to extend coverage to dependents of retired and disabled persons.

The cost of drugs for medicare patients outside hospitals is not now covered but seems sure to be included soon, and the same is true of a good many other services now excluded.

Once hospitals and the medical profession can get adjusted to carrying the load of medicare for persons 65 and over, the age limit—if experience is any guide—will be lowered.

Just what the cost of all this is going to be is anybody's guess. Old-age pensions, pensions for dependents, and disability pensions now are up around 22 billion dollars a year. Medicare accounts for an additional 2 billion.

Mr. Johnson is asking Congress to add to the retirement system benefit increases that will total more than 4 billions a year. Medicare, on its present limited basis, will expand to 3 billions in the next two or three years.

Treasury takes a look. The explosion in costs of the Social Security system is forcing the U.S. Treasury and Social Security officials to consider the problem of future financing.

When this system was first being studied, President Franklin D. Roosevelt wanted a system that was fully "funded"—one in which earnings of a trust fund would guarantee the pension benefits.

After studies by actuaries showed what the required size of such a fund would be, the President backed off from that idea. He found that it would not be long before the Social Security trust fund would own all of the national debt then existing and would be looking around for other places to put its money.

The thought was offered that maybe the Social Security trust fund would have to buy up the nation's railroads or some of its utilities.

So the plan was shaped to provide a partial reserve fund, and payroll taxes were collected for three years to build this fund before paying any pensions. The Social Security trust fund was supposed to grow with the years. Plans still call for an increase over the years.

Experience indicates, however, that Congress prefers to operate the system on a pay-as-you-go basis—with a trust fund little, if any, larger than needed to meet benefits of a year ahead.

Now even that concept is beginning to be challenged as taxes on payrolls approach—and soon will be passing—10 per cent of a continually rising level of individual income.

Senator Robert F. Kennedy (Dem.), of New York, with the backing of a number of "liberals" in Congress, is proposing that—instead of trying to pay all the benefits from revenues flowing out of payroll taxes—the Social Security system should be allowed to write checks against the general revenues of the U.S. Treasury as well.

The Kennedy plan calls for raising benefits generally by an average of 50 per cent. The highest family benefit would be increased from \$368 a month now to \$833.20, or about \$10,000 a year. Each time the cost of living rose 1 per cent, the benefits would go up.

To meet these added expenses, there would be a 10 per cent total tax on earnings up to \$15,000 a year. This tax would be expected to meet about 65 per cent of costs. The general fund of the Treasury then would be drawn on for the remaining 35 per cent, or about 14 billion dollars a year by 1975.

Effects of private plans. Expansion of Social Security, with its rising costs, is causing the Treasury to eye private pension plans and their benefits, as well as their reserve funds.

The Treasury figures that more than 2 billion dollars a year in revenue is lost to the Government through tax-free deductions of income that goes to establish and build private pension funds. Reserves of these private funds, invested in stocks and bonds for the most part, now total around 90 billion dollars.

Income from these stocks and bonds in reserves of private pensions likewise is tax-free and results in a further loss of federal revenue.

In commenting on a study of private pensions plans, William T. Gibb III, an official of the U.S. Treasury, said on Dec. 6, 1966: "We must ask ourselves whether we are getting a fair return for the public moneys spent on the private retirement system."

The Government has been exploring plans that would increase the cost of providing private pensions, with the alternative to higher cost a reduction in pensions that are promised to higher-paid employees. The effort would be to move toward equalizing pensions or considering Social Security and private pensions as a unit.

Said Mr. Gibb, after some strong public protests over suggested changes:

"It would seem to me that it would be hazardous to assume that nothing will come of a project that represents three years of work and the thinking of people high in Government."

The Government, too, is eying the reserve funds of private pension plans.

There is a feeling that the very size of these reserves—rising at the rate of billions each year—will require regulation by Government to guard against abuses and to protect against immense scandals in case unscrupulous groups should get control of individual funds. It will not be many years before 125 billion dollars in assets is involved.

A growing worry. What you find is that plans to protect people against the hazards of life—both public and private—are proliferating and expanding at a rate that suddenly is beginning to cause official concern.

Yet political pressures are so great, and the range of protections which can be added is so wide, that the whole system is tending to mushroom, with no real limit yet in sight.

IF YOU THINK WELFARE COSTS ARE HIGH IN THE UNITED STATES

As Social Security costs mount in the United States, official Washington is taking a close look at what other countries are doing in this field.

What's found is that, by comparison, the U.S. is only a beginner in the effort to provide cradle-to-grave security.

In major countries of Europe, for example, where welfare is an old story, these programs have been expanded over the years to provide far more types of aid than does the U.S.

In some countries, welfare costs dominate national budgets and claim a major share of all the taxes collected.

A question raised in Washington: Is the same thing going to happen in U.S.?

Here is a report on latest developments in the welfare system of some other principal nations:

France. It's the employer who bears the brunt of Social Security costs in France, paying a tax of more than 40 per cent on payrolls. The employee contributes about 6 per cent of earnings. These contributions pay for a welfare system regarded as setting standards for other countries of the Common Market.

A married worker who turns 60 can keep working full time and collect a pension equal to about 30 percent of his regular pay. If he waits till 65, the pension amounts to 60 per cent.

Health insurance pays up to 80 per cent of medical expenses, including dental care, for young and old, with no time limit. Then there are disability insurance, sick pay and family allowances that can add 50 per cent to the income of a typical worker with three children.

Germany. Spending on social welfare amounts to 18 per cent of Germany's gross national product, or nearly double the proportion spent in the U.S.

Generous pensions for retired workers are being raised by 9 per cent in 1967 for more than 8 million beneficiaries to keep pace with inflation. Sick-pay benefits now provide up to 85 per cent of regular earnings for a family man. That's in addition to medical care for all ages.

Growing in popularity among German workers is a periodic "health" trip to a spa, with social insurance picking up the bill, including \$2 a day for pocket money.

Plans now are to slow down growth of Government spending on welfare, currently at 6 billion dollars a year, or one third of the federal budget.

Italy. The trend in Italy is away from payroll taxes to bigger Government contributions from other revenues.

Social insurance is being liberalized up and down the line. A worker can collect an old-age pension at any age after 35 years of coverage. Otherwise, men begin collecting at age 60, women at 55. Old-age pensions are being boosted substantially. So are payments to widows and disabled workers, as well as family allowances.

As the Government takes on more of the load, payroll taxes on employes have been reduced. Still, employers are taxed about 45 per cent of payrolls, among the highest rates in the world.

Sweden. "A classic example of an overambitious welfare state," is the way one economist describes Sweden.

Welfare spending on cradle-to-grave programs has doubled in five years. Further rises in pensions, to cover higher costs of living, are on the way. Maternity benefits have been doubled for many, including unwed mothers.

Payroll taxes for old-age and health insurance are soaring. Most welfare expenditures are financed out of other revenues, however. This means more tax boosts. In March, the sales tax goes up to 11 percent from 10 percent, and extra levies on taxis and motor cars will also be raised.

Complaints over tax increases are spreading in Sweden. Even so, as tax receipts grow, more costly welfare schemes are proposed.

Britain. Spending on social services, up nearly 65 per cent in the last five years, is taking a growing share of Britain's resources.

Costliest part of the system is sickness insurance, now running into trouble as demand for free care strains the supply of doctors and hospital space.

A flat pension of only about \$11 a week is paid to retired workers, though a supplementary plan will gradually raise payments to those who retire in the future. Sick pay, maternity benefits and family allowances are also provided for British workers.

Canada. This country, once lagging far behind the U.S., now is in the midst of an explosion in social insurance.

A retirement plan getting under way this year will eventually provide a pension equal to 25 per cent of regular pay. That comes to top of a flat \$75 a month which Canada pays all residents over 68—or \$150 to an aged couple—retired or not. By 1970, people will be eligible to collect at 65.

Benefits will also be paid, for the first time, to widows and disabled workers. Then, 1968, will come a comprehensive medicare program for all.

Around the world. In one country after another, the trend is toward higher benefits and more social services. Holland is raising old-age and sick-pay benefits. In New Zealand, half the people now get some kind of social-welfare payment from the Government.

Payroll taxes, already heavy in many nations, are going up still further. Governments are making bigger and bigger contributions out of general revenues. Many think the same thing will happen in the U.S. in years ahead.

Secretary Cohen later submitted for the record the following letter by Robert J. Myers, Chief Actuary of the Social Security Administration, commenting on the U.S. News & World Report article reprinted above:

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE,
SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D.C., January 27, 1967.

MR. DAVID LAWRENCE,
Editor, *U.S. News & World Report*,
Washington, D.C. 20037

DEAR MR. LAWRENCE: Your January 30 issue contains an article, "Is Social Security to Get Out of Hand?", which contains a number of factual points of an actuarial nature that I should like to discuss to point out certain errors that are present.

In the first box at the bottom of page 42, it is stated that the original program was to be financed on the basis that "a huge reserve was to be built up so that the system would be fully 'funded'". This statement—although frequently appearing in one form or another—is completely incorrect. The system as it was under the 1935 Act did not provide for full actuarial reserves that would, at all times, be equal to the accrued liabilities of the system. As a matter of fact, the financing basis now is exactly the same as it was then insofar as general principles are concerned—namely, that full actuarial reserves are not developed; rather, over a long-range future period, the income is estimated to meet the outgo. In fact, you correctly state the matter in the last paragraph of the second column on page 44.

Further in regard to the first box at the bottom of page 42, it is stated that the early cost estimates as to how the program's experience would be in 1967 are far different from the actual experience. This is really like comparing apples and elephants, because both the benefits and the coverage of the system have been greatly changed in the three decades and because earnings levels have risen so significantly during this period. Quite necessarily, the OASDI actuarial cost estimates made at any time are for the program as it is then in existence and for the earnings level then prevailing. One would hardly reasonably expect the actuary to predict future legislative changes some 30 years off in the future. Similarly, we assume level earnings because of the difficulty in projecting earnings rates and, more importantly, because the benefits structure adopted at any one time is necessarily based on the earnings levels at that time.

In the third box at the bottom of page 42, you accurately compare the combined employer-employee contribution rate and the earnings base for 1967 under the original law with what it actually is now. However, it is interesting and significant to make this comparison on the basis of total wages. Under the earnings levels prevailing in 1935, a combined employer-employee tax rate of 6% on a \$3,000 maximum base was equivalent, on the average to 5.5% of total wages (which might be said to be the ultimate tax burden anticipated)—since the \$3,000 base covered 92% of total wages. The present 8.8% on a \$6,600 earnings base is equivalent, on the average, to a rate of 7.0% of total wages (since the \$6,600 earnings base covers about 80% of total earnings). Thus, the differential in the tax rate as between the present law and the original law is not nearly as large as it would at first seem. Moreover, it must also be kept in mind that, insofar as the employer is concerned, the net tax rate for unemployment insurance is well below what might have been anticipated in the mid-1930's, so that this

reduction is a partial offset to any increase in his OASDI tax rate. Another thing that should be kept in mind, of course, is that these tax rates pay toward considerably more protection than was originally contemplated.

In the second column of page 42, you refer to the unfunded liability as now being about \$400 billion and that this will increase by about \$100 billion more under the President's proposal. You define this unfunded liability as being "the obligation to pay benefits for which reserves are not now in hand", which is a rather loose definition. Actually, what is meant by this concept is the amount of money that would currently have to be on hand in interest-bearing obligations if the system were to be soundly and adequately financed over the long-range future *under the completely artificial assumption that from this day on no new entrant would come into the program*. The latter assumption is one that can be dealt with in actuarial calculations, but it is meaningless in a social insurance system that provides for compulsory, continuous coverage of virtually the entire labor force.

A figure for the unfunded liability of \$321 billion had been published for the system as it stood before the 1965 Amendments. The result of these amendments, according to my estimates, was to increase this figure to about \$350 billion (not to \$400 billion, the source of which I question). Furthermore, your statement that the President's proposal would increase the unfunded liability from \$400 billion to around \$500 billion (or by 25%), is not correct, since one must take into account not only the increases in benefits, but also the future increases in contributions on the presently covered group.

In the last paragraph of the third column on page 42, you surmise that the combined employer-employee tax rate will have to increase to at least 9.3% on an earnings base of \$7,800. It is not quite clear what is meant here—whether this is to be the situation in the next year or two, or whether it is to be the ultimate situation. It would appear that the former is the case, because even under present law the rate rises well above 9.3%. Considering the short-range situation only, as you now know, the financing will be adequate at the present 8.8% for 1967-68, if the earnings base rises to \$7,800 in 1968 (and income will exceed outgo in each year).

In the various boxes on pages 42-44, cost data are given for the actual experience in 1967 under the proposal, as contrasted with what is stated to be the "original estimate". Actually, as you bring out, the "original estimate" is really that for the 1939 Amendments as made in 1943 and not the real "original estimate" that was made for the 1935 Act in 1935. The figures that you give are reasonably accurate, although in certain instances I would come out with slightly different results.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT J. MYERS, F.S.A.,
Chief Actuary.

WHITE HOUSE ESCALATES WAR ON AIR POLLUTION*

How Johnson would clean up the air—

These new regulations . . .

- Power to control emission levels for industries with heavy pollution, with tougher standards in heavily polluted areas
- Stronger Federal enforcement procedures
- Registration of all fuel additives with Health, Education, & Welfare
- Annual inspections of smog-control devices on autos

. . . would be combined with more research

- 50% more spending on research on sulfur-free fuels, diesel fuel smoke and odors, new propulsion systems

Program proposed by the President would be headed by Federal agencies working with industry and local governments. Big question is who will pick up the tab?

"Control now for clean air" was the theme Washington pushed last December at a conference on air pollution. This week, President Johnson asked Congress to translate that slogan into a comprehensive Air Quality Act of 1967.

In a special message on protecting the nation's natural heritage, the President proposed a tough program against dirty air, with the federal government taking

*Reprinted from Business Week, February 4, 1967.

the lead. Without strengthened regulatory and research efforts, he said, the U.S. in 10 years will "have lost the battle for clean air."

New task. Technical grasp of the air pollution problem and its solutions admittedly is incomplete. But the Administration now is taking the tack that necessity is the mother of invention, and improvements can be incorporated as they develop. The moves come against a background of the Thanksgiving Day smog crisis in New York, where the President estimates 80 persons died.

John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education & Welfare, says that the air pollution level is "advancing more rapidly than our efforts at control, and our best estimates indicated that the present pace of control efforts we would lose ground steadily."

Who pays? Who will pick up the tab for the program is uncertain. The cost to industry is bound to be heavy. Several bills have been introduced into Congress for quick tax write-offs on both air and water pollution abatement works. But these are not expected to pass this year. For one reason, the President in his message called for HEW to huddle with the Council of Economics Advisers to look at ways of encouraging industry and local governments to abate pollution. So more study will precede a policy decision on whether industry should bear all the cost, or get tax credits or subsidies.

Federal action is required, Johnson argues, because local governments failed to come through under the 1963 Clean Air Act. This act provided three federal dollars for each dollar in local money to develop interstate control programs. However, the President said, "despite this incentive, no effective regional programs have been developed."

Proposals. The President now asks for:

- Emission control levels for industries that are heavy polluters. Probable first targets are electric power generation, petrochemicals, paper and pulp, metallurgical processing, and fertilizer manufacture.

- Regional air quality commissions to enforce control in interstate areas the experts are now describing as airsheds. Penalties of \$1,000 per day are proposed for failure to comply. Roughly, 80 airsheds now can be identified across the country.

- Inspection of auto exhaust control devices, with the new Transportation Dept. providing matching grants to states to set up inspection programs and the Secretary of HEW establishing criteria for the grants.

- Tightening of enforcement procedures. Now, it takes more than a year before an interstate commission's orders can be backed up by a federal court. The new bill would cut this to 60 days.

- Accelerated research in fuel additives, with all additives registered with HEW.

The Administration figures that the new program will cost \$18-million more to carry out in fiscal year 1968 than the \$64-million now authorized. Some \$15-million of the new money would be earmarked for research.

Congress goes along. The Senate is moving swiftly and seems receptive. Senator Joseph S. Clark (D-Pa.), commented: "I am confident that any politician who picks up this issue and runs with it will never regret it."

Senator Edmund S. Muskie (D-Me.), chairman of the Public Works air and water pollution subcommittee, readied the President's bill and immediately scheduled hearings, with HEW Secretary Gardner and Presidential science adviser Donald Hornig to testify next Wednesday. Senator Muskie then takes off on a series of cross-country air pollution hearings.

In the House, a more critical reception is expected in the Interstate & Foreign Commerce Committee.

First targets. For industry, the President's program could have fast impact. HEW feels some pollution levels can be set as soon as six months after legislation receives final Congressional approval. First likely targets are such industries as steelmaking and electric power production.

The President disavows a relationship with industry that is just "one merely of regulator and regulated." He said in his message that "out of personal interest, as out of public duty, industry has a stake in making the air fit to breathe. An enlightened government will not only encourage private work toward that goal, but join and assist where it can. And a HEW official said that consultation with industry will be one part of the standard-setting process."

Reactions. Specific industry standards plus the prospect of federal enforcement came as a surprise to most of the industries named in the President's message. At least two provisions are certain to raise questions. One gives

HEW the power to subpoena documents for use in abatement hearings. The other is the right to enter plants to make inspections and to see company records.

William J. Clapp, president of Florida Power Corp., thinks the federal government has a place in fixing standards in air pollution, but calls attention to many electric industry programs under way to control sulfur dioxide emission and air borne particles.

Standards also bother E. J. Hanley, chairman of Allegheny Ludlum Steel Corp. He says: "I hope the government works with industry on this. I'd hate to see happen what happened with the auto companies where safety points were listed by the government and then the companies asked to come talk about them." Hanley denies that the steel industry has been as negligent as critics say.

Joel Hunter, president of Crucible Steel Co. of America, has misgivings about "such broad and sweeping authority" resting in the hands of HEW.

Water standards. The President's message made only slight mention of water pollution. One Administration official pointed out that under the present laws, "it will take us all this year to set water quality standards and to shift from low gear to high gear." These standards are being set by the states and must be approved by the Secretary of Interior.

Significantly, standard-setting by the states is being abandoned in Johnson's approach to air pollution. "We learned from water pollution and other efforts that if you take a more involved process, you just lose time," said one HEW official.

CHICAGO DIGS ITSELF OUT

Last weekend's blizzard is second disaster in month for the Windy City. It cost some \$150-million in lost goods and services, brought business to standstill.

Few in the Midwest had reason to regard last weekend's blizzard as a bonanza, but Tom Meyer of Cleveland was one of the few.

He is president of Meyer Products, Inc., whose principal product is snow plows. "One of our distributors sold out his entire stock of 50 plows over the weekend. Other dealers could have sold more, but their employees couldn't reach the shops to service the demand."

However, for anyone in northern Illinois, northern Indiana, and southern Michigan not in the snow removal business, it was a cold, bleak three days.

White stuff. Chicago, which bore the brunt of the blizzard, was the recipient of an estimated 24-million tons of snow during a 29-hour period beginning early Thursday morning. The 23-in. fall cost the city an estimated \$150-million in lost production of goods and services and came right on the heels of the disastrous McCormick Place fire.

Traffic arteries were completely clogged on Friday, and many employees were unable to get to work. Marshall Field & Co., Carson Pirie Scott & Co., and other big department stores, lacking the staff to man their counters, had to close. A major part of the financial district including the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, the Mercantile Exchange, and the Board of Trade also had to call it a day.

Workers failed to get to plants in outlying areas, too, and companies such as Zenith Radio Corp., Sunbeam Corp., and a Ford Motor Co. assembly plant were closed.

Not only employees failed to reach their destination. O'Hare International Airport—the nation's busiest—was closed for more than three days, and thousands of would-be travelers were stranded. Another 7,500 were stuck in Milwaukee while waiting for O'Hare to reopen.

With storekeepers and police immobile, shops and untended snowbound trucks on Chicago's West Side—where race riots erupted six months ago—were looted. When the melee ended, 200 people had been arrested, 4 injured, and a 10-year-old girl was dead.

At midweek, when a fresh snowfall started, many Chicago businesses closed early and several plants cancelled night shifts in fear of a new blizzard even before the weekend snow had disappeared.

Representative WIDNALL. Thank you.

Mr. Secretary, in the U.S. News & World Report article on social security, it calls to the reader's attention how the early concept of social security has changed. It gives the early projections of how

social security financing would stand by 1967, and how far different from the way it was projected and has turned out.

In benefits, the original estimate for 1967 was \$2 billion, and today's estimate for 1967, \$26.3 billion.

In payroll tax, the original plan for 1967 was 6 percent on the first \$3,000 of worker's pay, and the actual for 1967, 8.8 percent on the first \$6,600 of worker's pay.

We are now considering projections for the future which will involve an increased payroll tax and also an increased base for social security. We also find that on top of that, what we have in the reserve fund has diminished considerably. The original estimate for 1967 was \$54 billion, and today's estimate for 1967, \$23 billion.

Doesn't this disparity alarm you and indicate to you that we are going to run into a completely unsecure reserve fund?

MR. COHEN. Let me make two points before I answer that question. It is clear that Congress has made striking changes in the social security system over the years. I think this is sound. I think Congress has repeatedly reexamined the social security system in the light of remarkable economic and social changes that have occurred, attitudinal changes as well, about the role of the Federal Government in this area and its relation to private pension plans, and except for very minor points, I think all of those improvements have been highly successful and important.

I would also like to say, while there are two members of the Ways and Means Committee and a member of the Finance Committee and a former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare here, that if you go back and look at those 30 years of experience, you will find that every administration and every Secretary and every Ways and Means Committee and Finance Committee have given great weight and consideration to the longrun financing of this program.

There may have been differences on just how to deal with specific points, but I think I can say with absolute assurance that no matter who has been chairman of the Ways and Means Committee or the Finance Committee, or under what administration—Mr. Myers has been the chief actuary since the beginning—they have always asked and gotten information about the long-range financing implications of costs, how to finance the program, and they have put something in the law related to that long-run cost.

Now that doesn't mean that the answer was necessarily correct or will turn out to be correct in years to come. I would put it this way. I think they did the best that human intelligence could do under the circumstances in recognizing, as I said in my prepared statement, what the long-run costs are.

Now when you are living in a dynamic capitalist economy, such as we have, a free enterprise economy, in which the gross national product is going up \$30 or \$40 billion a year, obviously, the social security system ought to change in relation to the dynamic character of the economic system, or otherwise the distribution of income to the aged and the disabled and the widows and orphans would be out of balance with the rest of the economy.

Social security, its great virtue, is that it is a mechanism for distributing the productivity of the whole economy, not merely to the people who are productive, but to the people who are outside of the labor market.

Representative WIDNALL. Mr. Secretary, may I interrupt you at this point?

Mr. COHEN. Yes.

Representative WIDNALL. That isn't what I am getting at. What I am getting at is the adequacy and the soundness of the reserve fund.

Mr. COHEN. Yes, sir.

Representative WIDNALL. And I believe in your prior testimony, prior to my taking up the questioning, you indicated that there was just enough in cash available to take care of 1 month's payments. There is about \$18 billion in other reserves.

Mr. COHEN. Yes.

Representative WIDNALL. Now, what are the reasons for the social security reserve funds, if you don't have available the moneys to instantly pay when required in time of crisis?

Mr. COHEN. In answer to that I would say I would feel a great deal better if the amount in the reserve were somewhat larger than it is now. The total reserve at the present time is equivalent to about 1 year's benefit. That is, we are spending in the nature of \$20 billion to \$25 billion at the present time; and the total reserves, including those in the health insurance trust fund, are about \$23 billion.

I am being very general now. But it would be, in my opinion, much better if the reserve were somewhat larger. On the other hand, though, in relation to these arguments, I want to make the point that a governmental social security system does not need to have a so-called fully funded reserve. By a fully funded reserve, I mean a reserve that you would have to have if you were a private insurance company which would probably have about \$350 billion for the social security program at the present time.

Now, as I said in my statement, I think we can have a reasonable pay-as-you-go financing, with a reasonable contingency reserve but, in any case, there must always be a prospective contribution rate in the law that the Actuary says will fully cover future costs. Then you have a sound system. But I think Congress should, at least every 3 to 5 years, reexamine the whole actuarial and economic base to see if they want to change the contribution and benefit levels.

But in answer specifically to your question, I would say a reserve of somewhat more than the present reserves roughly 1 year's benefit disbursements, would be desirable.

Representative WIDNALL. I believe you just said we could reasonably have a pay-as-you-go system. We do have a pay-as-you-go system right now, don't we?

Mr. COHEN. Well, it depends on exactly how you define "pay-as-you-go." We have a pay-as-you-go system now in which some small part, around 5 or 10 percent, of the cost of the program, is paid out of interest. This is, of course, substantially less than it was under the original law.

As I remember, under the original law of 1935, in the eventual long-run future, about a third of the benefits would have been paid out of interest.

Now, in answer to your previous question, that is a remarkable shift in policy in the program—to shift from a program in which one-third of the benefit disbursements were paid out of interest to 5 or 10 percent. And so we are on a somewhat more pay-as-you-go system, but I

always think in a system like this, in an economy which is as dynamic as ours, in which the purpose of social security is to assure people of continued payment of benefits, that a somewhat larger current reserve would be more satisfactory.

Representative WIDNALL. One other thing. I am very deeply concerned by the fact that I believe right now we have built into the social security system a means of trying to keep people on the poverty level, and that is by the limitation on earnings.

It seems to me that that is one of the first things we should do. We should materially increase the amount of earnings a person could have and still retain their social security, and I know in our own office and many other congressional offices, we are told there are thousands and thousands of people who are physically capable of working who find difficulty in getting full-time jobs at their age, but are perfectly capable of taking part-time jobs that could materially add to their earnings, and also maintain them on a far better than poverty level.

Mr. COHEN. The President's recommendations would increase the present \$1,500 limitation to \$1,680, Mr. Widnall. That is a 12-percent increase.

Representative WIDNALL. But I think that is really chickenfeed when you are talking about the rise in the cost of living in our economy, the material increases that have taken place. I think something substantially more than that must be done.

Mr. COHEN. Well, I think the problem presented there is the distinction between part-time and full-time work. I think the question is at what point would you be paying people their full benefit while they are working full time.

In other words, at some point along here, we will have to make a decision of whether we want to pay social security benefits when people are working full time. Should it be an annuity program or should it be a retirement program?

Now I appreciate that there are differences of opinion where the exempt amount should be, \$1,500 or \$1,680 or some higher amount, but if you pay all individuals over 65 who are working, it would cost \$2 billion more in benefit expenditures per year. And all of that money would be going to people who were working, while the people who were not working wouldn't get any increase in benefits. So I think you have to balance those factors.

I am just saying that major fiscal, economic and social policies are involved in making that decision.

Representative WIDNALL. Thank you, Mr. Cohen. My time is up. Chairman PROXMIRE. Mrs. Griffiths?

Representative GRIFFITHS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

May I ask, Mr. Secretary, if a man is working in covered employment and passes away, what is the maximum family maximum that the widow and children can draw?

Mr. COHEN. Today, under the present law?

Representative GRIFFITHS. Yes.

Mr. COHEN. \$368, Mrs. Griffiths.

Representative GRIFFITHS. How many children?

Mr. COHEN. A widow and two children, or a family consisting of three children would get \$368.

Representative GRIFFITHS. If the mother were working in covered employment and passed away, what is the maximum that the father and children could draw?

Mr. COHEN. Generally the father could not draw any benefits, but the family could draw \$368 if there were three children.

Representative GRIFFITHS. If there were three children?

Mr. COHEN. Yes.

Representative GRIFFITHS. If the mother takes a job, how much can she earn without giving up any of the social security?

Mr. COHEN. At the present time? If she has earnings up to \$1,500 per year, she can continue to draw her full benefit.

Representative GRIFFITHS. If the father continues to work, how much social security does he get with three children?

Mr. COHEN. Mr. Myers can answer that.

Mr. MYERS. Mrs. Griffiths, if there is a father with three children, who can draw the \$368, it does not matter whether he works or not, since the children draw that much by themselves. If there is a mother with two children—

Representative GRIFFITHS. She can draw it.

Mr. MYERS. She would have to give up some of it if she works. But if she has three children, the full \$368 is paid regardless of her working.

Representative GRIFFITHS. But if she has two children and works, she has to give up or she can only make \$1,500, can she?

Mr. MYERS. That is correct.

Representative GRIFFITHS. What is the average mean wage of women? Isn't it about \$3,000?

Mr. MYERS. The average wage for what you might say is a full-time woman worker under the system, who works in all four quarters of the year, is now about \$3,600 a year.

Representative GRIFFITHS. What is the average for men?

Mr. MYERS. It is about \$6,000.

Representative GRIFFITHS. So what real objection do you have to that woman worker drawing \$368? She is going to be paying into the system. What objection do you have? Why is she treated like a retired worker? This is simply income that is taking the place of the father's income, and obviously he made much more money. Why do you want to take that money away from her?

Mr. COHEN. I think your question really goes basically to the question of whether you should have any type of retirement test at all where there are young children. Now I think that is worthy of exploration. That is different from the kind of question that Mr. Widnall asked me, because I think you should make the presumption, where there are children, that the mother ought to be able to stay home with the children if she elects to do so.

Representative GRIFFITHS. Not only the presumption—pardon me, do you think the presumption should be that she should stay home with the children?

Mr. COHEN. Yes, I would say.

Representative GRIFFITHS. Of the women in this country, 56 percent aren't staying home with the children; 81 percent of the college educated aren't staying home with the children.

One of the real shocks that I have heard this year is that in Fall River, Mass., 90 percent of all married women work. It has the lowest juvenile delinquency rate in Massachusetts. Maybe we ought to reverse this. Maybe we ought to keep the fathers at home and pay them. What kind of nonsense is it that says that a woman has to live on \$368, when she makes 1 cent over \$1,500, she is taxed 100 percent on it?

Mr. COHEN. Above \$1,500—

Representative GRIFFITHS. Yes, she is taxed 100 percent.

Mr. COHEN. No.

Representative GRIFFITHS. She has to give up \$1 for every dollar.

Mr. COHEN. No; she only gives up 50 percent for the next \$1,200.

Your point, despite that, is still germane.

Representative GRIFFITHS. The real truth is that the system would be taking in money if the woman worked, wouldn't it?

Mr. COHEN. There would be an additional cost to the system of full benefits were made payable to women who work regularly, but a woman who worked would pay contributions.

Representative GRIFFITHS. Of course, she makes a contribution. So you really couldn't have any objection.

Mr. COHEN. No, I don't think—

Representative GRIFFITHS. You are operating on a myth, the whole thing. How many women are drawing under this?

Mr. COHEN. How many women are drawing benefits?

Representative GRIFFITHS. Yes, how many families where the father is deceased? How many families draw?

Mr. COHEN. I don't know that I have it right here, Mrs. Griffiths. Do you want to make an estimate, Mr. Myers?

Mr. MYERS. There are approximately 1 million survivor families, and of those about 700,000 of the mothers are drawing benefits. The other 300,000 are working in full-time employment and are not.

Representative GRIFFITHS. Now how much does it cost the social security system to pay to the mother as long as the children remain in school to 22, what is the cost of that between 18 and 22?

Mr. MYERS. In those cases, there are no benefits for the mother.

Representative GRIFFITHS. The benefits though is paid for the child, but the mother gets that money.

Mr. COHEN. You want to know what the cost for the child is?

Representative GRIFFITHS. What was the cost to the social security system of that?

Mr. MYERS. The cost of that change in the law, which was made in 1965, was 10 percent of the taxable payroll, represents about \$300 million a year.

Representative GRIFFITHS. Now one of the problems that you have in the whole system is that once you keep these women home, once they are not permitted to earn beyond a certain amount without losing money, then they arrive in their 50's and you hear from them. We should reduce the age at which women draw social security. They haven't worked throughout the whole time. Why don't you withdraw this penalty against them? They are not getting too much anyhow, and they are not going to earn too much, and they are going to pay into the system, and keep those women working, and stop lowering the age at which people can draw social security.

Mr. COHEN. Certainly if the age were going to be lowered, it would be much more costly than paying young widowed mothers who work.

Representative GRIFFITHS. And they are not going to get enough money anyhow, but they are going to try to live on it and they are going to die from malnutrition diseases.

Mr. COHEN. Is it your point they should receive benefits irrespective of the amount of money—

Representative GRIFFITHS. The \$368 that women should receive no matter what she makes. What you are trying to do is to replace the husband's income. What you have never noticed in the Social Security system is that women are now working. If you reduced the amount she could earn, but also looked at the fact that a family works and didn't tax the woman at all, I might go with it. But the only time you are observing that the woman works is when you are reducing the amount you pay her. You aren't saying, "Well, a whole family is paying in and you are never going to get any money out of it." You don't object to her paying the money, but you object to paying her.

This is one of the things that I think would be very helpful, and I would like to ask you this: One of the real problems that you have, even with ADC, is that you aren't training these women; you aren't helping women. We have a whole system set up here that is keeping them from getting jobs. We are penalizing them, just as you are penalizing this woman from getting a job, and as long as the only thing that is available to that woman to get money is to have children, she is probably going to have them.

Mr. COHEN. Might I say on the ADC, Mrs. Griffiths, I think you are quite right. We are recommending a change in the law this year. There has been under this program a policy in the law of not recognizing that when the mother goes out to work she now has to give up her benefits dollar for dollar under AFDC and that acts as a disincentive to work.

We think there should be in effect an exemption or an incentive so that when she goes out to work, she can keep some of that money and raise her standards, so that she not only has work experience, but that her attempt to meet the level of her family is—

Representative GRIFFITHS. How many States refuse to permit a person any money who is drawing welfare?

Mr. COHEN. Quite a number of States, where we permitted disregarding the first \$20 of earned income of aged people who work plus one-half of the remainder up to \$80. I have a list here of 28 States that have said that they will not implement this for the aged, and 9 in which they have no intention of implementing it. In other words in subtracting these from the 50 States there are only 15 States that even did it for the aged, for which of course there was the greatest political and social interest in doing it.

Even with regard to disregarding income for the disabled, where in a rehabilitation program you want to encourage the disabled to work so they can get back to work, I have a list here of 35 States that have not implemented it.

Then there is one in connection with children for exemption of income of children.

We have a provision that was put in the law a couple of years ago, where a child under age 18 could go out to work, let's say a job on

Saturday or delivering newspapers, and we exempt income up to \$50 per child or \$150 per family.

I have a list here of 24 States that have indicated that they do not implement this provision.

Representative GRIFFITHS. This is one of the problems. They can't replace that money. My time is up, but I want to ask one more question for you to answer in the record.

What does it cost, what is the administrative cost of welfare? Will you please answer that for the record?

Mr. COHEN. Yes.

(The question and answer, subsequently submitted, follow:)

Question: What is the administrative cost of welfare?

Answer: In fiscal 1966, total costs of administration, services and training for all six categories of welfare totalled \$611.5 million, of which \$359.2 million was the Federal share.

Administrative costs per casemonth in the fiscal year 1965 were:

Old-age assistance.....	\$5. 27
Aid to the blind.....	8. 70
Aid to disabled.....	9. 87
Families with dependent children.....	21. 35

Chairman PROXMIRE. Mr. Rumsfeld?

Representative RUMSFELD. Mr. Cohen, I followed Mrs. Griffiths' line of questioning. I found it persuasive.

I might say that I have received a number of letters from individuals in my constituency who argue the same point, although possibly not as eloquently.

I would be curious to know, Mr. Chairman, whether or not it would be appropriate for Mr. Cohen to give some thought to the questions that Mrs. Griffiths has raised, and possibly report back to this committee at some future point. I appreciate the difficulty of responding to her immediately, and I do not think you did respond in full.

Mr. COHEN. No.

Representative RUMSFELD. And I sense you feel the same way.

Mr. COHEN. I will certainly look into it.

Representative RUMSFELD. I think it is an important and interesting matter.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Yes, indeed. Let me say that I think it would be perfectly proper for Mr. Cohen, in revising his remarks in the record, or in the transcript, to add whatever he would like to add, and I take it he can add something on that point.

Mr. COHEN. May I say to the Congressman, I will be appearing before Mrs. Griffiths in about 3 weeks, before the Ways and Means Committee, and I presume she has given me advance notice that I should be better prepared to answer that question at that time, which I will do.

Representative RUMSFELD. Regardless of where you end up in responding to her, I would be very interested in seeing the reasons and the arguments that you arrive at.

There was a question that was raised in one of our committee hearings earlier this week that has also come to my attention as a result of mail from my constituency. It involves the question of individuals coming into the United States, working for the minimum period to qualify for social security, returning to their native country, and drawing social security benefits.

This practice of course has an effect on our balance of payments. It has, I think, some impact on some of the statistics you have given

us here, because you have not drawn any distinctions between payments that end up in this country, and therefore work against the problem which you have outlined so well, and those payments which do not end up in the country, and which therefore would have no effect whatsoever on the problems we are discussing. I would be interested in having factual information as to the total dollars and the number of individuals involved, by country.

Mr. COHEN. Yes.

Representative RUMSFELD. I have had instances where individuals who have themselves come to this country and have written me saying that I should do everything possible to prevent others, by specific names, because, these people wrote me, of the fact that that was their intention, and they did not feel it was fair to this country to have these people come in and then return and simply draw their payments. If you are prepared to give those statistics now, I would be happy to have them. If not, I would like them for the record.

Mr. COHEN. I can put them in the record. I might say, Congressman, that the law, in general, provides that a person must have resided in the United States 10 years, if the payment is to be made outside of the United States, or else there must be a reciprocal treaty or agreement between this country and the other country of which he is a citizen.

I have no doubt that there are some people that came to the United States to become entitled to benefits and returned to their native lands. I think the question is should a person who has worked x or y number of years in this country have the right to have eligibility for social security even if he leaves the country.

Obviously there has to be some minimum period, and Congress made it 10 years. I think it is reasonable. But it may well be that experience shows that there should be some other period of time.

Representative RUMSFELD. I think this is a possibility, that the changing picture on balance of payments might very well indicate to the Congress that some amendments to these provisions might be appropriate.

(The following material, relative to the questioning above, was later supplied by the Department for the record:)

Question: What part of SSA payments go abroad and what effect does this have on the balance of payments, particularly those people who may come into this country, work a minimum length of time, and return to their native country to draw benefits?

Answer: As of June 30, 1966, there were 175,541 beneficiaries living in foreign countries. The total benefits paid to persons living abroad in fiscal year 1966 was \$156,598,000, seven-tenths of one percent of all payments in that year. The table below shows the number of beneficiaries in specific countries. A little over one-half (52 percent) of the workers on whose account the claim is being paid are U.S. citizens. A somewhat larger proportion (58 percent) of all benefits paid are based on the work of U.S. citizens, whose benefits are higher on the average than those of non-citizens.

Thus in fiscal year 1966 approximately \$65,771,000 went to non-citizens abroad. These beneficiaries were either citizens of countries having treaties with the United States or whose social security systems have been found to provide U.S. citizens comparable treatment under the country's social security system, or persons or the dependents of persons who had worked at least ten years in this country or had been in the active military service of the U.S. According to Department of Commerce figures total government payments abroad involving a dollar outflow in 1966 amounted to \$5.3 billion. Total SSA payments abroad to non-citizens (\$66.7 million) thus represented only 1.2 percent of total U.S. government expenditures abroad that resulted in a dollar outflow.

TABLE 6.—OASDHI—Benefits in current-payment status for individuals, by country or continent—Monthly amount payable to beneficiaries living abroad, by type of beneficiary, June 30, 1966

Beneficiary's place of residence 1	Total	Retired workers 2	Disabled work-ers 3	Wives and husbands 4 of—			Children 5 of—			Widowed moth-ers 6	Widows and widow-ers 7	Parents 8
				All workers	Retired workers	Disabled workers	All workers	Retired and deceased workers	Disabled workers			
Total.....	\$12,107,235	\$7,843,848	\$322,149	\$1,012,491	\$983,065	\$28,826	\$963,959	\$910,214	\$53,746	\$265,738	\$1,644,082	\$54,968
Africa.....	68,038	42,826	524	7,254	7,203	51	8,907	8,865	102	1,522	6,670	275
Cape Verde Islands.....	42,567	26,754	112	5,374	5,323	51	4,191	4,089	102	729	5,330	77
South Africa.....	6,901	6,901	0	948	948	0	868	868	0	139	745	0
Other.....	16,870	9,171	412	932	932	0	3,908	3,908	0	654	595	198
Asia.....	770,829	513,079	12,671	74,077	72,469	1,578	59,755	56,303	3,452	20,171	89,444	1,632
Cyprus.....	19,854	13,470	603	2,029	1,924	105	1,219	1,026	193	180	2,291	56
Hong Kong.....	136,086	70,869	63	22,666	22,492	204	9,310	8,924	380	4,163	27,040	318
India.....	7,711	4,336	63	22,666	22,492	46	791	745	46	240	657	65
Israel.....	146,623	107,947	4,589	12,926	12,931	335	5,351	4,693	688	1,635	13,979	166
Japan.....	313,639	224,583	2,768	23,653	23,324	329	20,361	19,593	802	8,362	32,908	464
Jordan.....	18,638	9,645	1,308	2,137	1,535	304	3,607	2,838	769	621	1,461	169
Lebanon.....	43,573	27,895	916	2,775	2,711	67	7,523	7,162	371	1,496	3,242	50
Malaya.....	13,576	8,715	398	2,107	2,069	18	632	595	36	229	1,887	58
Ryukyu Islands.....	31,633	20,713	678	2,736	2,627	109	3,769	3,632	137	1,367	2,088	222
Syrian Arab Republic.....	17,928	8,704	0	449	449	0	704	704	0	156	711	64
Turkey.....	14,000	8,119	0	697	697	0	1,711	1,711	0	477	1,496	0
Other.....	18,066	9,430	508	850	819	61	4,747	4,723	24	1,249	2,194	0
Canada.....	1,625,374	1,099,132	39,266	122,038	118,775	3,263	158,661	150,162	8,469	38,441	233,035	4,801
Central America and West Indies.....	216,739	158,439	6,312	11,253	11,253	40	17,602	17,180	422	4,192	20,315	1,006
Bahamas.....	13,291	8,598	176	918	891	27	1,604	1,604	0	323	1,668	44
Barbados.....	26,842	16,740	877	1,620	1,620	0	692	692	62	133	3,663	108
Bermuda.....	9,557	6,561	0	927	914	13	686	686	102	60	754	0
British Leeward and Windward Is-lands.....	28,623	20,951	465	2,101	2,101	0	1,176	1,176	0	175	3,474	281
Costa Rica.....	11,500	7,463	598	707	707	0	1,414	1,414	0	404	792	192
Dominican Republic.....	11,012	7,089	842	300	300	0	1,453	1,414	0	284	950	64
Jamaica.....	63,930	56,649	1,889	2,675	2,675	0	2,149	2,042	107	542	4,885	361
Nicaragua.....	9,462	5,543	466	345	345	0	1,741	1,741	0	766	634	67
Trinidad and Tobago.....	11,895	8,321	277	382	382	0	1,139	1,139	0	130	1,490	15
Other.....	29,157	17,555	812	1,296	1,296	0	5,509	5,405	104	1,375	2,275	333
Europe.....	7,990,079	5,428,577	204,350	668,843	652,393	16,450	391,479	387,074	24,405	110,426	1,176,035	19,369
Austria.....	124,084	94,492	3,301	6,024	6,024	158	5,486	4,989	497	2,171	12,280	192
Belgium.....	49,566	32,607	723	4,020	4,020	0	2,885	2,885	167	8,162	8,162	101
Bulgaria.....	13,229	6,455	0	1,363	1,363	0	320	320	0	139	4,952	0

Denmark.....	80,438	62,553	1,834	5,011	4,905	106	2,205	2,027	178	521	8,314	0
Finland.....	171,585	131,400	1,599	2,947	2,820	127	1,003	1,003	132	275	7,648	103
France.....	179,092	131,940	1,897	6,782	6,915	466	12,035	10,792	2,243	3,996	15,408	475
Germany (U.S. Zone).....	833,763	616,940	26,943	40,076	38,958	1,121	43,230	40,931	2,290	18,460	84,568	1,148
Greece.....	1,041,041	716,843	10,938	87,170	84,841	2,729	78,755	75,743	3,012	14,482	120,269	4,064
Ireland.....	300,247	235,843	13,189	14,327	12,617	6,233	14,431	13,207	1,224	4,279	24,148	2,038
Italy.....	2,551,690	1,633,781	68,405	278,666	272,433	6,217	91,804	84,066	7,738	25,254	447,873	5,906
Netherlands.....	38,723	28,528	2,400	2,258	2,041	233	3,134	2,649	4,486	1,073	4,274	56
Norway.....	58,773	38,876	839	4,633	4,585	48	5,196	5,100	96	1,588	7,620	109
Poland.....	331,440	241,918	8,371	27,820	27,121	699	10,626	10,070	556	3,231	39,053	441
Portugal.....	128,881	56,071	13,691	13,691	13,396	205	1,315	1,163	132	123	53,696	1,824
Romania.....	303,660	197,003	11,155	34,889	33,759	1,130	15,647	14,002	1,645	3,294	41,487	1,194
Spain.....	9,942	3,140	0	1,297	1,297	0	16,719	15,498	179	0	4,382	44
Sweden.....	390,777	280,058	10,254	32,305	31,728	577	4,923	4,533	1,221	3,670	47,032	739
Switzerland.....	338,983	273,458	5,022	20,124	19,958	166	4,428	4,085	343	1,032	34,192	237
United Kingdom.....	140,982	112,609	2,828	7,649	7,501	148	65,153	62,770	2,383	991	12,415	362
Yugoslavia.....	637,455	447,252	13,575	36,809	35,678	1,131	10,710	10,168	542	22,007	89,386	1,273
Other.....	331,859	164,498	7,080	38,315	37,526	789	1,295	1,133	112	2,426	108,744	484
	11,848	8,651	348	409	509	0	160,507	152,638	7,869	43,545	35,363	50
Mexico.....	584,592	266,839	28,209	39,003	36,503	3,100	14,505	14,272	593	4,271	6,095	10,625
Oceania.....	60,661	30,641	1,865	2,784	2,516	268	1,835	1,667	61	3,180	5,387	140
Australia.....	48,683	24,718	1,661	2,112	1,902	150	11,835	11,067	318	1,030	61	0
New Zealand.....	9,972	4,877	90	568	497	61	2,770	2,552	218	61	61	0
Other.....	2,106	1,046	114	114	57	57	710	653	57	0	0	0
Philippines.....	656,496	305,272	26,088	79,030	75,330	3,700	127,894	120,356	7,538	38,618	62,796	15,798
South America.....	103,203	60,308	2,770	7,035	6,659	376	16,426	15,592	834	3,995	11,457	822
Argentina.....	24,011	15,115	466	1,574	1,509	65	1,706	1,641	65	676	4,332	142
Brazil.....	23,787	13,075	1,185	1,789	1,580	159	4,197	3,844	353	1,108	2,319	164
Chile.....	9,543	5,741	226	670	670	0	1,800	1,800	0	460	1,076	0
Colombia.....	9,549	5,649	562	540	419	121	1,983	1,630	353	232	550	133
Peru.....	11,912	6,919	237	803	803	0	2,205	2,205	752	752	784	212
Venezuela.....	11,031	6,156	94	649	618	31	2,533	2,470	63	399	1,200	0
Other.....	12,940	8,143	0	1,060	1,060	0	2,002	2,002	0	368	1,196	171
U.S. possessions.....	19,224	7,345	94	554	554	0	7,803	7,742	61	556	2,872	0
Caral Zone.....	18,073	7,345	94	554	554	0	7,353	7,292	61	521	2,806	0
Other.....	551	0	0	0	0	0	450	450	0	35	66	0

¹ Based on monthly benefit check address. Data for places with 100 or more beneficiaries shown separately. All benefit payments were being withheld on June 30, 1966, from beneficiaries living in the following countries in which conditions were such that there was no reasonable assurance that the payee would actually receive the check and be able to negotiate it: Albania, China (including Outer Mongolia and Tibet), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Soviet Zone of Germany, Hungary, North Korea, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (including Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania).

² Aged 62 and over.

³ Under age 65.

⁴ Includes wife beneficiaries under age 65 with entitled children in their care, and divorced wives.
⁵ Includes disabled persons aged 18 and over whose disability began before age 18 and entitled full-time students aged 18-21.
⁶ Includes surviving divorced mothers with entitled children in their care.
⁷ Aged 60 and over for widows and surviving divorced wives, and aged 62 and over for widowers.

Source: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Social Security Administration, Office of Research and Statistics, Division of Statistics, February 1967.

TABLE 7.—OASDHI—Benefits in current-payment status for individuals, by country or continent—Number payable to beneficiaries living abroad, by type of beneficiary, June 30, 1966

Beneficiary's place of residence 1	Total	Retired workers 2	Disabled workers 3	Wives and husbands 4 of—			Children 5 of—			Widowed mothers 6	Widows and widowers 7	Parents 8
				All workers	Retired workers	Disabled workers	All workers	Retired and deceased workers	Disabled workers			
Total	175,541	92,433	3,126	25,825	25,051	774	24,477	22,099	1,778	5,066	23,827	787
Africa	1,037	481	5	183	182	1	232	230	2	30	103	3
Cape Verde Islands	685	294	1	137	136	1	133	131	2	16	83	1
South Africa	126	77	0	22	22	0	14	14	0	2	11	0
Other	246	110	4	24	24	0	85	85	0	12	9	2
Asia	11,649	6,294	127	2,020	1,976	44	1,483	1,378	105	333	1,369	23
Cyprus	327	172	6	65	62	3	46	40	6	3	34	1
Hong Kong	2,318	988	7	640	635	5	235	228	11	71	419	4
India	115	69	1	23	22	1	14	13	1	4	10	1
Israel	1,819	1,193	45	273	272	1	97	99	13	26	189	2
Japan	4,407	2,834	28	652	643	10	460	387	22	132	823	3
Jordan	721	354	13	77	68	9	104	138	20	14	24	1
Lebanon	222	321	7	83	81	2	220	218	1	4	23	1
Macao	227	115	6	61	60	1	25	23	2	4	26	1
Ryukyu Islands	537	273	7	84	80	4	111	105	6	24	25	3
Sri Lanka	113	68	0	12	12	0	21	21	0	2	11	1
Syrian Arab Republic	187	101	0	18	18	0	39	30	0	0	20	0
Turkey	287	110	6	26	25	1	98	94	2	19	30	0
Canada	23,887	12,804	391	3,255	3,148	107	3,340	3,093	332	694	3,243	60
Central America and West Indies	3,013	1,930	65	265	263	2	374	365	9	73	283	23
Bahamas	197	103	2	26	25	1	33	33	0	6	26	1
Belize	347	233	0	34	34	0	16	14	2	3	60	0
Bermuda	114	72	0	18	17	1	12	10	2	3	11	0
British Leeward and Windward Islands	413	257	5	52	52	0	41	41	0	3	62	3
Costa Rica	91	57	5	17	17	0	33	33	0	8	10	3
Dominican Republic	168	96	10	10	10	0	33	32	1	5	13	1
Jamaica	875	684	19	59	59	0	39	37	2	2	61	5
Nicaragua	152	76	4	10	10	0	40	40	0	13	8	1
Panama	157	105	3	8	8	0	18	18	0	2	19	2
Trinidad and Tobago	423	213	8	31	31	0	109	107	2	24	33	5
Other	107,106	62,402	1,944	16,155	15,779	376	7,853	7,250	599	1,666	16,841	240
Europe	1,524	1,080	31	134	131	3	84	74	10	28	165	2
Austria	1,634	1,072	7	89	89	0	45	41	4	16	104	1
Belgium	184	75	0	31	31	0	6	6	0	2	70	0
Bulgaria	974	701	17	107	105	2	33	30	3	6	110	0

Finland.....	733	621	14	67	64	3	18	15	3	4	108
France.....	2,262	1,524	47	216	206	10	203	177	26	61	206
Germany (U.S. Zone).....	10,408	7,172	251	884	851	33	749	687	62	275	1,004
Greece.....	14,744	8,273	198	2,285	2,231	54	1,816	1,741	75	230	1,888
Ireland.....	4,039	2,826	126	335	319	16	316	282	34	67	342
Italy.....	35,606	18,891	660	6,952	6,817	135	1,974	1,789	185	385	6,609
Malta.....	762	492	21	55	50	5	65	57	12	15	57
Netherlands.....	762	453	8	101	100	1	79	77	2	23	97
Norway.....	4,186	2,744	71	614	599	15	176	163	13	43	232
Poland.....	1,755	633	25	294	288	6	28	25	3	2	769
Portugal.....	4,402	2,329	103	910	877	24	413	373	40	54	600
Rumania.....	127	37	0	27	27	0	3	3	0	0	69
Spain.....	5,004	3,074	92	769	747	12	360	322	28	55	605
Sweden.....	4,120	3,063	48	433	429	4	92	83	9	17	444
Switzerland.....	1,685	1,243	23	160	157	3	72	65	7	15	163
United Kingdom.....	5,064	5,161	132	790	788	32	1,074	1,008	66	323	1,107
Yugoslavia.....	4,643	1,828	18	910	892	18	237	222	15	39	1,562
Other.....	1,185	1,39	3	11	11	0	25	23	2	4	10
Mexico.....	11,734	3,413	275	1,272	1,171	101	5,121	4,801	320	980	598
Oceania.....	894	364	17	65	57	8	291	269	22	76	79
Australia.....	688	283	15	46	41	5	216	203	13	57	60
New Zealand.....	188	93	1	15	13	2	35	30	3	17	9
Other.....	38	13	1	4	3	1	17	16	1	2	1
Philippines.....	14,465	3,934	275	2,435	2,309	126	5,323	4,959	264	1,135	1,081
South America.....	1,445	720	25	139	130	9	309	283	24	65	157
Argentina.....	316	180	4	35	34	1	25	24	1	10	60
Brazil.....	328	151	11	41	37	4	75	65	10	16	32
Chile.....	130	63	2	13	13	0	20	30	0	8	14
Colombia.....	157	71	5	16	13	3	30	40	11	4	8
Peru.....	148	73	2	16	16	0	24	34	10	11	10
Venezuela.....	175	82	1	16	14	0	53	51	2	8	16
Other.....	191	100	0	23	23	0	41	41	0	8	17
U.S. possessions.....	321	101	1	16	16	0	146	145	1	14	43
Canal Zone.....	303	101	1	16	16	0	131	130	1	12	42
Other.....	18	0	0	0	0	0	15	15	0	2	1

¹ Based on monthly benefit check address. Data for places with 100 or more beneficiaries shown separately. All benefit payments were being withheld on June 30, 1966, from beneficiaries living in the following countries in which conditions were such that there was no reasonable assurance that the payee would actually receive the check and be able to negotiate it: Albania, China (including Outer Mongolia and Tibet), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Soviet Zone of Germany, Hungary, North Korea, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (including Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania).

² Aged 62 and over.

³ Under age 65.

⁴ Includes wife beneficiaries under age 65 with entitled children in their care, and divorced wives.

⁵ Includes disabled persons aged 18 and over whose disability began before age 18 and entitled full-time students aged 18-21.

⁶ Includes surviving divorced husbands and others with entitled children in their care.

⁷ Aged 60 and over for widows and surviving divorced wives, and aged 62 and over for widowers.

Representative RUMSFELD. In your statement you say: "The income deficiency of the poor in 1965 was \$11 billion. This is the total amount by which their incomes fell short of the poverty line. Without these programs"—and I am not quite sure what "these programs" means—"the deficiency would have approached \$20 billion."

This means, that "these programs" reduced the potential deficiency by \$9 billion?

Mr. COHEN. Right.

Representative RUMSFELD. Could you explain what "these programs" are and what their cost was?

Mr. COHEN. The two general programs that I was dealing with was the so-called social security program, and the public assistance or public welfare program.

Representative RUMSFELD. What were their cost?

Mr. COHEN. Their total benefit expenditures at the present time would be in the nature of about \$5 billion for public assistance and about \$20 billion for the social security program. That is about \$25 billion.

Representative RUMSFELD. So an expenditure of \$25 billion reduced the deficiency from \$20 billion potential to an estimated \$11 billion.

Mr. COHEN. Public assistance payments in 1965 were \$3.5 billion, 100 percent of which went to the poor. In 1965, social security cash benefits were \$18 billion. In the social security program of course, the payments are not made only to the poor. Any person who has contributed and meets the eligibility requirements receives benefits and there are large numbers of middle-income groups who, if they have private pensions and other investment income or if they are still working some or less than full time are not in the poor category.

Representative RUMSFELD. I appreciate that. I would just like to concur with the comments of Mr. Widnall concerning your comment about greater work force participation of beneficiaries who are able to work.

I have had a bill in that would accomplish this for a period of years. It has never received favorable consideration. I am hopeful that we can do something in this area. I think it is very important.

I have a number of questions, but one is quite general, and I will pose it first. You have indicated that the social security income and output of the programs have a stimulating effect on the economy, in your opening remarks, a net stimulating effect.

Certainly the administration's proposal for a tax increase will have a depressing effect.

Let's say they are offset, which I think is not an inaccurate statement. The net result is that with respect to the effect of the economy, they are offset, and yet the other effect is that you will have higher taxes, non-social security, and in addition, you will have higher social security taxes, and there will therefore be a smaller total percent of earnings left to individual wage earners as a result of both of these factors, and therefore Government will be playing a larger role in the expenditure of an individual's total earnings than previously, and yet there is no net effect there on the economy.

Now you made a very fine statement in response to the question concerning a guaranteed income, and you said a number of things that I agree with you on very strongly.

It seems to me that this trend that you have described in your statement works directly against the response you have made I believe, to Senator Talmadge or Senator Javits, about the need for incentives in our system.

The fact is that, in the last analysis, incentive is most important in solving some of these problems, and you suggested that with respect to the hard-core unemployed it isn't just dollars that are going to solve the problem. Are you worried about this? Are you worried about the fact that the net effect of the administration's proposals will tend to work against the things you believe in with respect to incentive?

Mr. COHEN. Well, of course incentive is not easily measured by the usual kinds of tests. It involves psychological as well as economic factors.

As a taxpayer, like everyone else, I don't like to pay higher taxes per se. But with respect to the social security system, as the contributions go up, I think that if you assure the average worker that he is getting a greater degree of protection, the evidence seems to be on the whole that he is willing to pay for a reasonable amount of protection.

Representative RUMSFELD. You don't feel therefore it doesn't have an unfortunate effect on the incentive question because of this compensating factor you mentioned?

Mr. COHEN. I would have to admit that it would have some effect on some people. I could conceive of the problem in lower and intermediate income levels. Quite frankly I don't think it is a disincentive on higher income people.

I see no evidence whatsoever that people with higher incomes and with higher education and with greater opportunities have a disincentive because of higher social security taxes or in most cases higher income tax rates.

But I would have to admit the validity of your question. You have to look all the way down the line and see what the disincentives are to people of less education, less opportunity, and maybe there comes a certain marginal point balancing a lot of other things where there could be a disincentive. In other words, I don't want the social security tax to go so high that it is a disincentive. I don't think we are at the point at the present time.

Representative RUMSFELD. My time is up. I would like to ask one or two questions for the record.

First of all, your statement is interesting. I am a little concerned that it doesn't seem to consider the effect of inflation, increases in the cost of living, as far as impact on the problems you have outlined here to the extent I would be satisfied. I think you have overemphasized one side of the picture and underemphasized the other.

In your statement, in the section called "Expenditures for health, education, and welfare," I would like to have submitted for the record a breakdown as you have done in part for Federal public, State and local public, and private, with the trend say, since 1962, both in actual numbers and as a percentage. I would like to see what the trend of the private contribution in these areas are.

I mention this because I have seen instances in Illinois, where the private sector, the voluntary organizations are pulling out of areas as Government money comes in.

We just had a former member of this administration who is now running one of the great foundations of this country, announce that they were pulling out of many areas because of the Federal Government's involvement in those areas, and I think this is something that needs much more attention than we are giving it.

Mr. COHEN. Yes, sir.

Representative RUMSFELD. Because we are taking it out of one pocket and putting it in another, and we don't solve any problems that way.

Mr. COHEN. I would like to put something in the record in answer to your question, because I think, overall, there is no evidence that the private sector in health, education, or welfare has diminished. As a matter of fact, it has also gone up rather markedly, although the character of the expenditures may have changed.

Mr. RUMSFELD. I want to see it as a percentage.

Mr. COHEN. We will be glad to put it in the record.

Representative RUMSFELD. Thank you, sir.

(The material referred to follows:)

Question: What is the trend in private expenditures for health, education, and welfare?

Answer: Public and private expenditures for health, education, and welfare, fiscal years 1961-62 through 1965-66:

(Dollar amounts in billions)

	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64	1964-65	1965-66	Percent increase, 1962-66
Total public and private ¹	\$93.0	\$100.0	\$108.0	\$117.0	\$131.0	41
Total public.....	62.2	66.5	71.1	77.5	87.6	41
Federal funds.....	30.6	33.0	35.6	38.8	46.8	53
State and local funds.....	31.6	33.6	35.5	38.7	40.8	29
Total private ¹	32.7	35.2	38.4	42.1	45.9	40

¹ Total adjusted to eliminate duplication resulting from use of cash insurance benefits to purchase medical care and educational services.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Congressman Brock?

Representative BROCK. Let me say first I have enjoyed very much your testimony.

Mr. COHEN. Thank you, Mr. Brock.

Representative BROCK. I appreciate it, Mr. Cohen. You have been clear and concise. I am just particularly interested in the questions asked by Mrs. Griffiths and also Congressman Rumsfeld and others, on this problem relating not only to women but to the aged.

With your limit on income, it seems to me that you do have a disincentive there. I am concerned lest we seem to be telling people when you get to be 62 or 65, why don't you just lay down and die. Don't be productive any more. I don't know—what is the average payment to a social security recipient now?

Mr. COHEN. About \$84 a month.

Representative BROCK. That is \$1,000 a year, approximately. You are talking of a \$1,500 limit on the income. That is a \$2,500 gross, if they work, for the average.

You have got half the people that are below the average. They are getting even less. I can't imagine why this administration or the Social Security Administration would want to limit the productivity of an individual. We all age in differing degrees and at different times, and it seems to me that those who want to remain productive in society ought to be encouraged in every way possible to do so. Is there some reason other than what you have said?

Mr. COHEN. Well, I don't know that I could amplify any more on what I have already said. I think it is a matter of degree.

In the recommendation to increase the earnings exemption to \$1,680 we recognize the same principle as you. The question is at what point would you not be giving an incentive, because there would be people who would work anyhow and draw their full benefits. You would be taxing younger people to pay for people who would work anyway.

What we are trying to do is find some point on that scale where people are encouraged and given an incentive to work, but we do not necessarily want to pay an annuity to people who would otherwise work and not retire.

Representative BROCK. I am willing to do that, but I question whether we ought to keep that point below the poverty level. We keep talking about \$3,000. I am not sure that \$3,000 is anywhere near adequate to somebody in New York City, for example.

Mr. COHEN. Yes.

Representative BROCK. It may be in my district, but it certainly in some of the more metropolitan areas is not.

Mr. COHEN. This gets into a problem on the statistics. The actual poverty line for an aged individual 65 and over is \$1,500, and for a man and wife, \$1,890. The \$3,000 figure is where there is a man, wife, and two children.

Representative BROCK. I don't know how many people you know who are trying to live on \$1,500 today, with today's cost of living, but it is doggoned hard to eke out a bare existence, and I personally think if we would go somewhere closer to \$3,000, it would be a lot better.

Another question, following Mr. Rumsfeld's thought. On these incentives, as I recall, there has always been this magic figure of 10 percent. I think Secretary Ribicoff, when he was Secretary, mentioned the maximum of 10 percent when you reach a point of diminishing returns on the productivity of this program.

You say we haven't reached it, and, of course, we haven't today, but we are programed to go beyond that, and I wonder if you have any concern, because you are proposing a 20-year increase this year. Subsequent Congresses probably will enact further benefits. How high do you think we can go? What is the point where we stop?

Mr. COHEN. I was with Secretary Ribicoff at the time he made that statement before the congressional committee, and after about a year or two of discussions in congressional committee, the 5 percent level was broken—eventually, not immediately—by including medicare. At the present time as you know, the eventual, not current, total employee tax rate would go as high as 5.65 percent, roughly 5½ percent.

Representative BROCK. How high will it go for the 20 percent this year?

Mr. COHEN. It will go to 5.8 eventually, not immediately.

Representative BROCK. You are getting close to 12 then overall.

Mr. COHEN. Yes, overall. Now I think you always have to look at that in terms of the distribution of income in the country. I think there is, quite frankly, a limit to the use of the payroll tax as a method of financing social security benefits. There is some point at which it would be a big disincentive.

Representative BROCK. Would you suggest going to general revenues at some point in the future then?

Mr. COHEN. Well, I think it is something that ought to be looked into, but before I would go to extensive general revenue financing, I think that Congress would have to take a very hard look at the role of payroll financing and general revenue financing, in relation to the benefits that are provided, the distribution of income, and what other types of programs it wished to finance in the income maintenance field.

Now if Congress were going to some guaranteed income minimum, some income deficiency program, in my opinion, that would have to be paid out of general revenues. And you would want to examine first the total type of program and its characteristics before you made a decision about using general revenues.

Representative BROCK. I certainly agree. I can ask you one other question.

If you were 21 years old today, would you consider social security a good investment?

Mr. COHEN. I certainly would, for two reasons, sir.

First many people do not realize that social security provides life insurance protection. A young man at 26 or 27 with two or three children gets the equivalent under social security of a \$40,000 or \$50,000 life insurance policy, which I don't think many young men who are starting in the work force could provide on their own at that time.

Representative BROCK. Did you ever, Mr. Cohen, inquire of any of the insurance companies as to what kind of annuities or insurance program they could furnish for the same amount of money?

Mr. COHEN. Well, you see there is a difficulty of just looking at an annuity. We are providing three types of group insurance in a combined package and that is the point I am trying to make.

Social security is not merely a retirement program. A young person gets \$40,000 or \$50,000 life insurance protection. The program also provides disability insurance coverage without a medical examination, which is very attractive to the middle-aged person when his family responsibilities are developing. He may have \$40,000 to \$50,000 disability insurance protection under social security. If he becomes disabled he may be a tremendous burden on his family and his relatives.

Now, of course, if a man lives to 65, and he hasn't died or become disabled that is fine; but you should include the valid cost of the protection he has had over the years.

Representative BROCK. I was interested to inquire of a local insurance company in my hometown. If they provided the protection against disability, the insurance, and the retirement program, all of the advantages that accrue through social security, what would be the premium charge to a 21-year-old, and it was significantly lower than

the premium charge, if you want to call it that, for social security tax that that individual pays.

Of course, the obvious difference is that there is as you mentioned earlier, there is this fact that theirs is funded. It is invested.

Mr. COHEN. You are touching on an important point. What they charge you, I am quite sure, is the equivalent of what the employer and the employee contribute.

Representative BROCK. No; I asked for a dollar figure, and I compared it with what the gross figure was, and then what the individual paid.

Mr. COHEN. I would like to see it then, Mr. Brock. I don't think it is correct.

Representative BROCK. I am saying that it was lower than the joint figure. I am not saying it is lower than the individual, but I am saying that somebody has got to pay the joint figure. It is dollars that come out of somebody's pockets. This is hypothetical, and just an interesting philosophical inquiry.

Mr. COHEN. It is so easy to think of the Social Security System as just a retirement system and it is true if a man pays all his life and dies at age 64 and he is not married and he has no children, he has paid a whole lifetime without getting anything back. But that is part of the risk. I pay fire insurance and automobile insurance, and I am glad when I do not have to get anything back on that.

Representative BROCK. All I am trying to point out here, sir, is not any suggestion that we change what we are doing at all; but I am saying that when you start talking about funding this program out of general revenues, you are going to open a Pandora's box, because there is a very distinct choice then that we must, I think, in good faith, offer an individual, if he can acquire an equivalent program at the same cost.

If you are going to fund it out of general revenues, then we have got to give him an alternative, so that he has a right to make his own decision.

Mr. COHEN. Let me just put it this way—general revenue financing opens up a number of questions.

Representative BROCK. Yes, sir.

Mr. COHEN. Of which that is only one of the questions.

Representative BROCK. Thank you very much.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Thank you, Mr. Brock.

I might say that I want to pursue the line which Mr. Brock was pursuing.

It seems to me what is overlooked here is that the man who takes out an insurance policy with a private insurance company doesn't have Congress behind the private insurance company, and 35 years ago what was the maximum payment when the program started?

Mr. COHEN. Under the original act, as I recall, it was \$85.

Chairman PROXMIRE. What was the minimum?

Mr. COHEN. Ten dollars.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Minimum monthly payment?

Mr. COHEN. Ten dollars.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Ten dollars a month?

Mr. COHEN. A month.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Of course, he would be stuck with that.

But Congress comes along and doubles it, triples it, and now it is going to be seven times as big as that, so I think it is quite a difference.

Mr. COHEN. You made a most important point, Senator Proxmire, and that is when you take out a private insurance policy under contract, you usually get a fixed number of dollars in return.

Chairman PROXMIRE. That is right.

Mr. COHEN. But under social security, although I don't want to predict what future Congresses will do, you really have what I call a dynamic benefit.

Chairman PROXMIRE. You sure do. I want to come to that, which I think is one of the most fascinating aspects of this. But, first, I just want to add my word to what has been implied, and I would go much further than some of the other members.

I would knock out the limitation on income for social security beneficiaries entirely. It seems to me it goes back to the old theory that we have a scarcity of jobs, and an abundance of labor, that we can't possibly solve our unemployment problem, and I think we are getting into a position now where we are confident we can.

In that kind of a society we want people to work if they want to work. We have two unfortunate immediate impacts.

One is it would increase the cost of the fund, and I think that even though they get revenues from people working, it wouldn't overcome that.

The other part, of course, is that unemployment statistics would go up, but I think those are both minor and superficial, compared to the advantage of getting people to produce as long as they want to.

Now I would like to go back to the question I asked when I finished previously, and you had replied in part. But my question was how do we know to what extent our resource-building resources, in other words, the people who are the instructors, teachers and so forth, are being fully utilized, and what kind of priority system is possible and feasible that we can set up to determine this? These are priorities within the Federal Government.

Mr. COHEN. Within the Federal Government?

Chairman PROXMIRE. Within the Federal Government; recognizing we can order States and private people around.

Mr. COHEN. Yes.

Well, I would say in the Federal Government we are only beginning to do it.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Don't you think we ought to?

Mr. COHEN. Yes, I do.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Isn't this the very heart of growth and development?

Mr. COHEN. Right. Now we have instituted, as you know, in the last couple of years under Assistant Secretary Gorham, a new system of program planning and budgeting, which is an attempt to make a cost effectiveness analysis of our programs. I think this bears partially on the question, because I happen to believe that the training programs have a higher degree of effectiveness than almost any other programs.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Secretary Wirtz said yesterday that in terms of welfare costs, a training program would pay for itself in 2 years. In terms of Federal tax revenues, it would pay for itself in 4 years.

It is just insane under those circumstances for us not to recognize this. Speaking strictly from a conservative fiscal standpoint of minimizing the cost to the taxpayers, let alone the humane elements which are far more important.

Mr. COHEN. I think I would say it is probably more difficult than Secretary Wirtz indicated.

Chairman PROXMIRE. He wasn't saying it would be easy at all. He recognized the very serious problems of getting the instructors in the right place.

Mr. COHEN. Right.

Chairman PROXMIRE. And getting the know-how and so forth. But he said that this from an economic standpoint is the answer.

Mr. COHEN. There is no question about this from a strictly economic point of view. Let me just give you an illustration. If we had the Milwaukee Vocational School in every major metropolitan area of the country, I think that there would be many more of these young people at work.

Chairman PROXMIRE. I agree with you. That is maybe not the No. 1—or maybe it is the No. 1. But the prime asset in Milwaukee is the fact that we have trained manpower. I read this and I don't know if it is true, that we spent something like 17 times as much in Milwaukee on vocational education as they do in Philadelphia. Whether those figures are true or not I don't know.

Mr. COHEN. Of course, the Milwaukee Vocational School is not a 1-year wonder. It has been developing in Milwaukee for 50 years and it has gained community acceptance. The quality of teacher instruction and the relationship with the labor unions and the employers has been excellent.

The unions and the employers are accepting this training. They are taking these graduates. They are helping the school. There are many communities in this country that are so far away from what is being done in Milwaukee. I think that there is a lot of other training that could be done. For example, Mr. Scheuer's whole thrust in getting us to train people for a whole host of what I call relatively unskilled jobs, is relatively untapped in this country.

Chairman PROXMIRE. How about the possibilities of developing a priority system? Can this be done? I left off at the end of my questioning before when I had finished my 10 minutes, with a reference to the space program, for example.

Well, that may not be very relevant, but I know the Federal Government is getting more, and more, and more, educational programs and getting to have a greater and greater influence on education, and I think we have to be very careful about leaving the States and localities with as much discretion as possible. But at the same time it would seem that even an announcement of an indication of where the priorities would be, that that would be most helpful.

Mr. COHEN. Yes, I think you are right. I don't know whether this would help, but I would say Mr. Scheuer's amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act, if proved successful, as I think they have been, should indicate that more money ought to be invested in the OEO program for training people in these very marginal areas.

I think also the instructors can come from the same area as the trainees. We are not talking about Ph. D. training now. We are not

talking about electronics. We are not taking about plastics. I am talking about training people who can perform unskilled work in State hospitals; the people who will take care of the linens and the food distribution in hospitals, about unskilled staff who can work in nursing homes, about all sorts of aids in the educational process; for example, in the Headstart program.

I don't think we have to elevate this so high that it would take 5 years to accomplish. I think that you can train people for a whole host of jobs that are going begging at the present time, and I think, as Secretary Wirtz said, it would be a good investment. Some of them would come off the welfare rolls, maybe not all of them, but many of them could.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Now I want to ask you about something else. This is from what I think is a very delightful column by Paul Samuelson, you may have read it, on social security in the current issue of Newsweek. I would like to read three short paragraphs because I think that they pose a most interesting problem that has been raised here but do it, I think, in a very dramatic way:

The beauty about social insurance is that it is actuarially unsound. Everyone who reaches retirement age is given benefit privileges that far exceed anything he has paid in and exceed his payments by more than 10 times as much or five times counting employer-employee payments. How is this possible?

It stems from the fact that the national product is growing at compound interest and can be expected to do for as far ahead as the eye can not see. Always there are more youths than old folks in a growing population. More important, with real incomes growing at some 3 percent per year, the taxable base upon which benefits rest in any period are much greater than the taxes paid historically by the generation now retired. And social security unlike actuarial funded insurances is untouched by inflation.

After Germany's terrible 1923 inflation, private insurance was wiped out but social insurance started all over as if nothing had happened. Social security is squarely based on what has been called the eighth wonder of the world, compound interest. A growing nation is the greatest Ponzi game ever contrived, and that is a fact, not a paradox.

Now the question is are you presiding over "the greatest Ponzi game ever contrived," and isn't this ponzi game possibly based not only on Samuelson's most optimistic assumptions about a continuously growing economy, and this is the kind of talk we got in 1929 you know, and we do live, as you say, in a capitalistic system.

What happens under these circumstances with only 1 year's reserve funds, if we suffer a cyclical, a serious cyclical setback and suffer a serious recession?

Mr. COHEN. Well, first, let me say I would rather feel that I was presiding over the eighth wonder of the world than over a ponzi game, and I do think that there are some really miraculous principles involved in social security.

Chairman PROXMIRE. You see all this is based on the assumption that you are always going to grow.

Mr. COHEN. Yes.

Chairman PROXMIRE. You are always going to move ahead.

Mr. COHEN. There is a built-in conservative influence in the actuary's estimate because he assumes a level wage in his actuarial estimates. He does not assume a constantly increasing wage based on an increasing gross national product. So that is part of the reason why periodically in the reevaluation of the actuarial estimates, you can improve benefits. If wages do go up, you get more income into

the system, which can be used in benefit payments. Mr. Myers, for I think all of these 30 or 35 years, has always used a level wage.

Chairman PROXMIRE. The increased base will go up.

Mr. COHEN. Yes, and I think as that base goes up and as earnings go up and you get more income into the system you can somewhat improve the system. But I do feel that the social security system basically is a method by which at any given moment, society, through Congress, can decide how to distribute part of the gross national product.

I don't want to be overoptimistic, but as you said earlier, I think you can get a better deal out of the dynamic adjustment of social security than you do from a fixed contract from a private insurance company.

Chairman PROXMIRE. You indicated earlier you were very concerned, may be I don't use the right adjectives but you were somewhat concerned about the size of the reserve fund. You would feel better at least if it were bigger rather than as small as it now is.

Mr. COHEN. I think 2 or possibly 3 years of benefit payments would be more protective to the system.

Chairman PROXMIRE. That would be a lot bigger than it is now. It is only 1 year.

Mr. COHEN. It is only 1 year at the present time.

Chairman PROXMIRE. What is it, \$23 billion? It should be \$46 billion?

Mr. COHEN. About \$45 or \$50 billion would be 2 years.

Chairman PROXMIRE. I suggest what we should do as soon as possible, maybe we should instead of waiting until January 1, strictly from this standpoint, disregarding the economic problems, and I want to come back to that right away, but maybe what we should do is impose a social security tax increase July 1.

Mr. COHEN. Well, it is very difficult to do.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Particularly we might do that if we decide not to go ahead with the surtax.

Mr. COHEN. The problem of changing the social security tax in the middle of the year becomes very, very complicated for employers.

Chairman PROXMIRE. They need that much time?

Mr. COHEN. It isn't a matter of time.

Chairman PROXMIRE. They start at the first of the year.

Mr. COHEN. They start at the first of the year and by April or May, they have already collected the full tax on the wage base of \$6,600 from high-income employees. If you levy the new tax, would the employer start all over? There are some complications. But it is not easy to levy a new tax in the middle of the year.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Rather than bite into this little surplus, it would seem to me it would be better for us to maybe impose a slightly higher tax than has been proposed until we build up the reserve to this 2- or 3-year level.

Mr. COHEN. Of course, it doesn't—

Chairman PROXMIRE. We can make other economic adjustments.

Mr. COHEN. Yes.

Chairman PROXMIRE. As far as economics, by not increasing the surtax, or by tax reductions.

Mr. COHEN. The amounts are all significant, but, of course, the difference for the last half of the year is in the nature of \$2 billion.

Chairman PROXMIRE. If you are going to build up a \$50 billion reserve, instead of a \$23 billion reserve, and do it in a reasonable time, you would have to have a fairly substantial tax increase.

Mr. COHEN. Yes, you would. I don't know how rapidly it would be possible to do that.

Chairman PROXMIRE. And certainly under this system it would be a wise thing to do. You want to do it now, not in a period when the economy is moving downward.

Mr. COHEN. No, and of course, you wouldn't want to build it up so fast. You probably wouldn't want to build it up more than a couple billion dollar a year.

Chairman PROXMIRE. No. That would be 25 years.

Mr. COHEN. It would take some time to do it.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Fifteen years.

Mr. COHEN. Yes.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Let me just ask a couple of questions before I yield to Congressman Scheuer. These will be brief.

Why not tie the social security benefits to the cost of living?

Mr. COHEN. That is a very intriguing suggestion that has many pros and cons. I think on the pro side, individuals would feel a sense of assurance or security to know that if the price level went up, they would get the increased benefits. Congress, as you know, has adopted cost-of-living adjustment for military and civil service retirement benefits, and I think Federal workmen's compensation. The argument on the other side I think is twofold.

One question that arises is that if Congress did make the change, would there be a tendency to preclude periodic reexamination of the benefit level?

Chairman PROXMIRE. I would doubt it. Knowing how popular this is and how receptive and responsive we are to what our constituents are interested in, the way these things go, they are almost unanimous.

Mr. COHEN. There is another point that Member of Congress have made to me. They say: "We prefer not to put the increase in benefits in the hands of the bureaucrats. Congress is here every 2 years."

Chairman PROXMIRE. We like to do it every 2 years.

Mr. COHEN. Members of Congress say: "We like to do it every 2 years or so and we prefer to do it rather than have some automatic adjustment."

Another factor is the problem of an incentive for inflation. An inflation proof benefit makes a person, you might say, perfectly willing to accept inflation. If 23 million beneficiaries believe: "Inflation doesn't make any real difference to me because my social security benefit will be increased," will they become less opposed to inflationary pressures? Congress has provided automatic adjustment provisions in several small systems, as I mentioned. But what would be the effect if you did it as a general matter of policy, affecting 20 or 25 million?

Chairman PROXMIRE. The last question I have is the percentage that are pulled into—I don't know if you can give this, make a rough estimate—pulled into the poverty class for each 5-percent increase in the cost of living? You have told us how to get people out of the poverty class by an \$11 billion investment. Do you have any notion at all, or is there anyway we can compute how inflation pulls people into the poverty class by diminishing the value of their income?

Mr. COHEN. You have to make a static assumption there that the cost of living goes up but their earnings do not go up.

Chairman PROXMIRE. That is correct. I am talking particularly about people who are on fixed income.

Mr. COHEN. We will try to make an estimate of that for you.

(The information referred to, subsequently filed for the record follows:)

Question: What is the percentage that are pulled into the poverty class for each five percent increase in the cost of living?

Answer: The SSA poverty index has been adjusted year by year to reflect changes in the cost of living. More precisely, the estimated food costs at the poverty level have been increased in proportion to rises in the per capita cost of the U.S. Department of Agriculture economy food plan.

From available data, it is clear that as the state of the economy has improved, those groups who could take advantage of increased earnings opportunities have declined as a proportion of the total poor. For them the effect of price rises has been more than offset by increased employment and higher earnings levels. It is the groups on fixed incomes—primarily the retired aged, and families headed by women who cannot work—who have been most seriously disadvantaged by price increases, although social security benefit increases resulting from the 1965 amendments helped some of them.

The SSA is looking into the possibility of developing some rough estimates of the proportion of aged retired persons in fixed incomes who would fall below a poverty line 5 percent higher than that used for 1965. We do not have these estimates at this time. It should be noted that, since food prices may not rise as fast as the total consumer price index, the poverty line may not—presumably will not—rise as much as the “cost of living” in any given period.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Congressman Scheuer?

Representative SCHEUER. I am very grateful to the chairman for his kindness and consideration in letting me ask you some questions, Mr. Cohen.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Let me tell you, Congressman Scheuer, judging by the questions you ask, we are mighty happy to hear them. I think we ought to make you an honorary member.

Representative SCHEUER. I accept. I had a small taste of being honorary chairman for a few seconds. The chairman is very generous indeed, and I am grateful.

Mr. Secretary, I enjoyed your always stimulating and brilliant testimony very much. I recall in your testimony you referred to the fact that administration proposals for additional funds for the elementary and secondary educational program will help us reach an additional million culturally deprived children.

Can you tell us what the total constituency is of culturally deprived children in the elementary and secondary years?

Mr. COHEN. Do you mean sort of conceptually or numerically?

Representative SCHEUER. How many culturally deprived kids do we have in this country?

Mr. COHEN. Oh, how many do we have?

Representative SCHEUER. Very roughly.

Mr. COHEN. I would start with the 14 million children who live in families below the poverty level. I would say some of them are not culturally deprived, and some of those with incomes over that are. My target figure would be in the nature of 10 to 15 million children.

Representative SCHEUER. That seems reasonable. How many of them are we reaching now, impacting in some way?

Mr. COHEN. Last year under the Elementary and Secondary Act there were 7 million children who benefited in some way under title I.

So, roughly, you might say we are reaching somewhere between a half to 70 percent of the total.

Representative SCHEUER. That is certainly a very respectable total if the impact were a real one and a meaningful one and not a trivial one.

On the question of Headstart, we had about 187,000 kids involved in the fiscal 1967 Headstart program. They now have applications, actual registration forms, for 400,000 kids, and we have a constituency there of about 2.5 billion kids. How many kids in the preschool area, where from the evidence that we have adduced we seem to have hit real paydirt in helping those kids begin to make a go of their school situation, how many kids will be impacted by your Headstart proposal this year?

Mr. COHEN. I think, and you correct me if I am wrong, that your committee put \$350 million into the Headstart program last year, and I think the President's recommendations this year involve substantially the same amount, but giving a greater degree of priority to the children in the year-round program, rather than the summer programs.

Representative SCHEUER. That is right; 187,000 in fiscal 1967 were year around.

Mr. COHEN. Yes. So, that while there is no appreciable increase of money, the experience has demonstrated so well that the large number—500,000 who were in the summer program—could benefit from a year-around program.

Representative SCHEUER. Yes; there was a large number.

Mr. COHEN. The administration would like to start the year-round program. The President has included in the OEO budget \$135 million for the followthrough to start in the first three grades. Actually, there isn't going to be any net expansion in the Headstart program, but the real expansion comes in the continuity of Headstart—starting with the first grade and then going on. I think the idea is rather than putting more money into Headstart at the present time, we should see how much we really can justify as a bona fide expenditure by following through and retaining the advantages that occurred between the ages of three and five up through the ages six to nine.

I think the philosophy behind this recommendation is that if we can demonstrate that the idea of Headstart is correct, although we can't yet, but I think it probably was the belief of your committee in the House and the administration that that is correct, then we ought to follow through in successive years with a great deal more money in the whole Headstart program and title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

Representative SCHEUER. This really gets to my question. I think you are a thousand percent correct in not only the validity of the Headstart approach, but also of the absolute indispensibility of following through with Headstart kids when they get to the public school system. I am sure you are familiar with the Max Wolfe study.

Mr. COHEN. Yes.

Representative SCHEUER. Where the public school system isn't doing the job, the Headstart kids who are doing very well, not only don't do very well in school but they actually go to the bottom of the class.

Mr. COHEN. Yes.

Representative SCHEUER. It is a very disillusioning experience.

Mr. COHEN. I think we need some more studies like the Wolfe study. Representative SCHEUER. Yes.

Mr. COHEN. We need them either to confirm or replicate or diversify our experience. If what the Wolfe study shows is correct and if Congress believes that it is so, I would hope that then in the next 5 years Congress will put much more money into title I for this purpose.

Representative SCHEUER. My question would be this: Don't we know enough to know that we could invest far more resources in this continuum of Headstart and followthrough? Isn't there enough evidence that this does make a qualitative difference in the way the kids catch on in school, and if we consider that the billion dollars that we spent on title I was, in itself, only perhaps a 2- or 3-percent increase in the elementary and secondary school budget, the \$135 million that we are talking about for followthrough for the first couple of grades is really trivial in scope. Why aren't we doing a better and a bigger job?

Mr. COHEN. I think there is another factor though, Congressman Scheuer, that enters in. The Coleman study on the equal opportunity, and other studies I have seen, indicate to me that there is one other factor, and that is the home environment. The President's message, which he sent to Congress today, stresses the child and parent centers. I think that it is also important in Headstart, or followthrough programs to add a component for reaching the parents so that whatever this element, let's call it motivation for the sake of another word, that is put into both the child is also put into the parent. Educational attainment, work incentives, improvement, followthrough in the family, the child, and the community should all interlock.

Representative SCHEUER. I couldn't agree more. I think one of the things the Headstart program proved to the school system was the absolute necessity of parent attitude, involving the parents. The President's program that is coming up today is really an elaboration of the experience we learned in Headstart.

Mr. COHEN. It is.

Representative SCHEUER. My question is: taking the President's program that is coming up today, and Headstart, and followthrough as a continuum, why aren't we now devoting vastly greater resources to this program? And I will take the suggestion of Senator Proxmire as indicative of the kind of point I would like to make, where he quoted Secretary Wirtz yesterday as saying that when we invest resources in the most difficult single minority of our population, the long-term, hard-core structurally unemployed, we get it back in 2 years in welfare savings, and we get it back again, double our money, so to speak, in the first 4 years when these people are on a taxpaying status.

Now, if you can apply this kind of a cost-benefit payout of such spectacular success with the most difficult single group in our population, why can't we apply the same kind of cost-benefit analysis to the expenditures of the early years before the trouble really gets to be deeply rooted, when I think we all agree that a dollar saved now will save \$10 or \$20 later on in juvenile delinquency costs and in the costs of very expensive programs like Job Corps, when these kids get together high school dropouts and functional illiterates in 8th grade. Don't we know enough about the cost-benefit implications of these expenditures early in the child's life to feel that on an actuarial basis,

from the point of fiscal and economic policy, as Senator Proxmire pointed out, we ought to be putting vastly more resources into this continuum now?

Mr. COHEN. Although mathematical proof of it is not always down on paper to say that we know enough, I happen to believe that it is true, and as I read the material that comes across my desk, it convinces me that what I believed previously is true.

But I do think that we have to develop more concrete evidence through what I call longitudinal studies that follow the family for 15 or 20 years, to show how these increased investments in the educational system really pay off. I think they will pay off, and I agree with you the \$100 million more spent between ages three and seven has a very good payoff.

Representative SCHEUER. You wouldn't advocate that we wait until the Headstart kids from last summer graduate from graduate school to decide whether the Headstart program last summer paid off.

Mr. COHEN. No. I would prefer to operate on my biases and prejudices than wait for that statistical information to come in.

Representative SCHEUER. Good. I hope this will be translated into programmatic requests from the Congress. Just one last question, because I know the hour is getting late.

We have had two reports from the National Advisory Council on title I, two reports that I consider the most sensitive and compassionate and brilliant pieces of "governmentalese," if I may say that, that I have ever seen. They were really of the highest quality of excellence. We know how title I is functioning. We know the deficiencies, we know the pluses and the successes too. We have heard a great deal of discussion in recent months of doing away with the grant-in-aid program, doing away with the tax-sharing—the Heller program—we have heard of. Based on the successes and the failures of the title I program, which did operate through the States, what is your reaction as to whether we should continue the grant-in-aid programs with the Federal guidelines and the criteria and so forth, and some Federal presence, or do you think we can afford to wipe the slate clean and proceed with the States and the cities in these vast educational programs which we hope will be upcoming pretty soon, on a general tax sharing formula?

Mr. COHEN. Well, I have to again admit to a prejudice in answering that question. I personally favor very strongly what I call categorical programs as you might say, contrasted to something like the Heller-Pechman plan, and I favor categorical programs, because I think what they do is they establish a national priority determined by Congress as to what it thinks is important.

I am perfectly willing to admit that Congress can in its wisdom make a mistake, and be either too narrow or too limited, but I think on the whole, deciding you want to eliminate air pollution and rifling in on that objective by merging all your available resources to attack it for a period of time is certainly a reasonable decision on the part of Congress. Or trying to deal with disadvantaged children, or Headstart, or whatever else you want to deal with in the same way, because it expresses the national interest and it rationalizes resources, and it directs public attention to the problem.

It helps people train, knowing that a program exists, to get jobs, to have an opportunity to be employed, and thus be of service.

However, on the other side now, quite frequently we have established categorical programs, and then after we have attained a large part of our objective, we tend sometimes to keep the program from responding to changing emphasis or priorities. I don't think that because we have established a program at a particular time it ought to remain the same program forever. You might be able to modify or merge it.

Now taking your point, I think that maybe 10 years from now or 8 years from now, title I, Headstart, followthrough, maybe some other education titles, might be enveloped in a broader educational category.

Representative SCHEUER. We certainly hope they will be embraced by the public education system itself, don't we?

Mr. COHEN. Now that is part of the problem. You see, you have touched on it. The fact of the matter is we have had such notable weaknesses in many local educational boards and agencies throughout the country that Congress really said "Gee, we can't afford to allow some people to decide not to do these things for our children. We are going to make the categorical grant very attractive." And they did, title I is a 100 percent Federal grant if the community has a maintenance of effort provision for dealing with disadvantaged children. Well, I guess there are 17,000 school districts now participating in title I, and that is what Congress wanted. I would be the last to say that Congress exercised an unwise judgment in making that decision. But if after 5 or 8 or 10 years and you have attained 70 percent of your objective, you might then add some other elements and make a broader category. I think that it is perfectly reasonable for Congress to do this.

I think you can undertake the Heller-Pechman plan in addition to some of these things, but I strongly would not like to see categorical programs that are meeting the national interest, and those aimed at national interests not yet attained, eliminated. I might say this for Senator Proxmire—the lesson I learned at the University of Wisconsin under my professors who were most concerned about retaining a Federal-State-local system was that the categorical grants allowed you to attain a national objective with a decentralized method of administration. In our creative Federal system, you can meet national needs with Congress acting as the board of directors. I think experience, despite all the trials and errors and difficulties, has shown in these last 30 years that a lot has been accomplished.

Representative SCHEUER. I thank you.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Thank you again, Mr. Scheuer, for your fine questions.

I want to thank Mr. Myers and Mrs. Merriam as well as Secretary Cohen, and I can tell you, Mr. Secretary, that Wisconsin and Milwaukee are mighty proud of you and I think they are very proud of your performance this morning, which has been excellent, responsive, and thoughtful and very welcome.

The committee will reconvene tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock to hear the noncontroversial Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, Mr. Martin. Thank you.

(Whereupon, at 1 p.m., the committee adjourned until Thursday, February 9, 1967 at 10 a.m.)

THE 1967 ECONOMIC REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1967

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE,
Washington, D.C.

The joint committee met at 10:05 a.m., pursuant to recess, in room S-228, the Capitol, Hon. William Proxmire (chairman of the joint committee) presiding.

Present: Senators Proxmire, Talmadge, Symington, Miller, and Javits; and Representatives Bolling, Reuss, Griffiths, Moorhead, Curtis, Widnall, Rumsfeld, and Brock.

Also present: John R. Stark, executive director, James W. Knowles, director of research, and Donald A. Webster, minority economist.

Chairman PROXMIRE. The committee will come to order.

Our witness this morning is the very able Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, who is an old friend of the committee and a man who has been sitting on the hottest economic policy seat in Government for the last year or so.

You are welcome here this morning, Chairman Martin. Go right ahead.

STATEMENT OF HON. WILLIAM McCHESNEY MARTIN, JR., CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF GOVERNORS OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM; ACCOMPANIED BY DANIEL H. BRILL, SENIOR ADVISER TO THE BOARD AND DIRECTOR, DIVISION OF RESEARCH AND STATISTICS; AND ROBERT SOLOMON, ADVISER TO THE BOARD AND DIRECTOR, DIVISION OF INTERNATIONAL FINANCE

Mr. MARTIN. Senator, may I start by congratulating you in assuming the chairmanship of the Joint Economic Committee, and assure you that the Federal Reserve System wants to do everything in its power to help the committee in pursuing its work.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Thank you very much.

Mr. MARTIN. Monetary policy is unique among the economic tools available to Government in the promptness and flexibility with which it can be adapted to changing economic circumstances. This capacity for prompt, flexible adaptation has been essential over the past year and a half—and it has been amply demonstrated. Within this short period, monetary policy had first to play a major role in moderating an excessively rapid expansion that was generating strong upward price pressures. And when—within the year—the pace of expansion was brought into better balance with the growth in resources, financial

restraint was relaxed and policy turned promptly toward encouraging increased flows of money and credit.

The timing of changes in policy, as well as the degree to which policies of restraint or ease may be carried, are necessarily matters of judgment. There is still much to be learned about economic stabilization policies, both fiscal and monetary, in a high employment environment.

Nevertheless, the difficulties encountered should not be allowed to obscure the rapid and favorable response of the economy to changes in the direction of monetary policy. For example, since indications of abating inflationary pressures last fall made it possible for monetary policy to be redirected toward ease, interest rates have come down swiftly, with some rates already below their levels of a year ago; bank credit has expanded at a vigorous rate; inflows of savings to thrift institutions have picked up very substantially; the housing outlook has brightened considerably; and resumption of more orderly and balanced economic growth is in prospect. The experience of the past year and a half should serve as a warning against underestimating the resilience or responsiveness of the U.S. economy.

Nor should we overlook the substantial gains recorded by the economy last year, despite our valid concerns for those sectors of the economy that did not share fully in the advance. The year 1966 was one of considerable economic achievement. Our gross national product rose by 5½ percent in real terms, well above the long-term growth trend. More than 3 million workers were added to the Nation's payrolls, and the capacity of our factories grew by almost 7 percent. Moreover, for the first time in over a decade, the United States was able to achieve substantially full utilization of its growing resources. Unemployment fell below 4 percent, the lowest level since 1953. And unutilized industrial capacity declined to the lowest level since 1955. This was an impressive performance, one in which we all can take some satisfaction.

But the record was not unblemished. Indeed, in pushing forward under forced draft, some serious strains and distortions emerged in the structure of production, finance, and our balance of payments—flaws, which if not corrected, could seriously hamper our ability to sustain rapid economic progress. Let me touch on the most important of these, for there are lessons to be learned by policymakers in all branches of Government from the failures as well as the successes of economic policy.

First, as we approached full utilization of resources, demand pressures manifested themselves in a strong and pervasive rise in costs and prices. In an economy where many wage contracts are geared to cost-of-living changes, yesterday's price increases become tomorrow's cost pressures. It may prove difficult to avoid, in 1967, some reflection in costs and prices of the failure to restrain adequately the inflationary pressures of 1966.

Second, the excessively rapid pace at which domestic demands grew meant that they could not be satisfied from domestic sources alone. Our imports of materials and finished goods—particularly capital goods—surged. And although U.S. exports continued to rise somewhat faster than their long-term uptrend, our favorable net balance on international trade was seriously reduced—by almost one-fourth.

Third, rapidly rising demands by Government for defense needs and by business for capital investment programs preempted a large share of our physical and financial resources. Homebuilding was elbowed to the rear of the line; residential construction activity was reduced far below the levels needed to meet our long-term housing needs.

No country can long sustain economic progress if wages and prices keep leapfrogging each other, if it continues to lose ground in international commerce, or if it permits serious imbalance in the composition of output. The task of stabilization policy last year was to strike at the root cause of these distortions and imbalances—an overrapid pace of expansion of aggregate demand.

The need for moderating expansion became evident even before 1966 began, as acceleration in defense outlays was added to the stimulus to private spending provided by earlier monetary expansion and the tax reductions of 1964 and early 1965. In the final months of 1965, economic activity spurted—but so did prices. The rate of increase in the GNP deflator—which measures the extent to which the dollar growth in GNP is a result of rising prices rather than rising output—doubled in the fourth quarter of 1965.

Moreover, increasing evidence was becoming available to suggest that demand pressures would intensify further. Restraint was needed and needed promptly. As the current report of the President's economic advisers puts it, "All in all, the economy exceeded reasonable speed limits in the period from mid-1965 through the first quarter of 1966."

In response to intensification of inflationary pressures, Federal Reserve policy moved toward greater restraint. This was signaled by the announcement in December of an increase in the discount rate from 4 to 4½ percent. To prevent an abrupt constriction in the flow of credit, the maximum rate banks could pay for time deposits was raised, and reserves were provided generously through open market operations over the subsequent year-end period, weeks usually marked by turbulence and crosscurrents in financial markets.

Net reserve availability was reduced gradually in early 1966, and increasingly, banks were forced to turn to the discount window to obtain additional reserves. Their borrowings from the Federal Reserve rose from an average of about \$400 million in January to about \$700 million by June.

At certain critical times, however, such as around the March-April tax period and again around the midyear tax period, nonborrowed reserves were supplied to banks in substantial volume to help moderate the temporary but intense money market pressures being generated by enlarged corporate needs for funds to meet accelerated taxpayments. With business loan demand strong, failure to provide additional reserves to banks at these times would have prompted more rapid liquidation of bank holdings of securities; the consequent rise in interest rates would have accelerated the outflow of funds from thrift institutions to financial markets. It would also have prompted even more widespread and aggressive efforts by banks to attract consumer savings into time deposits. Such efforts would have intensified the developing shortage of mortgage money at a time when financial supervisory agencies lacked the flexible authority—granted by Con-

gress later in the year—to limit excessive competition for savings funds.

Nevertheless, in the absence of greater fiscal restraint, the basic economic situation continued to oblige the Federal Reserve to maintain an overall posture of monetary restraint. Prices were continuing to rise rapidly; in the second quarter of the year, the GNP price deflator increased at over a 4-percent annual rate. Successive surveys of business plans for capital spending indicated that the exceptionally strong advance in business capital outlays was likely to continue. Pressures on financial markets mounted as businesses sought credit at banks and in capital markets to finance current needs and prospective capital spending programs, and enlargement of the Federal Government's financing requirements added to these pressures.

To limit expansion of bank credit and moderate bank competition for savings, the Federal Reserve raised reserve requirements against time deposits in June and again in August, and reduced the maximum rates banks could pay on certain maturities of time deposits. Commercial banks found it increasingly difficult to compete effectively for large blocks of corporate liquid funds, as market rates on competitive instruments rose to—and subsequently above—the ceiling rates on large denomination certificates of deposit.

Some banks with branches abroad were able to compensate, in part, for reduced availability of domestic sources of loanable funds by borrowing through their branches in the Eurodollar market. This absorbed dollars that might otherwise have flowed to foreign monetary authorities, and as a result, the U.S. balance of payments on an official settlements basis moved into substantial, though temporary, surplus in summer.

But not many banks had direct access to foreign sources of funds. The Federal Reserve's general policy of restraint on domestic credit expansion, as well as its specific attempts to diffuse the impact of restraint, were evidenced in a declining share of total credit flows passing through commercial banks. By the third quarter of 1966, commercial banks were able to supply only 7 percent of the funds raised by consumers, corporations, and governments, down from about 25 percent of the total in the first half of the year, and over 40 percent of the total in all of 1965.

Viewing credit flows in broader perspective, all financial intermediaries—banks as well as thrift institutions—were falling behind in the competition for savings flows; investors preferred the higher yields available through direct investment in market securities. Consumers as a group, for example, allocated over one-fourth of their net financial savings flows last year to direct purchases of securities, compared with the less than 3 percent invested directed, on average, from 1961 to 1965. Corporations, too, diverted funds to market instruments, and drew down their holdings of negotiable certificates of deposit and other cash assets as external financing became more costly and less easily obtainable.

The diversion of savings flows away from financial intermediaries severely limited the availability of funds to those borrowers most dependent on institutional sources of financing. Particularly affected were builders and home buyers, since ordinarily the great bulk of the financing of construction and purchase of homes in the United States is supplied through financial institutions.

Institutions specializing in mortgage finance, by and large, did not possess the financial resources or flexibility to cope with large and sudden shifts in savings flows and still maintain a flow of commitments and funds into the housing industry. The bulk of the liabilities of savings and loan associations and mutual savings banks are payable on short notice, while the bulk of their assets are of fixed yield, and turn over slowly. These institutions have been relatively slow in developing a structure of liabilities which would permit them to offer higher returns in order to immobilize, for fixed periods, the most highly interest-sensitive funds. Moreover, only a limited volume of loanable funds could be obtained from liquidating assets or borrowing from the Federal home loan banks to supplement diminished savings inflows.

Rigidities in our financial system, therefore, helped focus on home-builders and home buyers much of the initial impact of the financial restraint needed to curb inflationary credit flows. But as the year progressed, flows of credit to other borrowing sectors became more limited. State and local government borrowing began to be curtailed as large commercial banks, previously very active buyers of municipal securities, reduced their purchases to husband available funds. Consumer credit lenders, finding funds more expensive to acquire, began screening out some marginal borrowers. Credit extended to foreign borrowers by American lending institutions was sharply curtailed, even below the limits established in the voluntary foreign credit restraint program. Even domestic business firms, which previously had been most successful in increasing their external financing, were experiencing constraints on their borrowing ability, particularly at banks.

In addition to the earlier Board actions aimed at limiting the diversion of funds from the mortgage market, the presidents of Federal Reserve banks addressed a letter on September 1 to member banks urging moderation in business loan expansion in the interest of achieving a more balanced economic and credit expansion. The letter assured System members that banks losing deposits and adjusting their positions through curtailment of loan commitments would be able to obtain accommodation through the discount facilities of the Federal Reserve for longer periods than would be required if adjustments to deposit losses were to be accomplished through disposition of securities. The longer lived availability of Federal Reserve discount credit would thus permit member banks to adjust to deposit losses without adding to the pressures on construction finance or on markets for State and local government securities.

A similar kind of contingency planning had earlier been introduced with respect to nonbank thrift institutions and commercial banks not members of the Federal Reserve System. Some of these institutions have only limited access to public sources of emergency credit. Arrangements were activated, therefore, to permit Federal Reserve banks to provide credit assistance to any such institution that might suffer sudden withdrawals that could not be met by resort to its usual sources of funds. This facility was not expected to be needed, and has never in fact been used; it represented simply an assurance that protection existed against the remote possibility of exceptional drains of funds that could not be accommodated through normal adjustment procedures.

When, in late September, Congress enacted legislation granting the Federal Reserve and other financial regulatory agencies temporary additional authority for establishing maximum rates payable on deposits and shares, the Federal Reserve acted promptly to reduce the ceiling rates commercial banks could pay on consumer-type time deposits. This was part of a coordinated effort by the regulatory agencies to limit further escalation of interest rate competition among depository institutions for consumer saving.

A reduction in the overall degree of monetary restraint was not possible, however, as long as the pace of aggregate economic activity continued to outstrip the growth in resources, and prices remained under strong upward pressure. Federal spending contributed to the rising pressures on the economy, as expenditures increased much more rapidly than revenues. The Federal Government's budget, on the national income accounts basis, moved from a surplus position in the spring to a deficit after midyear. Through August, industrial production and wholesale prices continued to rise rapidly, spurred not only by the sharp acceleration in defense spending but also by continued large increases in business outlays for capital equipment and a rebound in consumer spending, particularly for durable goods.

In September, several fiscal actions were proposed by the President, and subsequently enacted by the Congress, that helped share the task of containing inflationary pressures in the economy. The suspension of the investment tax credit and accelerated depreciation provisions was directed at one of the major expansionary forces in the economy, business capital outlays. Moreover, the President's announcement of intended reductions in lower priority Federal expenditures indicated another area where action to moderate inflationary pressures would be taken.

The monetary and fiscal actions undertaken to convert an over-exuberant economy to one expanding at a slower but healthier rate were successful. By fall, business plans for capital spending were being tailored to a more sustainable rate, any new orders for durable goods began to level off. The rise in prices began to slow, too, principally in reflection of larger supplies of agricultural products, but also because demand pressures for some materials were subsiding.

Responding to these signs and portents of abatement in inflationary pressures, monetary policy promptly moved to relax the degree of credit restraint. By November, the provision of reserves to the banking system through open market operations began to increase, and in December, the Board announced that the special discount arrangements outlined in the September 1 letter were no longer needed. Bank credit, which had contracted over the summer and early fall, began a vigorous expansion in December that has continued through the early weeks of 1967. The expansion in bank credit in December was at a 9-percent annual rate, and preliminary estimates put the January expansion at around 15 percent.

Market interest rates have declined substantially from their late summer peaks. For example, yields on new prime corporate bonds have fallen by about a full percentage point and declines in Federal, State, and local bond yields range from a half to a full percentage point. At the moment, bond yields are at their lowest levels in over a year.

Even more dramatic have been the declines in some of the more sensitive short-term or money market rates, such as those on Treasury bills. In some instances, these rates have fallen by as much as $1\frac{1}{2}$ percentage points. For example, the 6-month Treasury bill rate has fallen from a peak of just over 6 percent to just over $4\frac{1}{2}$ percent recently. Some rates which characteristically adjust more sluggishly to changes in general credit conditions, such as mortgage yields and bank lending rates, have shown less downward movement thus far, but in varying degree they have also turned lower.

There are encouraging signs that the economy is responding well to these changes in financial conditions, undertaking orderly corrective adjustments to last year's excesses. Overoptimistic estimates of market demands in 1966—typical of emerging inflationary expectations—had induced business to produce far beyond current sales requirements. As a result, inventory accumulation was large throughout the year, and stocks began to pile up in exceptionally large volume in the final months of 1966. Efforts are currently being made to bring production into line with sales in many industries, providing a sounder basis for expansion later in the year.

Moreover, as the pace of industrial activity has slowed, imports have begun to subside. With export growth maintained, there are signs that the U.S. international trade balance is on the mend again. This is indeed a welcome development at a time when our balance on international capital flows shows signs of slipping.

Further, flows of savings to thrift institutions have resumed with vigor. The net inflow of funds to savings and loan associations showed substantial improvement in November and December, and high inflows appear to have continued in January. Similar inflow gains are being reported at mutual savings banks and in time deposits at commercial banks. It would appear that the shortage of funds for the housing industry is well on its way to being alleviated.

The task of economic policy in the period ahead is to support continued full utilization of resources, while assisting the economy in restoring the price stability and international trade trends that graced the expansion from 1961 through mid-1965. It will not be an easy task, possibly not one we can accomplish within so short a span as a year. But with monetary policy responding flexibly to changing pressures on the economy, and with the President's tax proposals a bulwark against a repetition of surges in demands that marred the economy's performance in 1966, we can look forward with greater confidence to a better balanced expansion in 1967.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Thank you very much, Mr. Martin.

First, I want to congratulate you on a clear and candid statement and a helpful and enlightening statement.

Since you put a great deal of emphasis at the end, particularly, on the tax increase proposed by the President, the 6-percent surtax which you say would be a bulwark against excessive demand, I wonder if you would feel that it would be equally helpful if, instead of the increase in taxes, there was a commensurate reduction in spending with the net same effect on the budget, or is there something about a tax increase psychologically and for other reasons, technical reasons, that might be more helpful?

Mr. MARTIN. I would think that if it is possible to reduce expenditures, it would be equally satisfactory. I do think there is the psychological point of paying for the war in Vietnam, which at some time ought to be considered. It seems to me that we have to pay for those expenditures in one way or another.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Of course, we can pay for those expenditures by making sacrifices in other programs.

Mr. MARTIN. In other programs, and if that can be done, that would be equally satisfactory. You either have to reduce expenditures or increase taxes to deal with the problems that, seem to me, confront us.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Now we are moving into a different kind of an economic situation in 1967 than we had in 1966 in economy. The indicators, which were very expansive in early 1966, seem to have leveled off a great deal. This is true of automobiles. It is true in many other areas of industry. Inventories are high in relation to sales and so forth.

Under these circumstances, I wondered what emphasis you would put on the fact that the monetary policy is a mixed tool. It is more subtle and sophisticated than many of us realize. I know you understand that fully.

What I have in mind especially, is the impact of tight money in pushing up some aspects of cost last year. The report of the Council of Economic Advisers says the following:

Mortgage interest rates, which had remained quite stable in preceding years, rose by 12.4 percent in 1966 alone. As shown in table 4, these higher financial costs accounted for were one-third of the total advance in the prices of services during 1966.

Now in view of the fact that services was the biggest element along with food increases, in prices in 1966, in view of the fact that it is clear that monetary policy cannot restrain demand in food, we don't eat less because interest rates are higher, doesn't it seem that even in 1966 that the impact of tight money in keeping prices down, which I agree the net overall was positive, may not have been as clearly deflationary as has been argued by some?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, it was not as satisfactory as we would have liked it to be, of course, but I think it is important for us to concentrate on the future rather than the past.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Yes. Go ahead.

Mr. MARTIN. But I would just like to put this in the perspective as I see it, which is that it seems to be that we would have been wiser if we had been following a more restrictive monetary policy from mid-1965 on. Also, if we had reduced expenditures and increased taxes, we would have had a better and smoother flow of funds through the economy than we have had.

Chairman PROXMIRE. But the fact is, when your Board does tighten credit, it does have the effect of pushing up the cost of borrowing money, pushes up the cost of mortgage interest and other borrowing costs which are an element in cost. At the same time it does restrain demand and lessen pressure elsewhere. The reason I have asked this is because it has a great deal of pertinence for the future.

It is my understanding that in the present economy we have pressures on demand, and in the coming year more likely cost pressure on

prices from the cost side of the economy, especially in view of the large number of wage settlements involving 3.1 million workers, involving such militant labor groups as the auto workers and the truckers and so forth. This could push up costs considerably, if added to that we have a situation in which tight money pushes up costs too, and if the demand element in the economy is not as pressing on prices as before.

I am wondering if it isn't especially desirable now to continue as much ease, even if the Congress does not pass the President's tax proposal.

Mr. MARTIN. I want to point out that the Federal Reserve started to pursue an easier monetary policy before the tax proposal was made, and we have been moving in this direction quite apart from these other considerations for the very reasons that you are talking about.

We think the legacy that we are dealing with is an overhang of inventory which was caused by the inflationary pressures that got ahead of us in the early stages of last year, particularly in the first and second quarters. This is the legacy that we are dealing with, and if it were not for that, I think that we would be in a much stronger position than we are today. We are going to have to deal with this during this current year.

I think we are making some very commendable adjustments, but with banks having reached a very high loan/deposit ratio, it is not easy, until they restore their liquidity, to get them to resume lending. Naturally, they want to avoid overextending themselves. But we have been pursuing an easier monetary policy, definitely, since the latter part of November, and we have been moving in that direction in the early weeks of this year.

Chairman PROXMIRE. I certainly welcome that and I agree. What concerns me, however, is that some analysts say that the policies you have followed so far are easy for those of us who are in politics and run for office to approve, but it is going to be harder to pursue these policies now because of the international payments situation. You point out in your next to the last page that the capital inflows that took place last year may be subject to reversal, if we drop interest rates now.

Now if we recognize that that pressure to keep interest rates up, and perhaps to be a little more hesitant in reducing short-term interest rates especially, then it might be incumbent upon the Congress to follow an expansionary fiscal policy. If for international payment reasons our monetary policy has to be tighter than we would like it to be for domestic reasons.

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I don't think there is quite the sharp division between the balance of payments and the domestic economy that frequently is made. I think we have to be concerned with having a high level of economic activity and high levels of employment at home.

What we have to really concern ourselves with is that we don't want either high interest rates or high taxes. This is not something that we are seeking at the present time. What we are seeking is a balance here. It is clear in my judgment that we have been trying to do too much too fast, and we have had spending plans converging on labor shortages and on practically no efficient unutilized resources, in such a way that you can't possibly supply additional funds to the market

without having an increase in spending that will be totally out of balance with the savings of businesses and individuals, which the economy would need and require.

Chairman PROXMIRE. What concerns me is your capacity to really restore the construction industry, especially the homebuilding industry, for several reasons. One reason is because it is so much harder to get long-term rates down. It takes longer to do it.

No. 2, I am told by some people in the homebuilding industry that the money is there. It is coming in.

Mr. MARTIN. Right.

Chairman PROXMIRE. However, the demand doesn't seem to be there, and if we are going to get the demand there, it is hard to get it there if we are going to increase taxes, if we are going to follow a restrictive policy fiscally. So it is not easy as you have said so often, I think very persuasively. You can't push a string. You might lower these interest rates some but unless we have demands for homes it is going to be hard to revive that industry.

Mr. MARTIN. It is going to be hard to revive it but I think it will come. The rigidities in the housing market are what we have to deal with here. It is not as flexible as other areas of the market. The thrift institutions, the financial intermediaries that channel funds into housing are not as flexible in the use of these funds as they might be, and I think it is very important that we cooperate in every way with the builders and the building industry to improve the secondary mortgage market, and to get a more flexible balance of funds in the industry.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Isn't it true as it has been reported that the situation in other countries, in Europe particularly, is such that the lower interest rates there would seem to be more feasible than they have been in the past, and that for that reason, with the good work of Secretary Fowler, in working with foreign finance ministers, that this might be more promising if we could persuade some of these countries to moderate their interest rates and get away from the kind of high interest competition we have had.

Mr. MARTIN. I think Secretary Fowler's visit to Chequers and the group that have been participating in this have unquestionably performed a useful service in tackling this problem, but we must never forget that interest rates can't be ordained. You can't just pull levers.

Chairman PROXMIRE. That is why I say isn't it true that the domestic situation in these countries is such with less pressure on resources.

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

Chairman PROXMIRE. So that interest rates may be able to moderate there.

Mr. MARTIN. I think that it depends on environment. The danger is that you can get the idea that you can just have a meeting and lower interest rates. This, I don't think is possible. If the conditions in the countries are such that they can, and I think they are at the moment, Senator Proxmire, then this can be a very helpful exercise.

I think the interrelationship of all of these countries is such that when they restrain or when they expand, it has an effect on other countries, and that all of us have got to take into consideration the united effects of these moves. Therefore, I think any closer cooperation between finance ministers and central bankers in the Western World that we can get is going to be beneficial.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Thank you very much. Congressman Curtis? Representative CURTIS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

It is a pleasure to see you, Mr. Martin, under these circumstances. I recall our hearings back in December 1965. Perhaps things were a little different.

I want to call your attention to the section in the President's Economic Report, chapter 1, dealing with money and credit. I would be curious to know whether you feel that this is a fairly accurate account of monetary policies and the issues that seem to confront us?

Mr. MARTIN. I do indeed. I have read that very carefully and I think it is a very satisfactory account.

Representative CURTIS. I do, too, because it is, in my judgment, entirely different from the approach in the speeches made by the administration back in December 1965, even continuing through calendar 1966, and I am most pleased to see this kind of an account there. It is balanced. I think it explains a great deal of the problem, and I would say in effect it praises the monetary policy that was followed given the economic circumstances.

Mr. MARTIN. I have no quarrel with the statement that you refer to.

Representative CURTIS. Half jokingly, I asked Chairman Patman whether you had written that section. You didn't write it, did you?

Mr. MARTIN. I had nothing to do with writing it.

Representative CURTIS. However, I find that the administration witnesses who have appeared before this committee apparently haven't read this section or they don't agree with it.

You are not an administration witness. You are representing an independent board, is that correct?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, the Federal Reserve System.

Representative CURTIS. That is right, I hope it remains that way.

Mr. MARTIN. Which is independent within the Government, but not independent of the Government.

Representative CURTIS. That is right. The administration witnesses, speaking of those who, and rightly so, should reflect the policy of the executive branch of the Government, have characterized last year as one of fiscal restraint. Do you feel that there was adequate fiscal restraint, and if so, why indeed was the monetary policy so tight?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I have to be perfectly blunt on the matter. I don't think there was adequate fiscal restraint. This is a matter of judgment, but I don't think that there was.

Representative CURTIS. I have seen in the newspapers and elsewhere remarks that the administration is asking for a tax increase this year, this 6-percent surtax, in order to get the Federal Reserve to follow an easier monetary policy. Is this interpretation true in your judgment, and does the Federal Reserve need this kind of inducement to follow an easier monetary policy?

Mr. MARTIN. No. There is no deal, no agreement of any sort with respect to an easier monetary policy, but the tax increase here is designed to be a defense against what might occur again in late 1967, and I think it is a very prudent and intelligent move that the President and the administration have made in introducing it. If it turns out that it isn't needed, why then I think that we will in the course of events find that out. But I think actually we are still dealing with

problems of inflation. We do have this overhang of inventory, which in my judgment has been brought about by letting inflation get ahead of us in the late 1965 and 1966 period.

Representative CURTIS. I am not asking you this to get you involved in this issue, but from a monetary standpoint wouldn't expenditure restraint of an equal amount to what is expected from the tax increase do the same thing?

Mr. MARTIN. This would do exactly the same thing.

Representative CURTIS. That is the course I would much prefer to see us take, and, I think, the course of more prudent judgment. This leads me into another area, namely, debt management.

Wouldn't more of the Federal debt in the longer maturity area, 5 years and beyond, assist somewhat in developing easier monetary policies—both in tempering interest rates and in treating the problem of increasing the money supply in accordance with anticipated economic activity?

Mr. MARTIN. I think this committee is familiar with my views on this. I think we would be wise to remove the 4¼-percent interest ceiling on the longer term maturities. If this had been done, I don't believe we would have had a bill rate at 6.04 this summer. I think we would have had lower interest rates across the board and better structure and a better setup for the entire debt if that had been possible.

Representative CURTIS. And also, I would argue, for the consumer and the businessman who is in the market for investment capital.

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct. I want to reiterate every chance I get that the Federal Reserve is not in favor of high interest rates any more than we are in favor of high taxes. We would like to see interest rates as low as it is possible to have them, because in my considered judgment, you will have the largest amount of capital formation that way. But interest rates cannot be dampened or controlled if you are going to try to do too many things at the same time, and are going to have spending converging on what amounts to skilled labor shortages, and no efficient unutilized plant and equipment capacity.

Representative CURTIS. I am very disturbed, Mr. Martin, by the aggregate figures on the marketable debt, which is about \$218 billion. Almost 50 percent of it is in maturities of 1 year and less—\$105 billion as of late December.

And then that which is 5 years and less is a total of 77 percent of the marketable debt. I think this is a grave imbalance. Would you comment?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I personally think we would have a better debt structure if we had more of it at longer term than we have. But I think the Treasury has been making heroic efforts to do that and I think one of the things that has made it difficult for them is this four-and-a-quarter-percent interest ceiling.

Representative CURTIS. Almost impossible, because the Secretary of the Treasury said the last time they marketed any securities beyond 5 years' duration was May 1965, so there has been no opportunity except through the debt participation certificate device—

Mr. MARTIN. Under current conditions it is impossible.

Representative CURTIS. Now that leads me to another area of great concern—the international balance of payments. In Morgan Guaranty Trust Monthly Survey of last month they were pointing out that

one reason that our balance of international payments looks a bit better was because a great deal of foreign capital, which was really in the short-term area, and really would have been in 1-year or less securities, actually moved into some securities that were just beyond the 1-year maturity date. The warning was that because of the way we compute the international balance of payments we should be aware of the fact that this probably is really short-term money that could go out just as fast as it came in. I wonder if you could comment on that.

Mr. MARTIN. Yes. I think that that is something that we have to be concerned about. I think that one of the interesting things is that over the last three and a half years we have financed our deficit almost entirely by our outflow of gold. We have not been borrowing as some of our foreign friends like to say we have; we have not been using our deficit position to borrow. We have been treating it just the same as any other country will treat its balance of payments, and we have been financing it by an outflow of gold.

Now this, of course, concerns us, and we would hope—we are well aware of the fact that part of the reason we have been able to do this has been that higher interest rates here have caused a reflow of funds from abroad. Last summer at one point over \$2 billion came back. This could easily go in the opposite direction.

Representative CURTIS. Particularly if we were to achieve our policy of trying to get interest rates lower for the domestic economy.

Mr. MARTIN. We would hope, as Senator Proxmire said earlier, that this would be done, not on a unilateral basis, but that the interest rates—differentials—around the world would be lower. I think the same comment I made about our own domestic interest rates is true abroad. I think as low interest rates as we can have is the desirable thing to have, provided those interest rates are not being used to promote inflation.

Representative CURTIS. My time is up. Thank you.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Congressman Reuss?

Representative REUSS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman MARTIN. I want to thank you for getting up to us yesterday the advance page proofs of the Fed's annual report, and that of its Open Market Committee. I have had a chance to look at them, and they make fascinating reading.

Let me first ask a series of questions having to do with the policy actions of the Federal Open Market Committee.

Last October the Congress passed a tax increase law suspending the investment tax credit and also changing the depreciation allowance. Thereafter, on November 1, 1966, the Open Market Committee had a meeting and determined to maintain its policy of monetary restraint. That is a correct reading of the record?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, that is about correct. It made no change at that time.

Representative REUSS. Then on November 22, 1966, the Open Market Committee in its record took five pages to describe the current economic state of the Union, without any mention whatever of the tax increase which Congress had enacted in October, and then went on for other reasons, apparently, to moderate credit restraint. Is that a fair statement of the record?

Mr. MARTIN. We did moderate credit restraint on November 22. I want to point out we probably would have done it on November 1 except for the fact it was an even keel period for the Treasury. In other words, the Treasury was facing a financing there, and we do not as a rule make changes if we can help it, when they are going to finance, you see. We want to be as helpful to them as we can. We do not try to make overt changes during such a period.

But I think the record of November 1 will show that we were tending in this direction at that time. We carried through on November 22 with the official change.

Representative REUSS. I don't mean at this time to go into all of the reasons, which are well set forth in the policy record of why on November 22 you did ease credit. The fact that I happen to have agreed with that action is also irrelevant here. My question was whether, in the five-page record of policy action published in your annual report, there is any mention of the tax increase by the Congress, and your answer is "no, there isn't."

Mr. MARTIN. I don't know whether there is or not, but I think you have got a point; it would have been wise to mention it, if we didn't mention it. But I am sure that that was an oversight as far as that is concerned.

Representative REUSS. Then the next meeting of the Open Market Committee was on December 13.

Mr. MARTIN. Might I just interrupt, Mr. Reuss?

Representative REUSS. Yes.

Mr. MARTIN. And say that Mr. Brill tells me we did mention it on November 1.

Representative REUSS. Yes, it is mentioned briefly on November 1, but you did not take action to ease credit on November 1.

Mr. MARTIN. The reason was primarily—I am not speaking for all my associates, but the reason primarily in my own mind was the Treasury financing on November 1, you see, the "even keel" considerations.

Representative REUSS. Yes. Then, on December 13, you issued a directive, continuing your easing of credit—and here the policy record takes seven pages—and I find not a word about the tax increase. If I have overlooked anything, I would be delighted to have it called to my attention.

My point, which I have probably telegraphed by now, is simply this: Is it really a very likely assumption that, if Congress votes another increase in taxes next July 1, this will play any more part in the Fed's deliberations than the formal record shows was played in the Fed's deliberations after the last tax increase? And if the record is a true index of what was in the Fed's mind, there were a great many things in the Fed's mind in taking these salutary and wholesome actions other than the tax increase. Is there any reason to suppose it would be any different next July if we voted a tax increase?

Mr. MARTIN. I wouldn't for a moment want to forecast what conditions will be next July, but we will certainly consider every aspect of conditions, just as we did in November. The tax increase would be one of the factors to be taken into account.

Now on this tax increase, we have to realize that when we come to the budget that you are talking about—let's not argue about whether it is the administrative budget or the cash budget or the national in-

come accounts budget for the moment; let's just take the administrative budget—you have a deficit of \$8 billion, roughly. If the tax increase is not enacted, that goes up by \$4.6 billion. If they don't sell the participation certificates, it goes up another \$5 billion. If they don't get the postal rate increase it goes up another \$700 million. These are all things we have to take into consideration.

(Chairman Martin submitted the following for inclusion in the record:)

The record of policy actions of the Federal Open Market Committee includes five separate references to suspension of the investment tax credit, either specifically or by referring to the "fiscal program announced by the President" or "fiscal policy measures * * * recently enacted by the Congress." The references may be found in the policy record entries for the meetings of September 13, October 4, and November 1.

Representative REUSS. Your point is well taken. May I now turn to the record of the policy action of the Federal Reserve, with particular reference to the meeting of July 15, 1966, where I was most interested to learn the Federal Reserve Board turned down recommendations of various of the Reserve banks, to increase the discount rate from $4\frac{1}{2}$ percent to 5, and in some cases to $5\frac{1}{2}$ percent.

Again, though it is not relevant to my question, I approve of the vote of the Federal Reserve Board in turning down that discount rate increase. But what concerns me is the whole business of the announcement effect of discount rate changes.

As one reads the record of the Board meeting on July 15, 1966, one can't but be struck by the self-torture that the Board undergoes by the supposed necessity of setting discount rates. It worries—and I would too if I were on the Board—at the announcement effect of a discount rate increase.

There is some evidence in the record that the Board did not undertake an increase in the discount rate last July because of the so-called announcement effect. Reading the record over the years as I have, I find other occasions when it seemed to me that the announcement effect of a discount rate increase produced a result that the Fed would not have particularly wanted.

Now to my question. Isn't it time for a thoughtful reexamination of our discount policy? I can see certain defects in the way we do it now. As I have said, the announcement effect frequently produces a result counterproductive to what the Fed in its judgment would have wanted. At other times, the overhang of an announcement effect keeps the Fed from doing what it otherwise would have done. Compounding this is the Fed's habit, which I am not undertaking to criticize, of moving the discount rate in rather a wide swing, half a percentage point, which is a big change, because quite understandably it doesn't want to make a lot of little shivering changes in the discount rate. It uses it much as a Treasury does when it contemplates devaluation of the currency. "We might as well do this right, boys, so we don't have to do it again in a few weeks."

In the light of this, isn't there much to be said for the suggestions made by Warren Smith and other economists that the Fed would be better off if it said "From now on, we are trying the discount rate to the Treasury bill rate, perhaps adjusting it weekly, monthly, or quarterly"?

And when the Fed wishes to announce something, it will use the English language and announce it. It probably won't want to do this very often, but when it has something to say, it will say it in English, not in the language of flowers that your discount rate change gives you.

I am sure this concerns you and your associates. And let me say now, because the time you are doing to have to answer it in this morning is necessarily very brief, that I would appreciate it if in addition to what you are able to respond this morning, you would file at this point in the record as complete and thoughtful a statement as the Board of Governors cares to make, with such additional views and dissents as the Governors may feel. Now, would you respond, sir?

Mr. MARTIN. My response to this would be that we are making a very careful study of the discount mechanism within the System at the present time. This is under Bob Holland, who is our specialist in this and who is the Secretary of the Open Market Committee now. He has been meeting with the discount officers of the 12 Reserve banks and others, and we have been reviewing this entire matter. As you stated, it will take a long time to go into the various aspects of it, but we hope to have that study completed before too long and give you the whole study.

Representative REUSS. Meanwhile, pending the completion of the study, I would appreciate it if you could give me, and if the members of your Board could give me, the benefit of their thinking at this time, recognizing that it would be on a preliminary basis.

Mr. MARTIN. We will do the best we can with it, but it is a very complicated and difficult research problem.

Representative REUSS. I am glad you recognize, as I do, that it doesn't look as if it is perfect the way it is done now. Maybe we ought to consider improvements.

Mr. MARTIN. Let me say, perhaps this is a needless comment, but never has the Federal Board in recent years claimed to be anywhere close to perfection in its activities.

Representative REUSS. Thank you.

(The following letter, responding to the request of Representative Reuss, was subsequently submitted for the record:)

BOARD OF GOVERNORS,
FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM,
Washington, D.C., March 6, 1967.

HON. HENRY S. REUSS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. REUSS: This letter is in response to your question, at the time of my testimony before the Joint Economic Committee on February 9, concerning the review of our discount mechanism.

The Federal Reserve System has been engaged, for a little over a year, in an intensive and far-ranging examination of its discount operations and policy. This study represents the first such investigation since the early 1950's, at which time Regulation A, governing the discount operations of the Reserve Banks, was revised to its present form.

The period following the Treasury-Federal Reserve Accord of 1951 saw the development of the Government securities market to an extent which permitted the bulk of monetary policy actions to be carried out in that market. At the same time, most banks held ample supplies of these highly liquid Government securities. These holdings were an aftermath of war financing and enabled banks to make most adjustments in their reserve positions by sales of these readily marketable assets.

In this environment, the discount window served only a marginal role as a supplier of reserves. It was designed to give banks assistance over the peaks of temporary, emergency, or seasonal needs for funds that exceeded the dimensions that the banks themselves were capable of reasonably meeting out of their own resources. To foster this kind of bank use of the discount window, chief reliance was placed upon the tradition against bank borrowing, buttressed as when necessary by disciplinary contacts by discount officers. Given this kind of discount policy, open market operations could be undertaken with a new degree of vigor and precision, secure in the knowledge that only marginal reserve additions would be introduced through the discount window—in effect, just enough to lubricate the many joints in the banking machinery.

The financial environment has changed markedly in the past decade, and increasing evidence suggests that the discount mechanism may be in need of modernization. Banks no longer hold large amounts of Government securities. In recent years non-Federal debt has increased far more rapidly than Federal debt, and bank portfolios have reflected this development. The supplies of liquid assets available for reserve adjustment have been further curtailed by the rise in the total of public deposits which typically must be collateralized by the hypothecation of these assets.

In the absence of ample supplies of liquid assets, many banks find themselves adjusting their reserve positions more and more through the issuance of short-term liquid liabilities. This can be seen in the rapid growth of the Federal funds market, the intense competition for certificates of deposit, and the heavy reliance of some banks on the Eurodollar market. Meanwhile, the preponderant System dependence upon open market operations for the execution of monetary policy, while still working generally well, has at times involved market strains of a type that might have been ameliorated by a different kind of discount window assistance.

It was in the light of these developments, criticisms, and questions coming from both within the System and without, and the general belief that the tools of monetary policy should be periodically examined to evaluate their effectiveness in developing financial conditions, that the current study of the discount mechanism was undertaken. Participants in the study include the broadest cross-section of interests, opinions, background, and geographic assignments. The operation is headed by a Steering Committee composed of members of the Board and Presidents of Federal Reserve Banks. Under this Steering Committee was established a high-level staff Secretariat charged with the responsibility for conducting research and developing proposals for consideration by the Steering Committee and, in turn, by other principal System policy-making bodies.

Approximately two dozen separate research projects are presently in various stages of completion. These projects cover a wide variety of issues, some exploring the past history of the discount mechanism, others examining the discount window and other aspects of the financial system as they operate and interact today, and still others evaluating various changes and improvements which have been proposed in the light of the economic environment today and that expected to exist in the foreseeable future. One segment of these studies is examining the discount mechanisms employed by central banks in the other major industrial countries and evaluating the guidance they can offer for our own window. In this connection, the officials of these central banks have been contacted both by letter and in some cases by personal visits from our staff.

The views of a number of outstanding academic economists have also been obtained in connection with this study. One academic seminar on proposed changes in the discount mechanism has already been held, and another is contemplated shortly. In addition, a few academic economists have been commissioned to prepare papers on particular aspects of the subject.

At the end of a year of concentrated effort on this ambitious undertaking, significant progress has been made. However, the time is only now approaching when the results of this research are being interpreted and evaluated in terms of policy alternatives. Hence it is premature to do more than touch on possible findings of a policy nature.

Nevertheless, to try to be as responsive as possible to your inquiry, I can report that several possible implications of the findings have already begun to emerge, some of a general nature and others pertaining to more specific areas. Perhaps the most significant possibility is that the discount mechanism could be converted to a more active role. It could be more useful both to the Federal Reserve

and to the member banks. This is likely to entail at least some increase in the proportion of reserves supplied through the discount window.

A great deal of time and effort is being invested in the study and consideration of the control mechanism for the new window. If the more active role now contemplated for the discount mechanism is finally instituted, the present degree of reliance upon the tradition against bank borrowing will no longer be feasible. Therefore, a wide variety of alternative means for influencing bank borrowing actions is being examined. Included are some more positive variants of the primarily administrative control exercised today, preponderant reliance on the discounts rate as advocated by some academics, various proposals for quantitative controls, and possible combinations of these methods too numerous to list.

Careful attention is being paid to the tied discount rate proposal that you mentioned in the hearings. In this connection the experience of the Bank of Canada between 1956 and 1962 is being evaluated, and the ideas of those academic economists advocating a tied rate are being studied. As you mentioned, a tied rate system can serve to minimize the kind of announcement effects that often attach to discretionary discount rate changes, even when the latter simply represents an action to maintain the rate in reasonable alignment with market rates. But there are also some serious difficulties that would confront any tied discount rate arrangement in this country. Some particular problems in this respect were outlined in some detail in the answers given by the Federal Reserve to the Commission on Money and Credit.¹

With a banking system as diverse and fragmented as that of the United States, it is essentially impossible to identify any one rate which represents the cost of managing reserve positions in the absence of discounting. Yet to be an effective and equitable penalty, the discount rate would have to be tied to such a rate. In addition, the discount window will very probably continue to serve purposes (e.g. emergency credit assistance) for which a penalty rate is inappropriate or at best irrelevant. It should also be noted that a tied discount rate, unlike a fixed rate, exercises no moderating influence on money market fluctuations. Furthermore, it is by no means certain that the announcement effects of a discretionary change in an otherwise fixed discount rate are not oftentimes a constructive policy influence, or that such an influence could be effectively duplicated by varying the margin of the discount rate over the market rate to which it was tied. Each of these points at issue will have to be carefully weighed—along with the drawbacks of the present method of discount rate determination and announcement—in the light of the latest research before any definitive judgments as to future discount rate policy can be formulated. One early conclusion, suggested by review of both Federal Reserve experience and the discount mechanisms employed by various other central banking systems, is the wisdom of maintaining a degree of flexibility in the design and operation of the discount window to make it adaptable to changing circumstances.

While few of the specifics of the new discount mechanism have yet become clear, it has been almost a foregone conclusion that the window will continue to supply emergency credit assistance. This is recognized as a basic responsibility of the Federal Reserve in its role as lender of last resort. Work in this area has been chiefly aimed at developing a better understanding and articulation of the System's responsibilities and objectives, and at discovering the most efficient and equitable means of providing emergency assistance, as regards both the institution requiring such assistance and the financial system in general.

In closing, I might mention that the document attached as an appendix to this letter contains several answers to questions that reflected the thinking going into and growing out of the 1955 revision of the Board's Regulation A concerning use of the discount window. Many of the surrounding circumstances have since changed considerably, as described in the earlier part of this letter; therefore, the specifics of these answers may be to some extent outdated. Nonetheless, the general philosophy underlying these answers is still subscribed to, and they may be read in this light.

We will continue to push forward diligently with this discount study, and we shall be glad to forward the results to you when it is completed.

Sincerely yours,

WM. McC. MARTIN, Jr.

¹ *The Federal Reserve and the Treasury: Answers to Questions From the Commission on Money and Credit*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963, pp. 140-147.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Senator Javits?

Senator JAVITS. Mr. Martin, may I join with the committee in welcoming you here. We had a little contretemps, Mr. Martin, with your associate in Government, Secretary Fowler. Secretary Fowler would have us believe that your action in raising the discount rate in 1965 was a calculated and deliberate action by the Federal Reserve Board following general policy of the administration, rather than as it was very clearly an independent act by the Federal Reserve Board because it found an economic situation in which the administration had not acted, and therefore it had to act. Now which is correct?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I wouldn't want to enter into a controversy with the Secretary of the Treasury, with whom I have worked very successfully and whom I like very much. I would simply point out that in this matter of coordination, there has been no problem of information or of communication. There have at times been differences of judgment, and there was a difference of judgment at that particular time.

Now the Federal Reserve has a responsibility, as I see it, under the present law, for defending the dollar. Our independence is nothing that we flaunt, but we do have a responsibility to discharge our duty as we see it. As I testified earlier here, I think it would have been wiser if we had moved earlier rather than December of 1965.

There were differences of opinion, differences of judgment, honest differences between individuals on policy. I, therefore, think this was just a difference of judgment.

Senator JAVITS. Mr. Martin, the reason I asked you this is because I think we have the right to know what the Federal Reserve would do, if we don't raise taxes, because obviously in 1966 you waited for an increase in taxes, and it wasn't forthcoming, so you acted. Now suppose we don't raise taxes. What are you going to do then?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, it will depend entirely on the course of the economy.

Senator JAVITS. But you will act independently again.

Mr. MARTIN. We will indeed. When I say "act independently," we are making every effort at all times to coordinate our activities with the administration, and at any time we act independently, it is not because of any desire to flaunt our authority. It is purely out of the belief that this is our duty under the law.

As I testified in December of 1965, there was a problem of financing at the time. Even within my own Board, there were some differences. I just want to emphasize my conviction that markets don't wait for kings or presidents or prime ministers or secretaries of the Treasury or Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. They have to be dealt with at the time.

Senator JAVITS. Now you are, as I understand it, because it is a necessary element of my question, in favor of the 6-percent tax surcharge.

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

Senator JAVITS. Are you in favor of waiting the 90 days that Gardner Ackley said we could wait, in order to look over the economic situation?

Mr. MARTIN. I would be in favor of enacting it right now.

Senator JAVITS. Right now. Is it fair, I want to ask you? Suppose we don't enact it right now. What does the Federal Reserve Board have in mind to do about it?

Mr. MARTIN. As I said earlier, this is a problem of expenditure control, of paying for the war. I am not criticizing the Defense Department or anyone else for the difficulty in getting accurate figures, but the expenses have burgeoned on us, and we haven't been able to reduce them. I hope that the overhang of inventory from the inflation that got ahead of us in 1965 and 1966 can be adjusted early this year in such a way that we will have a resumption of both housing activity and other activity in the last half of 1967. It may be that if that works out, a tax increase would be desirable as a means of preventing a recurrence of what happened last year when almost the entire brunt of this was borne by monetary policy.

There were some fiscal actions. I am well aware of the fact that the Treasury did speed up tax collections. Unfortunately, the speeding up of tax collections put additional pressure on the money market, and made it a very difficult period to handle. I have no question of their desire to cooperate with us, and we will continue to cooperate with them in every way that we can.

Senator JAVITS. Now the argument for the 90-day, wait-and-see proposition is that we may be facing an economic recession, and on the classic theory that at that point you certainly don't increase taxes. A lot of people feel we should wait 90 days. Now do you or the Board, whichever you can speak for, see any indications of a recession facing us which might be ascertainable within that period?

Mr. MARTIN. I am worried about the overhang of inventory in relation to sales, which was built up in a good many lines. I am not ready to forecast what the last half of 1967 is going to be, but I believe that the adjustments are being made in this overhang now, and I am optimistic about the economy.

Senator JAVITS. So you don't really think that we are justified on that account, because of fear of a recession, in waiting the 90 days, or any period.

Mr. MARTIN. There would be differences of opinion within the Federal Reserve Board and in the staff of the Federal Reserve Board on that. I do not.

Senator JAVITS. You do not. Now, finally, I would like to tell you this, if it does your heart any good, that this strange path trod by the Secretary of the Treasury goes like this. In 1966, the Council of Economic Advisers said:

The Administration regretted that the discount rate increase last December interrupted that pattern, to wit, clearly fiscal and monetary policy must be closely coordinated, and effective coordination has prevailed in the past five years.

Nonetheless, the Secretary of the Treasury, testifying here the other day, said:

I think that the Administration's economic policy as a whole in 1966, including our prudent use of selective fiscal tools as supplementary to general and severe monetary restraint, brought the economy through a trying time of transition and uncertainties with minimum damage, and so on.

Now that is quite a shift from the report of 1966, and I just thought that you ought to know the basis that made me say what I did. I have just one more question, if I have time. Are you concerned about the rate of capital spending in the second half of 1967?

Mr. MARTIN. I think the rate of capital spending in the second half of 1967 as presently projected is much more reasonable than it was in 1966. But I think it could build up very quickly.

Senator JAVITS. Would you favor, under those circumstances, anticipating as an alternative to a tax increase, the restoration of the seven percent investment tax credit?

Mr. MARTIN. I happen to be one of those who would like to see the 7 percent investment tax credit a permanent part of our machinery.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Would you say that again?

Mr. MARTIN. I said I happen to be one of those who would like to see the 7-percent tax credit a permanent operating part of our economy. I think a good many of my own staff and a good many others will disagree with me on this. But I think it is very desirable.

Senator JAVITS. Without regard to this tax increase.

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

Senator JAVITS. Whether we pass it or not. Thank you.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Senator Symington?

Senator SYMINGTON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman Martin, it is good to see you here, a friend and constituent. Some said on the Senate floor that it would affect the credibility of this administration if you were reappointed to your present position. I want you to know that if you are not reappointed to this position, in my opinion, it would be the greatest single thing the administration could do to reduce the confidence of business about its sincerity in preserving the integrity of the economy.

Mr. MARTIN. I appreciate that, Senator.

Senator SYMINGTON. Years ago I read a book by Gunnar Myrdal on the Negro problem. He said that first, the white people make the Negro clean their shoes, then criticize him for being a bootblack. You have become a comparable whipping boy. First, they pass the problem of inflation over to you, and don't do a thing about it from a fiscal standpoint. You do your best to handle it monetarily, which is all you can do; and then they criticize the actions you take.

I would ask a question I asked Secretary Wirtz, about the high cost of the Vietnamese war, which according to the Senate Appropriations Committee staff, is now some \$2.5 billion a month.

I asked one member of the administration how long he thought we could go along with this type and character of expense in Vietnam. His answer as, "Forever, based on the percentage it was of the gross national product. Secretary Wirtz said to us:

Let me say again I don't believe anybody is ever justified in military expenditures on the basis that you do not need to worry about it as long as it stays within a certain percentage of the gross national product.

Would you agree with that statement?

Mr. MARTIN. I agree.

Senator SYMINGTON. In a talk I made on the cost of the Vietnamese war recently, I said:

A government as with an individual or a business, can only improve its living standards through additional borrowings so long as it is trusted by its lenders.

Would you agree that is true?

Mr. MARTIN. I do.

Senator SYMINGTON. A member of the committee just mentioned the omission of a word or thought in one of your discussions in your

Board. I have just read a book by perhaps the leading apostle of the "new economics." The word "gold" is not mentioned. Do you think the amount of gold we have to pay our current liabilities redeemable in gold, which has now fallen to about 10 percent of what we owe, is important? Is it important for us to have the gold stock necessary to pay our debts?

Mr. MARTIN. I do indeed. I think it is.

Senator SYMINGTON. What worries me, if all these people would say that gold wasn't important—but we say it is very important, and that we plan to correct the loss, and will establish policies that will result in no further loss of gold. But each year we lose more gold.

Now when we get into this justification of the high cost of Government expenditures, especially the war, on the grounds of its percentage of the gross national product, I have here a quotation from an article written for the Harvard Business Review by Dr. Robert W. Stevens, formerly senior economist of Standard Oil of New Jersey, now professor of international business at Indiana University. I would appreciate your comment.

He said:

Whatever may have happened to the world dollar shortage, it is a fact of life that economic, political, and military attitudes, once well established, certainly do tend to persist. Today when our economy still remains unrivaled in the world, if the popular premise that economic strength always confers financial strength is sound, then people might still think it is "natural" for the United States to be running an international payments surplus, provided various frictions and temporary obstacles to its achievement could be removed. But the simple argument from basic economic strength to continuous financial strength is not valid, and there is no natural payments balance.

A country's balance of payments at any time depends on many things, only one of which is the productive power of that country's economy.

Would you agree with those observations?

Mr. MARTIN. I would indeed.

Senator SYMINGTON. Now you mentioned the importance, from the standpoint of the Federal Reserve Board's activities of preserving the integrity of the dollar. Some people who are getting burned because of high interest rates, are lobbying pretty hard. They might think of what would happen if the dollar went to pieces, to a very large percentage of the American people—those folks with life insurance, with pension plans, a great new concept of union activity, not to mention social security and all retirement plans; that is, if there was major depreciation in the value of the dollar comparable to what has happened in most other world currencies in recent years.

Wouldn't such depreciation be a very serious, almost catastrophic development from the standpoint of the average wage earner?

Mr. MARTIN. I don't think there is any question of it. I think dependable money, which retains its purchasing power, is the bulwark of a strong country, and any country that loses that has lost its underpinning.

Senator SYMINGTON. Purchasing power is the base you might say.

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

Senator SYMINGTON. One final question. Everybody today is a "Keynesian." Some stress structural employment, some public works expenditures; some lowering taxes. But the basic theory of Keynes, was it not, was in times of prosperity to increase taxes and reduce

Government expenditures; and in times of nonprosperity vice versa? We are not pursuing that policy, are we?

Mr. MARTIN. We have failed to compensate. We have been relying too much, in my judgment, on deficit finance without ever having a surplus. I think that you have got to have a balance. We should use deficit finance under certain circumstances, but if deficit financing becomes permanent then I think it is just a matter of time before you do undermine your currency.

Senator SYMINGTON. These disciples of Keynes perhaps haven't read everything he wrote on the subject of the importance of the integrity of the dollar. Many years ago, he said:

Lenin was certainly right. There is no subtler nor surer means of overturning the existing basis of society than to debauch the currency. The process engages all the hidden forces of economic law on the side of destruction and does it in a manner which not one man in a million is able to diagnose.

Would you agree?

Mr. MARTIN. I would indeed, and I would like to interject here what I said in a recent talk I made in London. I had the privilege of knowing Lord Keynes, and I had several long discussions with him. Before the end of the war he was convinced that the main problem of the postwar world was going to be unemployment.

Later, when I sat at the Bretton Woods meeting in Savannah with him, I had a 2-hour conversation with him, in which he explained to me that his views had completely changed, and he was convinced that the problem of the postwar world was going to be dealing with inflation. He recognized that inflationary surges would bring inevitable adjustments from time to time, putting two and three people out of work when otherwise only one person would have been unemployed.

He told me that he wanted to do some work on this. I think he was going to do a book or do some similar work on it. Perhaps I am overstaying my time here, but I would say that one of the great sorrows of my life is when he had a heart attack at Savannah, and then another heart attack in April and passed on. I think he has been misquoted a great deal with respect to his attitude toward inflation and deflation.

Senator SYMINGTON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. My time is up. I also had the privilege of knowing Lord Keynes. In conclusion, I sure hope you stay on this job. You know more about money problems than any of my colleagues, or for that matter anybody else in this Government. You have been a great public servant. If the President is wise enough to send your name to the Senate, I am sure you will be confirmed for another rough time.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Congressman Widnall?

Representative WIDNALL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Martin, let me first congratulate you on your healthy recovery from being tarred and feathered in December of 1965. It is good to see you before us, and you are an excellent witness, as always.

You have partly answered this question that I am about to ask you now, but I would like a more full answer. What was the impact on the financial market and interest rates last year of the administration sales of participation certificates and the larger acceleration of tax payments?

Mr. MARTIN. It added additional pressures to the market, at a time when the market was already under strain, and therefore it was a contributing factor to the rise in interest rates.

Representative WIDNALL. Has the coordination of economic policy between the Federal Reserve and the administration improved in your view since the increase in the discount rate in December of 1965?

Mr. MARTIN. I think our coordination has been good right along. I think, as I said earlier, information and communications has been 100 percent, and I think since the December action perhaps all of us have worked even harder to see that we were fully evaluating the views of the Board and the Treasury and the Council. I think we have worked very hard and very successfully on it.

Representative WIDNALL. Does this mean you have met more frequently than in the past?

Mr. MARTIN. I would say not much more frequently. We have these meetings that have been mentioned in testimony before you, consisting of the Secretary of the Treasury and the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, the Director of the Budget and myself representing the Board. They have met on an average of about once every 5 weeks during 1966, and that was true of 1965.

Representative WIDNALL. Would you favor the removal or the reduction of the gold backing now required for the Federal Reserve notes?

Mr. MARTIN. I would not want to come up at the moment for it, but I think ultimately we may have to remove it. During the hearings on the legislation that repealed the gold cover requirement as to deposits but retained it for Federal Reserve notes, I testified that I did think it had some disciplinary effect on our activities. As time has gone on, I have come to wonder whether that disciplinary effect was as useful and as practical as I thought it was. My general position on this right along has been that gold is here to use, not to hoard. I would hope that within the next couple of years we will have an improvement in our balance of payments. If we succeed, gold will flow back.

Representative WIDNALL. So you are having a constant review of the situation now, and evaluating the value of keeping it as it is?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

Representative WIDNALL. How do you regard the proposals which have been advanced under which the United States would continue to sell gold at \$35 an ounce, but would alter its buying policy either by not buying gold at all or by refusing to buy at \$35 an ounce, or at any other predetermined price?

Mr. MARTIN. We have considered this at great length, and my own view is that this would be a mistake, that this would be tantamount to devaluation. I think it would not serve the purpose that individuals that are proposing it think it will.

Representative WIDNALL. In the long range it still would have a very adverse effect, you think?

Mr. MARTIN. I do.

Representative WIDNALL. Now is it true that late last year the Treasury borrowed from the Federal Reserve for the first time since 1958, and also there was only one borrowing, or has the Treasury resorted to the Fed on other occasions since that time?

Mr. MARTIN. That is the only time. But I see no reason at all why they shouldn't come in to us when they are down as low as they were in their balance. That is the reason we have this authority.

Representative WIDNALL. When did that take place?

Mr. MARTIN. That was on December 9.

Representative WIDNALL. In the overall picture, how do you size up the balance-of-payments outlook for 1967?

Mr. MARTIN. It is a little early to put your finger on it. I am not overly optimistic about it. I do think that there has been an improvement in our trade surplus, with the reduction of inflationary pressures, and in the long run the only way we are really going to get a satisfactory balance of payments is to improve our trade surplus. Therefore, I attach a great deal of importance to this improvement.

On the capital flow—where, as Mr. Curtis pointed out earlier, we had an inflow that was partly due to the interest differential last summer—unless there is a more general adjustment in interest rates than is presently foreseeable, we may lose some of those capital inflows, and this may put additional pressure on that aspect of the balance of payments.

I would say that we have no right to be either pessimistic or optimistic about the balance of payments on February 9, today, of 1967. But it is a continuing problem, and it is one that is going to require constant and assiduous work.

Representative WIDNALL. And certainly one of the most important areas to watch, because we were helped so much within the last few months by the inflow of funds from overseas, because of our high interest rates, and it could go the other way very easily, if they don't reduce in line with our own reduction at the present time.

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

Representative WIDNALL. It seems to me that we are now exhibiting in some areas a more rapid reduction than we expected, I believe, on some short-term borrowings, by as much as 1½ percent. Why has this happened so rapidly, rather than a gradual reduction?

Mr. MARTIN. I think it is too bad that we have had swings as sharp as this in either direction. But I worry a little bit about moving so quickly. I don't really think there is anything to be unduly alarmed about here. I think our principal problem, as I keep reiterating, is the overhang of inventory that a lot of firms have at the present time. I think this is due to the inflationary buildup that occurred in the second and third quarters of last year.

Representative WIDNALL. From the witnesses who have appeared so far before the committee, I gather that there is more of a realization on the part of the administration than they have been willing to admit in the past that monetary and fiscal policy have a place going along together, rather than operating in separate directions. Many of us have felt for a period of years that there wasn't the proper coordination between monetary and fiscal policy in order to achieve the results that we wanted.

I am very hopeful from what I have gathered from some of the witnesses before us that there will be that coordination and we can achieve the result which we could achieve much more easily with that coordination of effort.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MARTIN. I am in complete accord with that, and I can assure you that the Federal Reserve is going to do everything in its power to see that its monetary policy is coordinated with the fiscal policy of the Government. We have no desire to be obstreperous. Our desire is entirely constructive, and we are sorry that some misinterpretation has been put on our action in 1965, to the effect that this was our intention.

Representative WIDNALL. Thank you.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Congressman Bolling?

Representative BOLLING. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Martin, I would like to join with my colleague from Missouri in his comments with regard to your long and useful public service. I have had the privilege of being on this committee for a good deal of that time, and while I haven't always agreed with you, I have admired your capacity, your integrity, and I think above all, your stamina.

I hope, too, that you will continue in this position, because I think that a great deal of the confidence that some of us here and others in the country have in the stability of the economy is based on your ability to be independent and to stand up against extremely difficult burdens that sometimes administrations and almost always Congress has put upon you.

Mr. MARTIN. Thank you, Mr. Bolling.

Representative BOLLING. Now you have indicated that your concern about the economy at the moment was these inventories that accumulated as you indicated in the second and third quarters. You are at the same time optimistic that they will be worked off in such a way that we will have—I don't know exactly how to say this and I don't want to put words in your mouth—a return to what, expansion in the third and fourth quarters of this year?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

Representative BOLLING. Assuming that your estimate of the situation turns out to be correct, that we do work off the inventories, that we do have a return to expansion, and a third thing, that the Congress will talk a good deal about saving money but that it will not save any out of the budget—in effect, the budget or more will be appropriated—what then might be the effect on the economy of the failure by the Congress to enact the tax increase proposed by the President? Would there be an enormous pressure on the monetary authority perhaps similar or even greater than the one that existed during the months of pressure last year?

Mr. MARTIN. That is my judgment, and let me put this to you if I may, Mr. Bolling, in a simple way that appears to me. Not everybody agrees with me quite on this, but I think that when you have full employment and you have no unutilized plant and equipment capacity, and the savings of businesses and individuals are unequal to meet the demand for credit, that the pressure is put on the central bank to create money, and if we create money under those circumstances, that spending is bound to result in higher prices.

This is the root cause of inflation. I see no problem at all in the central bank supplying additional money to the economy, until we get to the area of full or virtually full employment, with no efficient unutilized plant and equipment capacity. If at that time you print

money—which is the simple way of putting it—it can do nothing but cause a rise in prices.

Representative BOLLING. I might say I am entirely in agreement with that. My observation after a number of years on the committee is that the failure in coordination, if there be a failure in coordination, between monetary and fiscal policy, grows almost entirely out of the unwillingness of the Congress to accept the other half of Keynesism—that is, in times of prosperity and pressures on the economy, one must use a compensating fiscal policy. This is why for a number of years I have favored giving to the President, within very specific limitations, in effect the power to raise and lower taxes promptly, because only thus do I see the kind of flexibility in the fiscal end that could really effectively and quickly coordinate with the monetary end. I hope that I will live long enough and that we both will stay here long enough so that we will see that kind of a situation, where instead of the Fed being a whipping boy for all those who are unwilling to take what is allegedly a politically unpopular position, it will be a partner, an independent partner in a coordinated policy operation.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Senator Miller?

Senator MILLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman MARTIN, I wish for the record, to be associated with my colleague, Senator Symington, in his comments regarding you as a person who should be retained.

You stated that the policy on participation certificates last year tended to aggravate the high interest situation, is that correct?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct, yes.

Senator MILLER. Then it would follow that the proposed sale of several billions of dollars more of participation certificates as set forth in the President's budget would also tend to aggravate the high interest rate problem.

Mr. MARTIN. Well, the conditions in the money market are different now, Senator.

Senator MILLER. I recognize that, but it was an aggravating situation last year, so would it not follow that it would be an aggravating situation this year?

Mr. MARTIN. It will be. Unquestionably, it is an additional item that has to be financed, you see. The Government does have to pay its way.

Senator MILLER. That is right. And would you also say that the Government financing of the budget deficit as set forth in the President's budget would also have an aggravating influence on the high interest rate problem?

Mr. MARTIN. Oh, yes; any additional borrowing adds to interest rate pressures.

Senator MILLER. Now I believe you said in response to a question by Senator Proxmire that we have a decision to make of either reducing expenditures on the one hand or increasing taxes on the other. But isn't there a middle ground, which is being used right now, and that is to not do either of those, or not follow either of those alternatives sufficiently so that we take purchasing power away from the people by inflation.

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

Senator MILLER. I take it that you are not in favor of taking purchasing power away from the people by way of inflation.

Mr. MARTIN. I am dead against it.

Senator MILLER. That being so, Mr. Chairman, how are we going to avoid doing that if we have the tax increase that is proposed and still end up with a budget deficit of \$8, \$9, \$10 billion this year?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, we have ultimately to balance our budget. This is the problem. Of course, there are different budgets. I am not going to get into the three budgets. I happen to agree with the economists that it is the national income accounts budget that is the one we ought to be concerned about. We do need a lot of education on this budget.

Senator MILLER. Secretary of the Treasury Fowler testified here the other day that the administrative budget is the one we need to worry about insofar as financing a deficit is concerned.

In other words, it is the \$8 or \$9 billion administrative budget deficit which is going to have to be financed, and since there is a relationship between that and inflation, I would think that insofar as the financing of the deficit is concerned, you would be very concerned about the administrative budget.

Mr. MARTIN. And I am. This is why I applaud the President's action in seeking a tax increase. If you take an administrative budget deficit of \$8 billion and you do not get this tax increase, the deficit goes up by \$4.6 billion right away, and if you didn't sell all the participation certificates it is another \$5 billion, and if you don't get this postal rate increase through it is another \$700 million, so that we are talking about some pretty large figures.

I think at some point, deficits have to be brought under control. I think the Secretary is quite correct when he talks about this tax being designed to pay for the war in Vietnam, and to keep the budget in reasonable relationship.

The Government has to pay its way. When it runs a deficit it has to either raise taxes to cover it, or it has to borrow, and if it borrows it is putting pressure on the money market to be sure.

Senator MILLER. And in turn, over a period of time at least, that brings about a foundation for inflation.

Mr. MARTIN. Exactly.

Senator MILLER. Then would it be fair to say that in evaluating the budget, which calls for a small tax increase on the one hand, but it also on the other hand calls for a budget deficit of rather a substantial figure, that this represents sort of a straddle position that purchasing power will be taken away in part by increased taxes and in part by inflation?

Mr. MARTIN. I would hope not. I would hope that the improvement in the economy would produce the revenues. We did have an increase in revenues last year. We were moving in the right direction there, with the acceleration in the economy. It was only when we got a GNP deflator of 4 percent that we were losing the advantage of rising income.

Senator MILLER. May I say I share your hope, Mr. Chairman, but is that hope a very rosy and optimistic hope?

Mr. MARTIN. Only time will tell.

Senator MILLER. Now in your statement you call attention to some economic facts, and state: "This was an impressive performance, one in which we all can take some satisfaction."

I wonder if you could give us an evaluation of how much this performance is attributable to the war in Vietnam, and the increase in defense expenditures running up to \$2 or \$2½ billion a month?

Mr. MARTIN. I find the Vietnam economic problem a very confusing one. I couldn't agree more that it is not the relationship of the war to the gross national product that counts, but what concerns me is the disruption in the flow of production that comes from having to grab certain items of a strategic nature for the Defense Department under certain circumstances.

Now I don't know how you evaluate this type of thing. This gets into the broad problem of guns and butter, and it is a very difficult thing to be sure you are right on. I have been worried about the Vietnam war and rising expenditures, but not so much about that aspect of it as I have been about what happens when somebody has a production line here and somebody comes and grabs from this production line some item that is vital to the war in Vietnam. War is a very, very "discombobulating" activity in the economy. Despite the people who say to you "Well, if we had peace in Vietnam wouldn't this cause a collapse in the economy?" I would far rather deal with the problems of peace in Vietnam than I would to have to continue to deal with the disproportionate, unbalancing factors in production that come from even a small—relatively small in terms of gross national product—war such as we have.

Senator MILLER. I am sure your view on that point is shared by all of us up here. But I thought perhaps you were hinting at the relationship between the greater defense outlays due to the war in Vietnam, and the economic facts you set forth early in your statement, when later you referred to the "acceleration in defense outlays which added to the stimulus in the private spending."

Mr. MARTIN. I think it did, you see, because it built up faster certainly than I anticipated it would, and faster than a good many of my colleagues at the Board thought this would happen. That is no criticism of the Defense Department. That is just a fact of life that it did build up very fast. But it made it very difficult to assess policy.

Senator MILLER. But without the \$2½ billion a month of defense spending, certainly which has occurred in the last 12 months—

Mr. MARTIN. We would have had a very different situation than we have now.

Senator MILLER. You also made a statement that "As the pace of industrial activity has slowed, imports have begun to subside." That is the first full paragraph.

Mr. MARTIN. Right.

Senator MILLER. I don't quite follow that. I wonder if you would explain why.

Mr. MARTIN. Well, there was pressure to build up these stocks on the assumption that you would be able to sell them at higher prices. People were unable to get deliveries in this country, so they were going abroad and importing their goods. When they found that the stocks were larger than they could effectively handle, in some instances, they stopped the imports and went back to the domestic supplier.

Now this has certainly occurred here in the last couple of months. How long it will continue, I don't know.

Senator MILLER. If prices continue to go up, due to inflation, this would tend to counterbalance that.

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

Senator MILLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. My time is up.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Mrs. Griffiths?

Representative GRIFFITHS. Thank you very much.

It is nice to see you again. I will say that the first time that I ever saw you, you came before Banking and Currency, and it was one of the most interesting sessions I ever observed, with Mr. Patman as chairman. I was so enthusiastic, I went back and read the hearings and debates on the Federal Reserve Act.

I would like to ask you, can you see, foresee a time or the circumstances under which both an interest rate rise and a tax increase would be necessary or an interest rate decrease and a tax decrease?

Mr. MARTIN. An interest increase?

Representative GRIFFITHS. And a tax increase.

Mr. MARTIN. And a tax increase. I would think—

Representative GRIFFITHS. Or to have both of them go the other way. Under what circumstances would it be desirable?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, it would be under supply-and-demand conditions where there was a shortage of savings on the one side, and no way of balancing it in the marketplace. Interest certainly is a reward to the saver as well as a cost to the borrower. I think there could be a period, a short-lived period, where that might happen but I don't think it would continue any length of time.

Representative GRIFFITHS. How would you coordinate? What would be the mechanics of such coordination? Supposing that such a time arose? For instance, an interest-rate increase bears heavily upon some elements of the economy and is not really noticeable in others, whereas a tax increase or decrease would affect other groups. The fact that they paid high interest didn't really slow down investment in capital goods, but the suspension of the investment credit tax slowed it down. So how would you go about coordinating? With whom would you talk, and how would it be done?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, we would have to have a coordinated staff conference or conferences on this, and I think we would have to make a general evaluation at the staff level of what would be the effective way to deal with this. This would be a difficult situation that you are suggesting here.

Representative GRIFFITHS. And yet, don't you really think that it is much worse for us to have a fiscal policy going one way and monetary policy going the other way?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I don't think that is necessarily so. I think that the two ought to complement each other. That is the ultimate way to solve it. But you could have a situation of overfull employment and overutilization of resources, and under those circumstances you could probably have a tax increase and rising interest rates.

Representative GRIFFITHS. One of the arguments that was made for the tax decrease originally was that it would promote many people depositing money, foreigners depositing money in American banks, and thereby help the balance of payments. You have pointed out that American based banks brought money back from their foreign branches to solve the problem. Did it really work out the way it was anticipated it would work out? Did we really have a larger inflow of investments in this country, or saving deposits in this country, once the interest rate was increased?

Mr. MARTIN. We had a very large inflow last summer from the Eurodollar market. It was well over \$1 billion in the third quarter of 1966.

Representative GRIFFITHS. Was it money of foreigners in foreign institutions, or was it money of Americans from American institutions abroad?

Mr. MARTIN. I think it was both American and foreign money.

Representative GRIFFITHS. If it were the money of Americans, there would be other tools by which you could achieve the same result. You could repatriate that money, is that not true?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right. Mr. Solomon points out to me Americans were also borrowing extensively abroad last summer.

Representative GRIFFITHS. But part of their own money was coming back.

Mr. MARTIN. Part of their own money was coming back. They were also borrowing abroad extensively. For a lot of capital expenditures by American corporations, borrowing was undertaken in the foreign capital markets.

Representative GRIFFITHS. But there are other tools available by which we can repatriate American money, if we sharpen them up, than to increase the interest rate over here.

Mr. MARTIN. You are talking about direct—

Representative GRIFFITHS. Well, you could do it taxwise, could you not?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, we have the interest equalization tax.

Representative GRIFFITHS. There are other means to bring it back.

Mr. MARTIN. That is true.

Representative GRIFFITHS. Now I would like to ask you, are you developing tools or are studies being made by which you can tell us accurately or with any degree of accuracy the difference between a 1-percent interest raise, a rate of interest decrease, and a 1-percent tax increase or decrease?

Mr. MARTIN. We are making studies of this at all times, Mrs. Griffiths, but that is a very, very difficult measurement to make. The flow of funds is hardly amenable to any precise calculations with respect to what a given change in interest rates under certain circumstances will do.

I am very proud of the fact that at the Federal Reserve Board I think we have a staff as good at making models of the economy as anybody. I admit that I am still unpersuaded that these models are of any value except as general guides. They do not give you the precise answer.

Representative GRIFFITHS. We have up here a lot of laws that don't apply to the real world either. I would like to say that if the Government had a happy combination of monetary and fiscal policy, first, we have to set up some sort of institution by which the monetary authorities and those who are going to make the fiscal decisions have some communication, and to set it up originally, you have to have some facts on which to base it. So we need all of this in my opinion—we need a beginning towards all of it, don't we?

Mr. MARTIN. We do indeed, and in solving this problem I think that we are in a pioneering field in one sense.

Representative GRIFFITHS. Yes; I think so, too.

Mr. MARTIN. And I think we are going to have to continue to work at it aggressively.

Representative GRIFFITHS. Of course, just the tax decrease on the theory that you get more money was a miracle.

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

Representative GRIFFITHS. Nobody believed that. And now nobody wants to increase the taxes, on the theory that you might decrease inflation. We have had more letters on the tax increase than anything else the President has suggested.

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I am in complete agreement with the need for further study in this area.

Representative GRIFFITHS. The letters are for decreasing and not increasing. They like that theory.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman PROXMIRE. I want to say before I call on Mr. Rumsfeld that I am going to have to go and vote. I will be right back.

Representative CURTIS. Would the gentleman yield?

Representative RUMSFELD. I would be glad to.

Representative CURTIS. I think the budget shows he is asking this for fiscal 1968 and it does not have an impact on fiscal 1967.

Representative RUMSFELD. It has a psychological impact.

Mr. MARTIN. Doesn't it start July 1?

Representative CURTIS. You said right now—that would be the rest of fiscal 1967. Fiscal 1968 begins July 1.

Mr. MARTIN. I see what you mean; yes.

Representative RUMSFELD. I think also there is the psychological aspect, which is what I was interested in.

Mr. MARTIN. Yes. Well, you have got a good point there.

Representative RUMSFELD. With respect to your position on this surtax, you just referred to the war in Vietnam in your response to me. Do you base your position with respect to the tax increase on an assumption that the war is going to proceed roughly at this level or that it will be reduced somewhat or increased somewhat? It must be based on something.

Mr. MARTIN. It is based on the budget as now presented, and I am not interpreting that budget. I am just taking it as it is presented.

Representative RUMSFELD. The reason I asked the question is because in the past, the budget estimates for the war in Vietnam have been rather dramatically understated.

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

Representative RUMSFELD. And there were those as long ago as a year ago who indicated that they were underestimated. The very day they arrived at the Congress. Again this week and last month, there were individuals who expressed the opinion that it is, again, being understated. I know you have no crystal ball, just as I don't have a crystal ball.

Mr. MARTIN. Right.

Representative RUMSFELD. But I think that it is a valid point. I have a question about a theory or a proposal that has been advanced that the price of gold be increased each year by some small percentage which is less than the prevailing level of interest rates. The theory is that this conceivably could increase liquidity and lessen the present incentive of private parties to hold gold, and further, that it might re-

sult in a release of gold from private hoards into official stocks. Obviously, this would take some international agreements. I would like to know what your reaction to this theory would be.

Mr. MARTIN. I am dead against a change in the price of gold. It seems to me that if it is going to be used as a standard, that it should not be changed in price any more than feet or inches are changed as a measure of distance. I have been through this for many, many years. I used to study under Irving Fisher at Yale, and he was a great proponent of the commodity dollar. If you are going to make this sort of change, why you have to do it every 5 to 10 years or so.

Representative RUMSFELD. I looked through a number of these policy actions statements, and the ones that I noticed were unanimous. Were they all unanimous during the past year?

Mr. MARTIN. I don't think so, Mr. Rumsfeld. For instance, in one case at the end of the year, as I remember it, the vote was 8 to 4. Are you talking about the Open Market Committee?

Representative RUMSFELD. Yes.

Mr. MARTIN. Another vote was 10 to 2.

Representative RUMSFELD. The ones I happened to see were unanimous and I was just curious to know what the pattern had been in the past year.

Mr. MARTIN. On November 22 there were two dissents, and on December 13 there were four dissents, as I remember it. Yes, four dissents, 8 to 4.

Representative RUMSFELD. In your comments in responding to Senator Javits' question, you seemed to me to indicate greater near-term concern about the dangers of overheating the economy than the dangers of a downturn in economic activity or a recession. First of all, is this an accurate interpretation of your view, and, second, if it is, is it at all based on the conviction or assumption that the administration does not plan to make any substantial reductions in Federal domestic spending during the next fiscal year?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I feel that the adjustment process is proceeding satisfactorily at the moment, but I have repeatedly today stressed the overhang of inventories as a major problem.

Now we started to ease money because of a modest slowing up in the economy, in November last year, and we are continuing on that. We will review policy from day to day and week to week, and we will determine as we go along whether this is justified.

I have supported the tax proposal because I think that there is still a very strong likelihood that we will get a turnaround before long here, and unless the Vietnam expenditures are reduced or other Government expenditures are reduced, we can have another upsurge of inflationary pressures.

Representative RUMSFELD. From your prepared statement and some of your earlier comments, I had the impression that you favored the President's request for a tax increase. Then in response to a later question, you indicated that you, in fact, favored the tax increase now. There is a difference.

Mr. MARTIN. Is there a difference in the President's proposal?

Representative RUMSFELD. A difference between the proposal and an increase? I think so. I think with respect to timing and flexibility there is a substantial difference. My earlier impression was that

you favored making the proposal as the President has done, but not necessarily to have the tax, the surtax, passed now. But you do favor the prompt action by the Congress?

I think we all recognize that ultimately the liquidity of the world will probably require some supplements to gold. Gold came about as an evolution from barter. That is my simple way of looking at it. In this evolutionary process we are going to have to continue some relationship to gold as a measure. If we were to change the price of gold it would lose its usefulness as a monetary standard. In any event, a change in the price of gold would be completely unacceptable.

Representative RUMSFELD. Returning to this question of coordination between the Federal Reserve Board and the administration, I asked Mr. Ackley the following question. I said:

Would you say that from hindsight the Federal Reserve decision to increase the discount rate in December of 1965 was as bad as was expressed at the time by the Administration?

He responded by saying:

I think one has to distinguish carefully the nature of the Administration's complaint about the December 5 lowering of the discount rates. It was our feeling then, and I think it remains our feeling that it would have been better if the Reserve Board had waited until the end of December or early January at that time. We could have made coordinated fiscal and monetary policy decisions on the basis of then somewhat better at least information on budget expenditures, and an opportunity for us to consider together what kind of tax proposals the President wished to make in his January message. There is no quarrel with the fact that the developments in late 1965 and the prospects for 1966, particularly after we received at the end of November and really early December the forecast of plant and equipment expenditures made clear additional strain on the economy would require both monetary and fiscal.

I said:

You do not disagree with the announcement as to the timing of the Administration and the opportunity to take steps.

He said:

That is correct.

Does this indicate a lack of coordination or, as you suggested, a fundamental difference in the judgment that was made?

Mr. MARTIN. I think there was a difference in judgment at that particular time, a very honest disagreement. I stated earlier, and I so testified in December of 1965, and I will reiterate it, that in my mind it was a market problem. I don't believe the market could have waited another 6 weeks.

Representative RUMSFELD. Is this roughly the view that was expressed to you by the administration at that time, that Mr. Ackley set forth here in his response to me?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, yes. I wouldn't challenge what Mr. Ackley said.

Representative RUMSFELD. No; he was talking from hindsight.

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

Representative RUMSFELD. It wouldn't be challenging him.

Mr. MARTIN. There is no question about it: I was working on this to the best of my ability—and I have a Board to work with also you know—I was working on this from late September on. I think it is fair to say that I did not have any support from the Secretary of the Treasury or the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers or

the Director of the Budget or the President, and I regret that very much. It was not a happy position to be in. If we had had agreement, we probably would have done it 3 months earlier.

Representative RUMSFELD. My time is up. I simply would like to join the other members who have commented on the fine job you are doing, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Mr. Brock?

Representative BROCK. Mr. Martin, it is nice to see you again, sir. Mr. MARTIN. Thank you.

Representative BROCK. I am part of a large crowd of your fans on the hill that are sometimes not quite as vocal as the other side.

I would like to talk just in general terms with you about the economy itself. I know we have seen statements by the administration that they feel that the budget and the tax program indicate a restrained approach, a very fine balance between the possibility of inflation and the possibility of recession.

I think the concern that I feel, Mr. Chairman, is the possibility that exists for both occurring at the same time. I don't think this is economically impossible. I think you can have inflation and recession, particularly under a wartime situation such as we have in Vietnam. I am concerned that this economy may be something like a sponge in that you have certain defense related industries going up to full production or perhaps somewhat in excess of that, and certain nondefense related industries such as the credit sensitive industries—housing and so forth—remaining in a very depressed state.

Is this a danger for us? Do you see it as a potential for 1967, or do you agree primarily with the administration that we can hope for the best of all worlds and a pretty good balance this year?

Mr. MARTIN. I am inclined to agree with the administration analysis here, and hope that the last half of 1967 will see us straightening out these things. But you raise a very real point, and it is one that worries me.

We know that we can get some demand-pull and cost-push inflation very quickly. This goes back again to my earlier comment with respect to the war in Vietnam. I find wartime pressures, regardless of how small the war may be in relation to gross national product, very unfortunate in terms of their impact on various segments of the economy, and the imbalances that arise as a result.

Representative BROCK. Isn't it a fairly logical development that war should be a smaller percentage as our GNP has grown so tremendously, and also as we have shifted more from a manufacturing-base economy to a greater emphasis upon services, which would not be directly related to war expenditures in any sense of the word.

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

Representative BROCK. We can't really equate apples and oranges. This isn't the same economy that we had in 1951, 1952, and 1953.

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

Representative BROCK. Is it your opinion, as it is mine, that we have virtually come to the point where the inflation problem we face is more of a cost-push type than demand-pull? You mentioned your concern with inventory accumulation and I have the same concern. Certainly if you have excess inventories, you don't have a demand-pull inflation, but yet we did see an increase in prices. There still is not

as great a leveling off as I would like to see in price increases, and isn't there a distinct possibility that with the contracts up for negotiation this year of a strong impetus towards a cost-push type of inflation?

Mr. MARTIN. I don't think there is any question about it. That is the thing to watch.

Representative BROCK. Do you honestly believe that taking purchasing power away from the American consumer in the form of a tax increase will affect a cost-push inflation?

Mr. MARTIN. Not at that particular point, but I believe that it is a matter of prudence in overall budget policy that we have to look toward minimizing the size of the deficit, and not think of the budget entirely all the time as the means of expanding or contracting the economy.

Representative BROCK. I couldn't agree more to that. I question, what I am getting at is the type of tool, be it monetary or fiscal, monetary has a broader scope, and it includes several different types of monetary tools and fiscal policy includes several different types. The question I am trying to point out is whether or not a tax increase represents the right tool, given a cost-push inflation, as opposed to a demand-pull inflation? I question whether we are using the proper tool for this particular problem.

Mr. MARTIN. I would go along with you that I question whether it is necessarily the right tool, but I think it is essential that we apply something to this.

Representative BROCK. I agree. Could you suggest for us some alternative tools? I don't mean to put you on the spot, Mr. Martin. Mr. Curtis suggested cutting the expenditures, and of course, I think you would share a concern in this area as I do.

Mr. MARTIN. Indeed.

(Additional material subsequently submitted by Mr. Martin, appears following his testimony (p. 434).)

Representative BROCK. Let me change the subject to something that is of great concern to me in light of yesterday's debate in the House. What is the impact on our monetary system of short-term refinanced debt as opposed to long term? The point I am trying to get at is this.

With our 4¼-percent ceiling on long-term interest rates, we have effectively precluded Treasury from borrowing on the long-term market. You simply can't sell bonds at 4¼ percent today, and everybody knows it. Nobody will buy them. As a result, a great percentage of our national debt is now in less-than-1-year, and a good percent is in less-than-5-year obligations, which means an enormous turnover must be accomplished each year in refunding the debt.

Now what is this effect upon the monetary markets of the country, interest rates, the availability of money and so forth?

Mr. MARTIN. It keeps them more upset than I would like to see them, because the short term flows are moving around like eddies in the stream all the time, and it makes it more difficult for our operations to keep the flow steady.

Representative BROCK. Doesn't it pretty well tie the hands of the Federal Reserve System to just such action as you took in December a year ago, an action which created some political repercussions, but which also, because we did not use a combination of policies, complementary policies, both fiscal and monetary, create in my opinion cer-

tain dislocations in the economy, particularly in the credit sensitive industries of homebuilding, durable goods.

Mr. MARTIN. No question about it, because the flow is at certain times impeded by rigidities in the market. Now the thing that has been so pressing from our standpoint with respect to housing has been that the rigidities in the market place an undue burden on housing.

If you have to restrain, something has to be restrained. I regret that so much of it fell on housing, because I think our long-term requirements for housing mean that we ought to have more housing.

Representative BROCK. I agree with you. I do think there are some pretty good signs of a resurgence now in the availability of money to savings and loans.

Mr. MARTIN. Oh, I do indeed.

Representative BROCK. And also in the homebuilding industry.

Mr. MARTIN. And we hope this part due to our present policies.

Representative BROCK. I do, too. I hope your present policies don't create another problem.

Mr. MARTIN. Right.

Representative BROCK. Specifically in the international balance of payments field, is it not true in funding debt on a short-time basis that we are actually paying a higher interest rate than we would if we could finance it on a long-term basis?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, it depends on the size —

Representative BROCK. I am talking about right now.

Mr. MARTIN. Right now, yes.

Representative BROCK. We are paying more money because we are forced into the short-term market.

Mr. MARTIN. I am absolutely convinced, as I said earlier, that the 6.04 rate on the 6-month bill that occurred during the summer would never have occurred, if it were not for the 4¼ percent interest ceiling, and the whole debt could have been financed at a lower rate.

Representative BROCK. We have discussed this before my committee on previous occasions, Mr. Martin, but I just want to be sure that your position hasn't changed. You would be interested in the Congress considering this particular problem, would you not?

Mr. MARTIN. I would indeed.

Representative BROCK. With a view toward —

Mr. MARTIN. I would be enthusiastic for it.

Representative BROCK. Thank you. One last comment. There have been some of our political figures in Washington and elsewhere who suggested that the Federal Reserve is making an unconscionable profit on the interest that is paid to it on the bonds that you own. Would you tell me, first, how many bonds are held by the Fed, U.S. Government obligations, today? Do you know offhand?

Mr. MARTIN. \$44 billion.

Representative BROCK. What is the annual interest yield on those bonds to the Fed?

Mr. MARTIN. Last year our earnings were about \$1.9 billion.

Representative BROCK. What were your expenditures on the Federal Reserve System?

Mr. MARTIN. Very, very small.

Representative BROCK. Just approximately? Was it \$200 million, \$150 million?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes. I would say about \$200 million.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Perhaps you might supply it for the record.

Mr. MARTIN. I will put it in the record.

(The information referred to follows:)

EARNINGS AND EXPENSES OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE BANKS IN 1966 AND 1965

Preliminary figures received from the Federal Reserve Banks indicate that during 1966 their gross earnings amounted to \$1,908 million. Distribution of gross earnings was as follows: expenses, \$207 million; payments to the U.S. Treasury, \$1,649 million; statutory dividends to member banks, \$33 million; and additions to surplus accounts, \$19 million.

Under the policy adopted by the Board of Governors at the end of 1964, all net earnings after the statutory dividend to member banks and additions to surplus to bring it to the level of paid-in capital were paid to the U.S. Treasury as interest on Federal Reserve notes.

Compared with 1965, gross earnings were up \$349 million, or 22 percent. The principal increases in earnings were as follows: on U.S. Government securities, \$329 million; on discounts and advances, \$9 million; and on foreign currencies, \$8 million.

Expenses in 1966 were up \$3 million, about 1.5 percent, and dividends, \$1 million.

[In thousands of dollars]

Item	1966	1965
Current earnings.....	1,908,500	1,559,484
Current expenses.....	207,401	204,290
Current net earnings.....	1,701,099	1,355,194
Net addition to current net earnings ¹	996	1,022
Net earnings before payments to U.S. Treasury.....	1,702,095	1,356,215
Dividends paid.....	33,696	32,352
Payments to U.S. Treasury (interest on Federal Reserve notes).....	1,649,455	1,296,810
Transferred to surplus.....	18,944	27,054

¹Includes net losses on sales of U.S. Government securities of \$2,476,000 in 1966 and of \$9,000 in 1965.

Representative BROCK. Let's say somewhere in the neighborhood of \$200 million. What do you do with the balance of the interest?

Mr. MARTIN. Almost all of it is paid to the Treasury.

Representative BROCK. You refund it to the Treasury?

Mr. MARTIN. Pay it to the Treasury.

Representative BROCK. So in effect you are repaying about 90 percent of it, or a little less, back to the Treasury.

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

Representative BROCK. And there is no validity whatsoever to the charge that the Fed is making a profit off of the Federal debt, is there?

Mr. MARTIN. Oh, no.

Representative BROCK. Thank you very much.

Mr. MARTIN. No, no, and our operations are never designed for profit.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Mr. Chairman, I want to say that I am shocked and surprised that you say that if you had your option, you would favor, would vote for, or would support an increase in taxes right now. You would impose the surtax today. That is what I understood you to say to Senator Javits.

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I am afraid I didn't put it very well. I wasn't suggesting to put the surtax on today, and I am glad you corrected it.

Chairman PROXMIRE. I understand, but may I then revise it? Would you say under present economic circumstances, budgetary circumstances and so forth, that you would feel that this is a time when we should impose the surtax?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, I would think that is proper.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Now let's take a look at the indicators. I have asked the staff before asking that question to get me the information on what the 30 indicators were showing: 19 of them have a trend one way or another, the others are rather indefinite; 15 are down, only four are up.

Consumer prices have been stable since October, 114.5, 114.6, 114.7, which I think is a remarkable showing. And, of course, the lag in wholesale prices which have been stable for almost an entire year suggests stable consumer prices in the coming year. In February of 1966 they were 105.4; now they are 105.9. And recently they have been dropping.

Then we go over to business sales and inventories. We find that since June sales have been going pretty much on a level. In June they were \$86,957 million. Now they are \$86,999 million, almost exactly the same, fluctuating a little bit but in a growing economy this is an indication it seems to me of a trending off.

Then we move over to new construction and, of course, we know that has been in trouble. In September there was \$73.4 billion; in December it was down to \$70.4 billion. These are seasonally adjusted annual rates. It is down below what it was in 1965. That is overall construction, not just housing.

Then the steel production has been dropping since September. In September it was \$2.6 billion; in December, \$2.3 billion. It is approximately the same in the latest week in January for which we have figures. Then you look at the total industrial production—the overall industrial production. That was 158.0 in August, 158.7 in December. In fact, it dropped from November to December.

The weekly hours of work, from 41.5 in September to 41.0 in December. Employment has been pretty much stable for a year. It hasn't dropped. Expenditures for new plant and equipment have been rising at a far slower rate as you know. Since the third quarter of last year they have been going up steadily at the rate of about 5 or 6 percent instead of the 16 or 17 percent that it had been going up for 3 years.

Corporate profits have been going down—\$48.7 billion in the first quarter of the year, down to \$48.2 billion now. That has been pretty steady. Farm income is down.

So when you look at the whole picture, it would seem to me that now to impose a tax increase under these circumstances, when the economic indicators are down, would tend to slow down the growth of an economy which has available resources, and would be a mistake, because it might increase unemployment and aggravate an unpromising situation.

Mr. MARTIN. I am afraid you have misunderstood me. I probably haven't spoken very clearly on this, Senator, but what I was trying to say was I would favor the passage of this for imposition on July 1, which is what I conceive the proposal to be.

Chairman PROXMIRE. You see what I am concerned with now, so you take that position I think that there is a lot of wisdom in it. I would judge that Congress may not pass the tax increase if conditions

in June are about what they are now. On the other hand, if conditions are more expansionary, if prices have gone up, if industrial production has resumed its rise, there is a much stronger argument for a tax increase. But I take it from your earlier response that you feel that if conditions are unchanged we should still have a tax increase. Is that right?

Mr. MARTIN. I think that the prudent course is to perceive that we ought to be doing something to close this gap by either reducing expenditures or by increasing taxes. Assuming the imposition of this tax as of July 1, whether it is passed now or 3 months from now is of no particular concern.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Now it is this gap concept that concerns me, because if we have a stable economic situation or a declining economic situation, and not the growth that we had hoped for, we will have a larger deficit, not a smaller deficit. Under these circumstances, should we increase taxes?

Mr. MARTIN. I think this ought to be very carefully considered; yes.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Shouldn't the principal judgment be on the impact on the economy, recognizing that after all if we have a serious recession we will have a big deficit, a \$20-billion deficit.

Mr. MARTIN. This is one of the economic questions of our time. I insist that the problem of the next 10 years is going to be how we deal with the economics of full employment.

Chairman PROXMIRE. You put it very well in your statement when you said we should have the fullest possible utilization of our resources consistent with stable prices. Now if prices are fairly stable, our resources aren't being utilized, then isn't it clear that we should follow an expansionary fiscal policy. Isn't that a time when maybe a deficit might not be a bad idea?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, yes; but there has to be some relationship to the past deficits. This is this matter of perpetual deficit.

Chairman PROXMIRE. I don't like perpetual deficits at all. I voted against the tax cut in 1964.

Mr. MARTIN. You and I are in complete agreement on perpetual deficits. We have talked on this before.

Chairman PROXMIRE. This isn't like the period of 1964 when unemployment was already declining. We should have, under those circumstances, a stable tax not have had a tax cut. By now the economy is going the other way and you propose a tax increase, not stable tax rates?

Mr. MARTIN. We may have to do that, but I still——

Chairman PROXMIRE. You say we may have to do that.

Mr. MARTIN. I still think the prudent thing is to look toward the imposition of the President's proposal on July 1. That is what I have been trying to emphasize.

Chairman PROXMIRE. But shouldn't that depend entirely on what the economic situation is in June when it comes before us, and I mean entirely, not on the budgetary situation but on the economic situation?

Mr. MARTIN. I am not convinced that you can ignore the budgetary situation.

Chairman PROXMIRE. All right, let me ask you about something else. There seems to be a direct conflict between the needs of the hous-

ing industry and our balance-of-payments situation. If you have to follow a policy to keep capital from flowing out, of keeping short-term rates from going down much lower, or even increasing them, this obviously is going to mean that money will not flow from short term into long term, so that under these circumstances you are going to have to seriously limit the monetary policy. Which do you do? We have a depressed housing industry, we have a balance-of-payments problem. Would you favor under these circumstances perhaps even tighter capital controls of some kind, or how do you resolve this dilemma?

Mr. MARTIN. I will cross that bridge when I come to it. We have been dealing with this for a long time. I don't have the answer.

Chairman PROXMIRE. You will cross the bridge or will you jump off the bridge?

Mr. MARTIN. I may have to do both.

Chairman PROXMIRE. You don't see any way prospectively that we can resolve this problem. You think we have used selective Federal controls wisely. The President suggested a doubling of the equalization tax.

Mr. MARTIN. We have the equalization tax, that is right.

Chairman PROXMIRE. We may have to use even more stringent policies in order to overcome a most unfortunate situation. You recognize, I am sure, the devastating impact on the housing industry of high interest rates last year, and I mean devastating. It was a depression wasn't it of housing, of homebuilding?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, it was a decline, a serious decline. I don't know how you measure how devastating it was, because some of this decline did make it possible to correct some problems, such as overbuilding in some areas. There has been a population problem in housing also. There have been some other factors. As I testified a year ago when I was up here, I think the population trend is going to favor housing from here on out. I think it was against it a year ago. These are some of the considerations.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Let me ask you apropos of using monetary policy from an inflation standpoint, do you have any studies to show just what prices are interest sensitive? I have already raised the point in earlier questioning that the increase in the mortgage rate was a big element in the increase in the cost of services. We know, at least I assume—maybe I am wrong and you can correct me—that food prices are not very sensitive to an increase in interest rates. The most rapidly rising element other than mortgage interest last year was the cost of medical services. I would assume that those are not particularly responsive to interest rates. Do you have an analysis that shows what happens when you follow a stringent monetary policy, restrain demand, what prices do respond and what do not?

Mr. MARTIN. I don't think we have any analysis that we would want to pass on. Mr. Brill is the head of our research division. He works in this field right along. I question very much whether we have anything really of value on this.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Do you feel that it is possible to make a useful study here that would tell us under what circumstances that a stringent monetary policy would be wise and under which it would not? Clearly when the problem is food, medical services and so forth,

and a cost-push situation, the argument is much weaker for a stringent monetary policy, but it would seem to me that an analysis could be very, very helpful.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Brill says we submitted a paper on this to the Commission on Money and Credit. We might dig that up, and also see if we can't do some more work on it.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Wouldn't it be helpful for the Board to have their eye on this kind of thing?

Mr. MARTIN. Oh, absolutely, and we do have our eye on it. There is no question about that. The question is what you measure this by. We have our eye on it.

Chairman PROXMIRE. You are very sensitive to the fact that there is a lesser argument for stringent monetary policies in a cost-push situation.

Mr. MARTIN. Oh, no question about it.

Chairman PROXMIRE. One more question. You say in response to Mr. Brock that prudence and budget policy to minimize the impact of a deficit by using tax restraint. Now I would like to call your attention to what happened in 1952, 1953, and 1954.

Mr. MARTIN. I am very familiar with that period.

Chairman PROXMIRE. I know you are, far more familiar than I am, because you were right on top of it and in the middle of the hot seat. We had in 1952 to 1953 a rise in the cost of living of only 2 percent, although we took off price controls in April of 1953. We had unemployment drop from 3.1 percent down below 3 percent to 2.9.

Now in view of this, why should we feel that a 3.8 or a 3.9 percent unemployment which we have now puts us in such a tense situation that we have to consider invoking fiscal policy that would restrain us when we obviously have a slack at this time?

Mr. MARTIN. We obviously, in my judgment, have a different set of circumstances. We were coming out of World War II at that time.

Chairman PROXMIRE. No; that was the Korean war, 1952 and 1953.

Mr. MARTIN. It was the overhang, you see, that we were dealing with. I don't know what the right rates are here. I have puzzled with this a long time but I think there are basic differences. I think that in the skilled labor area, we have more labor shortages recently than we had at any time during that period, despite the difference in the unemployment rates. This is purely judgment.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Thank you very much. Congressman Curtis?

Representative CURTIS. Mr. Chairman, I do want to pursue this tax discussion a little more, because this is something that we face in the Ways and Means Committee. One thing I have been disturbed about is the macroeconomist approach to tax policy as part of fiscal policy, ignoring the details that go to make up taxes. Someone accused me a few years ago of being a microeconomist. I didn't even know what it meant but I guess that is what I am, because I think that our Federal tax rates are still too high, even after the 1964 cuts and the 1954 cuts.

By too high I mean that the rates are such that business judgment is often made on the basis of the tax consequences rather than on overall economic or business considerations. It does impede economic activity. It is true, however, when we extract taxes from the private sector it has some economic impact, but I am from the school that believes we should try to have as minimal an impact as possible.