FOR WEDNESDAY P.M. RELEASE  APRIL 6, 1966

STATEMENT BY HOUSE MINORITY LEADER GERALD R. FORD, R-MICHIGAN.

I feel certain the House will pass highway safety and tire safety bills in some form this year. I personally feel there should be action in this area. But it might be useful at this point, when the Senate hearings on highway safety are in progress and House hearings are to start late this month, to try to put auto safety in proper perspective.

There is danger in the sensationalism of the Senate hearings. It tends to distort the auto safety problem, throw it out of proportion.

Dramatic testimony has been presented to the effect that 1965 Chevrolets and 1964 and 1965 Chevelles equipped with Powerglide Transmission present a potential hazard—the possibility that the accelerator will stick when kept at the same level for some time under certain winter driving conditions.

Testimony making GM out to be a villain is obscuring the fact that GM knows of only five incidents resulting from this potential hazard.

Also drowned out in the tumult and the shouting is the fact that no injuries occurred in any of the five incidents. GM is calling all of these cars back—as, of course, it should—and is installing a splash guard at a total cost of $3 million to protect against any further incidents.

I am not trying to minimize the seriousness of a development of this kind.

But I do believe there is a temptation under the circumstances to try to pin most automobile accidents on the manufacturer, saying he simply isn’t engineering enough safety into his product. Of course, we want safety built into our cars, but we must not lose sight of the fact that auto accidents are caused by a variety of factors—and it is highly unusual to find the kind of potential hazard in new automobiles which GM is now taking steps to eliminate in 1.5 million of its cars.

There is also much to be learned from a four-year on-the-spot study of fatal auto accidents in the Ann Arbor, Michigan, area just completed by University of Michigan scientists Donald F. Huelke and Paul W. Gikas.

(MORE)
AUTO SAFETY STATEMENT

Their study, believed to be the most extensive of its kind ever made, indicated that 71 of the 177 persons killed in the Ann Arbor area auto accidents would have lived had they been wearing seat belts—that's nearly two out of three of those who died.

The study also showed that an additional 35 of the victims would have survived had they been wearing shoulder harnesses as well as seat belts.

The additional 35 brings to 106 the number of persons among the 177 victims who would have lived had both seat belts and shoulder harnesses been used.

It is difficult, of course, to get people to wear shoulder harnesses. They are extremely uncomfortable. And you and I also know that many people driving cars equipped with seat belts use them maybe half the time.

It's easy to point the finger at the auto manufacturers. It's about time we also pointed a finger at ourselves.

There should be a three-pronged attack on the highway safety problem—by government, by industry, and by the driver.

# # #
STATEMENT BY HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER GERALD R. FORD, R-MICHIGAN

It is very disturbing to me that mid-April automobile sales were 10 per cent below the 1965 level and that this was the second consecutive 10-day period in which car sales ran under the year-ago pace.

This slump in car sales is an unhealthy sign, and it is not reassuring to me to hear continuing forecasts that car sales this year will be close to last year's total. I think the forecasts need updating, and the late-March and early-April sales figures are cause for alarm.

The annual rate of retail auto sales slipped from 9 million in March to less than 8 million in April. Dealers' unsold stocks totalled 1.6 million on May 1. This was a record high and equal to more than a 53-day supply at the recent rate of sales. Stocks had been averaging a 40-day supply.

In my view, there definitely has been a slump in car sales, and this is a danger signal.

The auto industry is the bellwether of the entire American economy. Millions of jobs depend on it.

If this decline in car sales continues, it could be the forerunner of a recession which would overtake us in late 1966 or early 1967.

Certainly the sensational nature of the auto safety hearings in the U.S. Senate has not helped car sales.

This and the high price of credit appear to be having an adverse effect on the economy.

It seems clear to me that the Johnson-Humphrey Administration waited until too late to cool off an economy that became overheated as a result of excessive government spending. The President now has applied the brakes too hard, and this may throw the economy into a tailspin.

Nobody can flatly predict that a recession will result, but the threat is there. I think the drop in car sales is an indicator of potential trouble.

# # #
Adopted by
The Republican Coordinating Committee
June 27, 1966

Presented by
The Task Force on the Functions of
Federal, State and Local Governments

For Release
THURSDAY AM'S
June 30, 1966

Prepared under the direction of:
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TRANSPORTATION IN MODERN AMERICA

Transportation is the life blood of America's economy. Together with its sister industry, communications, transportation is the great common denominator of American commerce and industry. It is a factor indispensable to all economic activities. A physically sound, modern, and efficiently operated transportation system is an indispensable component of our national security and defense.

Sound growth in production and national wealth can take place only if our transport network is strong and healthy. Our transportation system can demonstrate to the world that American private enterprise works, and works effectively. To this end, our transportation industries must keep pace with the rest of the national economy so that progress is stimulated, not restricted.

Transportation is the largest service function in our economy today. Total transport expenditures by American citizens during 1965 totaled an estimated $135 billions, including expenditures for both private and for-hire transport. Today, approximately one-fifth of America's gross national product -- the sum total of expenditures for all goods and services -- represents direct or indirect outlays for transportation.

The following examples typify the vital role of transportation to the American economy:

-- Transportation is a major consumer of industrial products and minerals: 71 percent of rubber; 52 percent of petroleum;
53 percent of lead; 29 percent of steel; 22 percent of aluminum;
28 percent of cement; 19 percent of copper.
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Transportation generates some 18 percent of all taxes collected by the Federal Government.

Transportation provides 13 percent of the Nation's civilian employment, some 9.1 million jobs.

Transportation's net investment in privately owned and operated plant equipment and facilities totals $140 billions -- nearly ten percent of the Nation's wealth in terms of privately owned tangible assets.

Transportation is vital to every business enterprise, to every housewife -- indeed to every citizen. Transportation is intimately related to the Nation's ability to produce. It represents an important factor in the cost of living.

The Republican Party's record in promoting the development of American transportation is a proud one.

Republicans aided in the opening of the West in the 1860's by land grant incentives for rail construction, and then helped draw the country closer together by the Interstate Highway System of 1956.

Republicans promoted international transportation by opening the Panama Canal in 1905, and the St. Lawrence Seaway in 1959.

From the transcontinental railroad of 1869 to the world's first nuclear-powered merchant vessel in 1959, the Republican Party has stood for progress and innovation in transportation.

From that record and experience, three precepts have evolved and underlie the proposals we present in this paper.
First, we believe that our system of transportation can best serve the Nation if it is alert to the Nation's needs, eager to meet them, and able to do so. That end can best be achieved if our transportation systems are privately owned and intelligently operated. Only in those areas in which private enterprise cannot, or will not, supply the transportation services which our citizens need should those services be provided by government.

Second, we believe that government's role should be one of favoring private enterprise, encouraging competition, and ensuring that the consumer has available an excellent transportation system that provides him with efficient, frequent, and reliable transportation at a fair price.

Third, we believe that those who use the Nation's transportation facilities should pay their fair share of the costs of providing such facilities.

Based upon that philosophy, we offer here Republican proposals concerned with the transportation problems of today and tomorrow.
I. THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IN TRANSPORTATION

FEDERAL PROMOTION

Governments at all levels have long recognized the vital role of transportation in national, regional, and local economies. That recognition has manifested itself in many ways.

Railroads have been encouraged through land grants, loan guarantees, tax and other incentives. All of the air lines have received public assistance. Sometimes this has come in the form of a direct subsidy; sometimes in the form of an air mail contract; and sometimes in a more indirect way. Today, the air lines use many facilities that are provided by the Federal Government and by local governmental units.

Barge transportation is promoted by the construction of an extensive system of canals, navigation channels, locks, and public wharves. Ocean shipping is promoted by a system of subsidies for the construction of ships and for their operation. Highway transportation is made possible by a system of public roads, Federally financed in part and constructed and maintained by State and local governments. The economic health of some pipe lines has been enhanced by various incentives and the use of eminent domain.

The Federal Government recognized the interdependence of transportation and interstate commerce in the days of the Erie Canal and the Boston Post Road. Today the government recognizes that a sound transportation system is necessary not only that commerce may flourish, but that a proper defense posture may be maintained.

We believe that all modes of transportation are important to the economy. We hold, therefore, that the government's promotional efforts should be nondiscriminatory. One mode of transportation should not be advanced at the
expense of another mode, nor should the promotional effort of government act to smother initiative and enterprise.

Republicans believe that we must take care to ensure that a Federal system designed for the promotion of transportation does not degenerate into a system of subsidies that stifle initiative, inhibit competition, and enshrine mediocrity.

Government subsidies should be designed to develop better transportation systems that will benefit the economy as a whole. They should be temporary in nature and should never become a permanent crutch. Before any subsidy program is undertaken by the Federal Government, it should be clearly shown that the benefits of the proposed program will outweigh the costs and that the proposed system can, within a reasonable length of time, be self-supporting without the necessity for continued subsidy.

REGULATION OF TRANSPORTATION

Volumes have been written on the appropriate role of government and our nation's transportation system. But in spite of that fact, we do not have a clearly enunciated government transportation policy that takes into account the realities of today.

Few people would seriously argue that the transportation industry should be completely unregulated. Transportation is far too basic to the economy to be left completely to the law of the jungle. On the other hand, it is perfectly clear that too much regulation acts as an opiate. It reduces effective competition and rewards the inefficient at the expense of the efficient.

We believe that some regulation of transportation is necessary but we also believe that over-regulation is not in the public interest. There should be no government regulation unless there is a clearly demonstrated need.
GOVERNMENT COMPETITION

Today the Federal Government is engaged in a wide variety of transportation enterprises. It is a very great challenge to the private enterprise system when the Federal Government is already the largest electrical power producer, the largest insurer, the largest lender, the largest borrower, the largest landlord, the largest shipowner, the largest truck operator, the largest shipper, and even runs railroads and air lines.

Some of these operations are necessary to the national defense. But too often they compete with private enterprise through making it more difficult for taxpaying businesses to survive. We believe that in the absence of national defense considerations, the Federal Government should not transport persons or property which privately owned carriers are fit, willing, and able to carry.

Encouraging Innovation

As the art of transport technology continues to advance, a greater coordination of governmental action must occur, especially when new modes do not fall neatly within the purview of existing regulatory agencies, as for example, the Hovercraft currently in experimental operation in the San Francisco area. There must also be available streamlined governmental handling of new and expanding domestic-international traffic which combine the best advantages of the present surface and air carriers.

All of the government's promotional efforts should be designed to encourage innovation, to explore new developments, and to improve technology. Our goal should be a more efficient transportation system that will benefit the economy as a whole. While we have seen important developments in many areas of transportation, no mode of transportation has achieved perfection.
Managerial and technological improvements are possible in every mode that will enable more goods and more people to be transported more safely, in greater comfort, at higher speeds, and at lower cost. The role of the government should be one of encouragement. That encouragement can come through the sponsorship of research, through daring experimentation, and through appropriate tax incentives.

Experimental programs should be undertaken to determine how the benefits of automation can be made more widely available in the transportation industry without inflicting harm on the employees that might thus be displaced. The development of advanced systems of transport should be encouraged, and the fruits of those developments should be shared equitably among the transportation companies, their employees, and the public as a whole.

The Need for a National Transportation Policy

There is today an insufficient coordination among the transport agencies to mesh their programs and policies and to evaluate the net results of all the various Federal transportation undertakings. This lack of coordination has produced an outright waste of public funds and a loss of opportunity to achieve full benefits from public expenditures.

Moreover, the lack of a unified government approach to transportation encouraged the various government agencies responsible for transport activities to work at cross purposes. Thus, the Interstate Commerce Commission appears to be concerned with the overall health of the transport system, while the Post Office Department, the General Services Administration, and the Department of Defense appear to consider their purpose to be the purchase of transportation at the lowest possible cost regardless of the effect on the transportation companies involved. The Civil Aeronautics Board and ICC often favor a particular
merger in the belief that it will give greater strength to the transport system, while the Department of Justice may look upon that very proposal with a most suspicious eye. The Corps of Engineers has opposed waterway user changes whereas the Department of Commerce has favored them.

The development and implementation of a coherent national transportation policy is long overdue. Congress, usually in response to the urging of users and providers of transport, has over the years established the general guidelines for the development, promotion, and regulation of transport. This has been accompanied by the creation of agencies to implement its broad policy in detail on a mode by mode basis. Congress has retained control over such agencies by the power to approve their members and their budgets, and by reserving the right to revise the ground rules periodically. The President can, and of course does, recommend policy changes and appoints the agency members. Responsibility for transportation policy, therefore, rests with both the Congress and the Executive. To date, both the Executive and the Legislative branches have failed to set forth an overall government-wide policy to be implemented by the agencies concerned.

Special attention should be directed by Congress to its own obsolete mechanism for dealing with major issues of national transportation policy. At least 17 of its standing committees have some jurisdiction in this field, with practically no internal coordination of study or policy formulation. To correct this situation, we propose the establishment of a Joint Congressional Committee on Transportation to undertake continuing studies of transportation policy, problems, and issues, and to submit recommendations to appropriate standing committees. The professional staff of this joint committee, which would not have authority to report on pending legislation, would be available for consultation with committees having jurisdiction over specific areas of substantive transport policy.
Despite the importance of transportation to the national economy, and the breadth of governmental activities in this field, the interest and responsibility of the Federal Government in transportation is fragmented among numerous agencies. The expenditure of tremendous sums on transportation by the government and the efforts of thousands of government employees still have not produced an overall, coherent transportation policy for the United States.

The Office of Under Secretary of Commerce for Transportation was created in 1950 for the purpose of coordinating within one department the government's major transportation functions. That goal has not been attained. Furthermore, additional agencies with transportation responsibilities have been created since 1950, outside the structure of the Commerce Department. The latest of these is the new Department of Housing and Urban Development which has major jurisdiction in the fields of metropolitan highway planning and financing the mass transportation in metropolitan areas. The Under Secretary of Commerce for Transportation has been unable to achieve the goals for which his office was created because he does not presently have the stature of a Cabinet member and because he does not have jurisdiction over many of the Federal Government's transportation activities.

Proposals to coordinate the vast amount of bureaucracy which uses, promotes, regulates, and operates transportation have been put forth for many years. In his final Budget Message to Congress, President Eisenhower said that "a Department of Transportation should be established so as to bring together at Cabinet level the presently fragmented Federal functions regarding transportation activities." Now, some five years after the Eisenhower message, the present Administration has endorsed this proposal.
Legislation now being considered by Congress would create a new Department of Transportation that would have responsibility for all the programs now administered by the Under Secretary of Commerce for Transportation, including the Bureau of Public Roads, the Maritime Administration, and other transportation activities of the Department of Commerce. In addition, the Coast Guard, the Federal Aviation Agency, and Alaska Railroad would be transferred to the new department, as would certain non-regulatory functions of the Civil Aeronautics Board, the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the Corps of Engineers.

Certainly, the regulatory functions of the independent agencies should be maintained separately. The needs of the Nation can best be served if these regulatory functions are performed by independent Federal agencies, well staffed by experts in their fields.

At the same time, in establishing a new Department, all major non-regulatory transportation activities should be brought under it. The legislation which creates the department should emphasize that a high priority function of the Department of Transportation should be the prompt development of a government-wide transportation policy for Congressional enactment.

As technology changes and our transportation systems continue to develop, undoubtedly new problems will arise. The Department of Transportation should be charged specifically with making policy recommendations to Congress that will take into account these changing conditions.

THE PAPER BARRIER

Forming an almost invisible barrier to trade, excessive requirements for forms, documents, and other papers consume tremendous amounts of time and serve
to frustrate international trade. For any shipment exported by sea 43 separate forms are required, while 80 separate forms are required of incoming shipments -- 78 of them by the government. There is an incredible amount of duplication. Whole mountains of paper are irrelevant, superfluous, and costly. Unnecessary paperwork serves to inhibit some foreign trade and to make all of it more expensive.

On the domestic scene excessive paperwork and antiquated methods of handling are extremely costly. Paperwork costs most shippers close to five dollars per shipment. This burden falls heavily on small shippers and small transportation companies.

Cooperative efforts are required to reduce the staggering cost of paper work in domestic transportation and to take advantage of more efficient and less expensive methods. This is an area where substantial economies are possible. They should be made available to the shipping public and to the consumers as rapidly as possible.

Increased effort is needed to rationalize the paperwork for foreign commerce and to reduce it to an absolute -- and sensible -- minimum.

THE FEDERAL HIGHWAY PROGRAM

Few areas of governmental activity in recent years have demonstrated the potentialities of Federal-State partnership as has the Federal highway program. Under the principles through which the program has operated, the Federal Government has established nationwide standards and coordinated planning, and has financed a major share of the cost of America's highways. While there has been desirable standardization and coordination, this has not resulted in weakening the structure of State government. We believe that this approach is sound and can be applied to other fields of governmental endeavor.
The legislation creating the Interstate and Defense Highway program requires the completion of the 41,000-mile system in 1972. It seems clear, however, that some States will be unable to meet this deadline. In some areas hasty decisions are now being made under a Sword of Damocles scheduled to fall in six years.

Unlike the Interstate System, the older ABC System has no overall fixed mileage and no endpoint in time. So long as States and localities can demonstrate a need for Federal-aid roads, and the funds are available, the Federal Government will bear half the cost of construction.

We believe that the Interstate System likewise should be reconstructed with no overall fixed mileage and no endpoint in time.

Metropolitan Highway Needs

Currently, the bulk of the mileage under both the Interstate and the ABC programs lies in rural areas. Urban areas benefit from both programs to the extent that Interstate, primary, and secondary highways are within the boundaries of urban localities, but the very nature of the programs and their apportionment formulae inevitably tend to discriminate against metropolitan areas.

Furthermore, no systematic Federal-aid program exists to support major urban and suburban arteries which are not part of the Interstate or ABC Systems even though many of these routes carry enormous traffic volumes.
We therefore propose that the present limited program of aid for urban and suburban Federal routes be expanded into a new category of Federal-aid highways to be known as the Metropolitan System. Under this program, Federal funds would be allocated to the States according to criteria which Congress would develop. The funds would be used to support construction of highways and streets in our cities and their suburbs.

Under this system, the Federal Government would formulate minimum standards for design, planning, construction, traffic control, etc., which would be enforced by appropriate State agencies. To be eligible for funds, communities in metropolitan areas would have to show that new construction was in conformity with metropolitan area-wide transportation planning.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL PROBLEMS

Virtually every level of government has some responsibilities for transportation. The national interest is obvious since transportation is the life-blood of interstate commerce. But the responsibilities for transportation do not devolve upon the Federal Government alone. Each of the States and every local community has its interest in transportation. Under our Federal system, it is important that local responsibilities be shouldered by local governments; that State responsibilities be assumed by State governments; and that Federal responsibilities be assumed by the Federal Government. Although numerous transportation problems are nationwide in nature, many are not. There are many things that can best be done at home.

We believe that Federal grants should be used to encourage State and local governments to assume their rightful responsibilities. The tendency of the Federal Government to deal directly with municipalities, bypassing State
governments altogether, is fraught with many dangers. If the Federal system is to survive, it is important the State governments be encouraged to shoulder those responsibilities than can best be handled on a State level.

In many instances problems affect two or more adjoining States. In such cases these problems often can best be handled by a compact arranged among the States concerned. The States are well acquainted with their own local problems; they should be encouraged and permitted to deal with them. Frequently, such arrangements will result in a better resolution to the problem than a Federal program would provide.

The development of automobile inspection codes to prevent one State from being a dumping ground for unsafe vehicles from nearby States is an example of a problem which could be resolved via compact or uniform State codes.

Greater coordination among the States in the transportation field is highly desirable. We commend the example of States which have created transportation agencies within their governmental structures, similar to the proposed Department of Transportation in the Federal Government. Such State transportation agencies can be the points of contact between Federal agencies and State government. They could serve a dual function by being the coordinating arms of the States in the implementation of interstate compacts affecting transportation.

Today there are many public authorities engaged in some phase of transportation activities. Sometimes two or more cities join together to operate an airport. Sometimes two or more States join together to operate port facilities, airports, toll bridges, or other transportation facilities. These organizations can serve a useful purpose, and they can make possible a substantial degree of local control.

\[1/\] The Republican Coordinating Committee's position in interstate compacts is presented in **Toward A Stronger Federal System**, prepared by this Task Force, and published December, 1965.
Of course the mere existence of such a public authority does not automatically guarantee sound operation. Appropriate safeguards should be established to ensure that the operation is business-like and that it serves the public in the best possible manner. While public authorities should have all the powers that are necessary to fulfill the purposes for which they were created, there should be adequate methods by which the public can make its wishes felt. It goes without saying that when private enterprise competes with publicly-owned transportation authorities, the rules of the game should be the same for both.

THE MERCHANT MARINE

We express our profound concern about the dangerous deterioration of America's merchant marine. We face today a crisis of major proportions, not only from the standpoint of our lack of preparedness but also because of its impact on our entire national economy.

Consider these telling facts:

1. Of the ten leading maritime nations in the world, only the United States has suffered a loss in total deadweight tonnage of its merchant shipping in the last 10 years.
2. The United States has dropped to 12th place among the world's major shipbuilding nations.
3. By contrast, Russia has risen to 7th place as a maritime nation and has outdistanced the United States in the expansion of trade with the new and under-developed nations overseas.
4. While our shipbuilding effort is lagging and our World War II reserve fleet is growing more dilapidated and obsolete, the expanding war in Vietnam is putting our merchant fleet under tremendous pressure.
Last year the American merchant marine carried 26.8 million tons of waterborne cargo, only 8.5 percent of this Nation's foreign trade. Of this total, 17.2 million tons was government-sponsored and reserved by law for American ships. Thus only 9.6 million tons -- barely 3 percent of all waterborne cargo -- involved commercial American shipments.

The decline of the American fleet, and the rapid strengthening of that of the U.S.S.R., demands immediate action by the Congress, the Administration, and the people of the United States. Although the President's 1965 State of the Union Message promised "a new policy for our merchant marine," nothing has materialized and the bickering and confusion among government, labor, and management maritime interests continue.

Many of the problems of depressed transportation result from over-regulation and improvident subsidy policies.

We believe that an experimental approach aimed at restoring the economic self-sufficienty of the merchant marine is worthy of consideration. Such an experimental program could be undertaken with due consideration for the American shipbuilding industry, steamship operators and the various maritime unions. If the program proved to be successful, it could redound to the benefit of all concerned and make it possible for the United States again to have a healthy self-sufficient merchant marine.
II. PROMOTING EFFICIENCY AND SAFETY OF TRANSPORTATION

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

Certainly no nation in the world has greater capabilities for research than the United States. Our scientists and scholars are at the forefront in many areas. The United States today has a greater research capacity than any other civilization the world has ever known. We are able to solve complex problems in electronics, in rocketry, and in medicine. We have a vast storehouse of information that can be tapped to solve complex problems. But the sad fact is that in many areas of transportation, too little use has been made of our potential.

It is ironic that an astronaut can travel thousands of miles per hour through outer space, but it still takes a resident of New York City as long to cross Manhattan Island by car during rush hour as it did his grandfather a hundred years ago in a horse and buggy. Some suburbanites and commuters must spend one-fifth of their waking hours making their tortuous way to and from work. While air line passengers are able to fly at 600 miles per hour -- from airport to airport -- the time saved by all of this speed is frequently wasted getting to and from the airport. Ground transportation is annoyingly slow. Every day millions of potentially productive hours are wasted in traffic strangulation.

The fact of the matter is that our tremendous capability in research has not been focused on these important problems. The United States will not be well served if we spend millions of dollars developing a supersonic air liner while all the time apparently saved is wasted in a gigantic traffic snarl on the ground. Instead of directing our efforts only at increasing the speed of aircraft, we should be concerned with making it easier for the passenger to get all the way from his origin to his destination -- not just from airport to airport.
While the public may be less aware of the importance of the traffic snarl in freight transportation, the fact is that the consumer pays the bill. He pays it in many ways: He pays more than he should because the average box car makes but twelve round trips a year. He pays more than he should because trucks, ships and cargo planes are idle too much of the time. Sometimes half of the cost of sending a shipment is consumed by the paperwork that is thus entailed.

The cost of freight transportation directly affects the cost of living -- hence the pocket book of every one. Transportation represents as much as one-half the cost of some items on the grocers' shelf. This means that savings in transportation can benefit everyone.

We need more research in transportation to make possible a more efficient job. We need greater efficiency in the railroads, the truck lines, the steamships, and the air lines. We need more coordination so that when a product moves from a producer to a consumer it can utilize the optimum combination of carriers that will make for the lowest delivered price. Greater efficiency in transportation can come about through research on the use of containers and the possibility of standardization; research on fuel cells, atomic power and other means of propulsion; research looking toward faster, more accurate, and less expensive means of data transmission; and research in many areas of automation.

**Federal Assistance for Research**

Obviously the Federal government cannot and should not do all that can be done by way of research. But it can provide "seed money" which will stimulate additional research and spread its benefits throughout the country. While much basic research should be underwritten by the Federal government, in-
dustry should be encouraged to seek its own applications. It is far more prudent for the Federal government to underwrite the costs of research that will lead to a more efficient transportation system than to spend the same amount of money subsidizing antiquated and ailing systems.

Federal funds should be allocated in a prudent manner so that the benefits of these efforts will flow to the maximum number of people. The taxpayers themselves should be the recipients of the benefits -- not just a few favored contractors nor a few ailing companies.

Research in transportation should begin with a comprehensive assessment of the Nation's capabilities, its potential, and its needs. The program should explore the benefits -- and the costs -- of such developments as high-speed ground transportation, giant cargo submarines, nuclear powered ships, and air cushion vehicles. It should explore the potential of large supersonic planes as well as that of much smaller, slower vehicles that can take off and land in small spaces so that many more people may be served.

Transportation is of vital importance to every one in this land. Using our tremendous capacity for research, it should be possible to develop a prudent program that will provide many benefits to the economy as a whole.

AUTOMOTIVE SAFETY

Safety is important to everyone who travels, whether he goes by rail, ship, plane, or private automobile. When a passenger buys a ticket on a plane, he has a right to know that the plane has been manufactured to exacting specifications, that it has been properly maintained, and that every reasonable effort has been made to assure the safety of his flight.

When a person steps into his private automobile, he should be assured that the car has been properly designed, that it was well constructed, and that it has been properly maintained. As he travels down the road, he should be
assured that the highways are adequate, well designed, and properly constructed. And he should be assured that the drivers he meets along the way will not be licensed despite records of incompetence.

Vehicle safety consists of many ingredients: good design, skillful construction, proper maintenance, adequate training, and prudent operation. The best designed vehicle in the world may be unsafe in the hands of an incompetent driver. On the other hand, even the best driver may be unsafe if the vehicle under his control has been constructed or maintained in faulty manner.

We therefore recommend a broad-based attack on the causes of accidents that would be designed to maximize the safety of travel.

(1) A comprehensive program of accident investigation should be undertaken -- not in the usual sense of determining who is legally to blame -- but to understand all the contributing factors that caused the accident. For years, every air line accident has been investigated by skilled investigators from the Civil Aeronautics Board. Using scientific devices and modern techniques, these men are able to determine with a high degree of efficiency precisely what it was that brought about the accident. Their focus is not to find the culprit, but to ensure that a needless repetition will not occur. A similar program to investigate automobile accidents will teach us much that we do not yet know about mechanical and human failures.

(2) High standards should be established for the licensing of drivers. Good driver training courses should be made available in all the Nation's high schools and in other suitable institutions. These courses should teach the prospective driver how to handle his vehicle under normal conditions as well as on roads that are rough, wet, or icy. They should include practice in mechanical simulators designed to improve driver competence in unusual and emergency situations.
We believe that the States should be encouraged to adopt a uniform law to standardize, on a nationwide basis, drivers' licenses and requirements.

(3) Federal, State and local governments must do far more than most are now doing to make sure that unsafe vehicles are not driven at risk to the lives and safety of our citizens. We believe that Federal safety standards for automobiles are a necessity. But we also believe that State and local governments should participate actively in the establishment of standards. The States have a vast wealth of experience in the field of traffic safety which should be utilized.

We also recommend that our States adopt uniform systems of motor vehicle inspection in facilities equipped with modern testing devices. Local police should remove from the streets vehicles which cannot pass such inspections. Inspection should be a requirement for automobile registration.

STREAMLINING THE MOVEMENT OF GOODS

Scarcely an item moves from producer to consumer without making use of at least two distinct modes of transportation. Virtually every item makes part of the journey by truck, moving part of the distance by rail, air, or water. Today, coordination between the various modes of transportation offers greater possibilities than ever before. But much of this potential economy is lost if excessive costs are involved in shifting commodities from one mode of transportation to the other.

But here the container can play a part. Making possible efficient and highly mechanized handling methods, standardized containers can move quickly from train to ship or from truck to plane. Standardized containers can be used in any mode of transportation to haul goods to any part of the world.
But all of this requires a degree of standardization. Much of the potential economy of coordinated transportation will be lost if every carrier develops his own type of container with the result that thousands of different sizes exist.

Long ago the United States learned the value of constructing all railroads on a standard gauge. We also learned the values of standardized weights, sizes, and specifications.

Containers show promise in all areas of transportation. They permit more rapid loading of planes, trains, and ships. They permit more rapid off-loading. Thus they permit more efficient utilization of expensive transportation and make it possible for American shipping companies to compete on a more equal basis in other parts of the world. A Federal Department of Transportation, cooperating with appropriate bodies, can lead the way to standardizing containers so that maximum use may be made of their potential.
III. URBAN TRANSPORTATION

By 1980, the United States will contain a quarter of a billion Americans, some three-fourths of whom will live in our great metropolitan centers. Unless our cities, their suburbs, and the millions of Americans who inhabit them, are to strangle on their own traffic, we must plan realistically for the means by which our metropolitan populations of the future can be transported efficiently and in comfort.

The state of mass transportation in our metropolitan areas today is a sorry one. It is not at all uncommon for less time to be consumed in a flight between two cities than in travel from airport to urban center.

Patronage has declined on many urban transit systems because of discomfort, inconvenience, infrequent and unreliable service, and other factors. In other areas it has not kept pace even with the increase in population. Often the problem has been attacked by the construction of freeways that enable large numbers of cars to pour into our cities every day. The result has been decreasing use of urban transit facilities followed by a deterioration of service and by still more cars crowding the freeways as more commuters take to their automobiles. Thus, the cycle of deteriorating service and increasing automobile congestion has become self-reinforcing.

The transportation requirements of metropolitan America cannot be met by private automobiles alone. But, paradoxically in most cities, commuter common carrier service has deteriorated and in many communities has entirely disappeared. Taking large amounts of valuable urban land for roadways and parking facilities has frequently caused local hardship. The cost of building highways, roads and parking facilities increases almost daily. (The costs of highway construction increased almost six percent from the first quarter of...
1965 to the first quarter of 1966.) Widespread public dissatisfaction has been caused by the shoddy and inadequate state of most metropolitan transportation systems.

The problems are urgent. Urban transportation has been a vital factor in the growth and development of urban areas for over a century. The very existence of our cities as viable economic centers depends to a very great extent upon sound metropolitan transit. Considerable imagination and drive will be required to grapple with these important problems. Solutions are needed now.

Federal urban transit programs should not foist preconceptions from Washington on local communities. Rather, Federal efforts should encourage a development of a balanced transportation network used by private and public carriers for every community. This balance should be developed locally because a transit system that may be ideal in one community may be utterly unsuited to another.

**INCENTIVES FOR COMMUTERS**

Solutions to the difficulties of urban transportation must go to the heart of the problem if they are to be successful. The greatest single problem of metropolitan transportation is how best to transport hundreds of thousands of people into the core city within a few hours in the morning, then transport them back to their homes again in a similarly brief evening period, and repeat the process five days a week.

Commuters are people. They have human needs and desires. Among these is a distaste for crowded, uncomfortable vehicles which assault the senses in the process of providing relatively swift transportation of uncertain dependability.
Today the only advantage of most transit systems over private transportation is that they cost less, but in some areas they are pricing themselves out of the market.

In an era of economic prosperity, low fares -- where they still exist -- have not proven sufficient to attract commuters. Many carriers operate at or below their financial breakeven point even while streets and freeways are jammed with commuters who find it more pleasant -- or at least less unpleasant -- to drive their automobiles to and from work and are willing to pay the added cost involved.

Ways must be found to win commuters back to transit systems and to convince them that they are better off with their cars left at home or at suburban stations. At the very least, transit systems can make themselves vastly more attractive than they now are so that commuter travel becomes a pleasure and not an unpleasant daily experience. Added attention to the convenience, speed, frequency of schedules, reliability, physical comfort of passengers and the aesthetic appearance of vehicles could well work wonders in this area.

Federal and State governments should also consider ways to provide financial incentives to metropolitan residents to persuade them to use urban transit systems. In addition to reasonably priced fares, we believe that a plan whereby the users of transit systems are given income tax benefits (perhaps through receipts which could be filed with tax returns) merits serious study.

Unless we are prepared to see our cities sacrifice valuable land for freeways and the parking facilities which they require, some means must be found to attract commuters back to transit systems. There is an increased need for additional research in this and related aspects of transportation. Insufficient efforts have been made in this direction. The transportation industry and Federal, State, and local governments should devote even more attention to these problems than they have to date.
FEDERAL MASS TRANSIT PROGRAMS

The Federal Government's experimental program of demonstration grants should be continued and evaluated. The Federal program which provides long-term low interest loans for urban transportation facilities should be expanded. Any new legislation intended to supplement the Urban Mass Transit Act of 1964 should encourage increased State and local governmental initiative in resolving local transit problems. In this connection, we believe that the administration of Federal urban transit programs should be transferred from the Department of Housing and Urban Development to the new Department of Transportation. We oppose any Federal subsidy for operating expenses since this would only prolong, not solve, the problem of locally operating local services.

THE NEED FOR COORDINATED LOCAL PLANNING

The role of local government is a vital one. Local governments need to cooperate in their planning efforts so that transportation planning is made for the metropolitan area as a whole.\(^2\) Transportation planning in the core city which runs counter to planning in the suburbs can produce only chaos. The experience of freeway planning in and around the Nation's Capital should provide an object lesson for the rest of the Nation. There, area-wide planning is virtually non-existent. Instead of cooperating, planners feud with each other with the result that transportation planning has been gravely hampered throughout the entire metropolitan area. It should be obvious that transportation planning in our metropolitan areas must consider all available forms of transportation: commuter railroads, buses, and the private automobile.

STATE AND LOCAL RESPONSIBILITY

In order to have effective transportation systems in our metropolitan areas, we must have cooperation between State and local governments and the operators.
of privately owned transportation systems. The establishment of public metropolitan authorities which encompass the entire metropolitan area and which have full authority to manage area wide transportation facilities and services (including selling bonds and setting rates and schedules) often is an important first step for large metropolitan areas. The States can also provide technical and financial assistance to urban areas for mass transportation. At the present time the realities of contemporary urban transit systems require a more realistic tax and depreciation policy for private metropolitan passenger carriers. **Local and State governments should consider subsidies for transportation services which are needed by the public but which cannot now operate at a profit.** Serious consideration should be given to the creation of tax incentives at all levels of government. Every reasonable effort should be made to encourage the development of privately operated carriers that can become economically self sufficient while adequately serving the public's need.

**THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC IMPACT OF FREEWAYS**

While adequate highways are necessary to enable the movement of people and goods from one point to another, we should not overlook the fact that they have an important impact on land use, on the location of industry, on the tax base, and upon the character of the communities through which they pass.

The impact of a freeway on a highly urbanized community may be profound. Unless the freeway is planned with due regard for the full consequences, that impact may be harmful. This fact is evidenced by the conflicts that now rage in California, the District of Columbia, and elsewhere over the location of proposed freeways.
It is clear that well-planned freeways can provide substantial benefits to the Nation. But before a particular freeway is built, careful consideration should be given to its liabilities and to its costs. Careful attention should be given to the impact on families, neighborhoods, business enterprises and whole communities. Appropriate care should be taken to preserve places of historical and cultural interest and areas of scenic beauty.

We need to give more careful attention to planning our freeways and other transportation facilities. Sometimes the air rights above a freeway cut can be used for the erection of apartments and office buildings. Sometimes a proposed freeway can be re-routed to avoid the destruction of a redwood grove, a mountain lake or a happy neighborhood. These considerations are important and they should be fully taken into account before any highway is constructed.

CONCLUSION

This paper is one in a series on intergovernmental relations. It has been prepared because the Nation's transportation system is important to everyone in the land -- so important that we sometimes take it for granted. We seldom stop to consider the fact that millions of Americans are utterly dependent upon a functioning transportation system. Should it suddenly break down, millions of people living in our cities would starve in a matter of days.

In a very real sense our transportation network ties us together as a Nation. It makes it possible for each section of the country to produce those items which it is best able to produce and for each of us to enjoy a more abundant life.

We have a good transportation system today but like all good things, it can still be improved. It can be improved through the institution of private enterprise, the intelligent actions of government, and the inventiveness of America.
TRANSPORTATION IN MODERN AMERICA

The Republican Coordinating Committee has released a position paper calling for financial incentives for commuters, a three-point auto safety program, and a Federal Department of Transportation.

The paper, "Transportation in Modern America," was adopted Monday by the Coordinating Committee and released today by GOP National Chairman Ray C. Bliss.

The 28-page document was prepared by a Task Force headed by former Congress- man Robert Taft, Jr. of Ohio, through a subcommittee chaired by Dr. Karl Ruppenthal, Director, Transportation Management Program, Stanford University.

"Ways must be found to win commuters back to transit systems," the paper said. "In addition to reasonably priced fares, we believe that a plan whereby the users of transit systems are given income tax benefits (perhaps through receipts which could be filed with tax returns) merits serious study."

The GOP auto safety program consisted of three parts:

1. An accident investigation program to determine the causes of accidents, similar in scope to the investigations of air line accidents.

2. Nationwide driver training and standard drivers' licenses and requirements.
3. Federal safety standards for cars with State and local participation in establishing standards, and nationwide state systems of auto inspection.

In calling for a U. S. Department of Transportation, the GOP group pointed out that President Eisenhower had urged Congress to create such a department. A high priority function of the department "should be the prompt development of a government-wide transportation policy for Congressional enactment."

Charging that government agencies in the transport field frequently work at cross-purposes, the high level GOP group said:

"The development and implementation of a coherent national transportation policy is long overdue." The report also criticized Congress for "its own obsolete mechanism for dealing with major issues of national transportation policy".

The Republican Coordinating Committee also urged the creation of a Metropolitan Highway System to give Federal support for the construction of streets and highways in the cities and their suburbs.

Charging a "dangerous deterioration of America's merchant marine," the GOP document criticized the lack of action despite the President's promise of a new policy. The paper called for an "experimental approach aimed at restoring the economic self-sufficiency of the merchant marine."

In addition to its proposal for commuter incentives, the Republican transport statement on urban transportation urged consideration of State and local government "subsidies for transportation services which are needed by the public but which cannot now operate at a profit." "Tax incentives at all levels of government" were also advocated.

The GOP group concluded by urging "more careful attention to planning our freeways and other transportation facilities. Sometimes the air rights above a freeway cut can be used for the erection of apartments and office buildings."
Sometimes a proposed freeway can be re-routed to avoid the destruction of a redwood grove, a mountain lake or a happy neighborhood. These considerations are important and they should be fully taken into account before any highway is constructed.

The paper was prepared for Taft's Task Force on the Functions of Federal, State and Local Governments by a special Task Group on Transportation.

In addition to Professor Ruppenthal, the Task Group members were:

--Roger Cloud, State Auditor of Ohio
--Charles Dearing of Wilbur Smith and Associates of San Francisco
--Edwin Michaelian, County Executive of Westchester County, New York
--Robert Redding, Transportation Attorney, Washington, D. C.
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For many years it has been apparent that there was a need for better coordination among the various governmental agencies that deal with transportation. As a result, various proposals have been advanced to coordinate the vast transportation bureaucracy which uses, promotes, regulates, and operates transportation in the United States and throughout the free world. The Hoover Commission Task Force on Transportation recommended the creation of a department in 1946. And in his final budget message to Congress, President Eisenhower stated: "A Department of Transportation should be established so as to bring together at cabinet level the presently fragmented federal functions regarding transportation activities." Now, five years after the Eisenhower message, the Johnson-Humphrey Administration has endorsed this proposal. Certainly, the creation of an efficient and effective Department of Transportation has been delayed much too long.

Unfortunately, the bill that the Johnson-Humphrey Administration proposed, and that has now been reported by the Government Operations Committee, is faulty and inadequate in a number of important respects and should be improved. In this bill, important transportation activities have been excluded and those modes of transportation brought under the Department do not have adequate representation. The proposed transfer of aviation accident investigations to the new Department cannot be justified. The broad powers granted the Secretary of Transportation under Section 7 invade the policy-making authority of Congress. And the proposed transfer of the Maritime Administration to the new Department would perpetuate the present trouble-ridden mismanagement of the maritime crisis.

Therefore, while we favor and support legislation that would establish a Department of Transportation, we believe that such legislation should contain the following safeguards and improvements:

1. The aviation accident investigation function of the Civil Aeronautics Board should remain independent. In the event the CAB's Bureau of Safety is transferred to the new Department, as contemplated by the proposed legislation, this country would return to the totally unsatisfactory
arrangement that existed prior to 1958. At that time, as a result of complaints and accusations from industry representatives, government personnel and outside observers, Congress enacted the Federal Aviation Act. Under this Act, an independent Federal Aviation Agency was established to regulate and control the airways and the various promotional aspects of aviation. By the same Act, the independent CAB was created. It was charged with the economic regulation of aviation and the conduct of aviation accident investigations. The CAB then created a Bureau of Safety to conduct such investigations. This Bureau has acquired an outstanding reputation for experience, thoroughness, and impartiality in the investigation of aviation accidents. Since the establishment of these twin but independent bodies, aviation has prospered and air safety has advanced. These advances would be jeopardized if these important functions are brought together again within a new Department.

2. To date, little has been done with respect to the problem created by aircraft noise, and no one in government has assumed direct responsibility for taking action. This important problem should receive immediate and continuing attention within the new Department. Adequate research and the establishment of reasonable standards to reduce aircraft noise should be given a high priority.

3. Throughout the hearings on the proposed bill, Section 7 was criticized severely. It was opposed by witness after witness, including the Transportation Association of America whose membership represents all modes of transportation plus shippers and investors. Under this section, the Secretary could adopt national transportation investment standards and criteria without seeking Congressional approval. He would have the authority to determine whether the investment of federal money should be made on behalf of one mode of transportation or another. He could impose his standards of investment on other agencies of government who administer investment programs enacted by Congress. This section should be stricken from the bill.

4. The Administration bill would leave the urban mass transportation program within the newly-established Department of Housing and Urban Development. Certainly, urban transportation is an integral part of mass transportation. The close relationship and interdependence between urban mass transportation and other forms of transportation dictate that the urban mass transportation should be transferred from the Department of HUD to the new Department. This program only recently has been assigned to HUD. Now is the time to make this transfer to the new Department.

5. As the April 20, 1966 House Republican Policy Committee statement pointed out:

"America is facing a crisis of major proportions with respect to its
vital Merchant Marine. At the close of World War II, this country had a Merchant Marine fleet of over 3,500 vessels. By 1951, there were 1,955 active U.S. flag ships. Today there are only 1,000, including those reactivated for the Viet Nam War. The U.S. has dropped to 14th place among the world's major shipbuilding nations while Russia has risen from 12th to 7th place as a maritime nation. The Merchant Marine shipbuilding effort in this country must be increased. Unless this is done, our defense commitments throughout the world will be in jeopardy. Indeed, our national survival may depend upon the shipping that should be under construction but which the Johnson-Humphrey Administration has scuttled. We demand that steps be taken to correct this disastrous situation."

Although faced with this major crisis, the proposed bill does little more than transfer the problem to a new Department. There is nothing in the bill that reflects a sense of urgency or that calls for a redirection of effort. Moreover, there is no indication that the functions of the Maritime Administration will even be handled by one man with clear-cut authority. The present plight of the American Merchant Marine demands action. Unfortunately, the present stepchild status would continue under the proposed bill. The proposed transfer does not correct the Johnson-Humphrey Administration's known and apparent deficiencies in the maritime field. Therefore, we believe that the Maritime Administration should be established as an independent agency.
Republican Policy Committee Statement on Department of Transportation

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House Republican Leader Gerald R. Ford, Mich., today urged that Federal official meet quickly with auto industry representatives to avoid any possible shutdown of automobile plants due to the new auto safety law.

Ford said he was "deeply concerned" about a statement by Henry Ford II, declaring that some of the federal government's proposed safety standards for 1968 model cars are absolutely impossible to meet. The Ford Motor Co. president said these standards must be changed or some Ford plants may have to be closed.

"There already have been cutbacks in 1967 auto production which have resulted in worker layoffs in Michigan and elsewhere," Ford said. "I am deeply concerned that there will be further cutbacks and layoffs next fall unless the government and the auto industry can come to a meeting of the minds about 1968 automobile safety standards."

Ford said he has called the office of Dr. William Haddon, director of the National Highway Safety Agency, to ask whether a meeting between Haddon and auto industry officials can be set up quickly to explore the Ford Motor Co. grievances.

The automobile manufacturers have until Jan. 3 to comment on the proposed safety standards. The standards as adopted will be published Jan. 31 and will take effect with the start of the 1968 model run.

Ford Motor Co. safety director Will Scott has said several of the proposed standards cannot be met. He specifically mentioned one that requires the inside of a car to be made of energy-absorbing material.

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