

SENATE—Monday, February 8, 1982

(Legislative day of Monday, January 25, 1982)

The Senate met at 11 a.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the President pro tempore (Mr. THURMOND).

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Richard C. Halverson, LL.D., D.D., offered the following prayer:

Oh give thanks to the Lord, call upon His name; make known His deeds among the peoples. Sing to Him, sing praises to Him; speak of all His wonders. Glory in His holy name; let the heart of those who seek the Lord be glad. Seek the Lord and His strength; seek His face continually. Remember His wonders which He has done, His marvels, and the judgements uttered by His mouth.—Psalm 105: 5 N.A.S.

Gracious Lord God, let Thy glory be manifest in this place. Let Thy holy presence be felt in all the offices. Let Thy love infuse the heart of every person who works here so that each of us will love the others and be loved by them. Dispel all that is evil from our hearts. Let there be nothing in us that would grieve the holy spirit or offend a sister or brother.

Grant forgiveness to those who are burdened with guilt, assurance to those who are discouraged, comfort to those who hurt, patience to those who are lonely, strength to those who are weary, healing to those who are ill, hope to those who despair, joy to those who sorrow, wisdom to those who are confused, light to those who have lost their way. In the name of Him who is the way, the truth, and the life, we pray. Amen.

RECOGNITION OF THE ACTING MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The acting majority leader is recognized.

Mr. McCLURE. The President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. President, I ask the distinguished minority leader if he has some use for the leader's time.

RECOGNITION OF THE MINORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The minority leader is recognized.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished acting majority leader.

I do not believe I need any of the time that the acting leader is offering. I will take just a small portion of my own time. I want to refer to the nomination of Powell Moore to be an Assistant Secretary of State.

NOMINATION OF POWELL A. MOORE TO BE AN ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, on February 4, the full Senate approved the nomination of Powell A. Moore to be Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations. I cannot think of a better person than Powell Moore to fill this important position, and I look forward to working with him in his new capacity.

Mr. Moore has had a long and distinguished record of public service in Washington. He served as press secretary to the late Senator Richard Russell of Georgia from 1966 until 1971. He served as Deputy Director of Public Information for the Department of Justice from 1971 until 1972. He served as Deputy Special Assistant to the President from 1973 until 1975. With the election of Ronald Reagan as our 40th President, Mr. Powell Moore assumed responsibilities as Deputy Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs.

Mr. President, I have known Powell Moore for a number of years. He is a person of impeccable integrity and devotion to duty. He is one of the finest gentlemen I have had the privilege of knowing.

His experience in working with the Senate has served him well in his numerous positions with the executive branch. He is sensitive to, and appreciative of, Congress as an institution. As a result, he is particularly effective in working with Congress.

He has a difficult job ahead of him. However, I am confident that he is equal to the task. I commend the administration for choosing Powell Moore to assume this critical position. I certainly will do everything I can to cooperate and work with him, and I wish him the very best as he launches into his new responsibilities.

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, does any Senator on my side wish any of the time that I have under my control?

I have no further use for my time. I yield it back.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Journal of the proceedings be approved to date.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WARNER). Without objection, it is so ordered.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN WALKS AT MIDNIGHT

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, this coming Friday, February 12, marks the 173d anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, our country's first Republican President. Vachel Lindsay lends poetic thoughts on this historic figure in "Abraham Lincoln Walks at Midnight," and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

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

ABRAHAM LINCOLN WALKS AT MIDNIGHT

(By Vachel Lindsay)

It is portentous, and a thing of state
That here at midnight, in our little town
A mourning figure walks, and will not rest,
Near the old court-house pacing up and down,

Or by his homestead, or in shadowed yards
He lingers where his children used to play,
Or through the market, on the well-worn stones
He stalks until the dawn-stars burn away.

A bronzed, lank man! His suit of ancient black,
A famous high top-hat and plain worn shawl
Make him the quaint great figure that men love,
The prairie-lawyer, master of us all.

He cannot sleep upon his hillside now.
He is among us:—as in times before!
And we who toss and lie awake for long
Breathe deep, and start, to see him pass the door.

His head is bowed. He thinks on men and kings.

Yea, when the sick world cries, how can he sleep?

Too many peasants fight, they know not why,
Too many homesteads in black terror weep.

The sins of all the war-lords burn his heart.
He sees the dreadnaughts scouring every main.

He carries on his shawl-wrapped shoulders now
The bitterness, the folly and the pain.

He cannot rest until a spirit-dawn
Shall come;—the shining hope of Europe free:

The league of sober folk, the Workers' Earth,
Bringing long peace to Cornland, Alp and Sea.

It breaks his heart that kings must murder still,
That all his hours of travail here for men
Seem yet in vain. And who will bring white peace
That he may sleep upon his hill again?

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of the leader's time.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the 15-minute special order allotted to Senator BENTSEN be transferred to Senator PROXMIER for his control.

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

RECOGNITION OF SENATOR PROXMIER

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin is recognized.

HOW LONG BEFORE WE ACT ON GENOCIDE?

Mr. PROXMIER. Mr. President, a brief article in the January 30 issue of the Washington Post described the reunion of a sister and brother originally separated while at the Nazi concentration camp Auschwitz in the early years of World War II.

For the past 39 years, each thought the other to have died at Auschwitz. Upon a recent visit to Israel, the sister was informed that her cousin had received a postcard from her brother after the war "which mentioned something about Newcastle." The telephone directory provided the sister with her brother's address.

For this sister and brother, there are countless others never again to be reunited, victims of genocide. This is the case for sisters and brothers separated not only by the Holocaust, but by Idi Amin in Uganda, by Turkey in Armenia, and Pol Pot in Cambodia.

These are all too real examples of genocide in the 20th century.

How long will we wait before acting against this terrible crime of genocide? How long will the International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide remain unratified by the U.S. Senate?

It has been pending before the Senate since 1949, when President Truman first submitted it for ratification. Over the past 33 years, every administration, both Republican and Democratic, has supported the treaty.

It has been signed and ratified by 85 nations, reflecting the consensus in the world community that genocide is, indeed, an international crime.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order there will now be a period for the transaction of routine morning business not to exceed 30 minutes with statements therein limited to 5 minutes each.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

DR. ERWIN A. FRANCE—MAN OF THE YEAR

Mr. DIXON. Mr. President, on February 23, Dr. Erwin A. France, a most distinguished citizen of the State of Illinois, will be honored as 1982 Man of the Year by the March of Dimes Metropolitan Chicago Chapter.

Dr. France has compiled an admirable and remarkable record of accomplishment during a public career of more than 20 years.

In the field of government, Dr. France has served most capably as deputy chief of the Illinois Employment Service, as director of the city of Chicago's youth opportunity program, as director of the city's model cities program, and as administrative assistant to the late Mayor Richard J. Daley.

In the private sector, he is executive vice president of Palmer, Green & King, Ltd., a nationally known consulting and development firm.

His Man of the Year status, however, derives from an additional, selfless undertaking to which Dr. France has devoted so much of his time in recent years.

Mr. President, the value of Erwin France's years of service to Chicago area children through his work for the prevention and treatment of birth defects simply cannot be calculated.

He has served on the March of Dimes National Board of Directors, as well as on the executive committee of the Metropolitan Chicago chapter.

He is a member of the National Task Force on Perinatal Health Care in the High Risk Community, which seeks to provide critically needed service programs for babies before and after delivery, and for pregnant women.

The work of Dr. France and this group has been significant in improving the outcome of pregnancy, for

both mother and baby, in disadvantaged communities, and in working toward reducing the tragic rate of infant mortality in some of those communities.

In short, Erwin A. France is an extraordinary man who has made an extraordinary contribution to us all.

His friends and admirers will gather on February 23 to affirm that fact. I affirm it now, and commend to my colleagues the splendid accomplishments of Dr. Erwin A. France.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

NATIONAL AERONAUTIC ASSOCIATION

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, recently the president of the National Aeronautic Association, Gen. Clifton von Kann, discussed the many problems of the U.S. Establishment in a yearend report. He also discussed and presented a first draft for a national aerospace policy to a news conference on December 30, 1981. General von Kann's proposal for a national aeronautic policy was developed as a result of Aerospace I, the National Aeronautic Association's symposium on aerospace issues held at Williamsburg, Va., last summer.

General von Kann's statement to the press conference and his draft of a national aerospace policy are both very important, not only to the future of every aspect of aviation, but to our space endeavors as well. Our Nation has long been a leader in aerospace and it is vital that we continue that leadership. It is not only a matter of national pride, but it is a matter of consequence to our economy and added distinct contributions to our national security.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the comments of General von Kann at his yearend press briefing as well as the first draft of a national aerospace policy for the United States be printed in the RECORD. I urge my colleagues to carefully study this aggressive and sensible beginning to a national aerospace policy.

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

STATEMENT OF CLIFTON F. VON KANN

Gentlemen: The purpose of this briefing is to report in general on NAA's 1981 efforts, and more specifically on the results of AEROSPACE I, NAA's symposium on air and space issues held at Williamsburg, Virginia last summer.

AEROSPACE I was conducted because of our deep concern about the erosion of the United States' former predominance in air and space—and what this implies for our national security, our economic growth and our technological vitality.

The year end situation in virtually every aspect of aviation and space endeavor makes it all too clear that our concerns were valid—and that the alarm which we had voiced on the platform, in public statements and in letters to the Congress and the President was, if anything, an understatement. Let me offer a few examples why.

Space is the new frontier commercially, militarily and scientifically. Yet, despite our success with the Space Shuttle, we have no national space policy worthy of the name, we have no coherent space organization and we are uncertain of our objectives in space. By contrast, the Soviets are moving into space with a steady, well funded program which has given them a permanent manned presence in space and the prospect of additional triumphs. Even our allies are surpassing us in commercial space applications.

We recognize that an effort to frame a national space policy is underway in the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy. The test of this policy will be whether it spells out long range objectives or reflects OMB's short term economic concerns.

In the meantime the future of NASA—a vital national resource—is being debated, including the possible shift of the aeronautical R&D program to some other agency. Virtually all our superiority in military and civil aircraft has resulted from aeronautical technology which was spawned in NACA, and later NASA. The current agency of NASA raises the grim specter of technological disarmament—something we could not possibly have imagined a year ago.

You know what is happening to the airlines. What no one knows is where it will end. But there can be no argument about the dampening effect which cancelled orders for new airline aircraft will have on U.S. aircraft manufacturers. Buoyed up by substantial airline orders, our aerospace industry in the past took aggressive production decisions and seized more than 90% of the world market for transport aircraft. Now competition from abroad is rising, airline orders are falling, and another vital national asset is threatened. General aviation exports are also in difficulty—although for different reasons. Meanwhile, the Export-Import Bank is forced to struggle to support U.S. aircraft exports.

Of equal concern is that fact that private flying, as we have known it, is being priced out of the market. Yet if Americans cannot learn the love of flying at the grass roots, where will our future pilots, engineers and mechanics come from? We must hope that aero-modelling and home building of aircraft can fill the growing void.

No list of major aviation problems would be complete without the airport and airway capacity situation. In the 1960's it became evident that Congress would not provide continuity of funding for airport and airway facilities on a year to year basis. The Act of 1970 provided a mechanism for maintaining a steady level of investment in these facilities; and even with some flaws in implementation the program worked reasonably well throughout the 1970's. However, the program has now expired with the Act and can't be revived—not because it isn't essential to our aviation leadership, but because the two houses of Congress and the Administration can't agree on how to improve it.

Meanwhile, administrator Helms has properly recognized system capacity as the key aviation problem of the 1980's.

These are but a few examples. No matter where we turn in aviation and space, there are problems galore and unresolved issues.

And this is why we held AEROSPACE I—to examine the problems, to see what issues national policy should address, and to consider how such a policy might be implemented.

The work of our six workshops, as well as the wise words of distinguished panelist and speakers, began to give us answers to some of our questions. These will be found in the proceedings of AEROSPACE I, which will be published shortly. In the meantime, NAA has prepared the first draft of a National Aerospace Policy, which we believe must be the first step toward repairing the bad situation in which our aerospace establishment finds itself.

Let me emphasize that this is a first draft, and a rough draft at that. It has not yet been fully coordinated with those who participated in AEROSPACE I. And while I have discussed it with various aviation leaders and interested members of government, there just hasn't been opportunity for the full exchange which must in time take place.

Nevertheless, we believe the problems and difficulties of the aerospace establishment are so real and so fraught with national danger that we are placing the draft statement in the public arena so that debate and discussion may be expedited.

Now, you will quickly see that the statement is quite general. It is not a budget document, but a summary of major goals and principles. There is no alternative to this approach. What we need first of all is a statement which the entire aviation community can support. If the various aviation organizations could have agreed on more issues in the past, we might not be in the present plight.

The second urgent need is a policy declaration that aerospace is vital to our national security and our economic growth—and that it deserves better treatment than the benign neglect or outright mismanagement which has occurred in many past actions of the government.

If this policy statement, or some such policy statement, can meet these two needs, it will be well worth while and will serve as the platform for future constructive action.

You are probably wondering now what we mean by constructive action—or how do we get down to the specifics of timing and funding. In our view the next major need is to create a mechanism for dealing with these specific problems and issues—and they are complex ones at that. The issues affecting aerospace involve national security, technology, international trade, economic development, foreign policy and many others. There is no cabinet council that is organized to cover such an array of subjects.

And even if there were, it would still not be the right answer. What is needed—and what has worked when it has been tried both here and abroad—is a forum in which the leaders of the industrial, scientific and financial communities can meet with the appropriate government ministers and seek solutions to problems on the basis of the good of the country rather than the more parochial considerations. We are thinking of some arrangement such as the Air League in the U.K., or the Air Coordinating Committee which held forth here from World War II until the late 1950's. With a mechanism

of this type, we believe that better solutions to the specific problems will be found—certainly better than those produced by attacking the problems without a policy, a goal or a mechanism, as we have been doing.

To conclude, let me say that NAA's aims for 1982 will be to improve the policy statement and to stimulate the creation of the coordinating mechanism which is needed so badly.

I thank you for your attention and will now try to answer your questions.

A NATIONAL AEROSPACE POLICY FOR THE UNITED STATES—FIRST DRAFT OCTOBER 29, 1981

Given: That aerospace is a vital element of U.S. national power—the key to our national defense and essential to our economic strength and development.

That as the world moves into space, the high ground of the future, the U.S. must establish and maintain the capability to neutralize hostile military actions in space.

That space offers untold opportunities for future economic development.

That U.S. national security demands a strong defense industry with an early surge capability.

That the high quality of U.S. aerospace products, along with new aircraft orders by U.S. air carriers, has brought about U.S. domination of the world market in civil aircraft and has produced large and essential export balances for many years.

That the national air transport system, including airports and airways, is critical to interstate commerce.

That aerospace products and air rights are significant factors in international negotiations.

That the international air transport system brings the people of the world closer together in peaceful relationships.

Given, However: That, the continuing Soviet arms buildup increases the threat to our national security.

That U.S. leadership in air space is under unprecedented challenges by friend and foe.

That the Soviet space program is better supported than that of the U.S., and that the Soviets have virtually established a permanent manned presence in space.

That there is inadequate support for U.S. exploration of outer space and the universe.

That the NASA/industry/science team is not receiving the resources needed to insure U.S. technological leadership in aeronautics or space science.

That the U.S. defense industrial base can no longer support mobilization plans in the event of emergency.

That the U.S. system for command, control, communications, and intelligence needs to be improved, modernized and made survivable.

That the U.S. strategic bomber force is rapidly becoming obsolete.

That the U.S. ICBM force is becoming more vulnerable to Soviet attack.

That U.S. strategic airlift capabilities continue to be inadequate.

That the air superiority formerly provided by U.S. tactical aircraft is no longer assured, and the development cycle for new aircraft takes too long.

That the development of adequate airport and airway system capacity has been impeded by prolonged disagreements on allocation of system costs and the public benefits derived from the system.

That the future of the air transport system is threatened by piecemeal and in-

consistent noise abatement regulations at the local level.

That the ability of the U.S. airlines to purchase new aircraft is threatened by high fuel costs and excessive competition in a deregulated environment.

That the plight of airlines, along with growing resistance to the export of U.S. aerospace products in world markets, threatens the health and vitality of the U.S. aerospace industry.

That the emphasis of U.S. authorities on low prices in international air transportation has undermined the economic viability of the international air transport system.

That U.S. customs, immigration and border crossing requirements and practices have detracted from the ability of international aviation to promote peace through international travel.

That the human resources needed to maintain U.S. leadership are failing to materialize, as evidenced by a falling off in the production of U.S. aeronautical scientists, engineers and technicians. Similarly, the interest of young Americans in aeronautics and space flight is being suppressed by the growing costs of entering the world of flight.

That the U.S. government has no effective mechanism for dealing with these issues or coordinating the many facets of aerospace from the viewpoints of national security, technology, international trade, diplomacy and economics.

That the responsibilities for space related functions are scattered among many agencies in the U.S. government with no overall coordinating machinery.

It is Therefore the Policy of the United States: That continued leadership in air and space is vital to U.S. national security and economic growth.

That this leadership—based on technological excellence, airline prosperity and the preeminence of the U.S. aerospace industry—is a vital national asset.

That any developments which threaten U.S. leadership will be considered a threat to the security of the U.S.

That it is a national goal to establish and maintain organization, policies and programs that will assure continuation of U.S. aerospace leadership.

SPACE

That since the nation's first line of defense will ultimately be in space, the U.S. must expedite programs that lead to the establishment of space related defense systems.

That improved functioning and survivability of command, control, communications and intelligence systems in space must be given high priority.

That commercial exploitation of space is now technologically feasible and must be expedited through innovative cooperation arrangements between government and industry.

That plans for U.S. space stations be given higher priority.

That U.S. exploration of outer space—the newest frontier—must be sustained.

That a focal point in the U.S. government for overseeing space related programs must be established.

MILITARY AIRPOWER

That the U.S. strategic bomber force and land based strategic missile force must be modernized to preserve the effectiveness of the Triad concept.

That U.S. strategic airlift capabilities must be increased to a point where they can support required deployments.

That the U.S. tactical military aircraft inventory must be brought to quantity and quality levels sufficient to prevail against expected threats.

That the development cycle for new aircraft must be reduced in time.

That additional efforts must be undertaken to ensure that the military services are provided with adequate numbers of dedicated and qualified people—by the draft, if necessary.

THE DEFENSE INDUSTRY BASE

That the defense industry base must be strengthened to a point where it can support mobilization plans. Particular attention must be given to manufacturing research and development and other programs to enhance productivity. Greater stability in the defense related marketplace must also be emphasized.

TECHNOLOGY

That the government, the defense industry and scientific community must maintain and strengthen the teamwork which has brought about U.S. aerospace leadership in the past and which is needed to provide the technology with which the U.S. aerospace industry can produce superior civil and military aircraft, spacecraft, and space facilities.

That the criteria for government funding of aeronautical research and development in the intermediate phase between pure research and commercial application must be: (1) whether the program will benefit the Nation; (2) whether the technology involved is necessary to maintain U.S. preeminence in that particular area; and (3) whether the program can or cannot be funded as a normal business risk by the private sector.

That technology transfer must be limited to situations where the transfer will not impair U.S. interests.

CIVIL AVIATION

That, under private operation, the national air transport system must: (1) provide the public with safe, efficient and economical air transportation; (2) contribute to the economic growth of the Nation; and (3) generate earnings that attract capital, provide job opportunities, and facilitate the acquisition on new technology aircraft.

That the U.S. airport and airway infrastructure must be the most safe and efficient in the world—supported by public and private funds on realistic assessment of the public benefit derived.

That the U.S. airport and airway infrastructure must provide adequate capacity to meet public demand with particular attention given to new air traffic control technology and more ample reliever airports and heliports.

That the U.S. government must take appropriate action to prevent the crippling of the national air transport system by piecemeal and inconsistent noise regulation at the local level.

That a vigorous general aviation establishment is in the national interest.

INTERNATIONAL AVIATION

That continuation of the favorable trade balance in aerospace products is in the national interest.

That the Agreement on Trade in Civil Aircraft must be enforced.

That the U.S. international air transport industry must: (1) contribute to U.S. national objectives in defense and security, foreign policy and international commerce; and (2) be safe, efficient and economically viable so that it can generate earnings that attract capital and provide job opportunities.

That discrimination against U.S. manufacturers in the world aerospace market and U.S. flag carriers in international air commerce is adverse to the national interest. This policy objective must be achieved by bilateral and multilateral negotiations with the nations concerned.

That international transportation of people, mail and goods must be offered at economically justifiable prices.

That U.S. customs, immigration and border crossing requirements and practices at U.S. international airports must be modernized and simplified to retain the benefits and public convenience of high technology air transportation and to facilitate international travel.

HUMAN RESOURCES

That adequate numbers of pilots and trained aeronautical technical personnel is a national necessity.

That young Americans must be encouraged to build, maintain and fly aircraft and spacecraft.

COORDINATION OF AEROSPACE ISSUES

That improved machinery must be created for coordinating aviation and space programs, national security requirements, supporting technology needs, economic objectives, foreign trade considerations, and international aviation policies. This machinery must bring together both civil and government leaders in a joint effort to insure that the U.S. aerospace establishment best serves the national interest.

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I would like to ask the Chair if it would be proper for me to address a few remarks relative to the televising of the Senate. Would that be in order at this time?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. At the present time, the Senate is conducting morning business. If the Senator from Arizona desires to be recognized, the Chair will recognize him for any purpose he desires.

Mr. GOLDWATER. I thank the Chair.

TELEVISION AND RADIO COVERAGE OF SENATE PROCEEDINGS

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I know that the majority leader, a man for whom I have great respect and a great feeling of friendship, is most anxious to see the proceedings of the Senate televised. Mr. President, I have to oppose that.

I can recall very vividly the experience we went through in this Chamber when we were debating the Panama Canal giveaway. I recall Members of this body—one in particular—who made a 6-hour speech. I never heard him make over a 20- or 30-minute speech in my life before. There was only one reason for that—he got on radio.

Now, I will tell you only the Lord knows what will happen in this Chamber when that red light goes on. I can see speeches going on all day, and we do not say too much as it is and the longer we speak the less we say. I would be very fearful, frankly, that

what work we do accomplish in this body would diminish. It might even disappear, particularly when we have one-third of our body running for reelection. There is no better way of getting to the public, of course, than through television. And there is no better way to impress the folks back home that you are just working your head off than standing here on the floor and orating at great length while the light shines red.

I hope, Mr. President, that our leader will not go through with this proposal. I think the great strength of this body is our ability to speak. I do not think it is going to be strengthened by having an artificial stimulation of television. I do not think the quality of our remarks will improve. I do not think the quality of our legislation will improve. And I can see some of these emotional issues, such as if we had television with busing in here, we would have been busing around here for the next year. And when we get up to something like abortion—"Sadie lock the door." That is going to be a hard one to shut up.

I am going to say more on this when the time comes. But I just wanted my leader, The Senator from Tennessee to know that he cannot count on me even though I am chairman of the Communications Subcommittee. And of course, I will use every power I have in that little job to see to it that television stays on the Johnny Carsons and the other performance that bring us real entertainment and not depend upon the U.S. Senate, the 100 dedicated men and women, who, frankly, would do much better just being alone in here. I thank the Chair.

Mr. LONG. Will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. GOLDWATER. Yes.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, may I refer to some figures the majority leader put in the RECORD to indicate that the first year the House was on television, which was the first year of this Congress, that the House was in session less hours than the House was in session the previous session, which was the last session of the previous Congress. I have discussed that matter with House Members who told me that that is a very meaningless comparison. They said the proper comparison would be how much time did it take to pass a given number of substantive bills. In other words in the first session of last year, the House passed far fewer bills than they passed in the last year before the House televised its proceedings. The average amount of time taken on a bill was more than an hour longer.

But even that is not a meaningful comparison for the Senate, may I say to the Senator, because the House has a Rules Committee that fixes in advance the amount of time the House can speak to something. The meaning-

ful comparison would be to compare the amount of time spent on these little 1-minute statements where people make a brief statement and put an insertion in the RECORD, and then they—not all, but some Members—learn to tape it and send that to TV stations in their area. And for that type of conversation, it has more than doubled. And that is with the thing just getting started and a great number of Congressmen not being adjusted to it and not organized to use it with the committee backbone to pay to put it on the air.

In due time, one would think it could quadruple. Certainly it could quadruple here in the U.S. Senate. And the Senator well knows we were not able to get our job done the way it is now. So we have a real problem there.

Furthermore, I would like to ask the Senator, as one who can be an expert on this subject, what problems can it pose to us when Members of this body, for whatever reason, decide they would like to be considered as candidates for the Presidency? The Senator did not use the Senate as his platform or his podium to project his candidacy for the Presidency when he made a very fine campaign, in the finest tradition of the Nation, for the President of the United States.

But I would ask the Senator, are there not Members of this body who nurture the hope that they might be President of the United States some day?

Now, may I say I have studied it and thought about it. I just counted up the list of Senators who have either given some suggestion or appointed a committee or made some arrangements for people to explore the possibility of a Presidential candidacy on behalf of such Senators. And I have gone through and checked off the list of Senators who I think either have the potential to be President some day or who I have reason to believe that they think they have the potential to be President some day, and it adds up to at least 61 Senators in this body.

Of course, a man does not have to declare himself a candidate for the President of the United States in order to think about it. One can have it in mind without ever making it a matter of public knowledge, for reasons of propriety or for whatever reasons.

Can the Senator see the potential Presidential candidates holding this floor day in and day out to advance their candidacy for the President of the United States?

Mr. GOLDWATER. Certainly; although I would not say that is my principal objection. If we had television on the floor in 1964, I would have probably lost more. But, that is beside the point.

I can refer the Senator to the advent of television in our committee rooms.

We used to hold very fine hearings in Armed Services, for example, a very complicated field, in a small room. Oh, no more. You have to have it in a big room; you have to have television. I have never seen it on television, but we have to have it on television.

And the Senator himself knows from his own committee experience that whenever that light lights up and the camera is on you or me or anyone else, the opportunity to go nationwide is kind of hard to resist.

I would not even guess if there is anybody in this Chamber that is thinking of being President, although I will have to say there would be something unnatural about him if he was not or did not at some time. I think we all dream, and sometimes in the middle of the night those thoughts come to us. And the middle of the night would be a good time to have a television camera right at the foot of your bed and just turn it on and make your speech. There are three speeches we make. We write one out meticulously, we deliver it, and then the best speech is the one we make when we go to bed. So that is where you ought to have the television camera, not here where we make our worst speech.

I think the Senator is absolutely right. Getting back to the Senator's original question, the House has control. They have the Rules Committee and they have the 2-minute rule. Over here we have unlimited debate. And it will be more than unlimited with that machine going.

I would really hope that the majority leader would not push this matter. I do not think his father-in-law would ever have liked it. As beautifully as he spoke, as one who served with him, he did not wish us to stand up and speak the English language as he spoke it. I think he would be the first to say, "I only want my colleagues to hear this."

Mr. BURDICK. Will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. GOLDWATER. Yes.

Mr. BURDICK. When the red light comes on, what happens to the committee participation?

Mr. GOLDWATER. If it comes on in here, everyone will have to be in here or the television cameras will show a whole lot of empty seats. When it gets back home, they will say, "Where is that Senator we elected? He is supposed to be there."

The folks back home do not realize that all of the work is done in the committees. This Chamber is sort of a showplace. I would hate to have that red light be a signal to vacate this Chamber. We have enough signals now to vacate the Chamber.

There are now three of us on the floor. I imagine something is going to happen today sometime, but if this were being televised there would be 97

Senators catching hell at home for not being here.

That is another good reason to oppose it.

Mr. LONG. Will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. GOLDWATER. Surely.

Mr. LONG. Speaking of the experiences in committee, does the Senator observe what this Senator notices, that when they put proceedings on television and when the camera comes on the Senator and he is there before the camera on television, and here is a prominent witness—I do not care whether he is a general in the Army or someone who testifies about Watergate or whatever—when the camera comes on the Senator, he cannot sit there and say, "No questions."

People will say, "What about my Senator? Others had a lot of intelligent questions to ask, but he just sits there like a bump on a log."

You have to ask intelligent questions. We have been through this for awhile. We still have not lived through the stage where people ask questions, just because the TV camera is on them.

May I say to the Senator that when the Senator from Louisiana was there in a committee doing the work of a Senator, getting the evidence, sometimes the Senator from Louisiana was the only one sitting there, not just on one committee but on other committees, doing his duty, sitting there when others have left, asking questions that should be asked.

I have done this and I am sure the Senator has done it, to submit a whole list of questions, saying, "Here are the questions. Will you provide the answers to the questions?"

The witness will usually do so and it ordinarily is adequate. If not, you can call him back and get further information.

But that sort of thing does not happen on television now. People do not submit questions on television but they ask them. Is that not correct?

Mr. GOLDWATER. That is correct. And they do not care how long it takes or how right the questions are or how material they are to the subject being discussed. I think it would be much, much more kind of the witnesses from the Pentagon, who spend far too much time over here explaining things to us than I think they should.

I just repeat, Mr. President, that I hope this idea comes to a no good end. Turn the light off.

Mr. LONG. Will the Senator yield further?

Mr. GOLDWATER. I yield.

Mr. LONG. May I refer the Senator to the RECORD I hold in my hand as a point of illustration. Here is where Mr. RIEGLE took the floor and there is a bullet, a black mark alongside his name, a round, black mark which we call a bullet for the RECORD. The sub-

ject is "Detroit District Recruiting Command."

We all look at that bullet and we know Mr. RIEGLE was not on the floor at the time. He just sent that on in and asked that it be in the RECORD. He did not make the speech. He just put it into the RECORD. He did not consume any of the Senate's time. We are able to get on with the business.

Mr. GOLDWATER. If the Senator will yield, I just did it. I had a nice three-page statement. I could have read it but it would have been a waste of the time of the Senate so I used the procedure of reading one or two words and asked unanimous consent that the remainder be printed as if read. I do not like that either, I might say.

Mr. LONG. But here the people in Detroit will say, "Why didn't he say that? He just put it into the RECORD."

In other words, Senators would have to make these statements, to stand there and read them. Better yet, it would make a better impression on the people back home if you spent some time rehearsing it, standing up here and saying it with great flair.

Then people back home would say, "Didn't Senator RIEGLE make a great speech about the Detroit District Recruiting Command?"

So when it goes on television, you want to give them a good impression.

Let me ask the Senator a further question. Can the Senator explain why we want to show ourselves at our worst on television? I thought if you are going to be on television, you would put on a blue shirt, put on some TV makeup, make yourself look real pretty and look like a million dollars. Everyone would try to present himself to look good.

Mr. GOLDWATER. If the Senator will yield, there is the problem that we have to have our hair fluffed, we have to have our wife, if we have our wife around, tell us what tie we should wear.

Nothing makes me madder than my wife telling me what tie to wear. And whether to wear a white shirt or blue shirt because it depends on the lights. You have to shine your shoes.

No, I do not like that. I like to come on as I am, as terrible as that is. I do not want to spend 3 hours every morning getting prettied up.

Mr. LONG. Do we not also have a problem of presenting something that does not make a good appearance on television and then explain it? Why present a picture during a quorum call of all the empty desks and have to keep explaining it? For all we know, people on television would think we are not telling the truth or exaggerating it or misleading them. Why should we have to explain something that would serve no point in being put on television to begin with?

Anyone who is interested in the work of the Senate and can spend

some time in connection with it knows that many times during quorum calls or while we are waiting for someone to come to the Chamber, or waiting for a committee to report a bill, very few people are on the floor. Someone would like to make a speech so we put a quorum call on while he is on his way over. Why explain that? People reluctant to believe it would say, "They want to make themselves look good."

As I explained a few days ago, people say they want to see the inner workings. What are the inner workings of the Senate? It is what they do when drafting a bill. The committee spends hours picking out a particular word that might seem best to Senators. If anybody wants to see it, they can put it on television right now. I do not have the slightest objection. I can guarantee them one thing: They will not do it again because anyone who saw it would refuse to look at it again. If they tried to present it a second time, people would turn it off.

So if one wishes to show something of the Senate, it would make sense to think that they would show the things that would be of interest, to say the least, not the part that is of no interest, that does not present us in a particularly good light anyway.

Is it not much more important that we do our job than that we project one kind of image or some other kind of image?

Mr. GOLDWATER. I have another problem that not many Members have. I am a member of a union and members of that union are television actors. My union would get awfully angry if I were appearing on television free and it might upset me that I did not get paid for it. But I do not think we ought to get paid for appearing on it here.

I will close by saying I hope we can beat this thing. I think it is a waste. I think we can do a better job without it. We can give our newspaper friends a better chance to report. There is nothing that will kill a newspaper faster than television.

I am going to have to leave the floor. I thank my friend for the questions and I assure him I shall support his efforts.

I thank the Chair for his courtesy.

CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll to ascertain the presence of a quorum. The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll and the following Senators entered the Chamber and answered to their names:

[Quorum No. 4 Leg.]

Armstrong	Goldwater	Warner
Baker	Long	
Burdick	Mathias	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A quorum is not present. The clerk will call the names of the absent Senators.

The bill clerk resumed the call of the roll and the following Senators entered the Chamber and answered to their names:

[Quorum No. 4 Leg.]

Abdnor	Gorton	Murkowski
Baucus	Grassley	Nickles
Bentsen	Hart	Nunn
Bradley	Hatfield	Pell
Bumpers	Hayakawa	Pressler
Byrd,	Helms	Proxmire
Harry F., Jr.	Hollings	Pryor
Byrd, Robert C.	Humphrey	Quayle
Cannon	Inouye	Randolph
Chafee	Jackson	Roth
Cochran	Johnston	Rudman
Cohen	Kassebaum	Sarbanes
D'Amato	Kasten	Sasser
Danforth	Kennedy	Schmitt
DeConcini	Laxalt	Simpson
Denton	Leahy	Stafford
Dixon	Levin	Stennis
Dodd	Lugar	Stevens
Dole	Matsunaga	Thurmond
Eagleton	Mattingly	Tower
East	McClure	Tsongas
Exon	Metzenbaum	Welcker
Ford	Mitchell	Zorinsky
Garn	Moynihan	

Mr. STEVENS. I announce that the Senator from North Dakota (Mr. ANDREWS), the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. BOSCHWITZ), the Senator from New Mexico (Mr. DOMENICI), the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. DURENBERGER), the Senator from Utah (Mr. HATCH), the Senator from Florida (Mrs. HAWKINS), the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. HEINZ), the Senator from Iowa (Mr. JEPSEN), the Senator from Oregon (Mr. PACKWOOD), the Senator from Illinois (Mr. PERCY), the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. SPECTER), the Senator from Idaho (Mr. SYMMS), and the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. WALLOP) are necessarily absent.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. I announce that the Senator from Delaware (Mr. BIDEN), the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. BOREN), the Senator from Florida (Mr. CHILES), the Senator from California (Mr. CRANSTON), the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. DODD), the Senator from Alabama (Mr. HEFLIN), the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. HUDDLESTON), the Senator from Montana (Mr. MELCHER), and the Senator from Michigan (Mr. RIEGLE) are necessarily absent.

I further announce that the Senator from Ohio (Mr. GLENN) is absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. WILLIAMS) is absent because of illness.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ARMSTRONG). A quorum is present.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time for morning business is closed.

TELEVISION AND RADIO COVERAGE OF SENATE PROCEEDINGS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland is recognized.

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. President, what is the pending business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will now resume consideration of the pending business, which the clerk will state.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 20) providing for television and radio coverage of proceedings of the Senate.

The Senate resumed consideration of the Senate resolution.

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. President, today we begin consideration of Senate Resolution 20, which was introduced by the distinguished Senator from Tennessee, the majority leader of the U.S. Senate, to provide for television and radio—not just television, but television and radio—coverage of the proceedings of the Senate. Our consideration of this measure is a historic first, the first full-scale debate on the floor of the U.S. Senate on proposed legislative action designed to open the Senate Chamber to the ears of radio—and my distinguished colleague from Kentucky, the ranking minority member of the Rules Committee, I believe, is strongly in favor of that aspect of this measure—and to both the eyes and the ears of television for more than a specific one-time-only occasion.

This day has been a long time in coming, but I think it is, in a way, the acknowledgment by the Senate that television does exist. It is a significant fact of life in America, and we have been a long time accepting it as a fact of life in the Senate.

The genesis of this development is probably that historic day in the 18th century when the Senate voted to establish public galleries. That is when it really all began. Later, as the Chamber was expanded, the galleries were expanded. A walk 100 feet down the main corridor of the Capitol to the old Senate Chamber will show how small the galleries were in those days. A limited number of visitors could be accommodated in comparison with the size of the galleries today. The inclusion of television cameras in this Chamber will really be just another expansion of the gallery, another expansion of the number of people who can do what the limited number of people who sit in the galleries today can already do. As technology advances, we are able, in effect, to expand the galleries through the electronic media. But until we throw that switch, that expansion bogs down.

In the midforties, Mr. President, an old friend and distinguished colleague and a long-time Member of the House, who has served in both bodies, CLAUDE

PEPPER, introduced during his Senate service the first resolution providing for broadcast coverage of floor proceedings. This was a forerunner of the many resolutions which subsequently have been directed toward the same goal—first for radio and then for both radio and television.

CLAUDE PEPPER today has made a strong reputation as one who advocates the rights of senior citizens.

But when he introduced this resolution, he was a young man, just 43 years old. I guess that is still classified as a young man.

Today, he is a senior citizen, one of the most respected senior citizens. He is no longer in his forties, not even in his fifties, not even in his sixties, not even in his seventies. He is 81 years old. Yet, we are just getting around to the floor consideration of a resolution which reflects his idea. It may say something about the Senate, the pace of the Senate, that this has taken us nearly 40 years.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question at that point?

Mr. MATHIAS. Surely, I am happy to yield.

Mr. LONG. Did it ever occur to my good friend, the distinguished chairman of the committee, that perhaps that demonstrates the wisdom of the Senate, that it has not acted favorably on that measure during this interim?

Mr. MATHIAS. I reflected on that a little, and it could be the wisdom of the Senate or, as my friend from Louisiana might consider, it is the timidity of the Senate.

Mr. LONG. Will the Senator yield further?

Mr. MATHIAS. I yield.

Mr. LONG. Does the Senator really think, then, that if they thought it was good for the country, if they felt that timid, they would withhold doing something that they thought was in the national interest?

Mr. MATHIAS. The Senator from Louisiana raises the question whether the Senate was so wise that it did not do that. I think it is an equally valid speculation that it was perhaps too timid, but either of us could be right or either of us could be wrong. That is one of the things we will determine during the course of the next week.

I hope the Senator from Louisiana will recall that the idea has not been lying dormant, totally dormant, during the past 37½ years. Things have been happening which would indicate that perhaps it is more timidity than wisdom.

In 1947, television cameras were permitted in the House Chamber for the one-shot coverage of the opening of the 80th Congress, and we had television cameras in the Senate recording the testimony of General Marshall before the Senate Foreign Relations

Committee on his great plan to reconstruct Europe, the plan which is recorded in history as the Marshall plan. We had that on television.

Since then, we have seen, among other things, the inauguration and successful continuation of gavel-to-gavel TV coverage of the proceedings of the House of Representatives.

In the Senate, we had cameras for the televising of the swearing-in ceremony for the Vice President of the United States, Nelson Rockefeller. We had the radio broadcast coverage of the Panama Canal debate.

Incidentally, I think that as a test case, that is a very interesting one, because people who commented to me on the Panama Canal debate said, "My, I didn't know you fellows knew as much as you did." They were pleasantly surprised that Members of the Senate could get on their feet and engage in colloquy, not something handed to them by their staff, but engage in colloquy back and forth among themselves, on a totally extemporaneous basis, and actually showed that they knew something. I think that, of course, is one of the tests.

Mr. LONG. Will the Senator yield for a question at that point?

Mr. MATHIAS. Surely, I yield.

Mr. LONG. Is the distinguished chairman aware of what in fact happened in the course of the Panama Canal debate. After the matter had been debated at great length here in this body, it was finally agreed by unanimous consent that we would vote at a given hour. When the hour came, with the entire Nation listening breathlessly to the radio so as to hear how the vote was going to go, a request was made to extend the time so Senators could make further speeches. At that point the Senator from Louisiana objected to extending the time?

The people had a right to hear the vote. They did not tune in to hear any more speeches. They had been hearing speeches for weeks. They wanted to hear the vote. So, we briefly extended the time and let Senators make still more speeches, when what the people really wanted to hear was a vote, and everybody agreed there was going to be a vote at that time.

Mr. MATHIAS. I do not think the people were too shocked by the fact that there was some additional word to be said. After all, the American people believe in joining associations and committees and commissions. Anybody who has ever served on a church board or a school board or a town council would be familiar with that particular syndrome. I think it would be reassuring to them to know the U.S. Senate is so human an institution.

Mr. LONG. May I ask a further question? Did it ever occur to the Senator that one reason Senators wanted to speak at that moment was that at

that point they knew radios would be tuned in all over America to hear the vote, and that would give them the largest audience to address? Perhaps that was the reason why Senators wanted to make further speeches at that time.

Mr. MATHIAS. The statistics overall do not support that conclusion. I think one of the interesting tests of this whole theory is the coverage of committee sessions. Almost every day, when Senate committees are in session, there is television coverage; cameras are in the committee rooms. They grind away. The lights are on. I do not find that it greatly alters the behavior of the committee members.

However, I will not belabor the point. I merely want to indicate that the issue before us is not novel. In one aspect or another, we deal with TV every day. I suspect that the basic arguments both for and against it are not novel, either.

Listen for a moment to these words:

Surely the people of this country are sovereign. Surely all of us regard ourselves as their spokesmen. We are all trying to serve their objectives and their purposes. If they could be brought, as it were, * * * as the visitors in the galleries are privileged to be, to be witnesses of the deliberations * * * in Congress. I believe it would be in furtherance of the Democratic process.

That kind of thing has been said in connection with Resolution 20. In fact, those were words spoken by Senator PEPPER in 1944. I must confess I think they have a good deal of validity and persuasiveness today, perhaps even more than when they were uttered in 1944, because they expressed then and they express now the fundamental concept behind broadcast coverage of our proceedings, and that is, in CLAUDE PEPPER's words, "furtherance of the democratic process." That is what it is all about. That is all we are trying to do.

I am sure we will hear during our debate on Senate Resolution 20 about technical aspects of televising the Senate, things such as whether or not the required lighting might be too bright, whether it is going to be too hot, questions as to whether cameras could follow a Senate debate in which, rare as it might be, every 1 of the 100 Members of the Senate would participate, speaking from their desks in different parts of the room, speaking extemporaneously without any prearranged sequence, without any pattern by which there would be a director.

I think that during the debate we will certainly hear about institutional aspects of the matter, whether broadcast coverage would affect quality of debate, and whether, as the Senator from Louisiana has suggested, it would affect the quantity of debate.

And I am sure that in the last analysis we will deal with the matter of cost. On the day the President's budget comes down it is appropriate

that we think about the question of cost. I know that this is a vital consideration for the majority leader, and I share his concern in that respect.

But each of these factors, the technical issues, the institutional issues, and the cost issue have been studied at great length.

Back in 1974 the Joint Committee on Congressional Operations held extensive hearings and concluded that Congress should conduct a carefully designed and limited test to determine the feasibility and desirability of a permanent system for broadcasting activities in the Senate and House Chambers.

In the other body, in the House of Representatives, this led to the televised proceedings with which we are all familiar. In the Senate it led to more tests and more studies, most of which have been conducted by, or in cooperation with, the Rules Committee.

Since the midseventies we have tested lighting, and we have observed televised proceedings in other legislative bodies in this country and around the world. We have had a chance to study approximately a dozen Senate resolutions calling for the broadcasting of floor activities, either specially selected activities or the floor proceedings in their entirety.

In two of these we acted favorably: As I mentioned, the swearing-in of Nelson Rockefeller as President of the Senate and Vice President of the United States, and the debate on the ratification of the treaty affecting the status of the Panama Canal.

Other resolutions, prior to the pending resolution, have expired without action.

For 3 days last year, the 8th and 9th of April and the 5th of May, the Rules Committee held hearings on Senate Resolution 20. Among those who testified were some of our colleagues in the Senate, Members of the other body, the Architect of the Capitol, the Senate Sergeant at Arms, the Librarian of Congress, professional staff from the Congressional Research Service, representatives of television networks and radio, and a number of interested parties. The final committee vote to report the resolution was unanimous.

So we come to the floor with a wealth of opinions and background information and statistical data and findings.

I certainly am the first to admit that this is a complex issue. It has many facets, and I shall just mention some of them very briefly. Of prime importance, as we begin our debate, is a clear understanding of what it is that television viewers will see if the Senate decides to televise its proceedings.

And I think it is fair to ask the question: Will it be entertainment? Or will it be news? Or will it be a report?

And if the Senator from Louisiana were to ask me which I think it will be of those possibilities, I would say none of them. What we will be making here is a record. It is a record of the proceedings of the U.S. Senate.

I hope it will be entertaining. I hope it will have news value. I hope that it will have some merit as a report. But basically it is a record. It is the record. And just as the printed RECORD was an innovation at one time in the legislative halls of the world and among parliamentary bodies of the world, this is embodying the technology of our day in a new media to make a record, and it is just as simple as that.

Let me explain exactly what I mean. When the House sessions first went on the air, there was a review in a newspaper called *Variety*. It is the show biz newspaper. And it headlined the House broadcasts as "Dullsville, D.C."

I must say to my colleagues that we must brace ourselves here in the Senate for a similar review. Inadvertently, perhaps, we may entertain at times, but it is not our prime purpose, nor is it the prime purpose of having the proceedings televised. Dullsville might be compared to Dallas or to General Hospital, but we should not lose sight of the fact that a televised Senate will not be competing for ratings, and Senators will not be, as far as I am concerned, eligible for Emmy's. Nor will it be a TV special. It will not be show business. Therefore, whether or not we are a theatrical hit is immaterial, and it is not something with which we should concern ourselves.

Furthermore, the televised proceedings in themselves will not be news, not news as defined by Webster, which is a report of recent events. It will be a record of the events themselves. So, therefore, while televised proceedings might provide material for a report of recent events, they are not the report itself. The reporting is handled very thoroughly by our friends in the news media galleries, and what we do here on the floor of the Senate is simply not news according to the Webster definition until someone extracts the salient points and puts them into context and makes a report on them.

To reiterate, televised proceedings are not entertainment. They are not news. They are not in themselves a report. They are simply an account of what we do as we do it, which can provide instruction for students, material for historians, and information for citizens.

Perhaps, some have argued, the intent of televising floor proceedings might not be to provide entertainment. But what about that bit of showmanship that dwells within us all, not least in the Senator from Louisiana and the Senator from West Virginia? And what about that bit of politician in all of us that responds to microphones and television cameras?

The question has been asked, Will speeches be more florid? Will they be more numerous? Will they be longer?

A man who has had practical experience with those questions is a Member of the other body, Representative CHARLIE ROSE, and I will let CHARLIE ROSE answer those questions by quoting from testimony that he gave to the Rules Committee. He said:

Somebody said to us when we started (preparing for the televising of House proceedings): Won't the House Members play to the gallery? Well, we went back and found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of many years ago where, when the Senate decided to admit the press and the public, the concern was expressed, over 100 years ago, that Senators would play to the gallery. Well, that has not occurred.

The Rules Committee examined this particular concern at great length and in great depth, particularly by studying the empirical evidence presented by legislatures which had adopted television, and here is what we found, as stated in our report:

The general opinion seemed to be that when the televising of legislative proceedings begins there is—

And I call the attention of the Senator from Louisiana to this—

an initial moderate upsurge in the number of speeches and jockeying for TV spots, desirable TV slots.

Soon the awareness and the attention to the new phenomenon subside, and again I particularly call the attention of the Senator from Louisiana to this fact, that after that, it is generally business as usual, at least to the extent that any changes are so minor that they are of little concern to the legislators.

There is also another answer to this question of showboating or grandstanding, call it what you will, and the majority leader expressed that answer in this way. He said:

I heard somebody say one time that in politics, especially statewide or national politics, TV can spot a phony a mile away.

And that is true. Actually, in the Rules Committee we found from testimony presented at hearings that since the advent of television in the House of Representatives, the speeches there have seemed to be more precise and less flamboyant and all-round better and, as the Senator from Louisiana will remember from our colloquy the other day, we actually showed the figures—and they are part of the RECORD—that the hours of the House of Representatives in session have decreased—not increased but decreased—since television was installed in that Chamber.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point?

Mr. MATHIAS. Surely.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ABDNOR). The Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. LONG. May I say to the Senator—and I do not wish to trespass on

his time at this moment—I just wish to make the point that we will respond to that, those of us who take the other side of the argument. It is our view that this same study would prove our point rather than the Senator's point, but I will wait. I would be happy to hear his presentation in full, and in due course I will respond to it. But I have had the opportunity to see those figures, and I challenge the conclusion the Senator draws from them. But I applaud the Senator's right to make his case, and in due course I hope the Senator will be present to hear me respond to it.

Mr. MATHIAS. I shall wait with great interest the Senator's being able to draw any other conclusion from those figures than that television has not inspired long-winded attempts to gain the attention of that magic eye.

Mr. LONG. I believe I have a good response to it, Senator. But to be fair to the Senator and to the Senator from Louisiana as well, I personally do not think it is a good idea to try to prove my point on the other Senator's time. It is better for him to make his point and support it, and in due course I will respond to it, and I will in due course undertake to show that I believe the same study would prove my point rather than his.

I thank the Senator.

Mr. MATHIAS. Let us turn to another problem area which does not have to do with people jockeying to get on, but what about those times when there are not enough Senators on the floor, and the fear that, just as at this very moment, there would be more chairs empty than filled and whether that lamentable condition would be shown on television. What about that?

Well, the shots, the television shots, can be so designed that the empty chairs do not show. But maybe another possibility, and one that I do not reject out of hand, is that we show the world what we are as we really are. People who view this scene right now at this moment see us as we are. What is wrong with the rest of the world seeing us as we are? Instead of taking this as a disadvantage, we could seize it as an opportunity to educate viewers on the importance of other things that Senators do besides attending on the floor of the Senate?

I think, perhaps, there is too widespread a view that Members of the Senate drift down midmornings, perhaps closer to noon when the Senate usually convenes; they enjoy a good lunch at taxpayers' expense—which, as the Senator from Louisiana knows, is far from the truth and totally wrong; that then we drift onto the floor and we utter a few rhetorical phrases, and then we go off to dinner at some foreign embassy around town. That is the kind of view that I am

afraid too many Americans have of the Senate day.

Well, if, in fact, we get this realism of television into this Chamber, we can begin to educate the public that when Members are not here, they are probably in a committee or they are meeting with constituents in their offices or they are handling the voluminous paperwork that goes with every Senate day and, I think, perhaps, give to the public a sense of the importance of the committee process, the importance of the work that Senators do away from the floor.

I think a similar process of education could be used to acquaint viewers with perplexing parliamentary procedures which serve to guarantee the rights of individual Senators, the unusual position of the U.S. Senate which is unique in the world, where a U.S. Senator has powers that are unknown in any other parliamentary body.

We have the ability, for example, to engage in debate as long as we have the life and the breath to defend the interests of our constituents and the principles to which we adhere.

We have the ability to introduce amendments on any measure, on any subject, an unusual ability which is not reflected in other parliamentary bodies.

We share with the President of the United States the power of making appointments to the Cabinet and to the courts, to ambassadorial posts, to other high office in this Republic, and very often that power of appointment is the subject of debate here.

We share with the President of the United States the power of formulating the foreign policy of this country, an unusual exercise of parliamentary authority, that is frequently the subject of discussion here on the floor of the Senate.

So I think this would be an opportunity for education about the work of the Senate, and I do not fear the fact that it may occasionally disclose that not every Member of the Senate is present on the floor for every minute of every day that the Senate is in session. I do not think we have to go into the mechanics of these educational projects at this time, but I just want to mention them to indicate that empty chairs and the complicated parliamentary procedures are not insurmountable obstacles.

Now, there have been objections on the part of certain people who are bothered by the possible inconsistencies between the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and the Senate Journal with what is preserved on the video tapes. They are bothered by the problems that may occur in reconciling the RECORD and the video tapes. But I think, here again, it helps to remember that televising is only intended to transmit what any visitor in the gal-

lery—now, tonight, tomorrow—can observe, complete with grammatical errors, with extraneous matter, and with other materials which sometimes damage clarity and precision.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MATHIAS. If the Senator will just withhold for a moment—

Mr. RANDOLPH. Yes.

Mr. MATHIAS. The video tape is a rough copy—it is not the certified and official document—just as we may have a rough copy of a speech or a book. The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and the Senate Journal are the final products.

And it simply is an extension of what the visitors to the gallery see every day. They may hear what the Senator from West Virginia has said, and when they read his remarks, there may be a word or a phrase slightly different.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Will my able colleague from Maryland yield?

Mr. MATHIAS. I am happy to yield.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, as my two colleagues who are now on the floor (Mr. LONG and Mr. MATHIAS), along with the Presiding Officer (Mr. ABNOR), we gather to discuss the televising of the Senate.

Mr. MATHIAS. As the Senator from West Virginia knows, we are told on good authority that when two or three are gathered together—

Mr. RANDOLPH. There will be the Democrats. That is a modification of the Bible. I hope I am not upsetting the Senator by using our party.

Mr. MATHIAS. That was not what I had in mind, but I will accept that. I thought that the Senator, with his interest in religious matters, would recognize that as a call from a higher authority, even than the Democratic Party.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, I hope that I may be permitted to step back across the years and recall that in 1930 I was first a candidate for membership in the Congress for the seat in the House of Representatives from the Second District of West Virginia.

Incidentally, in 1930, I won the nomination but lost the election.

Mr. MATHIAS. And the country lost an opportunity.

Mr. RANDOLPH. I did run again in 1932, as you know, and was privileged to come to the House of Representatives in the year that matchless maker of leadership, Franklin Roosevelt entered the White House. He held within the destiny of our country those programs which proved themselves then and now. These programs proved to be the infrastructure of our Republic.

Now, to go back to 1930, I was speaking in the community of Paw Paw. Paw Paw is located in Morgan County in the eastern panhandle of our State. Berkeley Springs is its county seat.

Mr. MATHIAS. Paw Paw is also, if the Senator will not mind the interruption, one of the most beautiful spots in America. I would urge everyone who has not been there to go and see the Paw Paw tunnel and the gorge that leads to it.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Yes, Paw Paw is an interesting place with, of course, very industrious people.

But I was speaking that night in a county that was heavily Democratic, once in a while, but the once in a while were so seldom that you could not realize that we had many of our party there, certainly not on election day. But the registered majority was very heavily Republican. I was speaking and I thought I had hit a high note, or at least said something that might appeal to the people. Perhaps the 100 who were present. As I did that, the lights went out. I stood in complete darkness on the platform.

The Senator has mentioned religious matters. I did know many, many hymns then, as I do now. There is a hymn that says: "Let the lower lights be burning, send a gleam across the way, some poor fainting, struggling seaman I must rescue, I must save."

I paraphrased it by saying: "Let the lower lights be burning, send a gleam across the way, some poor fainting, struggling Republican, I must rescue, I must save."

The lights went up. They felt sorry for me, perhaps, those that had turned the lights out, and gave us light once again.

But, to come back to the point that Senator MATHIAS is making. I listened very intently to what my colleague from across the Potomac River has said on these matters. The Mathias family is very closely a part of the State of West Virginia and his interests are there as well as in Maryland itself.

But he indicated that those in the galleries see the Senate at work. I only want to comment that later I will be talking about an amendment that I shall offer. The amendment will require Members to vote from their desks and not vote from just any place in this Chamber, calling out their vote in the midst of an uproar. Our proposal will allow the clerks to hear that vote clearly. I speak fondly of all Members of the body. I respect their judgment and their conscience, but I do not always approve of their conduct in the body itself. And yet I hesitate when I rise and call attention to the Presiding Officer's need to restore order in the Senate. Because in the well of the Senate many times Members are congregated as if they were playing ice hockey or soccer or whatever you might want to call it. It is not the well of the House in the sense that we think of it as it is today, calm and empty. Today the three of us who are

here, are conducting business at our desks. The public does not see a jungle in the U.S. Senate as we oftentimes have as we cast our votes.

I wonder if it would not be much better than to think in terms of televising the Senate, that to first of all make certain other modifications in the Standing Rules of the Senate. I think definitely improvements, which would come if Senators would, of necessity, because of the rule change that I hope will be accepted, vote from their desks, rather than to vote as they roam around this Chamber.

I hesitate to say this, because my colleagues know that it is not personal in this reference, but oftentimes a Senator will move in from the cloakroom and barely have his head showing and he will say "yea" or "nay", as if he were voting in this Chamber. He is not at his desk. This Chamber should be a place where Members discipline themselves and give to those that are in the galleries, our guests, the courtesy of decorum in the Chamber. Hopefully there will be some modification of the resolution which finally is passed that will enable those watching on television or in the galleries the opportunity to see the Member voting from his desk and, very frankly, speaking from his desk. The latter is not a part of the amendment which will be under consideration at a later time, but it is a good idea.

I asked the able majority leader, Mr. BAKER, a few days ago if he did not feel that there are possibly changes in the rules that would improve this body. I vividly recall the period several years ago when we had a Senate committee to look into these matters. They met under the chairmanship of an excellent man from Iowa, Senator Harold Hughes. I testified there about possible rules changes as others testified. The years go by, and we still have not taken the action that I think is an affirmative action to improve the operation of the Senate.

Would the Senator from Maryland comment on this suggestion that I am making, which is, in a sense, the changing of the rules of the Senate as is proposed? Certainly the learned, knowledgeable Senator from Louisiana, Mr. Long who is here constantly on this subject, well knows it is a fact that whatever we are doing here, in one way or another, is changing the rules of the Senate.

Mr. MATHIAS. I am happy to respond to the Senator from West Virginia and comment briefly, because I know this is a matter in which he has taken a serious and a long-term interest. I am aware that he has discussed it with the majority leader, and he proposes to offer an amendment to this resolution at some proper point in the proceedings.

I will listen very carefully to the debate on that amendment.

Certainly, with the confusion which takes place during a rollcall vote, and particularly on which is a cliffhanger, and the milling around that goes on in the well of the Senate, the termination of that scene is a consummation devoutly to be desired. If this resolution might be the vehicle by which that could be brought about, it would just be one additional benefit the Senate would receive from it.

I think we could talk a little bit about how that would be possible and whether, in the situation under which we are laboring, it could be done. Personally, I have great sympathy for the position of the Senator from West Virginia, and we will discuss this a little further as we get on with this discussion.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Would I interfere with the continuity of the Senator's remarks or appeal if I spoke a little more on a subject related to that? I could withhold any further comment if the Senator would prefer me to do so.

Mr. MATHIAS. If the Senator would withhold, I will advise him that the majority leader also wants to present his statement on this matter.

If I may conclude my remarks at this time, I could then yield briefly to the Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. RANDOLPH. I thank the Senator.

Mr. MATHIAS. The question arises as to the control of the operation of Senate television. That is a crucial question. The operation of Senate television, if it is approved, in my opinion should be kept in the hands of the Senate itself, just as in the other body the House conducts its own television operation. We have to keep in mind again that we are attempting merely to make available to an expanded gallery, a greatly expanded gallery, an opportunity to observe our legislative activities. This would not necessarily include dramatic reaction shots.

If the Senator from West Virginia makes a telling and eloquent statement, as he frequently does, the camera is reporting his statement and not necessarily the reaction of the Members or the gallery to what he is saying.

To guard against Senate activities becoming, on occasion, the type of show business that we have discussed here, control should be in our own hands.

Another question that arises is whether it should be gavel-to-gavel coverage or whether it should be something less. That is a question that has often been asked.

Historians choose gavel to gavel coverage, and so do the television network representatives when they are given a choice between gavel-to-gavel and mere segments.

Mr. LONG. Will the Senator yield at that point, Mr. President?

Mr. MATHIAS. Yes.

Mr. LONG. If this Senator were being shown on commercial television, can the Senator imagine how it would be covered? After all, those who are doing it must try to hold their audience if they can, during such a lull as a quorum call. The producer of the show and the people who are announcing and adding the so-called color would discuss what is going on among themselves, what is likely to happen in the future, even run some commercial television ads, and, in due course, come back to what was happening after the quorum call was behind us?

Can the Senator show me any good reason whatever for presenting by satellite or any other way a situation where we are merely calling the roll, merely passing some time waiting for a Senator to come to the floor? Would it not make better sense that even if the Senate were to be on television that during such time as that you would show something else, show what was going on, on the House floor, to do anything rather than just show somebody something as dull as dust, or duller than dust, such as a quorum call where all you are doing is waiting for somebody to appear on the scene and make his speech?

Can the Senator tell me the purpose of presenting a quorum call where there are very few Senators present, and someone drifts in and someone drifts out? Can the Senator tell me the purpose of putting that on live television?

Mr. MATHIAS. Let me ask the Senator from Louisiana a question in response. Does he think we ought to empty the gallery every time there is a call for a quorum, to chase people out of the gallery because they would not be interested in that? As a matter of fact, perhaps some people do leave the gallery, but they do it voluntarily. With television, they flick that switch. That is like getting up and leaving the gallery. If, in fact, they have some interest in it, they can watch it. It is the record, and if the record is to be complete, let them see the complete record.

The decision to discard gavel-to-gavel coverage and to concentrate just on major newsworthy events presents its own problems.

I do not make light of the concern of the Senator from Louisiana about the fact that that would not be interesting. But if we say, "We are only going to televise the interesting things," the question is, "Interesting to whom?"

What is interesting to the Senator from Maryland may not be interesting to the Senator from Texas. The Senator from Louisiana and the Senator from West Virginia may find some things more interesting than others. So it becomes a very subjective question, interesting to whom?

Mr. LONG. May I ask a further question?

Mr. MATHIAS. Yes.

Mr. LONG. If the taxpayers are going to pay for it and you have something that is interesting to, let us say, at least 200 people out of 1,000, and what you are showing here is interesting to less than 1 person in 1,000, would it not make more sense to put on something interesting to 200 people rather than something that is interesting to 1 person?

Mr. MATHIAS. Now the Senator is asking a question which, if he will bear with me, we will get to in later discussion.

I might say that in the language of lighting experts, expert opinions are available concerning the heat and glare which would be generated by the lighting necessary to permit television cameras to record the activities in the Chamber. Suffice it to say that we have been told that quality pictures can be produced without inflicting either high temperatures or disturbing, bright light on our Members.

Now, as I promised the Senator from Louisiana, we come to the cost, which is one of the most significant aspects we have to consider.

The Architect of the Capitol has estimated that the total cost for lights, eight cameras, cable, and control room equipment would be about \$3.5 million. Installation would be performed by the Architect's staff and employees of the Senate Recording Studio, and would be charged to current salary accounts.

According to our estimates, equivalent costs for a five-camera installation would approximate \$2.5 million.

We have had some further estimates which would revise those figures downward because of developments in the industry, but these were the estimates provided.

The Architect has also recommended the enhancement or replacement of the existing audio system at a cost of \$116,000. Perhaps we would have a more convenient method than the microphones presently in use.

Annual operating costs would be about \$300,000 a year. Video and archival service by the Library of Congress would be about \$93,000 a year.

Spare parts and maintenance labor would be about \$200,000 a year. That is one side of the scale.

On the other side of the scale, we have what can best be summed up by the words that I quoted from my friend, CLAUDE PEPPER, at the beginning of these remarks, we have the furtherance of the democratic process. This concept has been described in various ways.

Mr. President, let me comment that, in response to the interest of the Senator from Louisiana in the economics of this, when we talk about the cost of television with the costs that I have

just been stating, we are talking about only one-fifth, about only 20 percent, of the current cost for Senators' newsletters, which is another way of expanding our communication. Newsletters cost five times what the television system we are considering would cost. Television costs are a lot less than the postal rate we are discussing now in the Rules Committee. And newsletters, meritorious as they may be, entertaining as they may be, informative as they may be, are not a record.

What we are trying to do has been expressed by the majority leader, who said that a democracy thrives on support and public support thrives on open government.

Carl Bernstein, testifying before the Rules Committee as a representative of ABC News' Washington Bureau, noted that the adoption of Senate Resolution 20 would assure greater understanding of the legislative process, illuminate the great issues, and clarify the deliberations which affect the lives of all Americans.

Mr. President, I think we have to ask ourselves, is this kind of furtherance of the democratic process worth the price? Even in these days of austere budgets and belt-tightening, I personally think that it is. In fact, the dictates of economy themselves demand that we make it possible for the citizens of the Nation to understand more fully and, through their communications, to participate more actively in the momentous decisions which will affect their lives and their pocketbooks. Not all of our citizens can afford to come to Washington to observe this body in action but, as the distinguished majority leader has said, through radio and television coverage, virtually everyone could make the electronic journey that would give them a window on the Senate floor.

When we are talking, as we do these days, in terms of budgets and deficits amounting to many billions of dollars, the expenditures that I have mentioned to let our citizens know how we are dealing with foreign affairs and domestic issues and defense and the economy would, I think, be money well spent.

Another positive consequence of broadcasting our Senate floor proceedings could be the wide availability throughout the country of the complete spoken activities of each daily session of the Senate. As all of us are keenly aware, printing and publishing costs have skyrocketed. Individuals now find prohibitive the cost of a subscription to the daily issues of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. We have cut back on free distribution of the RECORD to depository libraries and other public service institutions. A move that we can make to compensate for this decreased communication, this decreased reporting to the country, would be broadcasting our floor pro-

ceedings, which would enable many more Americans to become better informed about the crucial work of the U.S. Senate without incurring the cost of a subscription to the RECORD.

Mr. President, what I have said has been mainly about television, but many of my remarks pertain to both radio and television. However, it has been proposed, and my dear friend from Kentucky, in particular, has sponsored the concept, that we limit the broadcast coverage of proceedings to radio alone. So, I would like to comment on this particular aspect of the question.

During the debate on the ratification of the Panama Treaty, radio did prove itself, if that were necessary. We know what it can do, and with the passage of Senate Resolution 20, we shall welcome it as part of the team which is composed of both radio and television. However, to limit the coverage to radio alone would impose unnecessary restrictions on our attempt to further the democratic process. With its limited amount of available time each day and its already committed number of channels, radio could hardly be expected to provide gavel-to-gavel coverage. The result would be limited coverage which, by its very nature, would exclude important segments of the floor proceedings and present a spotty record of our decisionmaking process.

Furthermore, the prospect of limited coverage again brings up the question of who is to determine what is used and what is omitted. That, God forbid, could become a nasty, partisan issue, deciding whether the subjects that were embarrassing to one party would be broadcast at the behest of the other party and vice versa. That is not the kind of spirit in which we want to see the proceeding in the Senate conducted.

One point more, Mr. President. Although radio and television are both electronic media, I think every Member of the Senate is sophisticated enough in communications to know that they have very different audiences, and different audiences, in particular, at different times of the day. Since our purpose is to present a record of what we are doing to those who are entitled to know, it would seem that we should direct our efforts toward the larger rather than toward the smaller audiences. It is obvious that very few people will be watching television while they are commuting in their automobiles. Those people can be reached by radio. But there will also be people at home who will be watching by television. So we are using the miracles of modern communication to present the best record that we are capable of presenting, and the public can take it in the form in which it is prepared to receive it.

Before I conclude, Mr. President, I should note that, as stated in the report of the Rules Committee, televising the floor proceedings of the Senate will require no change in the Standing Rules of the Senate. Detailed procedures for camera operation and for direction will be needed. These, in accordance with the will of the Senate, can either be hammered out by the full Senate or they could be delegated to the joint leadership, or they could be delegated to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

I have no personal feeling on that score. I think a normal repository would be the Rules Committee. But it does not have to be, and I am certainly open to discussion on that issue.

The regulations should insure that the television record faithfully covers the debate as recognized by the Presiding Officer of the Senate and that it avoids all extraneous activity.

For years, Mr. President, we have watched a succession of Presidents use television as the "bully-est" pulpit in our history to convey their views, to advise of their programs, to enhance the perception of the executive branch of Government.

That is one of the reasons why the Office of the President has become such a predominant feature of the U.S. Government in modern times. That is one reason why the executive branch looms larger than the legislative and judicial branches in the perception of the public as it looks toward Washington and looks toward the Federal Government.

A degree of response is now provided by the televised sessions in the other body. The House of Representatives now has a presence, where before there was an absence. But the voice of the Senate, to a large extent, has been confined to these four walls, to the range of our voice.

So it is time that the bully pulpit in the White House be supplemented with an equally strong voice from Capitol Hill and that the democratic process of participatory government be extended by the Senate in the same way it already has been extended by the White House through the miracle of electronic communication, the same way it already has been extended by our colleagues in the other body through the miracle of electronic communication. We can accomplish this historic feat by adopting Senate Resolution 20.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question at that point?

Mr. MATHIAS. I am happy to yield.

Mr. LONG. Does my very dear friend honestly think that if we were to extend the platform or the podium of the Senate to the public across the country the same way the President has it, or similar to that degree, Senators would not make more speeches in

this body? Does he really think Senators would remain in their seats when they could make a speech on that subject and have general approval of that speech, even though it might not be necessary to change some votes because the matter might be agreed on? Does the Senator think Senators would remain silent to the extent they do now? Does the Senator regard it as a bully pulpit?

Mr. MATHIAS. That is what Theodore Roosevelt called it. He said the White House is a bully pulpit.

Mr. LONG. Does the Senator really think that if Senators had this kind of bully pulpit available to them, they would not make more speeches?

Mr. MATHIAS. Does the Senator think the country would be worse off or better off if Senators did make good speeches that explained issues, that educated the public, that helped the public to understand the terrible dilemma of our times?

Mr. LONG. Is the Senator inviting me to answer the question?

Mr. MATHIAS. Yes.

Mr. LONG. In my judgment, Senators make at least twice too many speeches the way it is now, and their speeches are too long.

Mr. MATHIAS. Maybe what the Senator is saying is that they are making too many speeches that are not of the quality that commands the interest of the country. This is exactly what the majority leader has said he thinks television will do. It will stimulate the interest of Senators in making better speeches and shorter speeches, better constructed speeches, more succinct speeches. That, in fact, is the record of experience of other legislative bodies.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, may I address myself further to the Senator?

I simply say to the Senator that my love for the Senator from Maryland (Mr. MATHIAS) is so great that I would not want to prove him wrong on this on his time. Therefore, I will not attempt to prove him wrong on his time. But in due course, Mr. President, I will respond and attempt to show the other side of the argument.

Regardless of the outcome, Mr. President, my admiration and fond affection for the Senator from Maryland will not be diminished. All of us are entitled to be in error from time to time. Even the Senator from Louisiana is entitled to be in error from time to time. I do not claim to be right on all occasions. All of us in this body from time to time are in error.

One great thing about the Senate which I would like to preserve, and I hope the Senator will share this belief with me, is that the Senate must be preserved as a body where a minority, be it wrong or be it right, has the opportunity to make its case. Only the merciful Almighty is in a position to know at the beginning of a debate on a

crucial issue who is right and who is wrong.

Mr. MATHIAS. I say to the Senator from Louisiana that I concur wholeheartedly that the Senate must be a place where a minority always has an opportunity to make its case. I suggest that Senate Resolution 20 would make it possible for a minority to make its case before a wider audience than has ever been possible in the past, and that that could enhance the right of a minority to reach the public, to remind the public of facts that may not otherwise come to the public's attention.

However, I take this opportunity to thank the Senator from Louisiana for his personal observations. They are generous to the point of being charitable. They are much appreciated.

Although the Senator from Louisiana has modestly said he is subject to error, as are the rest of us, I have found over the years that he has not used the privilege of being wrong too lavishly, and his advice and counsel very often are right. Although I may think he is wrong on this occasion, it is one of the rare times in the years we have served together that I have so felt. However this is resolved, I think we are both approaching this with the interest of the Senate as an institution in our hearts and in our minds, and that what we want to bring out of this debate, regardless of the fate of Senate Resolution 20, is a better sense of the way in which the U.S. Senate can employ its talents—I am not ashamed to say that there are talents here; I think that there are very great talents in the Senate—how the Senate can employ its talents to promote the great interests of the Republic that we all serve.

That is the end we seek. It is not any narrow advantage or any kind of personal victory that either of us wants. We want to see the Senate continue as a great institution, a unique institution, one that is not paralleled anywhere in the world either in the power of individual Members or in its power as a legislative body. Certainly, neither of us wants to see any action taken which will diminish in any sense the luster of the years, but what we are trying to do is make sure that that luster is transmitted to the future in a way which is consistent with the changes that have occurred in life, with the technological advances that have altered the lives of ordinary Americans, and to try to make the Senate consistent with that different kind of life that Americans lead, a life very different from the lives of Americans who originally erected the Senate and gave it its first mandate.

But the Senator from Louisiana and I share only that goal and how we reach it is, of course, the question that lies before us.

I look forward to further discussion with him during the course of these proceedings.

Mr. QUAYLE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MATHIAS. I yield.

Mr. QUAYLE. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished chairman for yielding at this point.

Mr. President, I first commend the Senator from Maryland for his leadership on this issue. He has been out front and he has been a very articulate spokesman in trying to open up the proceedings in the Senate.

I also pay my respect to and commend the majority leader, Senator BAKER, for his leadership in this effort.

If it had not been for Senator BAKER and Senator MATHIAS, we would not be here today. I think both of these distinguished gentlemen deserve the praise of those of us who are going to sponsor Senate Resolution 20.

Mr. President, I favor Senate Resolution 20, providing for television and radio coverage of the proceedings in the Senate. This resolution has my full support because I believe it is time to bring the U.S. Senate into the 20th century and into the electronic age.

A resolution to open the doors of the Senate to the public was first adopted nearly 190 years ago, on February 20, 1794, in the first session of the Third Congress of the United States. The debate then was much as it is now: Those opposed to admitting the public feared a loss of decorum and free-spirited debate; those seeking to open our doors demanded greater accountability of the Senators to the people who elected them.

Mr. President, I wish each of my colleagues would sit down to read the journal of that early Senate. The debate on admitting the public focused on whether the Senators were responsible to their constituents for their conduct. The complaint was made that accounts of the Senate provided in newspapers and journals of the day were not adequate for a fully informed democracy. Charges of excesses of power and poor conduct in office were as much a subject of debate then, in that 3d Congress, as now in the 97th Congress.

In 1794 the Senate did open up its doors to the public. The argument that greater confidence would be placed in our Government by our fellow citizens carried the day, as it should now.

Today, in 1982, these same concerns for good government, open and free-spirited debate, and confidence by the people in their Government compel me to support this resolution to allow television and radio coverage of the Senate.

Some argue that intrusion of the public into the Senate through the eyes of television will harm the unique

character of this body. If the eyes of the public will upset a representative body of the people, then we are in serious trouble already.

Others say that introduction of television will lead to more, longer, and less relevant speeches. The evidence is to the contrary. The report of the Committee on Rules and Administration indicates that rather, after the initial awareness and attention subsides, it is back to business as usual. The institution of the Senate will be better for this change.

The report of the Committee on Rules and Administration goes on to find no legal difficulties encountered by other legislatures that are now televised. The technical issues—lighting, cameras, and length of coverage—can be resolved without disturbing our work here. The rules and procedures of the Senate need not be changed.

As to the cost, the benefits far outweigh the dollars. Who in this body can say that those same benefits found by the Senators who first opened our doors in 1794, will not also come now?

Mr. President, I come from the House of Representatives where I spent 4 years and that debate was much like the debate going on today.

Let the record show that, in fact, the proceedings of the House of Representatives have not been prolonged, and the proceedings there are now much more informative to the people of this country. We have sophisticated technology that can bring us into the homes of the American people. I say it is simply time that the Senate follows suit and that the Senate enters the modern age. This is an electronics age, and although I come from a print background and support some of the perceptions of those in the print media, I am a realist who knows what is, in fact, ahead of us.

I participated in these same debates as a Member of the House of Representatives in 1977. Fears over the legal difficulties, technical issues, changes in the rules, and the dollar cost were all expressed then. But I supported coverage of the House then, and I believe it has proved a success. Most importantly, the fear of incessant debate staged for the cameras has also been put to rest. I said then that the House of Representatives must enter the electronics age. Now the time has come for the Senate.

Mr. President, the benefits of a more fully informed public, and the greater confidence in our Government which will come with it, demand that this resolution be passed.

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Indiana for his support of the resolution as well as for his very kind personal references.

I think what he says has particular probative value because he has labored under television in the other

body, and he knows exactly what the effect of having the eye of the camera on a legislative body is, and so when he comes to support this resolution, he does not come as an advocate of a theoretical matter but he comes because he has had the experience of knowing exactly what he is talking about, as, I might say, he usually does. So we thank the Senator.

What he said brings to mind a letter that I received after the hearings of the Rules Committee from a gentleman named Howard McLean of Roswell, Ga., and Mr. McLean, in commenting on the statement of a critic of television in the Senate, said:

I do not believe he understands who may be interested, and he appears to be under the impression that the people who may be interested have such a low level of intelligence that we would not understand.

If he would take the time to listen to the call-in segments on House programs, I believe he might be amazed at the wide interests and the degree of intelligence of the American public who are sincerely interested in what their elected officials are doing and how they are performing in the interest of the country as a whole.

I believe that that letter from Mr. McLean ties in very appropriately with the statement that has just been made by the Senator from Indiana.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, I see that the distinguished and beloved chairman of the Rules Committee is in the Chamber as he always is diligent in a matter of this consequence before the Senate. I wonder if I could resume some of the colloquy we had last week on the question of the changes that inevitably will take place when we bring television to the Senate.

Perhaps it would be useful at this point for me to say that I fully expect that we will do so under circumstances through which I will be more than happy to support the measure. But it is not a simple decision. Many things will change, and many of the changes are those which we could not now anticipate, some which we may regret, and some with which we will be very happy.

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. President, if the Senator will let me observe, many things in life have changed. The very existence of television has made enormous changes in American life, and I do not think we can ignore the fact they have already altered the procedures of the Senate, they have already

altered the public perception of the Senate.

What this resolution hopes to do is, in a more deliberate and conscious way, to harness the potential values of these changes for the benefit of the Senate and of the country.

(Mr. D'AMATO assumed the chair.)

Mr. MOYNIHAN. I could not conceive of the Senator from Maryland having any other intention. But I wonder if I am wrong in feeling that we have not heard as much as we would be wont to do about the terms, the arrangements, that would accompany the televising of the proceedings.

Let me just put to the chairman a few questions and a few issues to which, perhaps, he would like to respond. I know he has many more than just these few in his mind.

Is it his thought that we were going to be televised from gavel to gavel, as the phrase goes, from the beginning of our session to the end each day or is it the thought that the leaders might agree on debates of special interest that would occasion television?

Mr. MATHIAS. As a preamble to answering the Senator's question, let me say, as a general proposition, that the system would operate in accordance with the will of the Senate, and I think the Senate itself has got to make a basic determination of what it will do.

My own personal recommendation will be that it should be gavel-to-gavel coverage because I think if you do less than that, you raise the invidious question, which the Senator from Louisiana and I discussed briefly a few minutes ago, of who decides what is an interesting debate.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Yes, I think that—

Mr. MATHIAS. That could have personal consequences, and it could have partisan consequences, both of which I would hope to avoid.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. It seems to me that is a prudent judgment. In particular, if the Senate is to decide, and inasmuch as the Senate does decide by majority, there is always the question of the right of the minority. No institution in Government that I know of is more solicitous of those minority rights and the deeply constitutional role of the Senate.

Even so in the end the majorities, if they are sufficient, do prevail, and if you can avoid, in a sense, the minority which has been unfairly treated by decisions to televise or not to televise, it seems to me that is prudent and wise.

Do I take it from the chairman's remarks that when he says the Senate would have to decide, that the issue has come up about whether the specific arrangements are going to be set initially in the Committee on Rules, or whether it would be his judgment that the whole body deliberate, perhaps, a set of proposals that could be drawn

up, but the initial decision is to be made on the floor rather than in committee?

Mr. MATHIAS. The resolution provides this would be a matter delegated to the Rules Committee.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Yes.

Mr. MATHIAS. I have no strong feeling about that personally. If the Senate would wish to take the time to draw up, as a part of the resolution, the detailed operational instructions, that would be one way of doing it. An alternative would be to confine this responsibility to the joint leadership. There are several alternative ways in which it could be done, or perhaps we could have some guidelines.

Since the members of the joint leadership are at the present time, and under most conditions, also members of the Rules Committee, some kind of arrangement of that sort—

Mr. MOYNIHAN. So I take it—

Mr. MATHIAS. That is not fixed in concrete.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. So I take it the distinguished chairman's response to me is that he is open to proposals in this matter, and that, as he says, the provisions in the resolution are not fixed in concrete. If a sufficient interest is shown on the floor to have these initial determinations made in some larger context, perhaps the leadership—but I think my choice would be for the Senate itself to debate and consider a proposal presented to it by the leadership, and that might be such an arrangement.

But may I alert him to the fact that there is some concern that this large a change not be agreed to save by the Senate as a whole. I do not expect that to be a judgment other than my own, but I have heard it from others, and I think the chairman has heard it and he is aware of it.

Mr. MATHIAS. Well, that reflects an old bit of folk wisdom of the American people not to buy a pig in a poke. You want to know what you are going to get, and I think that is an understandable caution, and I share it.

I would much rather devote an extra day or longer to this discussion than to have the Senate take action and then decide we had in some way been flawed in our consideration of it. In fact, as the Senator from New York, with his long experience in government at every level, knows, a lot of the ills of our times proceed from imperfect consideration of measures right here in the Congress.

Many of the sins that are attributed to the Supreme Court could have been avoided if Congress had been more careful in choosing the words of statutes which the Court finally had to interpret as it thought Congress intended.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. The Spanish have the saying "Prisa lenta," which translates "hurry slowly," and I think the

chairman shows just the attitude I would expect him to take from this.

May I ask him one final question on this occasion? As he knows, it is the feeling of many—I will not say all, but many—persons who are professional television producers, journalists who work in that profession, and in the commercial networks as well as—the privately owned as well as—the publicly owned, that they would hope to see the cameras controlled by the camera crews; in other words, that persons from—there is no secret about this—NBC, ABC, CBS, PBS, have cameras in the gallery that they would operate just as they do on Meet the Press or Face the Nation, as they do outside when we go out to visit them there.

What is the chairman's view on that, because there is certainly much to be said for it? It leaves the gentlemen and ladies of the press in the press gallery free to attend to whatever speakers they find interesting and to show a certain amount—and do other things when their attention is not immediately galvanized. How does the chairman feel at this point on this subject?

Mr. MATHIAS. At this point, I would feel that the Senate should operate the system and not the commercial network cameras.

I would, at the risk of repeating myself, say that the reason I think that this should be done is because what we are really attempting to do is produce a record. We are not an entertainment show. If you are looking for entertainment, it might well be that there would be a temptation to shift from the fascinating speech on taxation that the Senator from Louisiana was offering the Senate to another Member who may be making a wry face—

Mr. FORD. Or sleeping.

Mr. MATHIAS. Or having a pixie expression that the cameramen found intriguing, or there have even been suggestions, word bandying around the floor here, that Members who were in deep reflection appeared to be asleep. I am sure that is not the case. But those are the kinds of entertainment values that a commercial television station might seek.

We see it all the time. If you look at any one of the talk shows, very often the camera moves away from the speaker and moves to the audience reaction. Well, it is not audience reaction we are interested in. We are interested in a record of what is being said.

Mr. LONG. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. MOYNIHAN. May I just clarify this, I say to my friend from Louisiana, that in the Canadian House of Commons, the television there is described as an electronic Hansard, the purpose of which is strictly to record on television what otherwise would be recorded by the notetakers in the gallery who record the statements. In the

Hansard, all you know is who is speaking and the summary that is said. This would be something that you would have a comparable thought with respect to.

Mr. MATHIAS. Exactly. I think it is interesting that the Senator from New York should raise the question of Hansard, because there was a day when there was no Hansard.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. There was a day when it was a crime to report the proceedings of Parliament.

Mr. MATHIAS. So that that was significant technological change.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. It was a change in the perception of the liberties of the Englishmen who had a right to know what went on in Parliament and the Members of Parliament might fear what the king might learn.

Mr. MATHIAS. One of the reasons, as I recall it, for the development of Hansard was that there were informal and sometimes inaccurate private reports made of debates made in the Parliament. Hansard had at least the value of being accurate, although it might be viewed as an invasion of the privacy of the Parliament.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. For the longest while it would have been, then the Parliament changed its mind and I think it changed its mind for the better.

Mr. MATHIAS. So this electronic Hansard, as the Senator from New York has referred to it, is a further improvement in accurate reporting. That is exactly the way I would look at it.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. To think of it as an electronic CONGRESSIONAL RECORD would not be far from the judgment of the Senator.

Mr. MATHIAS. That is precisely the way I would view it. That is its purpose. It is not entertainment, it is not to see the pixie look on some Senator's face or the deep reflection that may have settled over other Senators' faces, but it is to report accurately what is said and done on the Senate floor.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. I thank the distinguished chairman. I apologize to my friend from Louisiana. I did not mean to go on like that. I do want to hear what he has to say.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, I say to the Senator that I hope, in any event, we are not going to have the kind of coverage in the Senate that I have seen at the national conventions where cameras zero in on some people who are asleep in the audience or somebody whose child is sleeping or misbehaving next to her while someone is trying to make a speech to the convention. I hope we do not have the kind of thing where the person is making a crucial speech and all the networks just zero in or decide that would be the time for the anchormen

to have a conversation among themselves.

Mr. MATHIAS. Not as long as I have any influence on the process whatever, even as a single Member out of a body of 100. It is, as the Senator from New York said, the electronic record. And that should concentrate on speakers, on the actor in the scene, and not on empty chairs or on other Members. It is not to pan around the room.

Mr. LONG. May I say to the Senator that I have experienced an occasion myself where one must be careful about this kind of thing? The witness can be testifying and two Senators can be whispering to one another, at which point one might break out in a big smile or perhaps a chuckle. It is very easy for that witness to gain the impression that they are laughing at him or making fun of him when, as a matter of fact, they might be whispering about something entirely different—that has nothing whatsoever to do with what the witness is testifying about.

Mr. MATHIAS. Let us be frank about it. Good members of legislative bodies have been severely damaged by the wrong kind of coverage. I recall that when I was a member of the General Assembly of Maryland, one of the most hard-working, respectable, and valuable members of the General Assembly, in an all-night session, stretched out on the sofa and caught 40 winks. Of course, that was the moment that a newspaper photographer chose to take his picture. So it looked as though here was a member who was sleeping during the session. Well, the circumstances were extraordinary, but all of those circumstances were not explained.

I am well aware of that. My personal experience encompasses those kinds of dangers. But I think we do not have to subject the Senate to those particular kinds of misinterpretation. Although the camera never lies, it can sometimes give a false impression that is an illusion, and that was one of those occasions.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, the Senator says that, and I am sure he means it 100 percent, the camera could never lie. But I have seen things happen on television which could cause me to doubt that statement. This Senator has seen people on television hold a letter up and say that the letter says thus and so and the letter they are holding does not say any such thing.

Mr. MATHIAS. Well, the Senator from Louisiana may have seen on this very Senate floor people say, "Here it is; here it is." If you ask them for it, you might find that it does not say exactly what the speaker has represented to the Senate. That is not the camera's fault. That is the speaker's fault.

Mr. LONG. It was once the displeasure for the Senator from Louisiana to see someone on television giving him a

bad time and see the reporter for the TV network hold up a letter. He said "Here is a letter signed by the Senator that says thus and so," and proceeded to zero in on the Senator's signature; but he did not bother to read what the letter said. It did not say that at all. It said something quite different.

That is one of the things that this Senator is concerned about.

There are all sorts of things that can be shown on television that could be misleading. I just hope that, regardless of the outcome of this matter, we will never have the day when, by some action of this Senate, particularly in connection with this resolution, the Senate will appear in a light that would make us misunderstood. If it is to be presented at all, every effort should be made to see that the Senate is understood by the public, not misunderstood.

Mr. MATHIAS. I concur in those sentiments entirely. I assure the Senator from Louisiana that I do not think that that would necessarily follow from the adoption of the resolution.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, 34 years ago in Chicago, Everett M. Dirksen, then a Congressman from Illinois, watched a baseball game on television. He returned to Washington and prophetically reported to his colleagues in Congress that—

There is hardly a lounge or a hotel lobby that does not have a rather large television set. It is only a question of time, of course, until speeches by Members of the House and the Senate will be televised.

A question of time. Within a decade, television had become the dominant mass communications for this country, and altered, perhaps forever, the way Americans see themselves and perceive the world.

Yet the House of Representatives did not open itself to full television coverage until 1979 and—more to the point—the Senate has yet to do so. I propose we of the Senate answer the question of time with the word "now."

On July 17, 1981, the Senate took a big step toward that goal. While there are still reservations and disagreements and questions within the committee, the Committee on Rules and Administration unanimously passed a resolution which provides for television and radio coverage, including videotapes and radio broadcasting recordings, of proceedings in the Senate Chamber. The coverage would be con-

tinuous when the Senate is in session—except on those rare occasions when the Senate holds a private session for national security reasons.

That resolution, Senate Resolution 20, is now before us. It is no secret that this issue is of particular interest to me. I believe that radio and television will be a complement to the legislative process that is long overdue, that we must use the technological means at hand to further communication between Government and citizen, and that opening the Senate to radio and television can enhance and increase the public's involvement with the entire legislative process.

Throughout the first 7 years of its existence, the Senate operated behind closed doors—a historical fact I had not realized until research was begun on this subject—a policy that became the target of widespread scorn, as illustrated by a 1972 *National Gazette* article:

Upright intentions, and upright conduct are not afraid or ashamed of publicity. The spirit of a Venetian Senate suits not, as yet, the meridian of the United States; neither does the conduct of a conclave comport with the feelings of Americans.

Introducing broadcasting to the Chamber merely extends the gallery; it would make it public, by 20th-century standards. Not every citizen in every part of the country can make the trip to Washington to sit in that gallery and view the Senate in person; but through radio and television coverage, virtually everyone could make the electronic journey that would give them a window on the Senate floor.

If we want the people to be with us, we must let the people in, and the technology is available to make this possible.

More Americans get their news from broadcast sources now than from any other form of communication. Television has become, in the words of media critic Michael Arlen, "America's Highway No. 1." It is time for the Senate to avail itself of this instrument and this resource.

This means that a long-standing, alleged barrier—the mystique of the Senate—would fall. But the mystique is not worth much if it fosters public distrust. You cannot earn the public trust unless you trust the public with the truth. Turning on the cameras to let the people see us as we really are can help bring about a new respect for public service and for public servants.

It is true that those with the interest and wherewithal to do so can read Senate deliberations in the *CONGRESSIONAL RECORD*, but this is really only half the story. However, in my view, there are two channels of communication, in my view—the verbal and the nonverbal. The verbal has to do with our abilities to read a morning newspaper or tune in to a favorite radio talk show. The nonverbal has to do with

our sense of sight, which completes and enables us more fully to appreciate an experience; it is an added dimension. Subsequently, television cameras in the Senate could make every American an eyewitness, in the fullest sense of that term.

Fortunately for the sake of argument in its behalf, the idea of opening the Senate to TV cameras and microphones is hardly unprecedented.

In 1947—the year of Mr. Dirksen's trip to Chicago—the first congressional event was broadcast "pictorially," as President Truman watched proceedings from the House of Representatives as part of an early experimental broadcast. The Senate was not involved with the broadcast, and the *New York Times* reported the next day:

Mr. Truman, seated comfortably at his White House desk, had to be content with relatively mild proceedings as a substitute for the Senate row over efforts to oust Senator Theodore G. Bilbo.

Newly elected House Minority Leader Sam Rayburn applauded those "who brought television in and those who are conducting the proceedings under it now." Others chimed in with great expectations for the future relationship among television, Congress, and the American people.

More than a decade later, television made another dramatic leap in bringing the political process home to Americans, a leap that would forever alter the course of political campaigning. The televised debate between then Senator John F. Kennedy and then Vice President Richard Nixon marked a pivotal moment in the history of Presidential campaigns. The recent impact of the Ford versus Carter and Carter versus Reagan debates exemplifies the continuing effect of such broadcasts.

In essence, television has become as much an integral part of our political system as the voting booth.

Today, we have the successful example of the House of Representatives to attest to the wisdom and fitness of the concept. Television pictures from the House were first made available to the broadcast media on March 19, 1979. Since that time, most of the misgivings some may have had about the idea have been laid to rest, and the benefits from it have exceeded expectations.

Viewership is high and enthusiastic; satisfaction with the system seems almost unanimous. Early fears that Members would be intimidated or bedazzled by the television cameras in their midst have by and large been proven groundless. Showmanship has not run amok in the House, nor have its Members run off in droves to sign up for acting or elocution lessons. I am convinced that the open eye of the camera will not wreak havoc on the deliberative process in the Senate or

turn its Members into performers vying for a spotlight—not any more than they already are, that is. We are, in one sense or another, vying for public attention—with the obvious exception of the present occupant of the Chair, the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. BOSCHWITZ), who is shaking his head to the contrary.

Some of my colleagues have argued that the presence of television would compromise not only the Senate's dignity but also the quality of debate on the Senate floor. I believe exactly the opposite to be true, and we have the experience, once again, of the House to support this contention. House leaders have told me that the presence of television has improved, not hindered, debate in that Chamber.

I favor the implementation of scheduled debates on the great issues of the day, intentionally to lay out for ourselves and for the public the parameters of current or impending public policy issues. I am not talking about normal debate carried out in the course of a legislative day but, rather, additional serious debates on the major issues confronting the Nation. I should like to see these debates scheduled so that not only the Senate participated in those votes, but also, there was an opportunity for all the country to see and hear, as that debate unfolded, the deliberations of the people who were elected to make those public judgments and to elaborate those public policies.

We really are not a deliberative body in the fullest sense; the great debates of other ages are the exception rather than the rule. But we might regain that status. The Senate is better equipped than any group I know of to undertake a careful examination and a detailed study of the great, indeed the historic, issues which must face this Republic and which must be resolved as public policy.

The Senate is a great deliberative body. But we so often fritter away that talent and that opportunity by the routine and the ordinary, to an empty Senate Chamber attended by a few, that we squander one of the prime resources of this body.

Possible pitfalls and drawbacks are far outweighed by opportunities and advantages, and we should remember that it is not only citizens of the present who will benefit from this step forward, but also those in the future. Senate proceedings would not only be broadcast live for same-day use but be taped and stored for future reference. School children, historians, and other citizens will be able to go to the U.S. Archives or a special library, decades or even hundreds of years from now, to watch this Congress deliberations live on tape.

If the technology had been available 100 years ago, we would now be able to

watch the Lincoln-Douglas debates, or a speech by Daniel Webster. The point is that the technology is available now, and if we act, invaluable and living record of Congress and its proceedings, in addition to a unique perspective on history as it is made will be available to the future generations.

We owe it not only to ourselves but to those generations to come to make this possibility a reality.

No one could argue that television and the new era of communications that has come with it have had only positive effects on our society and our way of life. That is not the issue, for television is a reality. The issue before the Senate is whether we are going to utilize that which is best in television to improve our democratic process or continue to turn our backs on its intriguing and far-reaching possibilities.

Democracy thrives on public support, and public support thrives on open government. It is unrealistic to expect public support when we will not let the public see us doing what we do in the legislative process. It is time to draw back the curtain and open the Senate Chamber to the eyes and ears of the world.

Indeed, 100 years from now, when citizens of the 21st century look back on this momentous decision, they will wonder that we did not make it sooner.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I commend the able majority leader for the stand he has taken on television coverage of the Senate. Just as he has taken the lead in so many other worthwhile matters, he now takes the lead in this very important aspect of our Senate life.

I voice my support for Senate Resolution 20, the resolution which would authorize television and radio coverage of Senate proceedings. In my view, broadcast media coverage is warranted and wise, for several reasons. First, such coverage recognizes the basic right and need of U.S. citizens to know the business of their Government. Second, I believe it will lead to a more informed citizenry, and thereby hopefully improve the quality of our representative democracy. Third, television and radio coverage should enhance the image of Congress, the Senate, in particular, as an institution of Government. Fourth, it should, in the long run, improve the quality of Senate debate and decisionmaking.

Considered against the historical background, radio and television coverage of Senate proceedings is simply a logical extension of past and present methods of reporting Senate business to the people. Since the late 18th century, the Senate has had a public gallery open to all citizens and print media representatives. Television coverage was first permitted in the House in 1947 for the opening ceremonies of the 80th Congress, and in 1979, full

television coverage of debate in that Chamber began. In the interim, the Senate has allowed television coverage of some committee hearings, permitted television broadcast of the swearing-in ceremony of Vice President Nelson Rockefeller in 1974, and authorized radio coverage of the 1977 debates on the Panama Canal treaties.

Thus, while full television and radio coverage of Senate debates would be a significant broadening of past precedents in this House of Congress, it would not be a totally new experience for most Senators, nor a radical departure from past practices. Rather, with the widespread, increasing dependence of the American people on television and radio for information about governmental actions, it is simply high time for the Senate to allow live broadcasts of its proceedings over the airwaves.

As I indicated at the outset of my statement, the authorization of radio and television coverage of Senate business is an appropriate means of reaffirming that our National Government is a representative democracy responsible to the people. The citizens of this great Nation have a right to know how the legislative business of their U.S. Senate is being transacted. Approval of this measure would protect and enhance that basic right, thereby bringing more openness to the legislative process.

The opening of Senate Chamber business to airwave broadcasts would be an important step in the process of bringing Government into the sunshine, as this objective is often captioned, but it is not an end in itself. Rather, by furthering the right and need of the public to have prompt, direct information pertaining to Senate business, we will enhance the knowledge of our citizenry and thereby improve the quality of our Government. Sometimes, perhaps, Senators have a tendency to think of themselves as self-employed, independent decisionmakers, when in fact we are all privileged holders of a precious public trust bestowed on us by our respective electorates.

Our bosses are all of the taxpayers and citizens of the State we represent and, because of our national responsibilities, of the entire Nation. We are accountable to them for how we vote, what we say, and even what we may not say or neglect to do in this Chamber when we may have a responsibility to act. By opening the legislative process in the Senate Chamber to the scrutiny of radio and television coverage, the fundamental objectives of first, raising the public's level of political and governmental knowledge, and second, making Senators more accountable to the people they represent, both will be better served. As a result, the integrity and quality of our

representative democracy will be improved.

Mr. President, another reason why I believe radio and television coverage of Senate proceedings should be authorized is that over time it will improve, in my opinion, the public image of the Senate and engender greater confidence in and respect for Senators. All of us are familiar with the embarrassingly low regard of the public for the Senate, and Congress generally, as an institution. We, as a body, definitely have an image problem. A portion of this image problem no doubt stems from the too widespread belief that the Senate prefers to operate in a close, secretive fashion, where deals can be cut and principles compromised in the name of political expediency.

It is a harsh indictment, and whether it is accurate and deserved or not, it is a problem with which we must cope. Frankly, it is my hope and belief that opening the Senate Chamber to radio and television coverage will dispel some of the erroneously held notions about the Senate, as well as encourage Senators to act in a more statesmanlike manner.

Finally, Mr. President, I believe this action will, in the long run, improve the quality of debate and decisionmaking in the Senate. On this point, as on some of the others I have made, I recognize that there are those who may disagree. Opponents of this resolution contend that television coverage will lead to more and longer debates, grandstanding before the cameras, and undue emphasis on the before-camera communicative abilities of Senators, in relation to other more important attributes of an effective legislator.

There is probably some truth in these contentions, but on the whole, I believe the impact of television and radio coverage will be positive. After an initial period of adjustment, Senators will not be unduly cognizant of the live reporting over television and radio of their statements and Senate actions. This seems to have been the experience in the House of Representatives. Yet, the increased scrutiny of the microphones and cameras should cause Senators to come to the floor more fully prepared for any remarks they may make and for votes to be cast. Senators should become more attentive to the business in the Senate Chamber, including actual presence during debates, in relation to committee and personal office business. In short, actions in the Senate Chamber itself should take on increased importance in the total Senate lawmaking scheme, reversing what many believe has been an unhealthy trend toward committee and behind-the-scenes domination of the legislative process.

It is my hope and belief, Mr. President, that out of it all will come better laws—laws that are more understand-

able, concise, and, most of all, more in keeping with the will of the people, as expressed through their elected senatorial representatives. Similarly, it is my hope and opinion that adoption of this measure will help make Senators more responsive and accountable to the public will. For these reasons, I am glad to lend my support to this resolution. I hope the Senate will see fit to adopt it.

Mr. BENTSEN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BOSCHWITZ). The Senator from Texas.

Mr. BENTSEN. Mr. President, at a time when unemployment in this country is approaching 9 percent, when we have sky-high interest rates, when we are talking about a budget deficit that may go over \$100 billion, there are some who would think that to have a lengthy debate about spending \$5 million for the self-aggrandizement of Senators would be pretty trivial.

I am opposed to Senate Resolution 20. I am opposed to spending at least \$5 million to televise debates on the floor to a rather limited audience.

I will, however, support Senator FORD's proposals to begin immediate radio coverage of these debates at a cost that would be about 3 percent of the cost of television.

As one of those Senators who is not quite ready to see my colleagues forever in "pancake" on the floor of the U.S. Senate, as a Senator who is not quite ready to see some kind of makeup chair in the cloakrooms, I just do not think this is the thing we ought to be doing. I think it is a bad idea.

I would like to take just a few minutes to explain why I think it is a bad idea. First of all, it is an expensive proposition, at least \$5 million, and that is just at the outset. Did you ever see any one of these Government programs or projects that Congress proposes that ever came in at less than the proposed cost? Obviously in the end, they will be talking about a figure that will be substantially more than the initial cost estimates. Second, I think televised proceedings could have a very profound and, potentially, adverse implication for the way we conduct our business in the U.S. Senate. Some may argue that \$5 million is not a lot of money these days, particularly if it gives millions of Americans the opportunity to witness Senate debates.

I just do not buy that argument. Last summer we asked the American people to sacrifice; and we cut the budget by over \$40 billion. By all accounts, the budget that is being submitted now to the Congress is going to call for even greater sacrifices in areas that are going to be hurt the most, areas like education, job training, health care, retirement benefits. To say this is a time of tough fiscal austerity is an understatement. We are all

cutting back. The Senate committees have cut back by over \$5 million.

I really do not see how at a time like this we can go to the American people and ask for \$5 million of their hard-earned tax dollars so that a few of them can see the Senate in action and in living color. I would much rather see that money spent on keeping the Texas Employment Commission offices open in Texas. I would rather spend it trying to find people jobs at a time when the unemployment rate in the United States, including Texas, continues to increase.

I would much rather see that money spent on health care for the elderly; or to provide school lunches or immunizations for our children. Those funds could be used to buy approximately 4.2 million school lunches or 5 million immunization shots, which would protect our children from polio, mumps, measles, diphtheria, and tetanus. I would rather see the money spent for something like that—something really productive.

I support opening up our debates to public scrutiny. We have got a gallery filled with newspaper people—filled normally. If we had not been debating this resolution for so many days we would have a lot more up there today than we have now. But that shows, I think, how they too feel we are getting the appropriate coverage.

I think the best way to have gavel-to-gavel coverage is through radio. The Panama Canal debates proved that. It was an effective way to do it.

Only about one-quarter of American homes are hooked up to cable TV and most of those are the well-to-do. So the potential audience for Senate TV is limited, and it is skewed right from the outset.

But during the daytime, when most of our debates take place, millions of Americans from all walks of life have access to a radio. If we want to throw sunlight into the Senate, radio is the way to proceed. It is the best way to reach the most people at the least cost to the taxpayers. The installation estimate of those costs, would be less than \$150,000.

I also agree with my distinguished colleague from Louisiana, who has been here a lot longer than most of us and is an acknowledged expert as to how this Senate works. He suggests that television could introduce subtle but significant changes in the debate in the U.S. Senate. I keep hearing people refer to the House and how it works in the House. This is not the House. This is not a place where you have to debate in 5 minutes. This is not a place where everybody goes down to the well and makes his speech. We have a different set of rules here. This is a place of free and extemporaneous debate, in general. Sometimes it is from a text which we have prepared to help us collect our

thoughts and give them more precise meanings. But, I would hate to see unlimited debate in the Senate become a thing of the past.

As we have it now, the press has access to the gallery and to individual Senators. We have ample access to the television cameras. If they think we have said something that is noteworthy of going on TV they can call you up to repeat that and give it to the American people.

The American people have a right, Mr. President, I think to unlimited speech and debate, and I just think this resolution would be its death knell. That is what the framers of the Constitution anticipated and intended when they incorporated words like that into our Constitution. It is a right which has been preserved for the American people for over 200 years, and it ought to be continued for the American public, and I think it would be the end of unlimited speech and debate if you adopt this resolution.

So, Mr. President, my basic objection to Senate television is this: Why pay \$5 million to reach those few people who are hooked up to cable and inclined to watch the Senate when we can transmit live, gavel-to-gavel by radio to a far larger potential audience for only 3 percent of the TV cost?

I urge my colleagues to give careful consideration to the wisdom of spending \$5 million at this time and under these circumstances for Senate television. I think that is precisely the sort of waste and excess that we so rightly criticize in other Government programs. There is a better, cheaper, more effective choice available. It is called radio, and I urge my colleagues to defeat Senate Resolution 20 and move promptly to provide live radio coverage of Senate proceedings.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BENTSEN. I am happy to yield.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, has the Senator heard the figures that were used about the time that the House used on television compared to the time that was used in the House prior to television? Have you heard some discussion of that in this body?

Mr. BENTSEN. No, I have not.

Mr. LONG. There were some figures used, so let me just refer to that argument, because this is a matter that Senators should know and should carefully consider.

The argument has been made that the House was in session less hours its first session on television than it was the previous session under President Jimmy Carter.

Those figures overlook facts that ought to be made available.

For example, in the House, you do not have unlimited debate, as the Senator knows. The Rules Committee determines how long a measure may be

debated. It allows both sides a certain amount of time and then it provides how many amendments can be considered and how many motions can be made and, in effect, after a certain period of time, when the vote will occur. The Senator is familiar with that, of course. He served in the House.

Mr. BENTSEN. That is correct.

Mr. LONG. Members of the House point out to me that to simply compare the number of hours the House was in session 1 year with the number of hours the House was in session another year is meaningless. If you want a meaningful comparison, you must compare the number of substantive issues that were taken up and discussed and voted upon and then divide the number of issues decided by the number of hours in session and you can see whether you were more efficient or less efficient.

On that basis, the average issue took about 1 hour more to dispose of, the average substantive bill took about 1 hour more to dispose of under television than it did prior to television.

But may I say to the Senator that that does not appear to be the meaningful issue, because even so that is under the control of a rule set down by the Rules Committee and the Members only have a certain amount of time available to speak.

The meaningful comparison would be how does those things that Members are privileged to do compare, where they have the privilege, to how it was under the previous situation. The one thing that most people can do in the House is to obtain consent to make a 1-minute speech and make a RECORD insertion. For that purpose, it is my understanding, based on a study that has been made and passed on to me, comparing March 1976, 1977, and 1978, before television, with the number that was given after television coverage began, there was an increase of 120 percent, from an average of 126 to an average of 280. And at another period the comparison was made in September and the same type thing tended to be the case.

So there you have an increase, in the areas where the Speaker cannot very well decline the right to let someone make a 1-minute speech, of 120 percent. And that is only when a small percentage of the American homes receive the television live. How much more would it be when you have 10 times that many homes that receive television live across the country?

Furthermore, in the Senate, we have unlimited debate. Senators can speak as long as they want to.

Let me ask the Senator, is there any doubt in his mind—when we were speaking about the reduction of the minimum benefit for these dear old people under social security, only a few Senators spoke on the matter. I

believe on this side only about one Senator carried the burden of debate, perhaps one or two other Senators helped him. Is there any doubt in the Senator's mind that those of us who were opposing that reduction in those minimum benefits, the overwhelming majority of Senators would want to say something about that if it was on live television?

Mr. BENTSEN. Of course they would, and they would do it. And yet, as we all know, virtually everyone had made up their minds and knew exactly what they wanted to do. We had already voted in the Finance Committee and we had taken our stands. But we again would have had to come over here and make our points on the chance that you are going to be on the 6 o'clock news or you are going to be seen back home defending that particular issue. And I would also guess that you would get an awful lot less work done back in the committees or back in your offices with your constituents under that kind of a situation.

Mr. MATHIAS. Will the Senator yield on that very point?

Mr. BENTSEN. I yield for a question.

Mr. MATHIAS. If the Senator would yield for a question, I would appreciate it. I regret that the Senator from Texas opposes this resolution because I think he, himself, could do so much for the Senate if the proceedings were televised. Look at him. He is tall and lean, as a Texan ought to be. His face is a youthful, yet mature face, as a Senator's face ought to be.

Mr. BENTSEN. Never mind the question, go ahead with the speech. [Laughter.]

Mr. MATHIAS. His face is expressive. When he talks, his eyebrows rise and fall. He shows intensity and conviction. All of this could come across on television; none could be enjoyed on radio. But my question is this:

Mr. BENTSEN. Let me say, first, to the Senator from Louisiana that I may have to rethink my position. [Laughter.]

Mr. MATHIAS. Now, the Senator from Louisiana has used some figures about the time spent on a measure. And he says it does not really matter that the last year the House was without television they were in session for 1,016 hours and that every year since then they have been in session less than that, because he said it is the amount per measure. Well, according to our figures, over in the House they have shown a very normal cyclical pattern where, between the first and second sessions, you get some difference.

The average number of hours per measure in the House, beginning with the first session of the 95th Congress, was 1.2 hours. I believe these are the figures of the Senator from Louisiana.

The second session, 1.15 hours. In the 96th Congress, the first session, 1.46; and then the second session, 1.1 hours. In the 97th Congress, first session, 1.5 hours per measure.

But what the Senator did not do is to make the same kind of comparison with the Senate. And it is interesting that where television is not even involved in the Senate, you get the same kind of a pattern. Hours per measure in the Senate, first session of the 95th Congress, 1.6 hours; second session, 1.5 hours; 96th Congress, first session, 1.8 hours; second session, 1.4 hours. And in the 97th Congress, 2.2 hours in the first session.

So you get this kind of variation which would indicate that television really has not affected either the length of the session or the amount of time spent on an issue. And that, I think, is an extraordinary and objective test, which proves the case.

So, I am just wondering, in my question to the Senator, whether he sees any kind of pattern there that can be clearly traced to the impact of television?

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, in view of the fact the Senator did not bring the subject up, I would suggest that we compare the figures and I believe as this debate goes along I will have a chance to prove my point.

But let me ask the Senator further: Has he noticed, when a committee is being covered on live television and when the camera is beaming out to the public, what is being done and what is transpiring before a committee on live television? Every Senator there tends to ask a question when his turn comes. And usually if he is called on to interrogate the witness for 5 minutes, he takes his whole 5 minutes; if he has 10 minutes, he tends to take his whole 10 minutes.

Mr. BENTSEN. He takes it all himself. It is like the question that my friend from Maryland was posing—it will be a speech and it will use up the full 5 minutes. What I have also noted is that when you have control, when you are the majority, then you have a big advantage, because we line up on the left and on the right depending on the party. I notice where they put the cameras. When we are in charge, we put the cameras opposite us so they shine on us. And the Republicans are now in charge, so they move the cameras to the other side so they will shine on them. That is the sort of thing that worries me about what might happen in the U.S. Senate.

Mr. MATHIAS. If the Senator would yield, I think he could be reassured on that score. We have discussed here earlier today just exactly who would regulate the cameras. I have no fixed ideas. The resolution calls for the Rules Committee to provide for the regulation. But we could have the

joint leadership or we could have the full Senate make the recommendation. But the cameras, once in the Senate, are not going to be move around with any partisan changes here.

The cameras will be fixed. They will deal with Senators as individuals and not as members of a party. They will be operated by Senate staff. They will not be panning the room looking for somebody who is in deep reflection, eyes closed, or someone who is telling an anecdote to his neighbor in apparent disrespect to the speaker.

It is the record. It is, as the Senator from New York said, the electronic Hansard, the electronic record of what is happening here. It will certainly reflect in an electronic mode what is reflected with paper and ink in the printed RECORD.

I do not believe that those concerns the Senator has expressed are really contemplated or could happen under the resolution that is before the Senate.

Mr. BENTSEN. I would hope the Senator is right. All I can refer to is the actual experience in the House and Senate committees as to the placing of the cameras and how a majority, both Democrats and Republicans, when they are in the majority, have a tendency—not a tendency, but they do it—to put it on the side that is going to show them. I have a great deal of respect for that side of the aisle, but I do not have to sit over there to get myself on TV.

Mr. MATHIAS. If the Senator will yield, I recall when I was a member of the General Assembly in Maryland, I believe at that time—and I may be wrong about the exact figure—there were five Republicans in a house of 126. It was the lowest Republican representation in the General Assembly of Maryland since the Civil War.

Mr. BENTSEN. I would say to the Senator that he was among the finest representatives the Republicans have had in that legislative body.

Mr. MATHIAS. The Senator is charitable today.

The then mayor of Baltimore, a former Member of the Congress, Thomas D'Alessandro, Jr., came to me one day and said, "You know, if I were in your position"—and I am reminded of this by the Senator's concern about the rights of the minority—"I would get up every day and I would say, 'Mr. Speaker, I fight alone but I fight on.' It would not really matter what you said after that. Just say it every day." Then he said, "Sooner or later, people will listen to you."

Actually, this is going to enhance the position of the minority because there will be a camera which will be available to every speaker. It will give the minority proportionately a greater opportunity to be on camera than the majority because the competition will be less, just as I had the opportunity,

as a member of the minority side in a house of 126. I had greater opportunities to be heard than if I had been 1 of an evenly split house of 63.

Mr. BENTSEN. I will say to my friend as long as we in the minority, are going to be operated on, I want to be sure that the knife is in the hands of a friendly surgeon.

Mr. MATHIAS. An impartial surgeon.

Mr. BENTSEN. But I have not seen impartiality on the part of either one of these parties.

I remember that story by my friend down in south Texas who was about to open up a catfish that he had just caught. He said, "Little catfish, don't you wiggle. All I am going to do is gut you."

I do not want to see that sort of thing happen to us here.

Mr. LONG. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. BENTSEN. I am happy to yield.

Mr. LONG. The Senator, having served in both bodies, the House and the Senate, and having the excellent education that he has, a thorough understanding of what this Government is all about, understands what the functions of the Senate were intended to be.

As the Senator knows, Senators serve 6-year terms, with only one-third of the Senators running every 2 years, compared to the House where all Members must run every 2 years.

Congress was established in that fashion for a reason. I am sure the Senator very well agrees that the reason was that the Senate is expected to do their difficult chore of making decisions which sometimes are not the popular decisions, but decisions that must be done in the public interest, sometimes to save this country. The Senate is entrusted with that painful duty of being expected to stop bad legislation from being enacted which may be popular at the moment, just as the Senate has the burden of ratifying treaties, where sometimes the treaty might not be a popular treaty or might be subject to a great deal of misunderstanding.

To put it in a word, is not the Senate expected to exercise statesmanship?

Mr. BENTSEN. Yes; I would say to the Senator, that is obviously true. It is obvious that that is the reason the 6-year term was given to Senators, that they would be away from the political heat for a period of time, longer than the House, trying to do some things that at times are not popular but which are important to the country. I think that makes this body significant when you are talking about legislative bodies around the world.

Mr. LONG. I would ask the Senator this: If one must do the painful chore of explaining the unpopular side of the issue and standing firm for the unpopular side of the issue, knowing that that is what is best for the country

and hopefully time will prove one right in that regard, does the Senator see anything about TV coverage that would help or tend to encourage statesmanship, or does he think it would tend to tilt the Senate toward the side of expediency?

Mr. BENTSEN. I think those conditions would make it more burdensome on a Senator.

Mr. MATHIAS. Will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. LONG. I do not have the floor.

Mr. MATHIAS. I will propound a question to either Senator. Is it being suggested that statesmen can only work in secret?

Mr. BENTSEN. I must say that we have an informed and sophisticated press up here which hardly could be classified as trying to suppress the news of the Senate. In turn, we are talking about putting it on radio from gavel to gavel and that will reach many millions of people in our land. So nobody is talking about doing anything in secret.

Mr. LONG. For example, is it not true that every word we utter in debate is taken down?

Mr. BENTSEN. It is.

Mr. LONG. And it is made available in the RECORD for everyone.

Can the Senator see where a person is seeking to make something secret when he stands here and makes a speech that is going to be published and sent throughout the entire United States in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and which is before the news media?

Mr. BENTSEN. I think it is very obvious that this is a very open body.

Let me say that I am enjoying this exchange but I have a number of constituents waiting for me in my office. If we had this on TV, I might not be so quick to go back and listen to some of the things they have to say. I would continue to try to make sure the camera was on me.

With that in mind, if Senators will go ahead and continue this debate and let me get back to my constituents, I think I shall.

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. President, the Senator from Texas has just added another urgent reason why we should have this resolution adopted immediately, to prolong his presence on the floor.

Clearly, Mr. President, what the resolution will do is portray in a more vivid and more accurate fashion what occurs on the floor on the U.S. Senate. While that is true, certainly, it is merely doing a better job of reporting, as the Senator from Louisiana has said, than is already being done in the form of print. I hope the Senate will adopt the resolution.

Mr. President, a minute ago, I quoted certain figures relating to time in session of the Senate and the House of Representatives in the 95th, 96th,

and 97th Congresses as well as the average hours spent on each measure adopted. I ask unanimous consent that

a table showing these figures in some detail be printed in the RECORD at this point.

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

TIME IN SESSION AND MEASURES PASSED

Congress and session	Senate		Measures passed	(Hours per measure passed)	House		Measures passed	(Hours per measure passed)
	Days	Hours			Days	Hours		
95th.....								
1st.....	178	1,144	705	1.6	174	882	734	1.2
2d.....	159	1,365	891	1.5	149	1,016	881	1.15
96th.....								
1st.....	167	1,159	652	1.8	173	975	666	1.46
2d.....	166	1,165	831	1.4	153	901	812	1.1
97th 1st.....	165	1,080	488	2.2	163	653	433	1.5

¹ Television began in March.

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. President, since the question has been raised as to the impact of the use of television on the volume of work, the volume of hours, the volume of speeches that will be given, I also submit for the RECORD and ask unanimous consent that it be printed at this point a compilation of figures relating to the number of pages in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD that were required to report the proceedings of the 95th, 96th, and 97th Congresses.

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

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD PAGES

Congress and session	Senate	House	Extensions ¹
95th.....			
1st.....	19,974	13,082	7,547
2d.....	19,670	13,847	6,035
96th.....			
1st.....	19,560	12,524	6,398
2d.....	16,785	12,555	5,583
97th 1st.....	15,785	9,931	6,008

¹ It is estimated that the House accounts for at least 95 percent of the material in the "Extensions" section.

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum. The Senator from Louisiana is almost a quorum in himself, but not quite.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mrs. KASSEBAUM). Without objection, it is so ordered.

ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. BAKER. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that there now be an additional period for the transaction of routine morning business, to extend not past 4:30 p.m., in which Senators may speak for not more than 5 minutes each.

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

Mr. BAKER. Madam President, I understand that there are certain other items of business that might be

transacted. I observe the Senator from New Mexico is on the floor, and I yield the floor so that he may seek recognition.

Mr. SCHMITT addressed the Chair. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico.

IN COMMEMORATION OF THE LIFE AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF DR. ARTHUR M. BUECHE

Mr. SCHMITT. Madam President, science and technology is the future of the United States of America and literally, I believe, as many do, is the future of mankind. With the exception of our initial major national milestone, the formation of this great land as a free Republic, our national milestones have been milestones of achievement based on drawing from this reservoir of science and technology that a free people have created.

Science and technology does come from the people, and today I am pleased to submit, along with my distinguished colleagues, Senators BAKER, D'AMATO, JACKSON, MOYNIHAN, and RIEGLE, a resolution to honor Dr. Arthur M. Bueche, who died recently.

Art Bueche was an outstanding scientist, engineer, and executive. He has been a leader in converting laboratory achievements and scientific knowledge into products benefiting mankind. He rendered valuable services as an adviser to numerous Federal agencies including the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the National Science Foundation, the U.S. Air Force, and the National Bureau of Standards. Recently, he served as Co-chairman of the President-elect's Advisory Task Force on Science and Technology. At the time of his death on October 22, 1981, he was senior vice president—corporate technology, General Electric Co.

Madam President, I send to the desk at this time a resolution to commemorate the life and accomplishments of Dr. Arthur M. Bueche and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be stated by title.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 314) to commemorate the life and accomplishments of Dr. Arthur M. Bueche.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Madam President, there is no objection from this side, and the matter has been cleared previously.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. SCHMITT. Madam President, this is a particularly timely honor for Art Bueche. I and many others in Congress as well as in the Nation's Capital and elsewhere in the country are examining very, very closely the base of science and technology and people associated with science and technology from which we must draw the solutions to many, if not most, of our national problems.

Art Bueche dedicated his life to science, engineering, and the progress of science and technology in general.

It is my hope that my colleagues will join me in passing this resolution today honoring a great man and an outstanding American.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution (S. Res. 314) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

The resolution, with its preamble, read as follows:

S. RES. 314

Whereas, Dr. Arthur M. Bueche, as one of the outstanding scientists and engineers in the United States, made substantial and enduring contributions over his lifetime to science, industry, Government service, and education;

Whereas, the United States continues to face an era of increasingly complex problems depending on scientific and technological progress for solutions;

Whereas, Dr. Bueche devoted his individual research efforts in the field of material sciences pioneering the development of synthetic rubber and silicones, obtaining many patents, publishing dozens of outstanding papers and reports, and was an active participant and officer in numerous scientific and technical societies.

Whereas, Dr. Bueche has been widely praised for his management skills in industrial research, resulting in breakthroughs in the fields of electronics, materials science and energy, and implementing innovative approaches for rapidly converting laboratory achievements into products benefitting mankind. Among these products are: an advanced computer-directed axial tomography X-ray (CAT) scanner, stronger and safer plastic materials, extraordinarily hard materials for metal cutting tools, more energy-efficient lamps, and fuel conserving electric generating equipment;

Whereas, Dr. Bueche has contributed to the field of education as a member of the Board of Trustees of the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Albany Medical College, and the Hudson-Mohawk Valley Association of Colleges and Universities, as a member of the Visiting Committees at Massachusetts Institute of Technology at Harvard University, and as an advisor to his alma mater, Cornell University;

Whereas, Dr. Bueche has rendered valuable Government service as a frequent witness before many Congressional committees, as an advisor to the National Science Foundation, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, United States Air Force, National Bureau of Standards, and most recently as Co-chairman of the President-Elect's Advisory Task Force on Science and Technology;

Whereas, Dr. Bueche has received the recognition of his peers by election to the National Academy of Sciences and the National Academy of Engineering, and selection for the Industrial Research Institute Medal, and the Fahrney Gold Medal of the Franklin Institute; and

Whereas, Dr. Bueche displayed exemplary personal qualities, leadership skills, devotion to public service, and a rare combination of knowledge and abilities demonstrated over the course of his lifetime: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the United States Senate honors the memory and expresses its appreciation for the accomplishments and outstanding contributions to society of Dr. Arthur M. Bueche.

APPOINTMENTS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair, on behalf of the Vice President, pursuant to Public Law 86-42, appoints the Senator from Nebraska (Mr. ZORINSKY) to the Canada-United States Interparliamentary Group.

The Chair, on behalf of the Vice President, pursuant to Public Law 86-42, appoints the Senator from Alaska (Mr. STEVENS) as the chairman of the U.S. delegation to the Canada-United States Interparliamentary Union for 1982.

Mr. SCHMITT. Madam President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

DIRECTING SENATE LEGAL COUNSEL TO INTERVENE IN CONSUMER ENERGY COUNCIL OF AMERICA, INC., ET AL. AGAINST FEDERAL ENERGY REGULATORY COMMISSION, ET AL.

Mr. BAKER. Madam President, it has been brought to the attention of the leadership on both sides by counsel for the Senate that there is a certain case now on appeal from the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia to the Supreme Court of the United States entitled "Consumer Energy Council of America, Inc., et al. against Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, et al.," and that certain fundamental interests of the Congress and of the Senate may be involved in the disposition of that case.

The statutes provide for a leadership group to advise Senate legal counsel on matters involving the Senate as a party or otherwise in litigation. That group has met and determined that it is their recommendation that the Senate should intervene as a party in that litigation.

In order to authorize that, Madam President, I send to the desk a resolution for myself and for Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the resolution by title. The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 315) to direct Senate legal counsel to intervene in Consumer Energy Council of America, Inc., et al. v. Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, et al., Nos. 80-2184, 80-2312 (D.C. Cir.).

The Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. BAKER. On January 29, 1982, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit handed down a major ruling on the constitutionality of legislative vetoes, holding that a legislative review provision of the Natural Gas Policy Act of 1978 violates the principle of separation of powers and article I of the Constitution. This resolution will direct the Senate Legal Counsel to move to intervene in this lawsuit in the name of the Senate to seek review of this decision.

In 1978, after a 10-month conference, the House and Senate succeeded in resolving the extraordinarily difficult issue of natural gas deregulation. An important element in the compromise legislation finally adopted by Congress was incremental pricing of natural gas. Incremental pricing was so novel and controversial a concept that the key to its adoption was dividing its implementation into a limited first phase, and an expanded second phase. This expanded second phase would go into effect only if neither House of Congress disapproved a proposed rule which the Federal Energy

Regulatory Commission would submit to Congress. In May 1980, after the Commission itself expressed strong reservations about its proposal for the second phase, the House adopted a resolution disapproving the Commission's proposal.

The controversy over incremental pricing concerns the extent to which the costs of new natural gas should be passed on to industrial users of gas. The Senate joined with the House in establishing the procedure by which that question should be determined, but it has not, and would not by this resolution, take a position on the merits of this dispute over natural gas pricing. Rather, the Senate's interest in this litigation is over the procedures which the Congress may establish to assure that critical decisions of national energy policy, and other significant matters, can be made in a timely and efficient manner without abdicating the responsibility that must be ultimately carried by elected representatives.

After the House disapproved the Commission's proposal, several groups of gas users challenged the constitutionality of the statutory provision for congressional review. They contended that the provision for legislative review should be invalidated and that the court should require the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission to implement the proposed rule. The Justice Department appeared to present the executive branch position that statutory provisions for legislative review are unconstitutional. The Senate appeared in the court of appeals as an amicus curiae pursuant to Senate Resolution 121, adopted May 6, 1981, and filed a joint brief with the Speaker of the House in defense of the statute.

In its January 29, 1982, decision, the court of appeals acknowledged that it was the intent of Congress that an expansion of incremental pricing go into effect only if neither House disapproved it. It concluded, however, that Congress would have enacted incremental pricing, including provisions for its expansion, even without the legislative review provision. On the constitutional issue, the court of appeals ruled that the provision for legislative review in the Natural Gas Policy Act was unconstitutional.

The court acknowledged that previous judicial decisions on challenges to legislative review had been framed in a limited fashion. There are currently in effect over 50 statutes with provisions for legislative review by one or both Houses of Congress. These provisions have been used by Congress and Presidents to reach accommodations concerning national security and foreign affairs, the budget, international trade, and energy. Quite understandably, therefore, courts have been re-

luctant to rule broadly in favor of either the Congress or the executive branch in the few cases which have been decided previously. The court of appeals nevertheless rendered a sweeping ruling that brings into question many provisions for legislative review.

Further proceedings either in the court of appeals, such as a suggestion of rehearing en banc, or in the Supreme Court, may be necessary in this litigation. The sweeping nature of the constitutional approach of the court of appeals creates a potential for uncertainty as to the validity of numerous other statutes. Also, the court's decision that it may require the Commission to implement the gas pricing rule even though the Congress intended that no rule should go into effect, if disapproved, raises serious questions under the separation of powers. It is beyond the ability and the role of the judiciary to speculate what the Congress would have intended, apart from what it enacted into law. The choice of alternatives to legislative review would require policy judgments that only the Congress may make.

Since May 1981, the Senate has participated in this case as amicus curiae. To file motions and petitions for further proceedings the Senate must now appear as a party. The Senate's appearance in this case as a party would be consistent with the pattern in the case now in the Supreme Court concerning the legislative veto, Immigration and Naturalization Service against Chadha (Nos. 80-1832, 80-2170, and 80-2171). In that case, the Senate appeared first as amicus curiae in the court of appeals and then, after the ruling by the court of appeals, intervened as a party to petition for rehearing and for Supreme Court review.

Section 706(a) of the Ethics in Government Act of 1978 authorizes the Senate to direct the Senate legal counsel to intervene in actions in the name of the Senate when the powers and responsibilities of the Congress under the Constitution are placed in issue. The joint leadership group has agreed that this is such a case and supports this resolution.

Madam President, I think no further explanation is necessary. Senate legal counsel is available for the inquiry of any Senator, and if the minority leader has nothing he wishes to add, I am prepared for the Senate to dispose of this matter.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution (S. Res. 315) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

The resolution (S. Res. 315) together with its preamble is as follows:

S. RES. 315

Whereas, by S. Res. 121, 97th Congress, 1st Session (1981), the Senate directed the Senate Legal Counsel to appear as amicus curiae in the name of the Senate in Consumer Energy Council of America, Inc., et al. v. Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, et al., Nos. 80-2184, 80-2312 in the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit;

Whereas, on January 29, 1982, the Court of Appeals ruled that the legislative review provision in section 202(c) of the Natural Gas Policy Act of 1978 (15 U.S.C. 3342(c) (Supp. III 1979)), violated Article I of the Constitution and the principle of separation of powers;

Whereas, the Senate as amicus curiae may not have the procedural opportunities available to a party to seek review of this decision and intervention as a party would enable the Senate to do so;

Whereas, pursuant to sections 703(c), 706(a), and 713(a) of the Ethics in Government Act of 1978 (2 U.S.C. 288b(c), 288e(a), and 288f(a) (Supp. III 1979)), the Senate may direct its Counsel to intervene in the name of the Senate in any legal action in which the powers and responsibilities of Congress under the Constitution are placed in issue; Now therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate Legal Counsel is directed to intervene in the name of the Senate in Consumer Energy Council of America, Inc., et al. v. Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, et al., Nos. 80-2184, 80-2312.

Mr. BAKER. Madam President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was agreed to.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

ORDERS FOR TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1982

ORDER FOR RECESS UNTIL 11 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. BAKER. Madam President, I believe there are certain other matters that are cleared on this side for consideration at this time, but first, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today it stand in recess until the hour of 11 a.m. on tomorrow.

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

ORDER FOR THE RECOGNITION OF SENATORS BUMPERS AND BENTSEN

Mr. BAKER. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that after the recognition of the two leaders under the standing order, the following Senators be recognized on special orders for not to exceed 15 minutes each in this order: First, the distinguished Senator from Arkansas (Mr. BUMPERS), and then the distinguished Senator from Texas (Mr. BENTSEN).

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

ORDER FOR RECESS FROM 12 NOON UNTIL 2 P.M. TOMORROW

Mr. BAKER. Madam President, it has been brought to my attention that there will be meetings in the nature of caucuses to be held on both sides of

the aisle tomorrow, as is not infrequently the case on Tuesday, and that the time for those meetings will be between 12 and 2 o'clock.

Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess from the hour of 12 noon tomorrow without further motion and on direction of the Chair to reconvene at 2 p.m. on tomorrow.

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

INCREASING THE LIMITATION ON EXPENDITURES BY THE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES FOR THE PROCUREMENT OF CONSULTANTS

Mr. BAKER. Madam President, I believe this request has been cleared with the minority.

I move that the Rules Committee be discharged from further consideration of Senate Resolution 283, a resolution increasing the limitation on expenditures by the Committee on Labor and Human Resources, and I ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Tennessee.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the resolution by title.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 283) increasing the limitation on expenditures by the Committee on Labor and Human Resources for the procurement of consultants.

The Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution (S. Res. 283) was agreed to as follows:

S. RES. 283

Resolved, That section 2 of S. Res. 62, Ninety-seventh Congress, agreed to March 3, 1981, is amended by striking out "\$27,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "\$45,000".

Mr. BAKER. Madam President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was agreed to.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

TO AUTHORIZE THE ZETA BETA TAU FRATERNITY TO CONDUCT A RECEPTION IN THE ROTUNDA OF THE CAPITOL ON MARCH 31, 1982

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Madam President, I sent to the desk on behalf of Mr. PELL a Senate concurrent resolution, and I ask for its immediate consideration.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the concurrent resolution by title.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Con. Res. 64) to authorize the Zeta Beta Tau fraternity to conduct a reception in the rotunda of the Capitol on March 31, 1982, to commemorate Roger Williams for his contribution to religious toleration and freedom in the United States.

The Senate proceeded to consider the concurrent resolution.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 64) was agreed to as follows:

S. CON. RES. 64

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Zeta Beta Tau fraternity is authorized to conduct a reception in the rotunda of the Capitol on March 31, 1982, to commemorate Roger Williams for his contribution to religious toleration and freedom in the United States. The reception shall be conducted in accordance with such conditions as may be prescribed by the Architect of the Capitol.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Madam President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the concurrent resolution was agreed to.

Mr. BAKER. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT—DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE AUTHORIZATIONS (S. 951)

Mr. BAKER. Madam President, under an order previously entered, the majority leader, after consulting with the minority leader, is authorized to turn to the consideration of the Department of Justice authorizations bill under conditions prescribed in the unanimous-consent order.

After conferring with the minority leader and running the clearance process on this side, it appears to suit the convenience of those principally involved in this measure and of the greatest number of Senators to proceed to the consideration, to resume the consideration, of the Department of Justice authorizations bill tomorrow at 3 p.m.

In view of that, and assuming that it is still satisfactory to the minority, I put this unanimous-consent request: I ask unanimous consent that at 3 p.m. on Tuesday, February 9, the Senate return to the consideration of S. 951, the Department of Justice authorizations bill, with the time between the hour of 3 p.m. and 4 p.m. to be equally divided between the majority and minority leaders or their designees, to be followed by a rollcall vote at 4 p.m. on the motion to invoke cloture on S. 951, the Department of Justice authorizations bill.

Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the mandatory quorum under rule XXII prior to the vote be waived.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. Hearing no objection, it is so ordered.

THE CALENDAR

Mr. BAKER. Madam President, there are certain other matters on the Calendar of General Orders, Calendar of Business, that are cleared on this side for action at this time. I ask the distinguished minority leader if he is prepared to consider the following five items: Calendar No. 428, Senate Resolution 289; Calendar Order No. 429, Senate Resolution 290; Calendar Order No. 433, Senate Joint Resolution 130; Calendar Order No. 434, Senate Joint Resolution 141; and Calendar Order No. 435, Senate Resolution 253.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Madam President, the calendar orders aforementioned by the majority leader have been cleared on this side.

Mr. BAKER. I thank the minority leader.

I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate the items identified in the order just stated.

AUTHORIZING EXPENDITURES BY THE COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION

The Senate proceeded to consider the resolution (S. Res. 289) authorizing expenditures by the Committee on Rules and Administration, which was considered and agreed to, as follows:

S. RES. 289

Resolved, That, in carrying out its powers, duties, and functions under the Standing Rules of the Senate, in accordance with its jurisdiction under rule XXV of such rules, including holding hearings, reporting such hearings, and making investigations as authorized by paragraphs 1 and 8 of rule XXVI of the Standing Rules of the Senate, the Committee on Rules and Administration is authorized from March 1, 1982, through February 28, 1983, in its discretion (1) to make expenditures from the contingent fund of the Senate, (2) to employ personnel, and (3) with the prior consent of the Government department or agency concerned and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to use on a reimbursable basis the services of personnel of any such department or agency.

SEC. 2. The expenses of the committee under this resolution shall not exceed \$1,273,800, of which amount not to exceed \$15,000 may be expended for the procurement of the services of individual consultants, or organizations thereof (as authorized by section 202(d) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended).

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with such recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than February 28, 1983.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee under this resolution shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers

approved by the chairman of the committee, except that vouchers shall not be required for the disbursement of salaries of employees paid at an annual rate.

Mr. BAKER. Madam President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was agreed to.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

PRINTING OF SENATE ELECTION LAW GUIDEBOOK

The Senate proceeded to consider the resolution (S. Res. 290) authorizing the printing of a revise edition of the "Senate Election Law Guidebook" as a Senate document, which was considered and agreed to, as follows:

S. RES. 290

Resolved, That a revised edition of Senate Document Numbered 96-45, entitled "Senate Election Law Guidebook", be printed as a Senate document, and that there be printed eight hundred additional copies of such document for the use of the Committee on Rules and Administration.

Mr. BAKER. Madam President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was agreed to.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

DAY OF NATIONAL CELEBRATION

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will read the next resolution by title.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A joint resolution (S.J. Res. 130) designating February 22, 1982, the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the birth of George Washington, a "Day of National Celebration."

The Senate proceeded to consider the joint resolution.

Mr. WARNER. Madam President, I rise today in support of Senate Joint Resolution 130, designating February 22, 1982, the 250th anniversary of the birth of George Washington, a day of national celebration.

I am joined in this legislation by 28 cosponsors, including Senators HARRY F. BYRD, JR., JENNINGS RANDOLPH, PAUL TSONGAS, BARRY GOLDWATER, GORDON HUMPHREY, ALAN CRANSTON, HOWARD CANNON, JOHN CHAFEE, SLADE GORTON, ROBERT KASTEN, PETE DOMENICI, MARK HATFIELD, RUDY BOSCHWITZ, WALTER HUDDLESTON, DANIEL INOUE, RICHARD LUGAR, CHARLES PERCY, HARRISON WILLIAMS, CHARLES GRASSLEY, BENNETT JOHNSTON, JEREMIAH DENTON, SAM NUNN, THAD COCHRAN, MACK MATTINGLY, and PAUL SARBANES.

George Washington was one of our Nation's greatest leaders. He possessed

considerable wisdom, unflagging energy, profound faith in God, and a clear vision of our Nation's potential in the years and generations ahead.

Frequently Washington is referred to as the "Father of our country." This title, while perhaps a little exaggerated, is nonetheless appropriate when one considers Washington's leadership in America's quest for independence from the British and his inspiring leadership as both the President of the Constitutional Convention and the first President of the United States. He set the course for this Nation—a course charted in political stability unrivaled in the history of civilization.

George Washington was a great American and a great Virginian. He was a man who lived by his word, who professed virtue, conscience, good character, honesty, justice, and equality.

As important as his expression was in his day, the words of Washington hold meaning for all of us today. Who among us can quarrel with Washington that arbitrary power is most easily established on the ruins of liberty abused to licentiousness. Certainly his belief that to be prepared for war is the most effectual means of preserving peace has rung true through the ages and stands as a cornerstone of America's modern defense and foreign policy.

How fitting it is that just after America observed the battle at Yorktown last October—where representatives from the United States, France, and Great Britain gathered to pay tribute to Washington's last great battle of the Revolutionary War—America should now observe his 250th birthday with a day of national celebration.

The Senate joint resolution about which I speak today is but a small tribute to the enormous contribution George Washington made to our Nation. It is my hope, and I believe the hope of all Senators who join me in support of this resolution, that Washington's 250th birthday will be marked with ceremonies and activities appropriate for this national leader.

I wish to take note for the benefit of my colleagues of some of the organizations which are helping to coordinate these ceremonies. They include the George Washington Chapter of the Virginia Society; Sons of the American Revolution; the George Washington Birthday Celebration Commission; and the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union.

Madam President, I urge the passage of this Senate joint resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the resolution.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

The preamble was agreed to.

The joint resolution, and the preamble, are as follows:

S.J. RES. 130

Whereas February 22, 1982 is the two hundred fiftieth anniversary of the birth of George Washington, one of the greatest of our leaders, whose considerable wisdom, unflagging energy, profound faith in God, and clear vision contributed so much to the success of the American Revolution, and whose capable and inspired leadership as President of the Constitutional Convention and advisor to the delegates, and first President of the United States, set the Nation on a course of political stability unrivaled in the history of civilization; and

Whereas it is fitting that this event be commemorated in such a manner as to extol his character and accomplishments: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That February 22, 1982, is proclaimed a day of national celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the birth of George Washington, and the President is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation calling upon the people of the United States to observe such day with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

Mr. BAKER. Madam President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the joint resolution was passed.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

NATIONAL CRIME PREVENTION WEEK

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 141) designating February 7 through February 13, 1982, as "National Crime Prevention Week," was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

The preamble was agreed to.

The joint resolution, and the preamble, are as follows:

S.J. RES. 141

Whereas the high incidence of crime in the United States is detrimental to the general welfare of our Nation and causes feelings of frustration and helplessness among its citizens; and

Whereas people in all parts of America have begun to fight back against crime by learning about crime prevention and by joining with law enforcement agencies to start neighborhood watch groups and other programs designed to promote safety in their communities; and

Whereas national attention and leadership is required to cause public recognition of the importance of crime prevention and the need for citizen action; and

Whereas there is a need to support a crime prevention program designed to encourage cooperation for crime prevention among citizens, law enforcement agencies, and the private sector; and

Whereas National Crime Prevention Week has been the focus of national public awareness about crime prevention for over thirty years: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America

in Congress assembled, That the President is authorized and requested to designate the week of February 7 through February 13, 1982, as "National Crime Prevention Week", and to encourage all citizens, law enforcement agencies, and private businesses to work together to prevent crime and to seek the return of an environment in which Americans may live and work free of crime and fear.

Mr. BAKER. Madam President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the joint resolution was passed.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

SENSE OF THE SENATE ON NATIONAL CIRCLE K WEEK

The resolution (S. Res. 253) expressing the sense of the Senate on "National Circle K Week", was considered and agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

The resolution, and the preamble, are as follows:

S. RES. 253

Whereas Circle K International is an organization of college students sponsored by Kiwanis International that provides a means for responsible community action by students;

Whereas Circle K International emphasizes the advantages of the democratic way of life and provides the opportunity for leadership training in service;

Whereas Circle K International encourages the adoption and the application of high social, business, and professional standards;

Whereas the members of Circle K International promotes the creation and maintenance of righteousness, justice, patriotism, and good will; and

Whereas Circle K International is presently involved in service projects to help teenagers, the elderly, and handicapped in need of support under the theme, "Together for Tomorrow": Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that the week of February 7, 1982, through February 13, 1982, be proclaimed as "National Circle K Week".

Sec. 2. The Secretary of the Senate shall transmit a copy of this resolution to the president of Circle K International.

Mr. BAKER. Madam President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was agreed to.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

THE EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. BAKER. Madam President, on today's Executive Calendar, I find that certain nominations are cleared on this side for consideration by unanimous consent. I inquire of the minority leader if he is prepared to clear some or all of the items on the calendar.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Madam President, the nominations have been

cleared on this side of the aisle and we are ready to proceed.

Mr. BAKER. I thank the distinguished minority leader.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. BAKER. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now go into executive session for the purpose of considering all the names under "Nominations," beginning on page 1, continuing on page 2 and page 3 and page 4 under the heading "Nominations Placed on the Secretary's Desk in the Department of State."

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

Mr. BAKER. Madam President, I further ask unanimous consent that the nominations be considered and confirmed en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Reserving the right to object, Madam President, if the Chair will temporarily indulge me.

Madam President, I remove my reservation of objection and have no objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations are considered and confirmed en bloc.

The nominations considered and confirmed en bloc are as follows:

THE JUDICIARY

Robert H. Bork, of the District of Columbia, to be United States Circuit Judge for the District of Columbia Circuit.

Michael S. Kanne, of Indiana, to be United States District Judge for the Northern District of Indiana.

James T. Moody, of Indiana, to be United States District Judge for the Northern District of Indiana.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

William F. Weld, of Massachusetts, to be United States Attorney for the District of Massachusetts.

Lamond Robert Mills, of Nevada, to be United States Attorney for the District of Nevada.

Stephen S. Trott, of California, to be United States Attorney for the Central District of California.

Thomas A. O'Hara, Jr., of Nebraska, to be United States Marshal for the District of Nebraska.

George L. McBane, of North Carolina, to be United States Marshal for the Middle District of North Carolina.

Stuart E. Earnest, of Oklahoma, to be United States Marshal for the Western District of Oklahoma.

William J. Jonas, Jr., of Texas, to be United States Marshal for the Western District of Texas.

Eugene H. Davis, of Utah, to be United States Marshal for the District of Utah.

COPYRIGHT ROYALTY TRIBUNAL

Edward W. Ray, of California, to be a Commissioner of the Copyright Royalty Tribunal.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Alan C. Nelson, of California, to be Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Walter J. Stoessel, Jr., of the District of Columbia, a Career Member of the Senior Foreign Service with the personal rank of Career Ambassador, to be Deputy Secretary of State.

U.S. INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION AGENCY

John R. Bolton, of Virginia, to be an Assistant Administrator of the Agency for International Development.

[NEW REPORTS]

NATIONAL FOUNDATION ON THE ARTS AND THE HUMANITIES

William J. Bennett, of North Carolina, to be Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

NOMINATIONS PLACED ON THE SECRETARY'S DESK IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Department of State nominations beginning Donald S. Brown, to be Career Members of the Senior Foreign Service of the United States of America, Class of Career Minister, and ending Gerald Wein, to be Career Members of the Senior Foreign Service of the United States of America, Class of Counselor. Consular Officers and Secretaries, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of December 15, 1981.

Mr. BAKER. Madam President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the nominations were confirmed en bloc.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. BAKER. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be immediately notified that the Senate has given its consent to these nominations.

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

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. BAKER. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate return to legislative session.

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

ADDRESS BY SENATOR PETE DOMENICI BEFORE THE NATIONAL PRAYER BREAKFAST

Mr. NUNN. Madam President, I was privileged to hear a friend and colleague, Senator PETE V. DOMENICI, speak before the National Prayer Breakfast last week.

With insight and eloquence, Senator DOMENICI offered his personal thoughts on the love that binds families, communities and society together. His address was not only a perceptive analysis, but it also contained practical advice for improving the quality of our own lives and the life of our society.

Senator DOMENICI's remarks were enriching and moving. From the many complimentary comments I heard from those in attendance, I know that the audience shared my impression of his outstanding presentation.

Madam President, I believe that we can all benefit from reading and reflecting on Senator DOMENICI's message, and I recommend his thoughtful presentation to every Senator. I ask unanimous consent that his address be printed in the RECORD.

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

SPEECH BEFORE ANNUAL PRAYER BREAKFAST BY SENATOR PETE V. DOMENICI, FEBRUARY 4, 1982

I must admit to a certain feeling of awe at my assignment today.

I am in awe not only of my assignment, but of you, distinguished visitors, and of the presence of the President and General Dozier.

Mr. President, you have heard me worry about the Federal budget so much that you may think that is what I talk about every time I open my mouth. Well, today I promise that I will not mention the budget. I want to talk about one of the few things that occupies me more than Federal Budgets—society and families and the love that binds society and families together.

As I began preparing this little talk, I wondered why anyone would have chosen me for such a task. Since I am neither a great leader, nor a great speaker, nor one learned in history or philosophy, nor a biblical scholar of any sort, I have to conclude that I was chosen because of my constant concern for my family and my broader concern for family and community life in the United States and the rest of the world.

What I say today may be said better by others, and probably has been. Indeed, the words of our Lord Jesus are more powerful than anything I might say here today. But I hope that no one among the mortal exceeds me in my sincerity.

Let me start with something of a confession.

I am not one who is always and invariably considerate. It is a struggle for me to be loving, to be forgiving, to do good to others. Preoccupied by my job and myself all too often, I find that I do not take the time, or make the effort, to love. I confess that even with my family I do not show the love I have.

At one time, I was bothered by this trait, and I guess I would not be mentioning it today if I were not still somewhat bothered about it. After all, I reasoned, how good could I be, how strong a witness could I be, if I had to struggle to show my love and be considerate of others?

As the Apostle Paul said in his first letter to the Corinthians, "Love is patient; Love is kind. Love is not jealous, it does not put on airs, it is not snobbish. Love is never rude, it is not self-seeking, it is not prone to anger; Neither does it brood over injuries. Love does not rejoice in what is wrong, but rejoices with the truth. There is no limit to love's forbearance, to its trust, its hope, its power to endure."

I was bothered by my own difficulty in feeling a love as unselfish as the love that Paul described, because my impression was that true religious feeling, or Christian love, would be spontaneous and constant. But, I have come to think, virtually all of us have to struggle to take the time to love and show love.

Indeed, the most important persons in the world may be those who, like all of us in this room, struggle to do good, against an

inherently self-occupied, inward-looking nature.

Thomas a Kempis said, "There is no living in love without suffering." He is talking about bearing a cross, about living in love the way Jesus lived in love—choosing to love even though this choice means making personal sacrifices. There is no living in love without suffering. There is a world of wisdom in that.

I believe that struggle is the key to good works, the key to successful loving. In everyday terms, most people who do not put some real effort into it will not have a successful marriage, will not raise their children lovingly, and will not know all the joys that family can bring. And, if we do not extend our notion of family into a notion of our entire society as a family that needs our daily love, we are not doing what we should.

We all struggle in our own private ways to be better, more loving persons. But sometimes we are privileged to get a glimpse of how others struggle.

Once, my wife Nancy and I went to Russia. Through unofficial channels, we let it be known that we would like to meet members of the Soviet Union's clergy. Then one evening, at an elaborate dinner in the Kremlin for 700 to 800 people, we were presented to a Russian Orthodox priest. At first, he was very reluctant to talk to us, but bit by bit he opened up. Finally, he took us aside and told us of the difficulties he faced. And then, tears streaming down his face, he opened his shirt and showed us the cross around his neck. And he gathered us around him so that no one would see, and he prayed over us.

How much easier we have it: Yet it is that same private, personal struggle to express our love that keeps families together and keeps communities together, in spite of the many forces in today's society that make this a formidable task.

Loving is an act of will, perhaps the supreme act of will. And if one's will to love is strong enough, no power on earth can defeat it.

That this struggle is everywhere is evident.

Who here cannot remember the extraordinary faith, strength, and love shown by the family of General Dozier, when the General was going through his terrible ordeal in the hands of his kidnapers? And who here was not moved when we saw the pictures of the family's joyful reunion after so many dark and fearful days?

Earlier I said that I was ashamed that I was not always spontaneous in my caring. One of my closest and dearest friends from Albuquerque, who refuses to let me use her name, has shown me that even someone loving and considerate must work to show love. Because she has children, and a crazy schedule between her husband's work and her own burdens, it is easy for her expressions of love or consideration to be forgotten in the hubbub. So she makes an effort so that love might not be lost. Each day she does something special that she has planned the night before to show one of her children that she cares about him or her.

My friend realizes that if she merely depends on an emotional or spontaneous demonstration of love, the pressures of the day might never allow such an expression. From the start, she pledged to herself that she would avoid that. And, because she worked at it, love was shown and love grew.

As the Russian priest struggled to show his faith against all odds, as General Dozier's family showed their love when they

could not even be sure that the General was alive, as my personal friend struggles each day to show her love despite her almost overwhelming schedule, so all of us must struggle to show love and to demonstrate it. We should assume that such love will be nameless, but that it shall be more powerful than any fame. We under-estimate our capacity for good, yet, we also under-estimate how much hard work being good and being loving requires.

I know that to put this event together today much work was necessary. This expression of love was no spontaneous event, but it is no less important for that. Love that comes spontaneously may be beautiful. But more beautiful still is the love that comes of diligence, caring, and effort.

Let me conclude by reiterating my thoughts on God's greatest gift, love. First, love at its highest contains more than mere emotion. It embodies struggle. It demands expression and will. Second, that love and struggle occur in silence or in places far from notice detracts not at all from its grace or its necessity. And, finally, each of us, as people who struggle to love, are the most important people alive. Without our struggle, without our love, without our work to overcome our failings, our families and our very society will cease to exist and the world may never be the place of grace and peace we so devoutly wish.

I do not want to start an organization to preserve the family or to combat the forces that tear at our society. I would much prefer that each of us—privately and individually—work at caring and loving so that no such organization is necessary.

What, in the end, is the purpose of our struggle? Of our love? It is, I believe, that we can all make a difference, all of us, great and small, famous and nameless. Indeed, only we can make a difference.

Yet, have we made a difference?

Too many in this land and abroad are hungry, too many lonely.

Too many neighborhoods exist, where people neglect each other.

Too many young people need counseling, and love, and simple friendship.

Too many prisoners sit in despair without hope.

Too many elderly lie unvisited in too many hospitals or nursing homes.

How can this be when so many tens of millions of us profess Christ? If we really witnessed, we could by ourselves make everyone celebrate life.

I am not impressed by the fact that many persons have filled out questionnaires saying they have found Christ. I am not impressed even by the large numbers who attend church regularly, although I am glad they do so.

I will be impressed when our words and our deeds combine to make this a land of strong families and strong communities and strong love.

And for those of us who might think such work beneath us, recall Christ's words: "For I was hungry and you gave me food. I was thirsty and you gave me drink. I was a stranger and you made me welcome; naked and you clothed me, sick and you visited me, in prison and you came to see me. Then the virtuous will say to him in reply, 'Lord, when did we see you hungry and feed you; or thirsty and give you drink? When did we see you a stranger and make you welcome; naked and clothe you; sick or in prison and go to see you?' And the King will answer, 'I tell you solemnly, in so far as you did this to one of the least of these brothers of mine, you did it to me.'"

We are the salt, the Bible says, that seasons everything. We must now go forth and season the world around us. If today our words add encouragement to those who hear, let us work that tomorrow our deeds will bring the celebration of life to millions more.

My prayer is that all of you and those millions who profess but are not here would do this.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT'S CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY

Mr. NUNN. Madam President, on January 30, 1982, the United States celebrated the centennial anniversary of the birth of Franklin D. Roosevelt. In honor of this celebration, Kay Magenheimer of Carrollton, Ga., has composed an inspiring poem, "This Way!" which I would like to share with my colleagues.

During her career, Kay has composed several award winning poems. In 1964, the late Senator Kenneth B. Keating inserted her tribute to John F. Kennedy in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It was later published in a book by the U.S. Government, "John Fitzgerald Kennedy, Late a President of the United States." She recently won second prize in a national poetry contest for her tribute to Anwar Sadat.

I am pleased to have this opportunity to bring to the attention of the Senate this new poem. I ask that the poem be printed in the RECORD.

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

THIS WAY!

This way!—to no less than St. George himself!—

Shouted the boy in boisterous play
As he roared down a hill
To slay "dragons" off a half-mooned shore.

This way! my son, Sara adjoined
The child to the manor born,
Is how a gentleman is discovered:
Be caring, always, of the poor.

Franklin! This way! cried Eleanor
To her stricken husband, one fateful day:
Up! Up on your feet, even in braces,
Or you surely die!

This way! a President told a nation
He found freezing, selling apples
In the streets, stamping numbed feet,
Warming cold hands over ashan fires:

"The only thing we have to fear is fear itself!"

Suddenly, out of a surprised sky,
Infamous bombs rained from the blue,
Destroying his proud ships;
Entombing, forever, their agonized crews.

Dismayed by the perfidious trick,
This man of peace
Dared to command, as chief: This way!

Then his rockets glared red over the Pacific
And—four days later—
Across the Atlantic
Where Italy and the bully of Europe
Threatened to bludgeon a crippled United States.

This way! Roosevelt cried out to St. George,
Whose banners were already aflame.

Joining lances, and helped
 By yeomen, subterranean and brave.
 They slashed through the Mediterranean
 boot.
 And from the sundered shores of France
 Enroute to the dragon's lair,
 Freed Europe from its gallows tree.
 Now with victory scenting the very air,
 But with its triumphant flags yet unfurled,
 This way! said God to the President
 And quietly, the man went Home.
 A swell of grief engulfed his nation
 And the world. And concentration camps,
 Where—so close to freedom—all hurled
 themselves
 Against their blackened walls, and wept
 For this man forever blessed
 For his words still lingering on his lips:
 Freedom to speak and seek a God of one's
 own
 Freedom from want, freedom from fear.
 And for his alarm:
 Abate hate! Cast off excessive arms!
 Every nation has the right to peace,
 To live without fear.
 But today, not forty years
 Since his great soul was heaven-borne,
 A handful of men, crazed by power,
 Decides who lives or dies. And no one
 cries * * *

Half the world dare not speak!
 Half the world is denied its God.
 Whole populations die of hunger
 And everywhere, fear haunts every single
 soul.

This way! Roosevelt calls
 Even now, from Eternity,
 To a frightened, supine world:
 Get up on your feet! Live!
 Care for your innocents—
 Your poor, your sick,
 Your elderly and your young.
 Your ignorant.

Protect all creatures and
 Your planet! Remember,
 It is your only home
 Away from Home.

Be jealous of your liberty!
 Be watchful of your government.
 As I said before, it is better
 That charity—not icy indifference—
 Covers its occasional sin.

Destroy those arms
 That tempt nations to aggression.
 But keep your defenses up!
 Above all,
 Hold fast to your honor!
 Then you will know,
 My friends:
 "The only thing you have to fear Is fear
 itself!"

YOU CAN'T GO BROKE MAKING A PROFIT

Mr. HELMS. Madam President, there is an old rural adage which says, "You can't go broke making a profit."

In 1982, farmers are finding that profits are all too few. Inflation, high interest rates, and the consequences of the grain embargo of January 4, 1980, are still being felt in the farm economy. In this economic environment, farmers deserve to have every possible marketing tool made available to them, so as to earn real profits in the marketplace.

One possible marketing tool which could be used by farmers is the trading of options on agricultural commodities. Options are contracts which provide the holder the right, but not the obligation, to buy or to sell a commodity at a specified price.

This means that a farmer, for example, could assure himself a minimum price for his grain at some future date certain. However, he would not lose the opportunity to sell this grain for more than the minimum price if cash prices rose above the minimum. The farmer would use this technique to try to lock in a price at which he could determine in advance would result in a profit. This could help the farmer immensely, since "you can't go broke making a profit."

It has been said that farming is a bigger gamble than Las Vegas, since the weather, the markets, and the Government are all unpredictable. Modern export-oriented agriculture, in other words, entails tremendous risks.

No one knows exactly how to calculate what level market prices may be in the future. But farmers and other entrepreneurs can determine their actual production costs. With this information, a producer can identify a price level which will pay his production costs and allow a reasonable return. He is protected then, even as he seeks higher actual market prices. In this way options could help to minimize risk, while still allowing an opportunity for reward.

Conversely, a miller or grain processor could use the option contract to lock in the price he pays for his raw materials. Such a system has potential benefits for farmers, processors, their lenders, and others in the industry.

The trading of options on farm commodities is currently prohibited by law because of abuses which occurred early in this century. This law, however, will come up for review in this session during the course of the reauthorization of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission.

Dr. Bruce Gardner, a noted agricultural economist at the University of Maryland, has written an article suggesting that the trading of agricultural options should be permitted. This article was published in the American Journal of Agricultural Economics in December 1977, and it should be reexamined today. The paper is scholarly in nature and the more technical provisions have been deleted in the excerpt provided here. It is an excellent article, in my view, and deserves careful consideration.

In addition, Dr. James Culver of the CFTC staff published an article in the January 1982 Commodities magazine which expresses his personal opinion on the trading of agriculture options.

I invite my colleagues and the public to thoughtfully review these articles and this subject. I am not necessarily

convinced that the trading of agricultural options is desirable or that the ban on these options should be repealed at this time. Certainly, neither the Congress nor the CFTC should move prematurely on this matter.

I do believe, however, that farmers and the agricultural industry could use an additional opportunity for price protection and flexibility. I would hope that this could be achieved through the private sector. Options may offer that opportunity. I hope farmers will carefully evaluate this potential as a marketing tool that will help put producers in the driver's seat in obtaining fair prices—and profits—in the marketplace.

Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the excerpts of the articles be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCERPTS FROM COMMODITY OPTIONS FOR AGRICULTURE

(By Bruce L. Gardner)

INDIVIDUAL RISK MANAGEMENT USING OPTIONS¹

To review the terminology used, a "commodity option" is a contract to buy or sell a given quantity at an exercise price stated in the contract at the option of the purchaser of the contract. A contract conveying the right to buy is a "call" option. A contract conveying the right to sell is a "put" option. While an option confers the right to buy or sell, there is no obligation to do so. The right is not a free lunch, however, because the option must be paid for, whether it is exercised or not.

The person who receives payment, the other party to the contract, is said to "write" the option. He has a responsibility but no rights, for which he is paid. For a call (put) option, if the commodity price rises above (falls below) the exercise price by more than the "premium" paid (number of bushels in the contract divided by amount paid for the contract), the buyer of the option comes out ahead. If market prices do not rise this high (fall this low), the option writer gains. The gains of one party equal the losses of the other.²

¹ Trading is commodity option for most domestic farm products (notable exceptions being sugar and tobacco) is currently prohibited by the Commodity Exchange Act. The occasion is appropriate to consider the economics of options because of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission's proposed pilot program in options trading for some nonprohibited commodities, which could open the door to a general relaxation of restrictions on options.

² Brokerage or other transactions costs are for the most part ignored in this paper, so that the premium paid by an option buyer equals the receipts of the option writer. The analysis also is oversimplified in not considering the distinctions between "American" and "European" options (defined below) or between options written on a commodity and options written on a futures contract. The basic economics of options is not affected by these complications, although they involve important practical issues.

There are four roles an individual may play in options contracting: one can buy a call option, write a call option, buy a put option, or write a put option. Any of these actions may either increase or decrease an individual's exposure to price risk depending on his position in the underlying commodity, in futures, or in other options.

SOME OBJECTIONS TO OPTIONS MARKETS

The objections to legalizing options trading seem to center on the difficulty of policing this activity and on alleged undesirable effects on competing financial markets, particularly futures markets.

The idea that any activity should be prohibited because of the difficulty of policing or regulating it seems to me a weak one. Options trading is a voluntary capitalist act between consenting adults, in Robert Nozick's phrase. People ought to have the right to do these things unless it can be shown that serious external harm results. The regulatory view is that people ought to be forbidden from doing these things unless it can be shown that external good results. The regulatory view gains acceptance in the case of options because of the aura of disrepute about options trading. While options have the reputation of being inherently more purely speculative than futures trading, this reputation is undeserved. Options can be used either to increase or decrease risk of loss, just as futures or other wagers can. Options, however, are more flexible than futures, as illustrated above. Even for pure speculators, options can offer better controlled gambles than futures. In buying a call option the purchaser's maximum loss is limited by what is paid for the option. In futures trading or holding the commodity, losses are not so easily limited.

It is sometimes suggested that because the supply of speculative services is limited, the proliferation of options markets would reduce the viability of futures markets. This is an empirical issue that the Commodity Futures Trading Commission's proposed experimental program in options trading may help answer. Even if futures and options markets turned out to be such close substitutes that they could not coexist, can we be certain that the contest should be decided in advance in favor of futures?

It must be admitted, however, that there are many difficulties in establishing and facilitating trading in an options market and in keeping the public's trust in the integrity of such markets.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The effects of options trading in farm commodities cannot be established other than hypothetically since there is so little empirical evidence. Nonetheless, there are good reasons to expect that commodity options for farm products would be useful financial instruments. They can be used by producers and users of commodities for risk management purposes more flexibly than futures or other forward sales. They also present advantages to speculators. Their use could improve efficiency in the market for the underlying commodities. An organized options market would yield information about the distribution of expected market price that cannot be obtained from futures prices. This information would be useful for decision making in the private sector and for such purposes as setting support prices in the public sector. Finally, over the long term options could permit a further movement toward less reliance on the general taxpayer for farm income and greater market determination of prices and resource

allocation in agriculture, while still permitting farmers to obtain a degree of insurance against the income consequences of low prices (without locking themselves out of the benefits of high prices as a forward sale does).

However, the private benefits of centralized option trading could be insufficient to cover the costs of maintaining and transacting in such a market. If so, viable options markets will not develop. Nonetheless, there is no justification for stacking the deck against options by means of legislation. Indeed, the public good aspect of information generated by quoted option prices suggests that options trading on organized exchanges should be encouraged.

[From *Commodities*, January 1982]

IT'S TIME TO RECONSIDER OPTIONS ON FARM COMMODITIES

(By James A. Culver)

Options trading on agricultural commodities, currently banned by Congress, should be reconsidered now because:

All issues concerning options trading in the United States have been fully and exhaustively examined:

Because economic uncertainty today demands every price-risk management tool that ingenuity can devise; and

Because the nation's contract markets have the strongest, most reliable self-regulatory systems in their history. Also, government has 60 years of accumulated experience in regulating futures markets that can be applied to impede the unscrupulous sales practices that haunted unregulated options.

According to a new program outlined by the Commodity Futures Trading Commission, options would be traded on regulated exchanges. The plan would permit exchanges of offer options on commodity futures. This program would not allow options on agricultural commodities produced in the U.S.

MANAGE PRICE RISK

Commodity options have the potential to help businessmen and producers manage price risk, and in some instances, options can be a more appropriate vehicle than futures of this purpose.

Futures contracts expose their owners to two equal and opposite effects. While they offer their owner the opportunity to limit price risk if the market moves against him, they also limit profit opportunity for the commercial hedger. Any profit the hedger realizes in the futures market will be offset by losses in his opposite cash market position.

Options, however, provide an opportunity, not obligation, to buy or sell the underlying market. The holder of a sell (put) option limits his risk on the downside, but does not sacrifice his profit opportunities in the underlying market if prices rise.

Conversely, the purchaser of a call (buy) option limits his risk on the upside of the market, but may still take advantage of price declines in the underlying market. A premium is paid for this right.

If the option does not become profitable during its life, the holder need only let it expire and his cost is then limited to the premium already paid. With options traded on exchanges, it also would be possible to offset the option position in the market and recover a portion of the original premium depending on the time remaining in the option and the current value of the underlying asset.

Options sometimes can be a more attractive risk-management tool than futures con-

tracts. The holder of an option has limited liability, that is, he can lose only the premium. Futures trading places the owner at risk for the full amount of any adverse price change that occurs while the futures contract is held.

For instance, in the early 1970s, soybean futures prices rose quickly from the \$3 per bu. range to nearly \$13. This was good news, indeed, for those with soybean inventories, unless they held a short futures position.

Because increases in prices cause losses in short futures, a soybean merchant who had acquired short futures position at \$3 a bu. suffered successive losses as prices rose to around \$13, wiping out the unexpected inventory profits.

FARE BETTER

But, if the same merchant had been able to acquire soybean option puts (the right to sell the underlying commodity) he might have fared much better. He would have paid a premium for them.

As prices climbed to roughly \$13, the merchant simply would have abandoned the options, and except for the cost of the premium, could have enjoyed most of the unexpected inventory profit.

Options on agricultural commodities might better serve the legitimate business needs of agri-businessmen, including producers, who traditionally do not use futures. And, over time, options might also provide a private source of price protection that now is contained in certain farm programs.

In fact, agricultural commodity options offer several unique advantages for the producer and other agri-businessmen in managing price risk. One major advantage of options over futures is the limited risk involved in owning options.

To acquire an option, you pay a premium only once; that is the maximum possible loss on a purchased option. The premium gives the purchaser the right, not obligation, to buy or sell the underlying commodity at a fixed price (the strike price) on or before a future date (the expiration date).

However, if the purchase or sale of the commodity at the option's strike price would be unprofitable, the option may be abandoned. Therefore, options may be used as price insurance, that is, to assure a maximum or minimum price for an anticipated purchase or sale of the commodity in the future.

In order to use options as price insurance, a grain miller could purchase a call option (the right to buy the underlying commodity), thereby insuring a maximum price for the commodity. If the commodity's price were to rise above the option's strike price, the miller could exercise his option to buy and would receive a long position in the commodity.

However, if the commodity's price falls below the strike price, the miller can take advantage of the lower price in the spot market and abandon the option.

His only penalty is the premium. In either case the cost of this price insurance, the option premium, is determined when the option is purchased.

Options also may be used more economically than futures when the magnitude of risk is unclear. For example, a producer generally will be uncertain about his crop yield, but still may wish to protect himself against possible adverse price changes and a possible decline in crop value.

If he chooses futures to hedge his crop and establishes a larger futures position than needed, the producer actually becomes

a speculator in the excess contracts, and is at serious risk. But, using options instead or as a complement to a short futures position taken on the minimum yield expected, the only risk run is that additional premiums may be paid.

Another advantage of owning options as a risk-management tool is the absence of margin calls. The option premium is paid when the option is purchased; no other payments need be made during the life of the option.

In contrast, during their life, futures positions may generate margin calls of large and uncertain magnitude which could cause cash-flow difficulties, particularly for producer-hedgers.

Options also can be used to manage risk by generating additional income. The holder of a cash commodity position can write an option on that position and receive the option premium (income) in return for granting the option.

BORNE BY WRITER

However, any losses on the commodity position greater than the option premium are borne by the writer. Gains on the position above the strike price go to the option purchaser, rather than the owner of the underlying commodity.

For example, a producer holding an unhedged inventory of sugar for future sale could grant a call option against that inventory in return for the option premium. If the price of the sugar declines below the call option's strike price, the producer would have to absorb the losses on the inventory position. This loss would be offset only by the amount of the premium received for granting the unexercised call option.

On the other hand, if the price of the commodity rose above the call strike price, the option could be exercised. The grantor would have to deliver the commodity at the option's strike price. In such a situation, the option writer foregoes any possible gain from the commodity price rise above the strike price in exchange for the premium income.

JOSEPH diGENOVA

Mr. MATHIAS. Madam President, Joseph diGenova, the staff director and chief counsel of the Rules Committee and my former administrative assistant leaves the Senate today to become principal assistant U.S. attorney for the District of Columbia. He will leave behind him a host of friends and he will take with him the best wishes of all who knew him here on Capitol Hill.

A very wise Frenchman once said that "gratitude is the memory of the heart." It is also the least articulate of all emotions. This being so, I will simply ask my colleagues to join me in thanking Joe for many jobs well done in the service of each of us and of this institution which he knows and loves so well.

MORTGAGE REVENUE BOND PROGRAM REVISIONS STILL NEEDED

Mr. SASSER. Madam President, after 2 years of legislative initiatives and regulatory changes, with countless

hours of analysis and negotiation in between, we seem to be nearing the point when the mortgage revenue bond program may be allowed to operate efficiently and effectively. The Treasury Department, in its wisdom, has partially adopted a few of the changes recommended in S. 1348, a bill I introduced last year to remedy the major problems in the Mortgage Subsidy Bond Tax Act of 1980. Some problems remain, however, and the Congress should consider further constructive changes in the Mortgage Subsidy Bond Tax Act of 1980.

These changes are in two areas that have been central to my own legislative program, and which—in the aftermath of the state of the Union message—are of increasing urgency to this administration: regulatory simplification and the return of decisionmaking authority to States and localities.

For example, the Tennessee Housing Development Agency was finally able to issue bonds in December which will assist in the construction or resale of about 1,700 dwellings. The paperwork involved in structuring that sale under existing requirements was staggering. But the need was there and the commitment was there, and the THDA saw it through. There is no need, however, to continue to require the burdensome, costly, and counterproductive regulatory straitjacket that threatened this bond issue from the start.

My colleague, Senator DURENBERGER, addressed some of these problems in his amendment to H.R. 4717, considered in the closing days of the last session. He is to be commended for his efforts to clear up some of the key questions in this matter. It has been my experience, in talking with bond counsel and with representatives of housing finance agencies across the country, however, that this amendment, unfortunately, does not go far enough in meeting a number of critical problems that remain for certain States.

Madam President, as we begin the 2d session of the 97th Congress, I want to set out again for my colleagues a sensible approach to getting the mortgage bond program moving again. We are, indeed, close to getting it in top running order, but there are additional constructive adjustments that can still be made through further legislation. As part of the preparation for that effort, I am enclosing an analysis by the bond counsel to the Tennessee Housing Development Agency explaining the effect of the Durenberger amendment and of THDA's December IRS ruling on the legislation I proposed last year. The points raised in this analysis demonstrate the need for passage of S. 1348, my legislation to amend the Mortgage Subsidy Bond Act of 1980.

Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the analysis by Hawkins,

Delafield & Wood appear in the RECORD at this point.

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

HAWKINS, DELAFIELD & WOOD,

New York, N.Y., January 14, 1982.

Re Tennessee Housing Development Agency mortgage finance program bonds.

GRADY R. HAYNES,

Partner, Haynes Bros. Supply Co., Murfreesboro, Tenn.

DEAR GRADY: You have asked for my thoughts concerning two developments as they relate to the pending Duncan/Sasser Bills. The first is the amendment to the Mortgage Subsidy Bond Tax Act offered by Senator Durenberger and others in the Senate on December 16, 1981 (UP Amendment No. 812). The second is the revenue ruling issued by the Internal Revenue Service on December 24, 1981 with respect to the Agency's Single Family Program Bonds, 1981 Series A. Both of these have an impact on the Duncan/Sasser Bills as described below.

Impact of Durenberger amendment. Of the four provisions contained in the Duncan/Sasser Bills which have received the most attention, the Durenberger Amendment addresses two of these—first, the inadequacy of issuer spread and, second, the potential for forced losses on investments. In both instances, the language used is different from that in the Duncan/Sasser Bills. The language differences in the case of investment losses are minor, however, and the comments made by Senator Dole as Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee make it clear that the effect of the Durenberger provision as to investment losses was intended to be the same as that of the Duncan/Sasser Bill.

As to arbitrage, the differences between the two approaches is more significant, although both trend in the same direction. The Durenberger Amendment increases the allowable spread by one-sixteenth of 1 percent overall and for issues under \$100,000,000 permits the spread to increase another one-sixteenth of 1 percent on a sliding scale. I don't know how this sliding scale was arrived at or what the theory behind it is supposed to be, although it seems to be based on the theory that smaller issues are more expensive than larger ones. On the basis of my own experience, it does seem true that smaller issues are more expensive to issue, but the magnitude of this penalty, to the extent it may exist at any particular point in time, is much less than the effect of other factors such as market conditions and credit ratings, etc.

As to the sufficiency of the spread, the Agency should be in a position to evaluate this rather well now that it has completed a bond issue under the new law. In that regard it is clear that the requirements of the new law added significantly to administrative expense and that the effect of market conditions would have required the Agency to contribute a significant amount to the issue, even if there had been no desire to reduce the interest rate below that allowed under Section 103A.

Impact of the ruling. In the ruling request submitted by the State of Tennessee on behalf of the Agency, a number of points of clarification were raised concerning items that were covered in the Duncan/Sasser Bills. In the final ruling which was granted on December 24, 1981, a number of these issues were resolved favorably to the

Agency. These included: (a) a determination that the Agency could exclude data relating to mobile homes located on leased land in computing purchase price requirements, (b) approval of a method whereby the Agency could make credits to mortgagors against the final payment of the loan which permits the Agency to offset the amount to be credited against declines in the market value of non-mortgage investments without being required to accumulate excess non-mortgage investment income, (c) approval of a simplified method of accounting for rebates and (d) approval of the Agency's method of computing yield on the Bonds assuming recycling of mortgage principal into new loans. In addition, in conjunction with the ruling request, the Agency received approval of its own designation of Targeted Areas.

In many respects the ruling reflected determinations which had been made by the IRS in regulations promulgated by the IRS, FHA and VA subsequent to the introduction of the Duncan/Sasser Bills. As a result of these Regulations, partial relief has been given on the good faith requirements although neither the ruling nor the Regulations put us in a position to give an opinion that the bonds will continue to be tax exempt if they are tax exempt when issued. The Regulations also created certain safe harbors which avoid some of the technical questions involved in the new law. To date the Agency has been protected from the need to go beyond these safe harbors, because the ruling permitted the Agency to exceed these safe harbors in the cases where it was necessary for your recent issues.

The Ruling and Regulations did not, however, address all of the concerns which are addressed by the Duncan/Sasser Bills. Those items which were addressed in the Duncan/Sasser Bills and which remain untouched by either the Durenberger Amendment, the Regulations or the Ruling are:

- (1) a provision which allows persons living in substandard housing or who have been displaced by natural disaster or government action to be eligible for the program;
- (2) provisions which allow an issuer to measure compliance on a programmatic basis in order to reduce administrative complexity and provide financial flexibility by allowing all bonds issued for the purpose to be treated as one issue;
- (3) permission for an issuer to elect to treat statistical areas on a combined basis in its discretion;
- (4) inclusion of energy impacted areas as Targeted Areas;
- (5) repeal of registration requirements.

Therefore, the Duncan/Sasser Bills in addition to providing more complete relief on the good faith and arbitrage spread questions, than the Durenberger Amendment, the Regulations or the THDA ruling, would address a number of areas which have not been dealt with in any other fashion.

Please let me know if you have any further questions in this regard.

Yours truly,

PAUL A. DEBARY.

FRAUD HOTLINE 3 YEARS OLD

Mr. SASSER. Madam President, I wish to take this opportunity to report to my colleagues on the progress of the General Accounting Office's nationwide, toll-free fraud hotline which celebrated its third anniversary of operation on January 18, 1982.

Simply stated, the first 3 years of the hotline's operation have made the telephone the single most effective weapon against waste, fraud, abuse and inefficiency in the Federal Government.

My colleagues will recall that this hotline was established at my request, and with the strong support at the time of the then ranking minority member of the Legislative Appropriations Subcommittee, former Senator and now Secretary of Health and Human Services, Richard Schweiker.

I first made the suggestion for the hotline at a December 4, 1978, hearing which we conducted on fraud in Government.

Installed at the General Accounting Office with the cooperation of former Comptroller General Elmer Staats, the hotline has the firm support of the new Comptroller General, Charles Bowsher.

In a recent letter to me, Mr. Bowsher indicated that cases substantiated by the hotline "have saved the Federal Government, and thus the taxpayer, millions of dollars," and that, "in addition, there is definitely a deterrent effect" on wasteful, fraudulent abusive and inefficient practices in the Federal Government. The full text of Mr. Bowsher's letter is included at the conclusion of my remarks.

The hotline itself allows any concerned citizen with knowledge of fraud and abuse—in any Federal program—to report that knowledge to a General Accounting Office Special Task Force for the Prevention of Fraud.

Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the fraud hotline number be printed in the RECORD.

FRAUD HOTLINE

The national toll-free fraud hotline is 800-424-5454. In the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area the number is 644-6987.

Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that a description of the GAO fraud hotline procedures be printed in the RECORD at this point.

GAO TASK FORCE HOTLINE PROCEDURES

Each caller on the GAO "Fraud Hotline" is interviewed following the general format of a data collection form, with a separate control number assigned to each call. This will be used to track those allegations which appear substantive through later verification of facts and investigations if warranted. The type of information GAO is attempting to record is:

Federal agency or source of Federal funds/material involved in the allegation;

Specific locations where the location is alleged to be taking place;

Recurring or one time;

Length of time activity has been going on;

Extent of activity (some idea of number of people involved); and

Estimate of dollar value involved.

The GAO task force will provide an initial screening of the calls to eliminate those which are obviously non-substantive. Those which appear to be substantive but relate to program effectiveness and efficiency rather than fraud will be referred to the operating divisions of GAO for consideration in their audit work. Those which appear to be allegations of fraud will be coordinated with the appropriate agency Inspector General for investigation. In the event the agency Inspector General is unable to respond in a timely manner because of manpower limitations or priority of ongoing work, GAO will perform a verification of facts relative to the allegation utilizing regional field offices. This data will be evaluated by GAO and a decision made relative to referral to the Department of Justice for possible prosecution.

Madam President, it is clear that by allowing anyone to telephone GAO directly from anywhere in the country with an allegation of suspected waste or fraud, and by guaranteeing the caller anonymity if he or she wishes, an effective weapon in the battle for efficient and honest government has been unleashed.

All the data indicate that the hotline has been an enormous success. It has also been a great help in pinpointing problem areas that the Congress can address through legislation.

For instance, the number of calls phoned into the hotline involving allegations concerning Federal employees or Federal employees in conjunction with others—over 31 percent of the total—pointed to the need for stricter controls and auditing procedures for Federal managers.

The proposed Financial Integrity Act (S. 864) is designed to do just this—set in place stricter controls and auditing procedures for Federal managers. The Senate Governmental Affairs Committee approved this legislation last December.

Of course, the ideal situation would be to have no need for a hotline, to have the Federal Government be free of instances of waste, fraud, abuse, and mismanagement. But the fact is that we need the hotline. And if the first 3 years are any measure, we are going to need it for some time to come.

Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that a letter from Comptroller General Charles A. Bowsher and a summary report of the GAO's fraud task force hotline activities for the first 35 months of its operation be printed in the RECORD.

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

COMPTROLLER GENERAL
OF THE UNITED STATES,

Washington D.C., January 8, 1982.

Hon. JIM SASSER,
U.S. Senate.

DEAR SENATOR SASSER: Three years ago, during testimony before your subcommittee on the General Accounting Office (GAO) report entitled "Federal Agencies Can, and Should Do More to Combat Fraud In Government Programs" (GGD-78-62, September 19, 1978), you suggested that the GAO should establish a toll-free, nationwide "hotline" to help in the fight against fraud, waste, and abuse in the Federal Government. In January 1979, with your continued support for the idea of a hotline, the GAO implemented this hotline concept. This concept permits any taxpayer to call the GAO directly from anywhere in the United States if he or she has information concerning fraud, waste, or abuse in any Federal department or agency, and has proven to be a significant step in the Federal Government's anti-fraud efforts.

GAO has received over 33,000 calls on this hotline, and over 7,000 of these allegations have been the subject of further investigation and/or audit. In several hundred cases these audits and investigations have resulted in substantiation of the hotline allegations. These substantiated cases have saved the Federal Government, and thus the taxpayer, millions of dollars. In addition, there is definitely a deterrent effect; however, its extent is difficult to measure.

We have enclosed some examples of substantiated cases, as well as a copy of the December 15, 1981, statistical summary.

Once again we thank you for your continued support of the GAO efforts to combat fraud, waste, and abuse in the Federal Government.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES A. BOWSER,
Comptroller General of the United States.FRAUD TASK FORCE HOTLINE SUMMARY,
DECEMBER 15, 1981VOLUME OF CALLS AND GEOGRAPHIC AREA—FIRST
35 MONTHS OF OPERATION

We announced the hotline telephone number on January 18, 1979, and after the first 35 months of operation, (Dec. 15, 1981), had written up over 10,500 allegations which require classification as to materiality, agency and program involved, and geographic location. In addition to the above, we have received numerous calls that were more appropriately the concern of other Federal agencies or State or local officials that were referred but not written up. We have received over 33,000 calls in total. Computer analysis of the first group of calls written up is complete and the follow-up process on these hotline leads has begun. Additional calls are being received daily, and will be handled by the same process.

Calls have been received from all 50 States, the District of Columbia and overseas locations.

A geographic breakdown based on the 6,548 allegations believed to be substantive in our screening of 10,629 cases is as follows:

LOCATION OF REPORTED ACTIVITIES

465 Washington, D.C.
116 Alabama.
26 Alaska.
66 Arizona.
73 Arkansas.
773 California.
113 Colorado.
40 Connecticut.

11 Delaware.
260 Florida.
291 Georgia.
17 Hawaii.
23 Idaho.
177 Illinois.
74 Indiana.
39 Iowa.
50 Kansas.
123 Kentucky.
82 Louisiana.
22 Maine.
182 Maryland.
87 Massachusetts.
250 Michigan.
45 Minnesota.
71 Mississippi.
179 Missouri.
39 Montana.
28 Nebraska.
28 Nevada.
20 New Hampshire.
116 New Jersey.
49 New Mexico.
305 New York.
111 North Carolina.
21 North Dakota.
310 Ohio.
80 Oklahoma.
51 Oregon.
255 Pennsylvania.
17 Rhode Island.
50 South Carolina.
26 South Dakota.
245 Tennessee.
401 Texas.
30 Utah.
6 Vermont.
307 Virginia.
173 Washington.
57 West Virginia.
49 Wisconsin.
6 Wyoming.
53 Overseas.
60 Missing Codes.

AFFECTED GOVERNMENT ENTITY EXECUTIVE
BRANCH

327 Department of Agriculture.
86 Department of Commerce.
110 Department of Defense (other than Air Force, Army, Navy).
230 Department of the Air Force.
407 Department of the Army.
357 Department of the Navy.
79 Department of Energy.
578 Department of Health, and Human Services (formerly HEW) (other than SSA, OE, NIH).
935 Social Security Administration (Welfare, SSI).
55 Office of Education.
39 Department of Education.
16 National Institutes of Health.
425 Department of Housing and Urban Development.
167 Department of the Interior.
149 Department of Justice (other than FBI).
8 Federal Bureau of Investigation.
472 Department of Labor.
11 Department of State.
158 Department of Transportation.
77 Department of the Treasury (other than IRS).
669 Internal Revenue Service.
73 Community Services Administration.
87 Environmental Protection Agency.
15 Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.
23 Federal Emergency Management Agency.
197 General Services Administration.
27 National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

7 National Science Foundation.
60 Small Business Administration.
28 Tennessee Valley Authority.
36 Office of Personnel Management.
185 United States Postal Service.
263 Veterans Administration.
8 Agency for International Development.

LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

12 Congress.
20 General Accounting Office.
7 Library of Congress.

OTHER

13 D.C. Government.
114 Other Federal Agencies.
17 Missing Agency Codes.

MIX OF CALLS—SUBSTANTIVE AGAINST
NONSUBSTANTIVE

Approximately 33 percent of all calls received appear to have some substance and are written up for further evaluation. After additional screening approximately 61 percent of those written up appear to have some substance for investigation or audit. For example, of 10,629 allegations that have been screened, 6,548 appear to have some substance for investigation or audit. Of the 6,548, about 25 percent are in the "mismanagement" category, while the remaining 75 percent (4,624 allegations) appear to involve intentional wrongdoing.

TYPES OF ALLEGATIONS RECEIVED

Other than those of a non-substantive nature and those that did not appear to involve the expenditure of Federal funds, hotline allegations fell into one of two categories:

Instances of apparent mismanagement, and

Instances of intentional wrongdoing.

In summarizing the allegations of wrongdoing, we found it useful to categorize them according to the participants in the alleged improper activity. We established the following five activity participant categories:

1. Federal employees only.
 2. Federal employees in conjunction with others.
 3. Federal contractors or grantee organizations.
 4. Individual and corporate recipients of Federal financial assistance.
 5. Other individuals or corporate entities.
- Of the 4,624 allegations of wrongdoing, the highest proportion, 32.1 percent, was in the participant category "Individual and corporate recipients of Federal financial assistance." The table below shows the number and proportion of total wrongdoing allegations falling in each of the five participant categories.

Participating category	Number of allegations	Percent of total
1. Federal employees only	1,186	25.6
2. Federal employees in conjunction with others	281	6.1
3. Federal contractors or grantee organizations	931	20.1
4. Individual and corporate recipients of Federal financial assistance	1,484	32.1
5. Other individuals or corporate entities	742	16.0
Total	4,624	100.0

Looking first at the "Federal employees only" category we found that there were 179 allegations of theft, 223 allegations of private use of Government property, 399 reports of employee working hour abuses, 228 reports of improper financial transactions, and 157 reports of other improper activities.

In the second category, that of "Federal employees in conjunction with others" there were 130 allegations of a bribe or kick-back having been paid, 4 allegations of extortion and 147 miscellaneous other allegations.

In the "Federal contractor/grantee" category there were 401 allegations of improper expenditure of Government grant funds, 180 allegations of contract non-performance, 96 reports of the theft of Government funds or property and 254 other allegations of various natures.

The fourth category, "Individual and corporate recipients of Government financial assistance" included 467 allegations of welfare cheating, 256 of cheating on social security benefit eligibility, 320 on collecting inappropriate disability benefits, 76 of cheating on veterans benefits, 107 instances of food stamp cheating, 34 of medicare/medicaid cheating and 224 miscellaneous allegations.

The fifth and final category, "Other individuals or corporate entities" included 602 allegations of personal and corporate income tax cheating, and 140 other allegations of improper activity.

The allegations of wrongdoing that were received to date involve the funds of every one of the 18 cabinet departments of the Federal Government and involve activity in Washington, D.C., and all 50 States.

In 70 percent of the cases, the informant was anonymous. Thirty-one percent of the informants were Federal employees.

REFERRALS MADE AS OF DECEMBER 15, 1981

HHS.....	1,733
DOL.....	514
HUD.....	468
DOD.....	1,094
IRS.....	697
VA.....	294
GSA.....	270
USDA.....	343
Post Office.....	173
Interior.....	172
EPA.....	90
NRC.....	8
FEMA.....	30
D.C. Government.....	13
Office of Personnel Management.....	55
State Department.....	10
AID.....	9
DOT.....	163
DOE.....	78
Commerce.....	85
Justice.....	165
Treasury.....	111
SBA.....	67
NASA.....	30
LEAA.....	26
GAO.....	126
CSA.....	83
OMB.....	5
Merit System.....	3
TVA.....	29
Legal Services Corporation.....	13
Securities and Exchange Commission.....	1
Department of Education.....	48

Total referrals..... 17,006

¹ Total cases referred is greater than the number of substantive cases received because some allegations were referred to more than one agency.

THE ASSASSINATION OF TURKISH CONSUL GENERAL KEMAL ARIKAN IN LOS ANGELES

Mr. THURMOND. Madam President, twice in the recent past (1980

and 1981) I had the sad occasion to denounce in strongest terms the senseless terrorist killings perpetuated by the two Armenian terrorist groups against diplomats and their families of our trusted NATO allies, the Republic of Turkey.

In those instances the assassinations occurred outside of the United States; not since 1973 had such incidents occurred on American soil. It is tragic that now terrorist killings by the Armenian groups have returned to the United States, despite our calls for increased vigilance against such occurrences by our law enforcement agencies.

While condemning the senseless gunning down of the Turkish Consul Gen. Kemal Arikan of Los Angeles, we must focus on the overall terrorist threat by the various groups of Armenian commandoes, the Marxist ASALA and the Justice Commandoes of Armenian Genocide, who had claimed responsibility for the assassination of the Turkish Consul General.

About the ASALA I stated previously on April 2, 1981:

Mr. President, the pro-Soviet attitude of members of this terrorist organization is a matter of great concern to me. It would appear that the Secret Liberation Army of Armenia may well belong to the list of terrorist organizations reportedly receiving Soviet backing as well as Soviet blessings. At an April 1979 press conference in Beirut, Lebanon, representatives of the Secret Liberation Army of Armenia used a completely Marxist vocabulary, and espoused virulent anti-American slogans.

I hope that the law enforcement agencies in California and the FBI increase their vigilance to extend protection to the Turkish diplomats in the United States, in order to avert further bloodshed of our trusted friends. The Los Angeles Police Department is to be commended for the apprehension of one of the gunmen and we hope that the second assailant will also be in police custody. I trust the full severity of the law will be applied against these dastardly assassins.

Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the eulogy given by His Excellency Sukru Elekdag, Ambassador of the Turkish Republic, at the funeral of Consul General Kemal Arikan, on February 3, 1982, be inserted into the RECORD.

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

Kemal Arikan, the Los Angeles Consul General of the Turkish Republic, on the 28th day of January, while discharging his duties, fell victim to a dastardly crime in this city.

In addition to bringing profound sorrow to Mr. Arikan's family, his friends and his colleagues, his loss has brought grief to the Turkish Nation, whose valued son has fallen in its service.

Kemal Arikan, the Consul General of an allied and friendly country to the United States, his family, and the entire consular

staff, had been carrying out their duties here in Los Angeles under constant threat and harassment. Kemal Arikan's residence was bombed, his office was bombed, and his life threatened repeatedly.

Kemal Arikan is the third Turkish Diplomat to have been murdered in Los Angeles. In 1983, Turkish Consul General Baydar and Deputy Consul General Demir were shot down by an Armenian. During the ensuing period, 17 Turkish diplomats or members of their immediate families were murdered in different parts of the world by Armenian terrorist organizations. In other words, the chain of killing and shedding of innocent life that was initiated here in Los Angeles has, after claiming so many victims, come full circle.

Persons claiming to represent the Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide have taken responsibility for the assassination of Kemal Arikan. The same organization has also claimed responsibility for the murders of the Turkish Ambassador to the Vatican, Taha Carim, the wife of the Turkish Ambassador to Spain, Necla Kunalalp, retired Ambassador Besir Balcioglu, the Turkish Consul General in Sidney, Australia, Sarik Ariyak, and his aide Engin Sever.

The Armenian Justice Commandos have also declared that, together with ASALA, an Armenian Communist terrorist group, they have assassinated Ahmet Benler, son of the Turkish Ambassador to the Netherlands, and Yilmaz Colpan, Press Counselor in Paris.

Last week's murder of Kemal Arikan is clear evidence that Armenian terrorists have expanded their network in the United States to intensify their wanton, criminal acts here. It would be a big mistake to dissociate Kemal Arikan's murder either from all those which preceded it or from the acts of terrorism to which General Dozier and Charles Ray, the American military attaché in Paris, were subjected. These and other recent terrorist acts are related and part of a larger phenomenon, an integral plan to weaken and subvert the societies of the Free World.

ASALA, the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia, for example, is an avowedly Communist organization whose declared mission is to detach a strategically important part of Turkey and annex it to Soviet Armenia. It is in open secret that ASALA receives support from other, non-Armenian, terrorist organizations in Europe and the Middle East and from Marxist-Leninist entities. These groups share a common objective—the destruction of those societies in which Western ideals and liberties can flourish.

It should not be forgotten that these terrorist organizations, in many instances, attempt to appear to champion the illusory goals of various groups whenever they can use such goals and groups for their own dark purposes. The pretext for the murder of Kemal Arikan, as with the murders of his predecessors here in 1973, reportedly is to avenge a grievance which stems from misrepresented events of almost 70 years ago. The continued propagation of this distortion of history breeds vengefulness from generation to generation and plays into the hands of Armenian terrorists.

In Turkey, there are tens of thousands of people whose parents and other close relatives perished because of Armenian actions during the tragic incidents of 1915 in the midst of World War I. But, these Turks have chosen to forgo bitterness and to adopt a spirit of peaceful reconciliation. It is

senseless to open the wounds of 70 years ago when the world has been striving to heal the wounds of the far more recent Second World War.

One would hope that the Armenians of goodwill will condemn terrorists who shed innocent blood in 1982 and repudiate their actions. Likewise, we should all be alert to brand as counterfeit those condemnations of terrorism that in the same breath rationalize it. These are especially disturbing when they are uttered by public officials.

The reopening of ancient wounds is also senseless because the Turkish Republic, whose foundation was constructed over the ruins of the Ottoman Empire after World War I, today is a strong, robust state of 46,000,000, a valued member of the Western world, and a staunch ally of the United States. Turkey has the power, the capacity, and the will to preserve the integrity of its homeland and to protect it from the designs of its enemies.

Americans, no less than Turks, cannot tolerate terrorism. The security of the public domain is a primary requirement for a free society, whether in the cities of Europe or in cities such as Los Angeles.

Terrorism is a dreadful plague of our era and a scourge to be eradicated. If the Western world is unable to deal with it, our societies will be disabled. It behooves all civilized countries to work for an effective cooperation in the fight against international terrorism.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Saunders, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session, the Acting President pro tempore laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(The nominations received today are printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

BUDGET MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT—PM 109

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, together with accompanying documents; which, pursuant to the order of January 30, 1975, was referred jointly to the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on the Budget:

To the Congress of the United States:

One year ago, in my first address to the country, I went before the American people to report on the condition of our economy. It was not a happy occasion.

Inflation, interest, and unemployment rates were at painfully high levels, while real growth, job creation,

new investment, personal savings, and productivity gains had virtually ceased. Our economy was staggering under the burden of excessive tax rates, double-digit inflation, runaway Government spending, counter-productive regulations, and uneven money supply growth. The economy, I declared, was in the "worst mess" in half a century.

To our great good fortune, there were many in the Congress who understood the nature of our difficulties and who rose with us to meet the challenge. Fundamental and long-overdue remedies were proposed and put in place. Together, we enacted the biggest spending and tax reductions in history. Counter-productive regulations have been swept away, and the Federal Reserve has taken action to bring excessive monetary growth under control.

The first year of the 97th Congress will be remembered for its decisive action to hold down spending and cut tax rates. Today, the question before us is whether the second year of this Congress will bring forward equal determination, courage, and wisdom. Clearly, there is a great deal more to be done.

Some seek instant relief from the economic problems we face. There is no such panacea. Our program began October 1, and it cannot solve in 4 months problems that have been building for more than 4 decades. All the quick fixes tried in the past not only failed to solve but actually aggravated our economic difficulties. They simply ensured a new cycle of boom and bust, of exaggerated hopes and eventual disappointment.

We did not promise the American people a miracle. We did promise them progress, and progress they will get.

Our goal was and remains economic recovery—the return of noninflationary and sustained prosperity. We seek a larger economic pie to provide all Americans more jobs, more after-tax income, and a better life. Quick fixes won't get us there.

What will get us there is firm resolve and unwavering adherence to the four fundamentals of our economic recovery program that I outlined to the Congress 1 year ago:

- Reducing personal and business taxes to stimulate saving, investment, work effort, and productivity.
- Reducing the growth of overall Federal spending by eliminating Federal activities that overstep the proper sphere of Federal Government responsibilities.
- Reducing the Federal regulatory burden in areas where the Federal Government intrudes unnecessarily into our private lives or interferes unnecessarily with the efficient conduct of private business or of State or local government.

—Supporting a moderate and steady monetary policy, to bring inflation under control.

At the same time, I have proposed strengthening the Nation's defenses, to restore our margin of safety and counter the Soviet military buildup.

Congressional response to these proposals has been positive and gratifying. While much remains to be done, we have made a good beginning.

The Nation's fiscal policy is now firmly embarked on a new, sound, and sustainable course. For the first time in 2 decades, the destructive pattern of runaway spending, rising tax rates, and expanding budgetary commitments has been slowed, and with the cooperation of the Congress this year, will finally be broken.

—Where the growth rate of spending had soared to 17.4% in 1980, it is now declining dramatically—to 10.4% this year, and under the budget I am submitting, to 4.5% next year.

—Where budget growth totaled \$166 billion from 1979 to 1981, spending will rise by only 60% of that amount from 1981 to 1983, despite cost-of-living adjustments and the needed defense buildup.

—After having reached 23% of GNP in 1981, the Federal Government's claim on our economy will steadily recede—to 22% in 1983 and to below 20% by 1987.

—After a decade of tax-flation in which fiscal and monetary excess fueled the unrelenting rise of prices and the automatic increase of taxes, significant tax rate reductions have been enacted. A permanent safeguard against bracket creep and Government profiteering on inflation—income tax indexing—has also been created.

—Where Government had passively tolerated the swift, continuous growth of automatic entitlements and had actively short-changed the national security, a long-overdue reordering of priorities has begun, entitlement growth is being checked, and the restoration of our defenses is underway.

This dramatic progress in reordering fiscal policy has been paralleled by a similar redirection of monetary policy. The excessive, unsustainable, and eventually ruinous growth of money and credit of the past decade has been curbed. The inflation spiral has been broken. The growth of prices is slowing down. Peoples' savings are beginning to flow out of unproductive speculation, tangible assets, and other inflation hedges back into the Nation's financial arteries where they will be available to power economic recovery, more jobs, and growing incomes and opportunities.

THE BUDGET TOTALS

(In billions of dollars)

	1981 actual	1982 estimate	1983 estimate	1984 estimate	1985 estimate
Budget receipts.....	599.3	626.8	666.1	723.0	796.6
Budget outlays.....	657.2	725.3	757.6	805.9	868.5
Surplus or deficit (-) ..	-57.9	-98.6	-91.5	-82.9	-71.9
Budget authority	718.4	765.5	801.9	858.0	943.5

In short, we are putting the false prosperity of overspending, easy credit, depreciating money, and financial excess behind us. A solid foundation has been laid for a sound dollar, sustained real economic growth, lasting financial stability, and noninflationary prosperity for all Americans.

We are also moving to shackle the regulatory juggernaut that burdened production, consumed jobs, and diminished productivity growth. During the past year no significant new regulatory statutes were enacted and few major new regulations were imposed. Additions to the Federal Register declined by 23,000 pages. Benefit-cost analysis was made mandatory for regulations. Dozens of existing regulations were reviewed, modified, or eliminated. Without taking into account billions of dollars of savings from regulations never formally proposed because of the changed climate our program has created, quantifiable one-time cost savings of over \$3 billion and recurring annual savings of nearly \$2 billion have been realized. And the effort has just begun.

A YEAR OF HISTORIC ACHIEVEMENT

These remarkable achievements are the cornerstones of our national economic recovery program. They far exceed anything that the skeptics and critics ever dreamed possible just 1 year ago. They occurred because the executive and legislative branches of our Government joined together to respond to the mandate of the American people and overcome the impediments that had paralyzed Washington for a decade. Together, we have launched a process of reform and change that can transform the course of events.

The Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981 is the largest, most comprehensive, and most constructive tax bill ever adopted. With the cooperation of the Congress and support of the public, it was enacted in just 5 months. It addressed and substantially remedied most of the tax system's shortcomings and disincentives that had accumulated over decades—distortions that were imposing an increasingly heavy toll on investment, economic growth, and job creation.

—The penalty tax rate on investment income has been eliminated. By dropping the top rate from 70 to 50%, the attractiveness of tax shelters will be reduced and the incentives for productive investment in stocks, bonds, new business ven-

tures, and other financial assets will be increased. Our Nation's capital will again flow to the growth of business and jobs rather than to the vendors of protection from punitive taxation.

—Marginal tax rates have been significantly lowered for the first time in two decades. The 23% across-the-board rate reduction will mean \$183 billion in lower taxes for individuals over the first 3 years. The financial reward for savings, work effort, and new production will stop diminishing and start rising once again.

—Powerful new incentives for savings have been established. Beginning this year, 50 million workers will be eligible for the first time to set aside tax-free up to \$2,000 per year for Individual Retirement Accounts. The annual limit for existing Keogh and IRA investors will also be raised. By sharply altering the incentives for saving as opposed to consumption, a huge new flow of current income will be channeled toward restoring our productivity and lifting our national savings rate from last place in the industrial world.

—The taxation of phantom corporate profits has also been significantly curtailed. The new accelerated cost recovery system will shorten depreciation periods to 5 years for machinery and 15 years for structures. This will permit fuller recovery of asset costs, a more valid accounting of taxable profits, and a reasonable after-tax return on investments for the first time in years. By eliminating the drastic under-depreciation provided in previous tax law, after-tax business cash flow will be increased by \$10½ billion this year and \$211 billion over the next 6 years. This growing stream of funds for modernization, new machinery, new technology, new products, and new plants will revive our lagging productivity, restore our competitiveness in world markets, and spur the steady growth of jobs, production, and real incomes.

—The confiscatory taxing of estates and inheritances has been halted as well. By raising the exemption to \$600,000, by lowering the rate to 50 percent, and by removing the limits on the marital deduction, 99.7 percent of all estates will eventually be exempt from estate taxation. Hard-working American farmers, small businessmen, investors, and workers can once again be confident that the sweat, sacrifices, and accumulations of a lifetime will belong to their heirs rather than their Government.

—Government profiteering on inflation has been abolished. Beginning

in 1985, the individual income tax brackets, the zero-bracket amount, and the personal exemption will be corrected annually for inflation. Bracket creep will never again systematically plunder the rewards for production and effort. Government will never again use inflation to take a rising share of the peoples' income without a vote of their representatives.

The past year's achievements on spending control and the reestablishment of budgetary discipline are no less impressive than the sweeping tax changes. For the first time ever, the Congress activated its central budgetary machinery and overcame the spending impulses of its fragmented parts. The Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981 was a watershed in fiscal history—a giant step toward the restoration of fiscal discipline. By the accounting of its own Congressional Budget Office, spending will be \$35 billion lower this year and about \$130 billion lower over the next 3 years due to just one bill passed in only 5 months after having been considered by 30 different committees, a bill that reduced, reformed or eliminated hundreds of programs. The growth of budgetary outlays is at last being brought in line with the growth of the tax base and the national income. Excess spending commitments, unnecessary programs and overlapping activities were meaningfully addressed in the Reconciliation Act for the first time in decades.

—As a result of congressional action in 1981, the growth of entitlements will be reduced by \$41 billion during the next 3 years. For the first time, eligibility standards for food stamps and student loans have been tightened. Unemployment benefits have been targeted to States where they are needed. Subsidies for non-needy students have been reduced in the school lunch program. Abuses of the Medicaid, nutrition, and AFDC programs have been curtailed, saving \$14.4 billion over the next 3 years. Overly generous and unaffordable twice-a-year cost-of-living adjustments for Federal retirees have been eliminated. The "uncontrollables" are being brought under control, and benefits have been retargeted where they are most needed.

—Dozens of ineffective or counterproductive programs have been eliminated or reduced. The \$4 billion make-work CETA public sector jobs program was abolished. Extravagant dairy subsidies have been cut substantially. The ineffective \$700 million Economic Development Administration is being phased out. The Community Services Administration has been eliminated. An unnecessary \$2 billion in

Government subsidies for new energy supplies and technologies has been cut. The excessively-funded impact aid program was substantially scaled back. In short, a long-overdue housecleaning of excess budgetary commitments was accomplished.

- Inappropriate Federal subsidies have been withdrawn. Legislation to return Conrail to the private sector has been enacted. The National Consumer Cooperative Bank has been privatized. Subsidies to the auto industry for new technology demonstrations have been eliminated. Operating subsidies to local mass transit systems are being phased out. Subsidies to exporters have been sharply curtailed. Subsidized disaster loans to financially viable businesses have been eliminated.

- A major stride toward rationalizing the structure, reducing the cost, and increasing State and local flexibility in the Nation's \$91 billion grant-in-aid system has been enacted. Fifty-seven narrow, red-tape-ridden categorical grants programs have been replaced with 9 block grants. The pages of regulation imposed on State and local governments have been reduced from over 300 to 6, while the cost to the Federal budget has been reduced.

- Total funding for nondefense discretionary programs has been reduced. After continuous growth for two decades, the budget cost of these programs will actually decline from \$137 billion in 1981 to \$130 billion in 1982.

- An impressive start at reducing fraud, waste, abuse, and unnecessary Government overhead was made. The President's Council on Integrity and Efficiency, established to coordinate a Government-wide attack on fraud and waste, saved \$2 billion in the last 6 months of 1981 alone. A comprehensive effort to collect \$33 billion in delinquent debts has been launched and will recover \$1.5 billion in 1982 and \$4.0 billion in 1983. These estimates include recoveries of delinquent taxes due to the Internal Revenue Service. Federal nondefense employment has been reduced by 35,000 since January 1981. The cost of Government travel, publications, and consultants has been reduced substantially.

At the same time that the Congress joined in these long-overdue efforts to pare back the size of the Federal budget and slow its momentum of growth, it has fully supported our ambitious but essential plan to rebuild our national defense. A year ago every component of military strength was flashing warning lights of neglect,

under-investment, and deteriorating capability. Today, health is being restored.

- Pervasive deficiencies in readiness—including too many units not ready for combat, too many weapons systems out of commission, too few people with critical combat skills, and too few planes and ships fully capable of their missions—are being corrected. Funds for operations and maintenance, including training and aircraft flying hours, have been boosted. Backlogs of combat equipment needing repair are being eliminated. Adequate supplies of spare parts necessary to support high operating rates for training, as well as to provide war reserves, are being purchased.

- The serious inadequacy in pay and benefits that threatened the all-volunteer force, caused an exodus of skilled personnel, and sapped morale throughout the armed services has been corrected. Last year's 14.3% pay increase has improved recruit quality, boosted reenlistment rates, stopped the drain of critical skills, and contributed to the dramatic revival of morale in our military services. End-strength goals are now being exceeded. In addition, the percentage of recruits with higher test scores has risen in the past year.

- Critical investments in conventional and strategic force modernization are now moving rapidly forward. A new bomber for early deployment and an advanced (Stealth) bomber for the 1990's have been approved to retain our capability to penetrate Soviet air defenses. Development of a new, larger, and more accurate MX missile to preserve our land-based deterrent is proceeding. A 5-year shipbuilding program including 133 new ships and a total investment of \$96 billion—double the 5-year program of the previous administration—has been launched. Rapid production of new combat systems including the M-1 Abrams tank, the AV-8B Marine Corps attack aircraft and the F/A-18 Navy tactical fighter have been approved. Improvements in our airlift and sealift forces to transport equipment and soldiers rapidly to counter military aggression anywhere in the world, are moving forward.

NO TIME TO RETREAT

These achievements of the first year truly constitute a new beginning. In every major dimension of national strength and well-being we have launched the redirection of policy that was so desperately needed and so long overdue. We are ending the destructive inflation and the financial disorder built up over a decade. We have removed the yoke of over-taxation from

our workers and our business enterprises. We have begun to dismantle the regulatory straitjacket that impeded our commerce and sapped our prosperity. And we have reversed the dangerous erosion of our military capabilities.

The task before us now is a different one, but no less crucial. Our task is to persevere; to stay the course; to shun retreat; to weather the temporary dislocations and pressures that must inevitably accompany the restoration of national economic, fiscal, and military health.

The correction of previous fiscal and monetary excesses has come too late to avert an unwelcome, painful, albeit temporary business slump. In the months ahead there will be temptation to resort to pump-priming and spending stimulus programs. Such efforts have failed in the past, are not needed now, and must be resisted at every turn. Our program for permanent economic recovery is already in place. Artificial stimulants will undermine that program, not reinforce it.

Likewise, previous excesses in money and credit growth have resulted in financial strain in many regions and sectors of our national economy. The adjustment to lower inflation and a more moderate money and credit policy did not come soon enough to avoid interest rates and unemployment far higher than we would like, and that we are working to reduce. But these effects are temporary. They cannot be remedied by a return to rapid, unsustainable expansion of Federal spending and money growth, which would drive inflation and interest rates to new highs. Our hard-won gains in reducing inflation must be preserved and extended—because permanent reduction of interest rates and unemployment is impossible if the fight against inflation is abandoned, just when it is being won.

Similarly, our budget deficits will be large because of the current recession, and because it is impossible in a short period of time to correct the mistakes of decades. But our incentive-minded tax policy and our security-based defense programs are right and necessary for long-run peace and prosperity, and must not be tampered with in a vain attempt to cure deficits in the short-run. The answer to deficits is economic growth and indefatigable efforts to control spending and borrowing. These principles we dare not abandon.

THE DEFICIT PROBLEM: ITS ORIGINS

Despite the new course we have charted and the gains we have achieved, the voices of doubt, retreat, and rejection are beginning to rise. They conveniently forget that the present business slump was not caused by our program but is the result of the accumulated burdens of past policy

errors, which we have taken action to redress. They fail to comprehend that our spending cuts and tax reductions were not designed to redistribute the output of a stagnant economy, but to revive the economy's growth and to increase its size—for the jobless as well as the affluent, for those who aspire to get ahead as well as those who have already arrived.

Increasingly, the larger budget deficits that we unavoidably face are offered as evidence that our entire course should be recharted. The matter of budget deficits, therefore, must be addressed squarely. We must fully comprehend why they have grown from our original projections, why they may remain with us for some time to come, what dangers they pose if not vigorously combated and what steps we can and must take to steadily reduce their size and drain on our available savings.

Our original plan called for a balanced budget in 1984. Balance is no longer achievable in 1984, but the factors that have postponed its realization are neither permanent nor cause for abandoning the goal of eventually living within our means.

In the near term, the most important setback to our budgetary timetable is the recession now underway. During 1982, receipts will decline by \$31 billion and outlays rise by \$8 billion due to the falloff of business activity and the increase of unemployment-related payments. This factor alone accounts for nearly all of the difference between the \$45 billion 1982 deficit we projected last year and our current estimate of \$98.6 billion.

While the recession will end before this fiscal year is over, its budgetary impact will spill over for many years into the future. It will take time for the unemployment rate to come down and safety net payments to diminish. The growth of receipts will recover, but not at the levels previously projected. This will add billions to deficits for 1983 and 1984.

The second major factor widening the deficit projection is interest payments on our trillion dollar debt. Here we are being penalized doubly for the misguided policies of the past.

The discredited philosophy of spend and spend, borrow and borrow, saddled us with a permanent debt burden of staggering dimensions. This year's interest payment of \$83 billion exceeds the size of the entire Federal budget as recently as 1958.

In addition, past fiscal, monetary, and credit excesses have resulted in temporarily high interest rates—rates that will come down, but only as inflation abates, private and public financing practices adjust, and long-term confidence rebuilds. Since market confidence has been so badly shaken by runaway inflation and interest rates in the past 3 years, it is apparent that in-

terest rates over the next several years will fall less rapidly than we had originally anticipated. Between the huge inherited base of national debt, the higher interest rates, and the large prospective additions to the national debt in the next several years, our total debt service costs will rise substantially.

Interest payments on the debt will exceed our original projections by \$18 billion in 1982, \$32 billion in 1983, and \$182 billion over 1982-86 taken as a whole. The interest rate/debt service factor, then, constitutes a major source of the setback to our budget timetable. But let us be clear about its origins: it arises primarily from a legacy of past excesses, not from a shortfall in our current budget control efforts, nor from a flaw in our overall program.

The third and most important factor contributing to the growth in deficit projections is quite simply the ironic by-product of our rapid and decisive success in bringing down the rate of inflation. Our economic forecast last February projected a 9.5-percent inflation rate in calendar year 1981 and a further decline to 7.7 percent in 1982. This projection was scorned by many as too rosy just 1 year ago. Yet the actual inflation rate in 1981 turned out to be lower than our projection, and the inflation decline this year and next year almost certainly will exceed our earlier projections.

This is welcome news to every American and we have adjusted our inflation forecast accordingly. But lower rates of price increase also mean lower inflation components in wages and incomes and a reduced flow of inflation-swollen tax receipts to the Treasury.

This point is not merely academic. Over the next 5 years, our forecast projects a 9.9 percent average rate of growth in nominal GNP reflecting a steady fall of inflation to about 4½ percent by 1987. If nominal GNP growth were just 2 percent higher each year, reflecting a continuation of higher inflation, Federal receipts would be enlarged by the staggering sum of \$353 billion over the 5 years. On paper, at least, the budget would be nearly balanced in 1987 rather than more than \$50 billion in deficit.

But if the last decade offers any lesson, it is that we cannot inflate our way to budget balance. Indeed, every budget from 1975 forward projected a balanced budget 2 years into the future and growing surpluses in the out-years. Not one of these surpluses materialized for a very compelling reason: the monetary excesses needed to finance inflationary growth of wages and incomes are the enemy of savings, investment, real economic growth, and fundamental business confidence and financial stability. They lead to the kind of pervasive economic breakdown that we experienced

during 1979-81—a breakdown that swells Government spending, interrupts the flow of receipts, and causes prospective budgetary surpluses to vanish in a flow of red ink.

Thus, we cannot and will not pursue the will-o'-the-wisp of reflation nor the phantom of future budget surpluses premised on a continuance of high inflation.

Instead, we must recognize that for a period of time, success in our unyielding battle against inflation will appear to work against our goal of a balanced budget. Thus, while our current revenues will reflect the decline of inflation today, part of our current outlays will reflect the higher rates of inflation in years past. This is especially true in the case of some \$249 billion in indexed programs. Generally, the inflation rate used to adjust indexed benefits lags a year or more behind the current payment period. During 1983, for example, an inflation rate of 6.5 percent is projected, but cost-of-living adjustments to social security and other program benefits will be 8.1 percent based largely on the actual inflation experience of 1981. Much the same is true of the \$96.4 billion in debt service for 1983. Some part of that will reflect the higher cost of debt securities issued in 1980-82 when inflation and interest rates will have been higher than is now projected for 1983.

Thus, the conquest of inflation will contribute to budgetary imbalance for some years to come. But these deficits will prove manageable if we understand why we have them and redouble our efforts to reduce them.

The final factor contributing to the worsening of the deficit outlook is that all of the budget savings we had planned for last year were not actually achieved. Most importantly, our plan to ensure the short- and long-run solvency of social security was discarded by the Congress. In an effort to eliminate partisanship and facilitate movement toward a constructive solution, our reform proposal has been withdrawn in favor of a bipartisan commission charged with developing a plan to rescue the social security system by next fall. I am confident that the commission will do just that, but in the meanwhile our outlay projections must be increased by \$6 billion in 1983 and \$18 billion for 1987.

Likewise, the Congress failed to adopt all of the reforms we proposed for medicaid, guaranteed student loans, food stamps and other entitlements. Without further action, about \$4 billion would be added to the 1983 deficit in these areas alone. While major and unprecedented action was taken to curb the growth of entitlements last year, the shortfall is still substantial. Entitlement reforms not acted upon by the Congress last year will add nearly \$20 billion to the defi-

cit over the next 3 years. When this is combined with substantial added outlays for farm subsidies and for discretionary programs that were not reformed, it is clear that the task of budget control is far from complete.

THE BUDGET DEFICIT IN PERSPECTIVE

Taken together, the effects of recession, higher interest rates, declining inflation, and incomplete congressional action will mean high, continuing, and troublesome Federal budget deficits. Constant vigilance and relentless efforts to pare back future spending and borrowing will be imperative to ensure that they are not permitted to worsen and add further pressure to financial markets and interest rates.

Nevertheless, three features of these high deficit numbers must not be lost sight of even as we seek eventually to eliminate them.

First, even the 1982 deficit of \$98.6 billion is not unprecedented in the context of a recession and recovery cycle. Relative to the present size of the U.S. economy, the budget deficit would have been \$94 billion for 1975, followed by deficits of \$139 billion, \$91 billion and \$97 billion in the next 3 years, respectively.

Second, these deficits reflect the excess spending commitments of past rather than new spending programs with potential to grow in the future. That means that by remaining firm in our efforts to reduce waste and excess, reform entitlements, reduce low priority spending, and gradually return domestic programs back to State and local governments, the gap between spending subject to firm fiscal discipline and revenues being lifted by steady economic expansion will gradually diminish.

Finally, the share of GNP taken in taxes will be substantially lower and the incentives for savings markedly stronger. This expansion of the total savings supply will increase our capacity to absorb deficits and give us additional time to work toward their elimination.

\$239 BILLION DEFICIT REDUCTION PLAN

The prospect of high deficits during the transition to strong economic growth and low inflation contains a profound warning: any relaxation of our budget control efforts, any backsliding to spending politics as usual, any retreat to time-worn excuses about "uncontrollables"—that results in spending growth significantly above our projections, will mean a serious threat to the progress of our entire economic recovery program. There is precious little margin for shirking or diluting the task the American people have charged us with. That task is nothing less than a constant, comprehensive, ceaseless search for ways to reduce the size of Government and the future growth of its spending.

The 1983 budget I am presenting to the Congress faithfully adheres to

that mandate. If all proposed measures are adopted, the prospective deficit will be reduced by \$56 billion next year, \$84 billion in 1984, and \$99 billion in 1985. In short, the budget this year represents much more than simply a tabulation of accounts or a compilation of spending decisions, large and small. Instead, it represents a far-reaching, resourceful, and integrated blueprint for reducing the prospective deficit by \$239 billion over the next 3 years. It is a bold action plan that, if faithfully implemented, can cut the prospective deficits over that period by nearly 50 percent.

Our plan for deficit reduction consists of five parts. It addresses each area of the budget where actions to reduce the gap between spending and revenues are possible and desirable.

The first area concerns nonsocial security entitlements. Despite the heartening progress we made toward reform last year, the cost of these automatic spending programs will rise to \$201 billion in 1983 without further action. This figure compares to only \$119 billion in 1979.

Thus, our 1983 budget proposals continue the objective set out previously: to reduce the swift growth of automatic entitlements while preserving benefits for the truly needy. If acted upon fully by the Congress, these new reform measures will save \$12 billion next year and \$52 billion over the next 3 years. They include new steps to tighten eligibility, reduce errors and abuse and curtail unwarranted benefits in the welfare, medical, and nutrition programs. The explosive growth of medical programs—16.7% per year since 1978—will be contained with tighter reimbursement standards for providers, modest copayment requirements for Medicaid beneficiaries, and, later in the year, a comprehensive plan to reform the health care reimbursement system and provide new cost control incentives for all participants. We have also proposed measures to target guaranteed student loans better to those with financial need and to limit the cost growth of Federal military and civilian retirement programs.

Nevertheless, let me be clear on this point. Our administration has not and will not turn its back on our elderly or needy citizens. Under our new budget, funding for social insurance programs will be more than double the amount spent only 6 years ago. For example, the Federal Government will subsidize 95 million meals every day. That is one of every seven of all meals served in America. Headstart, senior nutrition programs, and child welfare programs will not be cut from the levels we proposed last year.

The second component of our deficit reduction plan covers domestic discretionary and other programs for purposes ranging from agricultural re-

search to housing subsidies and manpower training. Our proposed savings here total \$14 billion next year and \$76 billion over the next 3 years.

These savings measures involve two essential principles. First, where programs are unnecessary, can be better targeted or can be significantly streamlined, we have proposed substantial reductions. Our proposals to convert the fragmented and wasteful CETA training program to a block grant, to target low-income energy assistance to the colder States where it is needed, to combine the WIC program with the child and maternal health block grant, and to further reduce subsidies to business for energy technology development and commercialization are all examples of this principle.

The other principle governing discretionary programs is that we have generally not provided inflation allowances for them. This will provide a powerful incentive to reduce overhead, waste, and low-priority activities and ensure that the money we spend for many worthwhile purposes in the areas of education, transportation, community development, and research is utilized in the most efficient and productive manner possible. Our deficit problem is simply too severe to permit business as usual to continue any longer.

The third component of the deficit reduction program involves user fees, or more appropriately, the recovery of costs borne by the taxpayers generally, but that predominantly benefit a limited group of businesses, communities or individuals. Total savings would amount to \$2.5 billion in 1983 and \$10 billion over the next 3 years.

While the Congress made great strides on most of our proposed budget cuts last year, the user fees proposals were a noticeable and disappointing departure from this pattern. The case for action now is even stronger than it was last year. With sacrifices required of almost every beneficiary of Federal programs, it is simply inexcusable and intolerable that yacht owners escape without paying even a small part of the Coast Guard services; or that commercial and general aviation are not paying the cost of the air traffic control system that ensures their safety; or that ship and barge operators do not pay a fair share of the costs of waterways maintained by the Federal Government. Our user fee package corrects these and similar shortcomings in current budget policy and will contribute significantly toward reducing the deficit.

The fourth part of the plan is aimed at the executive branch and the most inexcusable of all forms of spending: lax management, the toleration of fraud and abuse, the failure to recover debts owed the Government or to dis-

pose of properties it does not need, and outdated, inefficient, procurement practices.

Our fiscal plan has always assumed that our new management would take hold, and that savings would be possible in areas we have simply never looked at before. After 1 year, our new management team has indeed taken hold, the results to date have been impressive, and our plans for future savings are bold and far-reaching. All told, these efforts will reduce the budget deficit by \$20 billion next year and \$68 billion over the next 3 years.

We will collect the debts we are owed and the taxes we are due. New legislation will be needed in some cases, but much of these savings will flow from tighter, more aggressive management throughout executive branch agencies.

Likewise, we will move systematically to reduce the vast Federal holdings of surplus land and real property. It is estimated that the Federal Government owns approximately 775 million acres, and 405,000 buildings, covering about 2.6 billion square feet. Some of this real property is not in use and would be of greater value to society if transferred to the private sector. During the next 3 years we will save \$9 billion by shedding these unnecessary properties while fully protecting and preserving our national parks, forests, wildernesses and scenic areas.

Our management efforts will also be directed toward the more cost-effective procurement of the goods and services required by the Federal Government. The changes we seek will increase competition for the Government's business, reduce and simplify paperwork and regulations, and develop better standards for our procurement processes and personnel. Over time these efforts will yield large out-year savings not included in the budget totals.

Finally, our emphasis thus far has been on reducing excessive tax rates and shrinking the Government's take from the paychecks of workers and the profits of business. On that principle we will not waver. But that does not mean unintended loopholes should go uncorrected, that obsolete tax incentives should be continued, or that profitable business should not contribute at least some minimum fair share to the cost of financing Government. Thus, our deficit reduction plan includes \$34 billion over the next 3 years in additional receipts from new initiatives in these areas.

About one-third of this total is attributable to our proposal to strengthen the minimum corporate tax, and a substantial share of the other tax revisions will also affect business. In every case, these measures involve the collection of a tax that is owed now or that was intended by the Congress, or elimination of incentives that are no

longer needed due to the sweeping reform of business taxation contained in the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981.

These new proposals will have no adverse impact on our economic recovery program, are fair and equitable, and will contribute significantly to the reduction of future deficits.

CONTINUING THE RESTORATION OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

Our 1983 budget plan continues the effort begun last year to strengthen our military posture in four primary areas: strategic forces, combat readiness, force mobility, and general purpose forces.

A thorough 8-month review of U.S. strategic forces and objectives preceded my decision this past October to strengthen our strategic forces. The review found that the relative imbalance with the Soviet Union will be at its worst in the mid-1980's and hence needs to be addressed quickly. It also concluded that the multiple protective structure basing proposal for MX did not provide long-term survivability since the Soviets could counter it (at about the same cost) by simply deploying more warheads.

In addition, our review pointed to serious deficiencies in force survivability, endurance, and the capability to exercise command and control during nuclear war. Current communications and warning systems were found to be vulnerable to severe disruption from an attack of very modest scale.

The 1983 budget funds programs to correct these deficiencies. The 1983 strategic program of \$23.1 billion, an increase of \$6.9 billion over 1982, provides for both near-term improvements and longer-term programs. These initiatives include:

- Early deployment of cruise missiles on existing bombers and attack submarines.
- Acquisition of a new bomber (the B-1B) and development of advanced technology (Stealth) bomber for deployment in the 1990's to provide a continued capability to penetrate Soviet defenses.
- Development and procurement of a new, larger, and more accurate land-based missile, the MX.
- Continued deployment of Trident ballistic missile submarines to strengthen the sea-based leg of our strategic deterrent.

Longer term programs include: development of a survivable deployment plan for the MX missile, development of a new submarine-launched ballistic missile, continued improvements in the survivability of warning and communications systems, and improvements in strategic defenses against both bomber and missile attacks.

The 1983 budget provides \$114.3 billion in operations and military personnel costs, an increase of over \$13 bil-

lion from the 1982 level to improve the combat readiness of our forces.

Today a major conflict involving the United States could occur without adequate time to upgrade U.S. force readiness. Our concerns with military readiness reflect both the long lead time required to procure sophisticated equipment (both parts and finished equipment) and past failures to provide adequate peacetime support for combat units. We cannot wait for a period of rising tensions before bringing forces up to combat readiness.

My program will continue to bolster combat readiness by increasing training, operating rates, and equipment support. There will be increased aircraft flying hours and supply inventories. In addition, backlogs of combat equipment and real property awaiting maintenance will be reduced. Also, the 1983 budget will provide levels of military compensation that will improve the readiness and capability of the All Volunteer Force.

Current U.S. mobility forces cannot move the required combat or combat support units fast enough to counter effectively military aggression in Europe, Korea, or in the Southwest Asia/Persian Gulf region. For example, at present only a small light combat force could be moved rapidly to the Southwest Asia region. Major mobility shortages include wide-body military cargo aircraft; fast logistics ships; and prepositioned ships and associated support equipment. Elimination of these shortages is an essential first step toward improving U.S. military capability during the first 30 days after the beginning of a crisis.

The 1983 budget provides \$4.4 billion for:

- Initial procurement of a fleet of improved C-5 cargo aircraft, and additional KC-10A tanker/cargo aircraft that will double our wide-bodied military airlift capability by the 1990's.
- Continued upgrading of existing C-5A aircraft to extend their effectiveness beyond the year 2000.
- Conversion of four additional fast logistic ships that will provide the capability to move heavy combat forces rapidly.
- Chartering a fleet of supply ships that can be stationed with equipment and supplies in Southwest Asia to reduce the time required for deployment of heavy forces.

In the last decade, the Soviet Union introduced large quantities of highly capable, new-generation tactical equipment including combat ships, tanks, and aircraft, which must be countered by modernized U.S. forces. Also, the traditional U.S. superiority in system quality has been considerably narrowed, making Soviet quantitative advantages more serious. The Soviet

military force buildup has increased the risk that they may rely on military power to support their foreign policy goals. For the United States to maintain, in concert with our allies, sufficient conventional forces to deter potential aggression, our forces must be provided with adequate numbers of new, modern tactical equipment.

My 1983 budget includes \$106.2 billion for general purpose forces—including both operations and investment—an \$18 billion increase over 1982. A key initiative is an expanded shipbuilding program. The United States, dependent on open seas for commerce and military resupply, must have the naval capability to maintain control of vital sealanes. While our naval forces have declined from the mid-1960's, the Soviets have in existence or under construction eight new classes of submarines and eight new classes of major surface warships, including nuclear-powered cruisers and new aircraft carriers.

The budget provides an \$18.6 billion shipbuilding program including full funding for two nuclear-powered aircraft carriers, to be constructed during 1983-87. Other ships included in my 1983 program are three large cruisers equipped with an advanced air defense system; two nuclear-powered attack submarines; two frigates for convoy protection and four mine counter-measure ships to improve fleet capability to operate in mined waters. My longer term objective is to increase the deployable battle force from 513 ships in 1982 to over 600 by the end of the decade.

In addition, the budget provides for increased production of ground and tactical Air Force weapons. Production rates will be increased for a variety of new systems such as the M-1 Abrams tank, light armored vehicles, and the AV-8B Marine Corps attack aircraft.

All of this will be done with a major reform of the acquisition process and vastly improved management of defense operations, which will save \$51 billion by 1987. In a continuing fight against fraud, waste, and inefficiency, the Secretary of Defense has appointed an Assistant for Review and Oversight and a Council on Integrity and Management Improvement.

REVITALIZATION OF AMERICAN FEDERALISM

The Constitution provides clear distinctions between the roles of the Federal Government and of the States and localities. In their wisdom, our Founding Fathers provided for considerable flexibility so that in following centuries these responsibilities could be adapted to new conditions. But in recent years we have not adapted well to new conditions. We have created confusion as to who is responsible for what. During the past 20 years, what had been a classic division of functions between the Federal Government and the States and localities has become a

confused mess. Traditional understandings about the roles of each level of government have been violated.

Governments at all levels have had and will continue to face various problems. But, as Governor of California, I learned that a problem in one part of the country does not automatically mean that we need a new Federal program in all 50 States. Yet that is what has happened.

In 1964, total Federal grants to State and local governments were \$10 billion. By 1980, total Federal grants to States and localities exceeded \$90 billion, meaning that 18 percent of Federal tax receipts were being passed through to States and localities for one reason or another. However, these funds were not passed through entirely benignly. Attached to them were Federal rules, mandates, and requirements. This massive Federal grant-making system has distorted State and local decisions and usurped State and local functions.

I propose that over the coming years we clean up this mess. I am proposing a major effort to restore American federalism. This transition over nearly 10 years will give States and localities the time they need to plan for themselves when and how to meet State and local needs that are now being met with Federal Government funds. My proposal will also make available to the States and localities the tax resources that would otherwise fund these programs by the Federal Government.

In coming weeks, we will have intensive discussions with local and State officials, the Congress, and many others to hammer out a proposal I will soon sent to the Congress. Essentially, I believe the Federal Government should assume full responsibility for the medicare program which assures adequate health care for the poor. In contrast, financial assistance to the poor is a legitimate responsibility of States and localities. I am proposing, therefore, that the aid to families with dependent children (AFDC) and food stamp programs be turned over to the States. This swap will clarify responsibilities substantially because these programs will become the clear responsibility of one level of government or another. That responsibility is now mixed.

In addition, I propose that more than 40 current grant-in-aid programs costing the Federal Government about \$30 billion a year be turned back to the States and localities, along with the funds to pay for them. During the period 1984-87, these programs will be funded by a specially designated set of taxes to be used exclusively for financing this transition program. These taxes will be deposited in a fund that will belong to the States. Each State will be able to make its own decision on how rapidly to phase out the turn-

back programs. This is because each State will have two options: it may use its share of the federalism trust fund to reimburse Federal agencies for continuing to carry out turnback programs, or it may ask that the programs be terminated and then use the funds directly for whatever purposes it desires.

Beginning in 1987, the federalism trust fund will gradually be dissolved and the tax sources themselves will be made available to the States.

The key to this program is that the States and localities make the critical choices. They have the time to make them in an orderly way. A major sorting out of Federal, State and local responsibilities will occur, and the Federal presence and intervention in State and local affairs will gradually diminish.

CONCLUSION

While some administration proposals have been turned down, turned aside, or compromised by the Congress, the overall assessment of the past year's action on the budget is heartening. Cooperation, support, goodwill, and a genuine sense of national purpose have enabled us to make significant progress in setting the Federal Government's affairs in order and America on the road to economic recovery.

I urge the Congress to approach the new, or renewed, proposals in this budget in the same spirit and with the same goodwill as it did my proposals of a year ago. Much has been accomplished. This budget proposes that more be done.

The proposals set forth in this budget will not be accepted readily. They are a second challenging installment of a politically difficult, yet necessary, program. In their specifics, these proposals will undoubtedly be altered by the Congress. The general direction we must travel, however, is clear. I urge the Congress to weigh these budget proposals thoughtfully, and to join me, and my administration, in a constructive effort to curb the growth of Federal spending and to provide for the Nation's security. We must, in the end, roll up our sleeves, face our responsibilities squarely, and persevere at the unending task of setting, and keeping, the Nation's affairs in order.

RONALD REAGAN.

THE WHITE HOUSE, February 18, 1982.

REPORT ON CERTAIN BUDGET RESCISSIONS AND DEFERRALS—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT—PM 110

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, together with an accompanying report, which was referred pursu-

ant to the order of January 30, 1975, to the Committee on Appropriations, the Committee on the Budget, the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry, the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation, the Committee on Labor and Human Resources, the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, the Committee on Environment and Public Works, the Committee on Armed Services, the Committee on the Judiciary, and the Committee on Small Business:

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the Impoundment Control Act of 1974, I herewith report twenty-two rescission proposals of fiscal year 1982 funds totaling \$10,655 million.

In addition, I am reporting revisions to seven deferrals previously reported, which increase the amount deferred by \$768 million, as well as 14 new deferrals of funds totaling \$2,334 million.

The rescission proposals affect International Development Assistance programs, and programs in the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Education, Energy, Housing and Urban Development, Labor, and Transportation as well as the Institute of Museum Services.

The deferrals affect International Security Assistance programs, and programs in the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Defense, Energy, Interior, Justice, Labor, State, and Transportation as well as the District of Columbia, the Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation, the Small Business Administration and the United States Railway Association.

The details of each rescission proposal and deferral are contained in the attached reports.

RONALD REAGAN.

THE WHITE HOUSE, February 5, 1982.

MESSAGES FROM THE HOUSE

At 11:28 a.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mr. Gregory, one of its clerks, announced that the House has agreed to the following concurrent resolution, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H. Con. Res. 260. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress regarding the successful rescue of Brig. Gen. James L. Dozier.

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION REFERRED

The following concurrent resolution was read; and referred as indicated:

H. Con. Res. 260. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress regarding the successful rescue of Brig. Gen. James L. Dozier; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. MATHIAS, from the Committee on Rules and Administration, without amendment:

S.J. Res. 95. Joint resolution to authorize and direct the Secretary of the Interior, subject to the supervision and approval of the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Commission, to proceed with the construction of the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 97-311).

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following executive report of committees was submitted:

By Mr. HATCH, from the Committee on Labor and Human Resources:

Reynaldo Philip Maduro, of Maryland, to be an Assistant Director of the ACTION agency.

(The above nomination from the Committee on Labor and Human Resources was reported with the recommendation that it be confirmed, subject to the nominee's commitment to respond to requests to appear and testify before any duly constituted committee of the Senate.)

By Mr. PACKWOOD, from the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation:

Malcolm M. B. Sterrett, of Maryland, to be a Member of the Interstate Commerce Commission for the term of seven years from January 1, 1981.

(The above nomination was reported from the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation, with the recommendation that it be confirmed, subject to the nominee's commitment to respond to requests to appear and testify before any duly constituted committee of the Senate.)

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

The following bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first and second time by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

By Mr. BURDICK:

S. 2072. A bill to amend the Agricultural Act of 1949, to increase loan rates and price support levels for the 1982 through 1985 crops of corn and wheat; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

By Mr. STEVENS:

S. 2073. A bill to repeal outdated size and weight limitations now imposed on the U.S. Postal Service; to the Committee on Governmental Affairs.

By Mr. JOHNSTON (for himself and Mr. LONG):

S. 2074. A bill to provide for the elimination of certain artificial restrictions on the consumption of natural gas, to provide for the elimination of certain restrictions on the sale and transmission of gas, to provide for the phased elimination of Federal price controls on natural gas, to provide remedies for certain contract provisions, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. ROTH:

S. 2075. A bill to amend the Second Liberty Bond Act to increase the investment yield on U.S. savings bonds to a level competitive with 52-week Treasury bills; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. LAXALT:

S. 2076. A bill for the relief of Oikos, Inc., and the Nevada Opera Association, both of Reno, Nev.; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. QUAYLE:

S. 2077. A bill for the relief of Chu Wan Ying and Zhigi Yang, mother and daughter; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HART:

S. 2078. A bill to prohibit the use of funds for the production of lethal binary chemical munitions; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. MOYNIHAN:

S. 2079. A bill to require that Poland be declared to be in default unless certain liberties and rights are found to be restored in Poland before payments are made by the U.S. Government for loans owed by Poland or credits which have been extended to Poland which have been guaranteed or assured by agencies of the U.S. Government; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

By Mr. THURMOND (for himself, Mr. BAUCUS, Mr. DOLE, Mr. GRASSLEY, Mr. HATCH, Mr. LEAHY, Mr. LUGAR, and Mr. MOYNIHAN):

S.J. Res. 143. Joint resolution to authorize and request the President to designate the week of May 2 through 8, 1982, as "National Physical Fitness and Sports for All Week"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

SUBMISSION OF CONCURRENT AND SENATE RESOLUTIONS

The following concurrent resolutions and Senate resolutions were read, and referred (or acted upon), as indicated:

By Mr. SCHMITT (for himself, Mr. BAKER, Mr. D'AMATO, Mr. JACKSON, Mr. MOYNIHAN, and Mr. RIEGLE):

S. Res. 314. Resolution to commemorate the life and accomplishments of Dr. Arthur M. Bueche; considered and agreed to.

By Mr. BAKER (for himself, and Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD):

S. Res. 315. Resolution to direct Senate legal counsel to intervene in *Consumer Energy Council of America, Inc., et al. v. Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, et al.* Nos. 80-2184, 80-2313 (D.C. Cir.); considered and agreed to.

By Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD (for Mr. PELL):

S. Con. Res. 64. Concurrent resolution to authorize the Zeta Beta Tau fraternity to conduct a reception in the Rotunda of the Capitol on March 31, 1982, to commemorate Roger Williams for his contribution to religious toleration and freedom in the United States; considered and agreed to.

STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

By Mr. BURDICK:

S. 2072. A bill to amend the Agricultural Act of 1949, to increase loan rates and price-support levels for the 1982 through 1985 crops of corn and wheat; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

INCREASE IN LOAN RATES AND PRICE SUPPORTS
FOR CORN AND WHEAT

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, today, I am introducing a bill to amend the Agriculture Act of 1981 to provide more realistic price and income supports for America's wheat and feed grain producers with the same, and possibly less, budget exposure to the Federal Treasury.

Mr. President, my bill will change target prices for wheat to \$4.50 for the 1982 crop; \$4.75 for the 1983 crop; \$4.90 for the 1984 crop; \$5.10 for the 1985 crop. Price support loans for wheat will change to \$4. Corn target prices will change to \$3.15 for 1982 crop; \$3.31 for 1983 crop; \$3.48 for 1984 crop; \$3.63 for 1985 crop. Price support loans for corn will change to \$3. Other feed grains will continue to be set in relation to corn.

The Agriculture Act of 1981 recommitting the Federal Government to the dual market price and income support system used through much of the 1970's. Under that system, commodity loans are used to set a floor under the market price, and, as long as most of the farmers participate in the farm program, the commodity loan does set the floor in the market. The commodity loan program protects the Government. The target price supports producers' income. Producers are paid by the Federal Government for the difference between the higher of either the market price or the commodity loan price and the target price. As long as most farmers have an adequate incentive to participate in the farm program, the maximum budget exposure is the difference between the target price and the loan price. In the Agriculture Act of 1981 agreed to by the Congress and the administration, the budget exposure—the difference between the target price and the loan price—for wheat is \$0.50 per bushel for 1982 wheat crop, expanded upward through 1985. The budget exposure for corn is \$0.15 per bushel for 1982 crop, expanded upward through 1985. The difference between the price support loans for wheat and corn is \$1 per bushel. The difference between the wheat and corn target prices for 1982 is \$1.35 per bushel. Mr. President, those differentials are cast in law in the 1981 farm bill. Again, they have been agreed to by the President and the Congress. The bill I am introducing today would not change those differentials at all. The budget exposure under my bill would not be any higher than the exposure contained in the 1981 farm bill, and I will argue, could be substantially less.

Mr. President, the Secretary of Agriculture has used his authority to announce planting cutbacks of 15 percent for wheat and 10 percent for corn. The need is clear. We are facing record reserve levels of wheat and corn. Because of the farmer-owned re-

serve program, market prices are slightly above the loan rate today. It is obvious that if market prices are to improve, reduced plantings are necessary. I am predisposed to want acreage reductions to work, because I stood on this floor in December 1980 and was the only Senator that opposed ending enforcement of the normal crop acres provision of the 1977 farm bill for the 1981 crop. I predicted at that time a return to the fence-row-to-fence-row planting that led us to disaster in the farm economy earlier. But to accommodate the incoming administration, the normal crop acres provision was ended. Now we are back in trouble, and we have to reduce plantings.

To have a farm program work, sufficient incentives have to be available to producers to participate in the program. Obviously, if producers do not participate, the program fails. I am being told by farmers, and by commodity groups whose membership are farmers, that the farm program, as currently offered, will exclude many farmers from participation. In fact, I have seen estimates of below 50-percent participation down to as little as 20-percent participation. Farmers are telling me, and the USDA figures are backing them up, that the target price levels in the 1981 bill mean certain disaster if one participates in the acreage reduction program. To not participate means only likely disaster. Those farmers will have to plant all they can and risk their livelihood on a major drought in one of the other major grain-growing regions in the world.

If no adjustments are made in the farm program, and we have a 50-percent participation in that program, it means that the other 50 percent will be excluded from the commodity loan program. Again, the commodity loan program in this farm bill protects the Government. If half the producers do not participate in the loan program, the market price could be well below the loan level.

The Secretary has been instructed that the Congress expects him to continue to operate the commodity loans as nonrecourse both as to principal and interest. In other words, if the market price is below the loan price at the time the loan reaches maturity, the producer can elect to forfeit ownership of the commodity to the Federal Government. If only half of the eligible farmers participate in the 1982 acreage reduction program, we will probably not get the desired reduction in bushels of wheat and feed grains. So, it is possible that the market price could plunge below the loan rate. If that happens, first, farmers who have grain under a 1-year commodity loan may well elect to forfeit that grain to the Commodity Credit Corporation. Second, farmers who did not participate in the acreage reduction program would not be eligible for target price

protection and would face economic disaster. Third, the government would become the owner of some grain valued at less than its acquisition cost, would lose more farmers and consequently, tax base, and would have to continue to make storage payments on grain in the reserve throughout the year with no prospect that the market price will reach the release level.

Obviously, the preferred course must be to provide an adequate incentive for farmers to participate in the 1982 acreage reduction program. Again, my bill will provide that incentive at no more budget exposure than we currently have and possibly less.

Mr. President, another reason for passing my bill is to address the income requirements of the modern farming operation. I don't think the irony was lost on anyone when the very next day after the Senate passed the administration's farm bill, it agreed to a resolution instructing the Secretary of Agriculture to forgo foreclosure proceedings on Farmers Home Administration farm borrowers. Those of us who argued throughout the course of last year for adequate farm income lost to those who argued that we have to cut the budget for all those things that affect rural States so we could give those moneys to the big industrial companies in the form of tax breaks to reindustrialize America.

I do not intend to review today our debate of last year on farm income, but farm income remains the key to the farm credit problem. Farm income remains the key to adequate conservation of our soil and water resource base. Farm income remains the key to some problems we are facing in rural banks. Farm income is the key to whether the administration's "New Federalism" is a bearable burden for most rural States.

Mr. President, the target price levels contained in this bill will allow some farmers to make a profit. But most will only break even and remain in the business for another 4 years.

Mr. President, the loan levels contained in this bill will protect the Government. The budget exposed remains the same. And by setting a higher floor under the market, we may actually realize a gain in our net balance of agriculture trade. Senator BENTSEN has undertaken an excellent discourse on the importance and nature of international trade in agricultural commodities. I intend to speak to that subject later. But for now, let me say that the United States tends to be the price leader in wheat and feed grains. The increasingly protectionist sympathies among our agricultural trading partners and competitors spring from their inability to compete with low wheat and feed grain prices.

To conclude, Mr. President, this bill clearly fits our national interest. In-

transigence does not. Let's make these prudent changes at the earliest possible date. I ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill be printed in the RECORD.

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

S. 2072

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) section 105B (a) (1) of the Agricultural Act of 1949 (7 U.S.C. 1444d (a) (1)) is amended by striking out "\$2.55" and inserting in lieu thereof "\$3.00".

(b) The first sentence of section 105E (b) (1) (C) of such Act is amended to read as follows: "The established price for corn shall not be less than \$3.15 per bushel for the 1982 crop, \$3.31 per bushel for the 1983 crop, \$3.48 per bushel for the 1984 crop, and \$3.63 per bushel for the 1985 crop."

Sec. 2. (a) Section 107B (a) of the Agricultural Act of 1949 (7 U.S.C. 1445b-1 (a)) is amended by striking out "\$3.55" and inserting in lieu thereof "\$4.00".

(b) The first sentence of section 107B (b) (1) (C) of such Act is amended to read as follows: "The established price for wheat shall be not less than \$4.50 per bushel for the 1982 crop, \$4.75 per bushel for the 1983 crop, \$4.90 per bushel for the 1984 crop, and \$5.10 per bushel for the 1985 crop."

By Mr. STEVENS:

S. 2073. A bill to repeal outdated size and weight limitations now imposed on the U.S. Postal Service; to the Committee on Governmental Affairs.

REPEAL OF POSTAL SIZE AND WEIGHT LIMITATIONS

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, today I am introducing legislation that would repeal outdated size and weight limitations now imposed on the U.S. Postal Service.

Many people do not realize that rural and small post offices have greater flexibility as to the size and weight of parcels the public may ship via the mails than those in cities. For example, a post office in nearby Herndon, Va., can accept parcels up to 70 pounds and 100 inches in length and girth. However, that same parcel cannot be accepted in the Washington, D.C., main post office, just four blocks from the Capitol. They can only accept parcels up to 40 pounds and 84 inches in length and girth.

My amendment would eliminate that discrepancy and allow any individual to mail a package of the maximum size in any post office, regardless of its location and the populace it serves. This relic of a restriction goes back to the days when the Railway Express Agency was still in business as a competitor to the U.S. Postal Service. In 1951, Congress enacted special legislation restricting the size and weight of parcel post which allowed the Postal Service to accept large parcels only where they were mailed at or addressed to small communities which did not have access to rail lines served by REA. This legislation was designed

to help protect REA and divert the large parcel business to them.

Since REA went out of business in 1975, there is no justification whatsoever for the continued existence of this restriction, which discriminates against residents of this Nation's larger communities. There is simply no reason why people in Anchorage, Alaska, or Wilmington, Del., cannot send parcels just as large and heavy as those living in those smaller communities.

Recently, the J. C. Penney Co., in working with the Postal Service to try to upgrade its mail service, clearly pointed out that these outdated limitations are a real handicap for businesses. It is time we got rid of these archaic provisions.

Over the past 5 or 6 years, proposals to drop these outmoded limitations have been successfully added to various postal bills in the Senate and the House, without drawing any opposition whatsoever. But, for one reason or another unrelated to the parcel provision, the legislation has not made it all the way to the President's desk. This amendment provides for parcel limits to be set in mail classification proceedings just like letter mail size limits are now set.

I ask unanimous consent for the entire text of my bill to be printed at the end of my remarks.

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

S. 2073

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SEC. 11. (a) Section 3682 of title 39, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

"§ 3682. Size and weight limits.

"The Postal Service may establish size and weight limitations for mail matter in the same manner as prescribed for changes in mail classification under subchapter II of this chapter."

(b) The size and weight limitations for other than letter mail established by subsections (a) and (b) of section 3682 of title 39, United States Code, as in effect on the day prior to the effective date of this section, shall remain in effect until changed pursuant to section 3682 of such title, as amended by subsection (a) of this section.

By Mr. JOHNSTON (for himself and Mr. LONG):

S. 2074. A bill to provide for the elimination of certain artificial restrictions on the consumption of natural gas, to provide for the elimination of certain restrictions on the sale and transmission of gas, to provide for the phased elimination of Federal price controls on natural gas, to provide remedies for certain contract provisions, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

NATURAL GAS PRODUCTION AND MARKET ADJUSTMENT ACT OF 1982

● Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, since the 1954 Supreme Court decision in Phillips Petroleum Co. against Wisconsin, this Nation has embraced the intricate and formidable task of regulating the production, consumption, transportation and pricing of natural gas. The merits and mechanics of this arduous undertaking have spawned hundreds of court cases, thousands of administrative proceedings, and have been the subject of protracted and often acrimonious debate here on the floor of the Senate.

The most recent foray of the Congress into the field of natural gas regulation was the Natural Gas Policy Act of 1978. The result of that 18-month battle was a compromise between those seeking total deregulation of natural gas and those who favored extending regulatory controls. As with all compromises, the ideological purity of both sides became somewhat diluted, and, as one might expect with a subject of such complexity, a certain degree of confusion and distortion resulted.

The NGPA created over 20 different categories of natural gas depending on when, where, and by whom produced. Some of those categories were immediately decontrolled, some will be decontrolled in the future, and some will never be decontrolled. The act limits the access of some purchasers to otherwise convenient sources of supply while dictating to some producers those to whom they can sell. It mandates that some purchasers pay a higher price than others simply because of the use to which they put the gas, while limiting some producers to less revenues than others simply because of the nature of their production.

One's view of this complex regulatory scheme depends uniquely upon one's position in the marketplace. Yet, as the Senate Energy Committee's oversight hearings demonstrated last November, virtually everyone affected by the act, which includes virtually everyone, finds serious fault with its provisions.

Producers assert that the Federal price controls suppress the incentive to drill for gas in many regions where it might be found. This is borne out by the fact that last year's decontrol of oil led to an increase in oil well drilling of over 40 percent while natural gas drilling increased only about 7 percent.

Purchasers of natural gas allege that the multiplicity of Federal pricing schemes distorts the market, subsidizing some purchasers while unduly punishing others. Such is the inevitable result of price controls which have some gas selling for more than \$9 per

mcf while other gas sells for less than \$1 per mcf.

Interstate pipeline companies have testified that contracts designed to cope with Federal price regulations contain escalator provisions which, under the current law, threaten to raise the acquisition cost of natural gas far above market clearing levels. Intrastate pipelines, on the other hand, complain that the inability to purchase certain categories of gas, such as that from the Outer Continental Shelf, unduly impairs their ability to meet supply obligations.

These problems, taken separately, indicate the perils of cumbersome Federal regulation. Taken together, they threaten an economic disaster the likes of which rival the 1973 Arab oil embargo.

Mr. President, in an effort to reconcile these problems and avoid such a crisis, we are today introducing the Natural Gas Production and Market Adjustment Act of 1982. This bill contains considerable input from all segments of the industry and is a genuine attempt to address their concerns. In addition, it incorporates certain fruits of the thoughtful negotiation process initiated by Congressman PHIL GRAMM.

This bill would provide for the phased elimination of price controls on all categories of natural gas. All gas produced from wells drilled after date of enactment would receive a price based on 70 percent of the average price, per million, Btu's, for crude oil acquired in that calendar quarter by domestic refiners. All other categories of natural gas subject to price controls would be phased up to that level over a 2-year period. On January 1, 1985, all categories of natural gas would be completely decontrolled, and the authority of the Federal Government to reimpose price controls would be terminated.

In addition, the artificial restraints on the consumption of natural gas contained in the Fuel Use Act and title II of the NGPA would be repealed. Intrastate pipelines would be placed on an equal footing with interstate pipelines by receiving the opportunity to purchase gas from the Outer Continental Shelf and from other inter- and intrastate pipelines. Both purchasers and sellers of gas who are parties to certain onerous contract provisions would be afforded the choice of operating under those provisions, renegotiating the contracts, or choosing a contract price based on the current market clearing level for gas produced from the same geographic region.

Mr. President, natural gas deregulation is a very complex and emotional subject. The combination of these two factors has resulted in a great misconception. That is, that the accelerated deregulation of natural gas will result in cost increases to consumers which

would not otherwise occur. Nothing could be further from the truth. When the NGPA price controls expire on January 1, 1985, some 40 to 60 percent of our natural gas supply will more than double in price. Thus, the issue is not whether such price increases will occur, but whether they will occur suddenly and dramatically or on a gradual basis. By phasing in this price increase we can avoid an instantaneous and traumatic shock to our already fragile economy. By eliminating price controls on all categories of gas, we can insure that all consumers pay the same price rather than some consumers paying more in order to subsidize others who pay less.

Our experience with price controls on oil has shown that opponents of decontrol can paint pictures of consumer distress and economic woe which simply do not materialize. In this instance, however, those who oppose accelerated decontrol will be advocating a status quo which threatens economic disaster. We simply must take an objective and unemotional look at the facts.

Natural gas is a clearly superior fuel which represents our Nation's most valuable natural resource. Yet, it is the only natural resource which remains subject to Federal price controls. There are enormous quantities of natural gas which cannot and will not be produced until the proper incentives are provided. A phased deregulation of gas prices will result in added production and increased conservation—in short, a greater supply of natural gas. A free market, not Federal price controls, is the way to keep natural gas prices down.

Mr. President, the stakes involved in natural gas decontrol are enormous. This is not an academic exercise we can undertake at our leisure. The complexities of this issue are great, and the cost of delay will be greater. I urge my colleagues to join us and to help return natural gas to the free market which it has not enjoyed for 28 years.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill and the accompanying section-by-section analysis be included in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the bill and analysis were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 2074

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SHORT TITLE: TABLE OF CONTENTS

SECTION 1. (a) This Act may be cited as the "Natural Gas Production and Market Adjustment Act of 1982."

(b) The table of contents for this Act is as follows:

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TITLE I—ELIMINATION OF CERTAIN ARTIFICIAL RESTRICTIONS ON NATURAL GAS CONSUMPTION

§ 101—Repeal of the Powerplant and Industrial Fuel Use Act of 1978

§ 102—Termination of Certain Incremental Pricing Requirements Under the Natural Gas Policy Act of 1978

§ 103—Termination of Certain Natural Gas Utility Retail Policies

TITLE II—ELIMINATION OF CERTAIN RESTRICTIONS ON NATURAL GAS SALES AND TRANSMISSION

§ 201—Commission Approval of Sales

§ 202—Deregulation of Committed or Dedicated Gas

§ 203—Authorization of Certain Purchase of Natural Gas Produced from the Outer Continental Shelf

§ 204—Authorization of Assignments

§ 205—Emergency Purchase and Allocation Authority

TITLE III—NATURAL GAS PRICING PROVISIONS

§ 301—Ceiling Price for Natural Gas Produced from Wells Drilled on Date of Enactment Based on Current Oil Prices

§ 302—Phased Elimination of Federal Price Controls

§ 303—1985 Deregulation of All First Sales of Natural Gas; Denial of Authority to Reimpose Price Controls After January 1, 1985

§ 304—Cost Pass-through Allowed Except in Cases of Fraud

§ 305—Preemption of Certain Laws Restricting Cost Pass-through

§ 306—Pipeline Owned Production

§ 307—Certification for Special Pricing and Contract Provisions

§ 308—Treatment of State Severance Taxes

TITLE IV—CONTRACT PROVISIONS

§ 401—Effect of Maximum Lawful Prices on Certain Contract Provisions

§ 402—Elimination of Authority to Specify Minimum Contract Duration

§ 403—Elimination of Authority to Require Offers and Rights of First Refusal

§ 404—Contract Conversion Rights

§ 405—Effect of Certain Commodity Escalator Clauses on Most Favored Nations Clauses

§ 406—Establishment of Fair Market Value

TITLE I—ELIMINATION OF CERTAIN ARTIFICIAL RESTRICTIONS ON NATURAL GAS CONSUMPTION

REPEAL OF THE POWERPLANT AND INDUSTRIAL FUEL USE ACT OF 1978

Sec. 101. (a) The Powerplant and Industrial Fuel Use Act of 1978 (42 U.S.C. 8301 and following) is repealed effective on the date of enactment of the Natural Gas Production and Market Adjustment Act of 1982.

(b) Such repeal shall not apply with respect to powerplants or installations for which proposed or final prohibition orders have been issued under title II or III of such Act before such effective date. The obligations, rights and authorities applicable with respect to such orders shall continue to apply (including the authority of the Secretary of Energy to make final any proposed prohibition order).

TERMINATION OF CERTAIN INCREMENTAL PRICING REQUIREMENTS UNDER THE NATURAL GAS POLICY ACT OF 1978

Sec. 102. (a) Title II of the Natural Gas Policy Act of 1978 (15 U.S.C. 3341-3348) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"SEC. 209. TERMINATION OF REQUIREMENTS UNDER THIS TITLE.

"The requirements of this title shall not apply with respect to costs incurred by interstate pipelines after the date of enactment of the Natural Gas Production and Market Adjustment Act of 1982."

(b) Effective beginning on the date of the enactment of this section, each interstate pipeline and local distribution company which was formerly subject to the provisions of Title II of the Natural Gas Policy Act of 1978 shall comply with all orders which the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission may prescribe for the purpose of effecting the termination of the requirements of title II of such Act.

TERMINATION OF CERTAIN NATURAL GAS UTILITY RETAIL POLICIES

Sec. 103. Title III of the Public Utility Regulatory Policies Act of 1978 (15 U.S.C. 3201-3211) is repealed effective on the date of enactment of the Natural Gas Production and Market Adjustment Act of 1982.

TITLE III—ELIMINATION OF CERTAIN RESTRICTIONS ON NATURAL GAS SALES AND TRANSMISSION

COMMISSION APPROVAL OF SALES

Sec. 201 (a) Section 311(b)(1) of the Natural Gas Policy Act of 1978 (15 U.S.C. 3371(f)(1)) is amended to read as follows:

"(1) IN GENERAL.—The Commission may, by rule or order, authorized any pipeline to sell natural gas to—

"(A) any other pipeline; and

"(B) any local distribution company."

(b) The heading for paragraph (2) of section 311(b) of such Act is amended by inserting "for intrastate pipelines" after "charges".

(c) Subparagraph (B) of section 311(b)(2) is amended—

(A) by striking out "an amount" and inserting in lieu thereof "any amount"; and

(B) in clause (i), by striking out "intrastate" and by inserting "storage," after "transportation".

(d) Section 311(b) of such Act is amended by redesignating paragraphs (3), (4), (5), (6), and (7) as paragraphs (4), (5), (6), (7), and (8), respectively, and by inserting after paragraph (2) the following new paragraph:

"(3) RATES AND CHARGES FOR INTERSTATE PIPELINES.—The rates and charges of any interstate pipeline with respect to any sale authorized under paragraph (1) shall be just and reasonable (within the meaning of the Natural Gas Act)."

(e) Paragraph (5) (as redesignated) of section 311(b) of such Act is amended—

(1) by striking out "intrastate" in the paragraph heading and inserting in lieu thereof "existing"; and

(2) by striking out "intrastate pipeline" and inserting in lieu thereof "seller".

(f) Paragraph (6) (as redesignated) of section 311(b) of such Act is amended—

(1) by striking out "intrastate pipeline" in subparagraph (A) and inserting in lieu thereof "seller";

(2) by striking out "interstate pipeline or local distribution company" in clause (i) of subparagraph (A) and inserting in lieu thereof "purchaser";

(3) by striking out "intrastate pipeline" in clause (ii) of subparagraph (A) and inserting in lieu thereof "seller"; and

(4) by striking out "intrastate pipeline" in subparagraph (B) and inserting in lieu thereof "seller".

(g) Paragraph (7) (as redesignated) of section 311(b) of such Act is amended by striking out "intrastate pipeline" in subpara-

graphs (A)(i), (A)(ii), and (C) and inserting in lieu thereof "seller".

(h) Paragraph (8) (as redesignated) of section 311(b) of such Act is amended by striking out "intrastate pipeline" in subparagraphs (A) and (B) and inserting in lieu thereof "seller".

(i) Section 311(a) of the National Gas Policy Act of 1978 (15 U.S.C. 3371(a)) is amended by adding the following:

"(3) TRANSPORTATION INCENTIVE.—No amounts paid for transportation services hereunder shall be taken into account in setting the rates of the transporting pipeline."

(j) Section 1(c) of the Natural Gas Act (15 U.S.C. 717(c)) is amended by inserting after the first sentence the following: "If the provisions of this Act do not apply to any person by reason of this subsection, then such provisions shall equally not apply to any other person receiving natural gas from such person solely by reason of such receipt and subsequent sale or transportation."

(k) Section 601(a) of the Natural Gas Policy Act of 1978 (15 U.S.C. 3431) is amended by adding paragraph (3) which reads as follows:

"(3) TRANSPORTATION AND SUBSEQUENT SALE.—

"(A) JURISDICTION OF THE COMMISSION.—For purposes of section 1(b) of the Natural Gas Act, the provisions of the Natural Gas Act and the jurisdiction of the Commission under such Act shall not apply to any transportation or sale (including any sale for resale) of natural gas by one or more intrastate pipelines or local distribution companies and such natural gas shall not be deemed to be in interstate commerce, if all transportation between States or between States and the Federal domain in the Outer Continental Shelf is performed by one or more interstate pipelines pursuant to authorization by the Commission under sections 302(c), 303 (b), (c), (d), or (h), or 311(a)(1) of this Act or under section 7 of the Natural Gas Act.

"(B) NATURAL GAS COMPANY.—For purposes of the Natural Gas Act, the term 'natural gas company' (as defined in section 2(6) of such Act) shall not include any person by reason of, or with respect to, transportation or sale of natural gas, if the provisions of the Natural Gas Act and the jurisdiction of the Commission under the Natural Gas Act do not apply to such transportation or sale by reason of subparagraph (a) of this paragraph."

DEREGULATION OF COMMITTED OR DEDICATED GAS

Sec. 202. (a) Section 601(a)(1)(B) of the Natural Gas Policy Act of 1978 (15 U.S.C. 3431(a)(1)(B)) is amended to read as follows:

"(B) COMMITTED OR DEDICATED NATURAL GAS.—Effective January 1, 1985, for purposes of section 1(b) of the Natural Gas Act, the provisions of such Act and the jurisdiction of the Commission under such Act shall not apply by reason of any first sale of natural gas which was committed or dedicated to interstate commerce as of the day before the date of enactment of this Act. Before January 1, 1985, for purposes of section 1(b) of the Natural Gas Act, the provisions of the Natural Gas Act and the jurisdiction of the Commission under such Act shall not apply by reason of any first sale of natural gas which was committed or dedicated to interstate commerce as of the day before the date of enactment of this Act and which is—

"(i) high cost natural gas (as defined in section 107(c) (1), (2), (3), or (4) of this Act);

(ii) new natural gas (as defined in section 102(c) of this Act);

(iii) natural gas produced from any new onshore production well (as defined in section 103(c) of this Act); or

(iv) natural gas produced from wells drilled on or after date of enactment which qualifies for the maximum lawful price under section 111.

(b) Section 601 of such Act (15 U.S.C. 3431) is further amended—

(1) Effective January 1, 1985, in section 601(a)(1) by striking out subparagraph (E); and

(2) in Section 601(b)(1)(A)(ii) by striking out "solely".

AUTHORIZATION OF CERTAIN PURCHASES OF NATURAL GAS PRODUCED FROM THE OUTER CONTINENTAL SHELF

Sec. 203. (a) Section 601(a)(1)(B) of the Natural Gas Policy Act of 1978 (15 U.S.C. 3431), as amended, is further amended—

(1) by striking out "or" at the end of clause (iii), by striking out the period at the end of clause (iv) and inserting "; or" in lieu thereof, and by adding at the end thereof the following new clause:

"(v) natural gas from the Outer Continental Shelf if such sale is to an intrastate pipeline, local distribution company or end user located within any State."

(2) Section 601(a)(2)(A) of such Act (15 U.S.C. 3431) is amended by striking out "or" at the end of clause (i), by striking out the period at the end of clause (ii) and inserting "; or" in lieu thereof, and by adding at the end thereof the following new clause:

"(iii) of natural gas from the Outer Continental Shelf that is transported on behalf of any intrastate pipeline, local distribution company or end user located within any State, except that (I) the rate any pipeline charges for any transportation over or across the Outer Continental Shelf shall be just and reasonable (within the meaning of the Natural Gas Act), as determined by the Commission, and (II) any facilities for such transportation over or across the Outer Continental Shelf shall be constructed or operated only pursuant to a certificate issued by the Commission under section 7 of the Natural Gas Act."

(b) Section 601(a) of the Natural Gas Policy Act of 1978 (15 U.S.C. 3431), as amended, is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(4) ACCESS TO OUTER CONTINENTAL SHELF NATURAL GAS.—The Commission may not impose any direct or indirect limitation on the right to contract for sale or use of natural gas from the Outer Continental Shelf, except that the Commission shall ensure that an interstate pipeline may not charge for any transportation of such natural gas a rate in excess of a just and reasonable rate (within the meaning of the Natural Gas Act)."

AUTHORIZATION OF ASSIGNMENTS

Sec. 204. (a) Section 312(a) of such Act (15 U.S.C. 3372(a)) is amended to read as follows:

"(a) AUTHORIZATION OF ASSIGNMENTS.—The Commission may, by rule or order, authorize a pipeline or local distribution company to assign, without compensation, to any other pipeline or local distribution company, all or any portion of the assignor's right to receive surplus natural gas at any first sale, upon such terms and conditions as the Commission determines appropriate, except that the Commission may not discriminate against the assignment of any sur-

plus gas based upon the Title I pricing category applicable to such gas."

(b) Section 312(c) of such Act (15 U.S.C. 3372(c)) is amended to read as follows:

"(c) **SURPLUS NATURAL GAS.**—For purposes of this section, the term 'surplus natural gas' means, with respect to any pipeline or local distribution company, any natural gas which exceeds the then current demands of such person for natural gas, as determined by the Commission, or the state agency, having regulatory jurisdiction over that person."

EMERGENCY PURCHASE AND ALLOCATION AUTHORITY

SEC. 205. (a) EMERGENCY PURCHASE AUTHORITY.—Section 302 of the Natural Gas Policy Act of 1978 (15 U.S.C. 3362) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)—

(A) by striking out "interstate pipeline or local distribution company served by any interstate pipeline" and inserting in lieu thereof "interstate or intrastate pipeline or local distribution company";

(B) by striking out paragraph (1) and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"(1) from any producer of natural gas; or"; and

(C) in paragraph (2), by striking out "intrastate" and "an interstate pipeline or";

(2) in subsection (d) by striking out "any interstate pipeline" and inserting in lieu thereof "any pipeline"; and

(3) in subsection (e) by striking out "any intrastate pipeline" and inserting in lieu thereof "any pipeline".

(b) **EMERGENCY ALLOCATION AUTHORITY.**—Section 303 of such Act (15 U.S.C. 3363) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a), by striking out "interstate" in paragraph (1) and by striking out subparagraph (A) in paragraph (2) and redesignating subparagraphs (B) and (C) as subparagraphs (A) and (B), respectively;

(2) in subparagraph (D) of subsection (b)(1), by striking out "any interstate pipeline" and inserting in lieu thereof "any pipeline";

(3) in subsection (c)—

(A) by striking out "interstate" each place it appears; and

(B) by striking out "certificated" in paragraphs (1) and (4); and

(4) in subparagraph (D) of subsection (d)(1), by striking out "interstate."

(c) Subparagraph (C) of section 601(a)(1) of such Act (15 U.S.C. 3431(a)(1)(C)) is amended—

(1) by striking out "or" at the end of clause (i);

(2) by striking out the period at the end of clause (ii) and inserting in lieu thereof "; or"; and

(3) by adding at the end thereof the following new clause:

"(iii) pursuant to any allocation assigned under section 303."

TITLE III—NATURAL GAS PRICING PROVISIONS

CEILING PRICE FOR NATURAL GAS PRODUCED FROM WELLS DRILLED ON DATE OF ENACTMENT BASED ON CURRENT OIL PRICES

SEC. 301. (a) Title I of the Natural Gas Policy Act of 1978 is amended by inserting after section 110 the following new section:

"**SEC. 111. CEILING PRICE FOR WELLS DRILLED ON OR AFTER DATE OF ENACTMENT BASED ON CURRENT OIL PRICE**

"(a) **APPLICATION.**—Subject to section 101(b)(5), the maximum lawful price under subsection (b) shall apply to any first sale of

natural gas for any month beginning after December 1982 in the case of any natural gas produced from any well (excluding natural gas as defined in Section 107(c)(1)-(4)) if—

"(1) the surface drilling of the well commenced on or after date of enactment of this section; and

"(2) a permit, license, or comparable authorization was issued with respect to the drilling by the applicable Federal or State agency having regulatory jurisdiction with respect to the production of such natural gas.

"(b) **MAXIMUM LAWFUL PRICE.**—The maximum lawful price, per million Btu's, under this section for any month shall be equal to the crude oil reference price for the calendar quarter in which that month occurs.

"(c) **CRUDE OIL REFERENCE PRICE DEFINED.**—For purposes of this section, the term 'crude oil reference price', when used with respect to any calendar quarter, means a price estimated by the Secretary of Energy to be equal to 70 percent of the weighted average price, per million Btu's, for crude oil which will be acquired during that calendar quarter by refiners located in the United States."

(b) The table of contents for such Act is amended by adding after the item relating to section 110 the following new item:

"Sec. 111. Ceiling price for wells drilled on or after date of enactment based on current oil price."

(c) The Federal Energy Regulatory Commission shall prescribe regulations designed to minimize the administrative burdens on individuals who could be covered by section 111 as added by subsection (a) of this section.

PHASED ELIMINATION OF FEDERAL PRICE CONTROLS

SEC. 302. (a) Title I of the Natural Gas Policy Act of 1978 is amended by inserting after section 111 the following new section:

"**SEC. 112. POST-1982 PRICE CEILINGS**

"(a) Subject to section 101(b)(5), the maximum lawful price, per million Btu's, applicable to any first sale of natural gas other than that defined in section 111 for any month beginning after December 1982, shall be determined in accordance with the following formula:

" $P = \text{base price} + (\text{transition factor} \times \text{shortfall})$."

"(b) **MEANING OF TERMS.**—For purposes of the formula set forth in paragraph (a)—

"(1) the term 'P' equals the maximum lawful price under this subsection for any month;

"(2) the term 'base price' means the maximum lawful price otherwise applicable to the category of natural gas involved for the calendar month during which the effective date of this section occurs;

"(3) the term 'transition factor' equals—

(A) the number of calendar months which have elapsed between January 1983 and the month for which the maximum lawful price is being calculated, divided by (B) 24; and

"(4) the term 'shortfall' equals—

(A) the Btu equivalent of the crude oil reference price determined under subsection (c), reduced by (B) the base price for the category of natural gas involved.

"(c) **CRUDE OIL REFERENCE PRICE DEFINED.**—For purposes of this section, the term 'crude oil reference price,' shall be equal to the price determined by the Secretary pursuant to the provisions in section 111(c).

"(d) **HIGH COST NATURAL GAS.**—For purposes of any maximum lawful price, established by the Commission for any category of natural gas pursuant to section 107(c)(5), which references other categories of natural gas for determining such price such applicable maximum lawful price shall be determined without regard to the provisions of section 112(a) unless otherwise determined by the Commission pursuant to rule or order.

(b) This section shall take effect beginning January 1, 1983.

(c) Section 101(b)(6) of the Natural Gas Policy Act of 1978 (15 U.S.C. 3311(b)(6)) is amended by striking out subparagraphs (A) and (B) and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"(A) not later than 5 days before the beginning of any month, determine and make available (i) the maximum lawful prices prescribed under this title for such month, (ii) the monthly equivalent of the annual inflation adjustment factor for such month, and (iii) the current crude oil reference price as determined and transmitted by the Secretary of Energy to the Commission for the purpose of the price calculations pursuant to sections 111 and 112 of this title, and

"(B) as soon as possible thereafter, publish in the Federal Register such maximum lawful prices and other determinations for such month."

(d) The table of contents for such Act is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 111 (as added by section 301) the following:

"Sec. 112 Post—1982 Ceiling Prices"

1985 DEREGULATION OF ALL FIRST SALES OF NATURAL GAS; DENIAL OF AUTHORITY TO REIMPOSE PRICE CONTROLS AFTER JANUARY 1, 1985

SEC. 303(a)(1) Section 121(a) of the Natural Gas Policy Act of 1978 (15 U.S.C. 3331(a)) is amended to read as follows:

"**GENERAL RULE.**—Effective January 1, 1985, the provisions of subtitle A respecting maximum lawful price shall cease to apply to the first sale of any natural gas."

(2) Section 121 of the Natural Gas Policy Act of 1978 (15 U.S.C. 3331) is amended by striking out subsections (c), (d) and (e).

(3) Section 103(b) of such Act (15 U.S.C. 3313(b)) is amended by striking out paragraph (2).

(4) Section 105(b) of such Act (15 U.S.C. 3315(b)) is amended by striking out paragraph (3).

(5) Section 313 of such Act (15 U.S.C. 3373) is amended by striking out "(as defined in section 105(b)(3)(B))" each place it appears and by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(c) **DEFINITION OF INDEFINITE PRICE ESCALATOR CLAUSE.**—For purposes of this section, the term 'indefinite price escalator clause' includes any provision of any contract—

"(1) which provides for the establishment or adjustment of the price for natural gas delivered under such contract by reference to other prices for natural gas, for crude oil, for refined petroleum product, or any other energy source, or

"(2) which allows for the establishment or adjustment of the price of natural gas delivered under such contract by negotiation between the parties."

(b)(1) Subtitle B of title I of the Natural Gas Policy Act of 1978 is amended by striking out sections 122 and 123.

(2) The table of contents for such Act is amended by striking out the items relating to sections 122 and 123.

COST PASSTHROUGH ALLOWED EXCEPT IN CASES OF FRAUD

Sec. 304. Paragraph (2) of section 601(c) of the Natural Gas Policy Act of 1978 (15 U.S.C. 3431(c)) is amended by striking out all that follows subparagraph (B) and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "except to the extent the Commission, or other such ratemaking agency, as the case may be, determines that the amount paid was excessive due to fraud."

PREEMPTION OF CERTAIN LAWS RESTRICTING COST PASSTHROUGH

Sec. 305. Section 601(c) of the Natural Gas Policy Act of 1978 (15 U.S.C. 3431(c)) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(3) PREEMPTION OF CERTAIN LAWS RESTRICTING COST PASSTHROUGH.—Any provision of any State of local law is pre-empted to the extent such provision of law would preclude, or grant the authority to preclude, the recovery by any interstate pipeline of any amount paid with respect to any purchase of natural gas."

PIPELINE OWNED PRODUCTION

Sec. 306. (a) Section 2 of the Natural Gas Policy Act of 1978 is amended—

(1) by amending paragraph (20) to read as follows:

"(20) SALE.—The term 'sale' means any sale, exchange, or other transfer for value and, with respect to natural gas owned and produced by any pipeline, includes the intracorporate transfer of such natural gas;" and

(2) by amending the portion of paragraph (21) which precedes subparagraph (A)(i) to read as follows:

"(21) FIRST SALE.—
"(A) GENERAL RULE.—The term 'first sale' means any sale of any volume of natural gas—

"(i) to any interstate pipeline, intrastate pipeline, or to the transmission or distribution division of a pipeline, in the case of natural gas owned and produced by that pipeline;"

(b) Section 601 of such Act is amended—
(1) by amending the portion of subsection (b)(1)(A) which precedes clause (i) to read as follows:

"(A) FIRST SALES.—Subject to paragraph (4), for purposes of sections 4 and 5 of the Natural Gas Act, any amount paid (including, with respect to natural gas owned and produced by any pipeline, any wellhead value assigned by the pipeline to such natural gas) in any first sale of natural gas shall be deemed to be just and reasonable if—"; and

(2) by further amending subsection (c)(2) by inserting after "purchase of natural gas" the following: "(including with respect to natural gas owned and produced by any pipeline, any wellhead value assigned by the pipeline to such natural gas)".

CERTIFICATION FOR SPECIAL PRICING AND CONTRACT PROVISIONS

Sec. 307. Section 503 of the Natural Gas Policy Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(f) SELLER CERTIFICATION APPLICABLE FOR CERTAIN PURPOSES.—For purposes of sections 111 and 112, and paragraphs (11) and (12) of section 101(b), any certification made by a seller in a sworn statement to the Commission and the Federal and State agency having authority to make determinations referred to in subsection (a)(1) shall satisfy any requirements for a determination under this section."

TREATMENT OF STATE SEVERANCE TAXES

Sec. 308. Section 110 of such Act (15 U.S.C. 3320) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(d) APPLICABILITY TO SECTIONS 111 AND 112.—The provisions of subparagraph (s)(1) shall apply to the same extent and manner as such provisions apply to maximum lawful prices under sections 102 through 109."

TITLE IV—CONTRACT PROVISIONS

EFFECT OF MAXIMUM LAWFUL PRICES ON CERTAIN CONTRACT PROVISIONS

Sec. 401. Section 101(b) of the Natural Gas Policy Act of 1978 (15 U.S.C. 3311(b)) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new provision:

"(10) EFFECT OF MAXIMUM LAWFUL PRICES ON CERTAIN CONTRACT PROVISIONS.—For purposes of any contractual pricing provision, any maximum lawful price under this title shall be deemed to be a just and reasonable rate established by order of the Commission."

ELIMINATION OF AUTHORITY TO SPECIFY MINIMUM CONTRACT DURATION

Sec. 402. Section 315 of the Natural Gas Policy Act of 1978 (15 U.S.C. 3375) is amended by striking out subsection (a) and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"(a) CONTRACT DURATION.—The Commission may not specify the minimum duration of any contract for the purchase of natural gas to which section 601(a)(1)(A) or (B) is applicable."

ELIMINATION OF AUTHORITY TO REQUIRE OFFERS AND RIGHTS OF FIRST REFUSAL

Sec. 403. Section 315 of the Natural Gas Policy Act of 1978 (15 U.S.C. 3375) is amended by striking out subsection (b) and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"(b) OFFERS; RIGHT OF FIRST REFUSAL.—In the case of any person (or any successor in interest to such person) who but for the provisions of section 601(a)(1)(B) (relating to deregulation), would have been entitled to receive natural gas committed or dedicated to interstate commerce pursuant to such commitment or dedication if such gas were sold, the Commission may not require that such natural gas be offered to be sold to such person, either directly or through the granting of any right of first refusal of an offer made to any other person."

CONTRACT CONVERSION RIGHTS

Sec. 404. (a) SELLER'S RIGHT TO CONVERT AREA RATE CLAUSES.—Section 101(b) of the Natural Gas Policy Act of 1978 (15 U.S.C. 3311(b)) is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(11) CONSTRUCTION OF AREA RATE CLAUSES.—(A) In the case of any contract—
"(i) which was in effect on the day before the date of the enactment of this section; and

"(ii) which contains an area rate clause, the Seller under such contract may elect, not later than June 30, 1985, to have the price for natural gas under such contract be adjusted as if the contract contained the contract provisions set forth in paragraph (13) (in lieu of such area rate clause), until such time as the contract terminates or is renegotiated."

"(B) For purposes of this paragraph, the term 'area rate clause' means any contractual provision which bases the contract price for the first sale of natural gas on any Federally sanctioned or established rate or price, without regard to whether the clause specifies the identity of the Federal authority establishing or sanctioning such rate or price."

(b) BUYER'S RIGHT TO CONVERT COMMODITY ESCALATOR CLAUSES.—Section 101(b) of the Natural Gas Policy Act of 1978 (15 U.S.C. 3311(b)), as amended by subsection (a) of this section, is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(12) CONSTRUCTION OF COMMODITY ESCALATOR CLAUSES AFTER DECONTROL.—

"(A) GENERAL RULE.—In the case of any contract—

"(i) which was in effect on the day before the date of the enactment of this section; and

"(ii) which contains a commodity escalator clause,

the Buyer under such contract may elect, not later than June 30, 1985, to have the price for natural gas under such contract be adjusted during the period this subparagraph applies to such contract as if the contract contained the contract provisions set forth in paragraph (13) (in lieu of such commodity escalator clause). In applying such contract provisions for purposes of this paragraph, the term 'Buyer' shall be substituted for 'Seller' and the term 'Seller' shall be substituted for 'Buyer', each place such terms appear. If the Buyer does not make an election under this subsection, the provisions of Section 313(b)(2), as amended by Section 405 of this Title, shall apply.

"(B) COMMODITY ESCALATOR CLAUSE.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term 'commodity escalator clause' means any provision of any contract which provides for the establishment or adjustment of the price for natural gas delivered under such contract by reference to prices paid for other fuels or commodities other than natural gas produced from within the United States, including refined petroleum products or crude oil."

(c) STATUTORY MOST FAVORED NATIONS CLAUSE.—Section 101(b) of the Natural Gas Policy Act of 1978 (15 U.S.C. 3311(b)) is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(13) MOST FAVORED NATION CLAUSE APPLICABLE FOR PARAGRAPHS (11) AND (12).—The following contract provisions shall be applicable under paragraphs (11) and (12):

"1. The Seller shall have the right to make a written request for a redetermination of the price at which gas is to be sold under this Agreement. Upon Seller's request, the parties shall endeavor to agree to a redetermined price within six (6) months after Buyer's receipt of Seller's request (the redetermination period), or if they are unable to agree, such price shall be redetermined by arbitration pursuant to paragraph 3 hereof in accordance with the provisions of this paragraph 1. Such redetermined price shall be effective on January 1, 1985, in the event Seller requests a price redetermination within thirty (30) days before January 1, 1985. In the event Seller does not make such a request within thirty (30) days before January 1, 1985, the redetermined price shall be effective on the first day of the month following the earlier of (A) the expiration of one hundred twenty (120) days from the date of the notice or (B) the date on which redetermined price is agreed to by Buyer and Seller. *Provided, however,* in no event is the redetermined price to become effective prior to January 1, 1985. After the initial price redetermination under this Agreement, Seller may request further price redetermination during the remaining term of this Agreement at the end of each year following the effective date of a previously

redetermined price. Each redetermined price, including the initial price redetermination, shall be based on an arithmetic average of the highest prices being paid for gas at the time of Seller's request for redetermination by each of three (3) different pipeline purchasers which may include Buyer if Buyer is one (1) of such three (3) with regard to a contract other than this one in the area involved pursuant to interstate contracts comparable to this Agreement in their terms and conditions, dedicated reserves, contract quantities, quality specifications, term of the contract, delivery conditions, delivery pressure, tax reimbursement, measurement, and point of delivery. In the event of redeterminations other than the original redetermination made pursuant to this paragraph 1, the redetermined price to be paid under this Agreement for the remaining term of this Agreement (subject to further price redetermination) shall be effective on sixty (60) days written notice by Seller of its intent to redetermine price under this Agreement, but in no event shall the subsequent redeterminations become effective prior to the anniversary of any previous redetermination period.

"2. In the event representatives of Buyer and Seller are unable to agree upon a redetermined base price or prices within a period of sixty (60) days of the written request for such redetermination, then either Buyer or Seller shall have the right to submit the matter to arbitration in the following manner: Upon written request for arbitration made by either party and served upon the other as provided by law, Buyer shall appoint one arbitrator and Seller shall appoint one arbitrator and the two arbitrators so appointed shall select a third arbitrator. If either Buyer or Seller shall fail to appoint an arbitrator within fifteen (15) days after such request for arbitration is made by the other party in writing, or if the two arbitrators so appointed shall fail within fifteen (15) days after the appointment of the second of them to agree on a third arbitrator, the arbitrator or arbitrators necessary to complete a board of three arbitrators shall be appointed upon application by either party therefore by the active senior (in service) U.S. Judge of the federal court having jurisdiction over the area in which the property covered by the Agreement is situated. After three arbitrators are appointed pursuant to the foregoing provisions of this paragraph, they shall meet, hear the parties with respect to the matter of said price, and arrive at a determination of the price or prices at which gas is to be sold hereunder during the particular period in question. Any determination agreed to in writing by at least two of such arbitrators shall be final and binding on the parties hereto. All arbitrators appointed pursuant to this paragraph shall be individuals qualified by education, knowledge, and experience to determine the price of gas in accordance with the criteria set forth above and shall not be in the regular salaried employ of either party. The compensation and expenses of the the arbitrator named for the Seller shall be paid by Seller; the compensation and expenses of the arbitrator named for Buyer shall be paid by Buyer; and the compensation and expenses of the third arbitrator shall be paid in equal portions by Buyer and Seller.

"3. The term 'area', as used in paragraphs 1 and 2, means the areas defined for area rate purposes by the Federal Power Commission and set forth in section 154 of title 18 of the Code of Federal Regulations (as in

effect February 8, 1982) or as set forth in an otherwise applicable rule or order which is no longer subject to judicial review. In the case of any geographical region not included in any such area, as so defined, such term means the county from which the natural gas is produced together with all counties adjacent to such county. In the case of any State or Federal geographical region not included in any such area, as so defined, the Secretary shall, by regulation, modify the definition of such areas to include such regions or establish new areas. In prescribing such regulations, the Secretary shall give due regard to boundaries utilized under other Federal laws and regulations in connection with oil and gas extraction."

EFFECT OF CERTAIN COMMODITY ESCALATOR CLAUSES ON MOST FAVORED NATION CLAUSES

SEC. 405. (a) Section 313(b) of the Natural Gas Policy Act of 1978 (15 U.S.C. 3373(b)) is amended by inserting "(1)" after "(b) OTHER TRANSACTIONS.—", by redesignating paragraphs (1) and (2) as subparagraphs (A) and (B) respectively, and by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(2) Effective January 1, 1985, and terminating January 1, 1990, no price paid in any first sale of natural gas established under any commodity escalator clause (as defined in subparagraph (B) of section 101(b)(12)) for which an election is not in effect under section 101(b)(12) may be taken into account in applying any existing most favored nation clause."

(b) Section 313 of such Act is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(d) DEFINITION OF EXISTING MOST FAVORED NATION CLAUSE.—For purposes of this section, the term 'existing most favored nation clause' means any indefinite price escalator clause which is in effect on the day prior to the date of enactment of this subsection and which provides for the establishment or adjustment of the price of natural gas delivered under the contract involved by reference to the price payable in other first sales of natural gas produced from fields or areas specified in such clause."

ESTABLISHMENT OF FAIR MARKET VALUE

SEC. 406. The price paid pursuant to any renegotiation of any gas purchase contract between non-affiliated parties existing as of January 1, 1983, where such renegotiations occurred not later than June 30, 1985, shall be deemed to be the fair market value of such gas for purposes of any law or lease provision. As to any renegotiation hereunder between affiliated parties, the price paid shall be deemed to be the fair market value if the price agreed to is not greater than the price agreed to by the same or similarly situated parties in comparable transactions between non-affiliated parties.

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS OF THE NATURAL GAS PRODUCTION AND MARKET ADJUSTMENT ACT OF 1982

TITLE I—ELIMINATION OF CERTAIN ARTIFICIAL RESTRICTIONS ON NATURAL GAS CONSUMPTION

Sec. 101 repeals the Powerplant and Industrial Fuel Use Act effective upon date of enactment. However, such repeal shall not apply to powerplants or fuel burning installations which, prior to enactment, have received proposed or final prohibition orders under Titles II or III of the Fuel Use Act.

Sec. 102 terminates the incremental pricing requirements of Title II of the Natural Gas Policy Act of 1978 (NGPA), effective on date of enactment. All interstate pipelines and local distribution companies subject to

the requirements of Title II shall comply with Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC) orders for effectuation of such termination.

Sec. 103 repeals Title III of the Public Utility Regulatory Policies Act of 1978, relative to retail policies for natural gas utilities. Such repeal is effective on date of enactment.

TITLE II—ELIMINATION OF CERTAIN RESTRICTIONS ON NATURAL GAS SALES AND TRANSMISSION

Sec. 201(a)-(h) eliminate the limitations on natural gas sales and transmission under Section 311 of the NGPA. Section 311 currently allows sales only from intrastate pipelines to interstate pipelines and local distribution companies. As amended, it would allow sales from any pipeline to any other pipeline or local distribution company.

Sec. 201 (i) provides incentives for interstate pipelines to transport gas sold under Section 311 by mandating that the revenues from such transportation shall not be offset against that pipeline's cost of service to existing interstate customers.

Sec. 201 (j) deals with "Hinshawed" pipelines and is the only section which amends the Natural Gas Act. It provides that if the provisions of Section 1 (c) of the NGA do not apply to a pipeline by reason of subsection 1 (c) then neither shall those provisions apply to any other person purchasing gas from such pipeline solely by reason of such sale. Thus, a pipeline not otherwise subject to FERC Jurisdiction may purchase gas from a Hinshawed pipeline without, itself, becoming Hinshawed.

Sec. 202 amends Section 601 of the NGPA to provide that as of January 1, 1985, the requirements of abandonment and dedication of natural gas are no longer applicable. In addition, it provides that gas from wells drilled after enactment of the Natural Gas Production and Market Adjustment Act (NGPMAA) shall not be deemed dedicated to interstate commerce.

Sec. 203 (a) amends Section 601 of the NGPA to provide that gas which is produced from the Outer Continental Shelf and sold to an intrastate pipeline or local distribution company shall not be dedicated to interstate commerce.

Sec. 203 (b) further amends Section 601 of the NGPA to allow any intrastate pipeline or local distribution company to purchase gas produced from the Outer Continental Shelf.

Sec. 204 (a) authorizes a pipeline or local distribution company to assign, without compensation, all or a part of its rights to receive surplus gas to any other pipeline or local distribution company.

Sec. 204 (b) defines surplus gas as that portion of gas in excess of what is required to meet the current demands of any pipeline or local distribution company.

Sec. 205 (a) amends Section 302 of the NGPA to eliminate certain restrictions on the President's emergency purchase authority. As amended, section 302 would allow the President to authorize any pipeline or local distribution company to purchase emergency supplies of natural gas from any other pipeline, local distribution company or producer of natural gas.

Sec. 205 (b) amends Section 303 of the NGPA to eliminate certain restrictions on the President's emergency allocation authority. As amended, Section 303 would authorize the President to allocate supplies of

natural gas to and from any pipeline or local distribution company.

TITLE III—NATURAL GAS PRICING PROVISIONS

Sec. 301 adds a new Section 111 to the NGPA relative to gas produced from wells the surface drilling of which began after the date of enactment of the NGPMAA. For all such wells, the maximum lawful price, as of January 1, 1983, shall be equal to the crude oil reference price. The crude oil reference price is that estimated by the Secretary of Energy to be equal to 70 percent of the weighted average cost, per million Btu's, for crude oil acquired during that calendar quarter by domestic refiners. However, this maximum lawful price shall not apply with respect to gas which qualifies as high cost gas under Section 107(b)(1)-(4) of the NGPA.

Sec. 302 adds a new Section 112 to the NGPA to provide for the phased elimination of federal price controls on all categories of natural gas other than those in Sections 111 and 107(c)(1)-(4) of the NGPA. The price for each category covered by Section 112 will be phased up in monthly increments to the crude oil reference price. The phase-up period will begin in January 1983 and continue through December 1984.

Subsection (d) of this section provides that for categories of gas established under Section 107(c)(5), which reference other categories of natural gas for pricing purposes, the maximum lawful price shall be determined without regard to Section 112 unless otherwise determined by the Commission.

Sec. 303 provides that as of January 1, 1985, all first sales of natural gas shall be free from federal price controls. In addition, the NGPA authority regarding reimposition of price controls is repealed.

Sec. 304 provides that prices paid for natural gas by interstate pipelines may be passed through to the purchaser except where the price is deemed excessive due to fraud. Thus, the amorphous limitations on cost passthrough in instances of "abuse or similar grounds" are eliminated.

Sec. 305 preempts any state or local law which would preclude cost passthrough by an interstate pipeline.

Sec. 306 provides that gas owned and produced by a pipeline shall be covered by the definition of "first sale" as defined in Section 2(21) of the NGPA.

Sec. 307 provides that for purposes of sections 111 and 112, and paragraphs (11) and (12) of Section 101(b) of the NGPA, a sworn statement by a seller of natural gas shall satisfy the determination requirements of Section 503 of the NGPA.

Sec. 308 declares that State severance taxes shall not be considered in determining the maximum lawful price for gas under section 111 and 112 of the NGPA.

TITLE IV—CONTRACT PROVISIONS

Sec. 401 provides that for purposes of any contractual pricing provision, the maximum lawful price under this title shall be deemed to be a just and reasonable rate established by the Commission.

Sec. 402 eliminates the authority of the Commission under Section 315 of the NGPA to specify the minimum duration of any contract for the sale of natural gas.

Sec. 403 eliminates the authority of the Commission under Section 315 of the NGPA relative to offers and rights of first refusal.

Sec. 404(a) provides that in the absence of renegotiation of a natural gas contract containing an area rate clause, the seller may elect, not later than June 30, 1985, to have the price of the natural gas under such con-

tract to be governed by the statutory most favored nations clause set forth in subsection (c).

Sec. 404(b) provides that in the absence of renegotiation of a natural gas contract containing a commodity escalator clause, the buyer may elect, not later than June 30, 1985, to have the price of the natural gas under such contract to be governed by the statutory most favored nations clause set forth in subsection (c).

Sec. 404(c) defines a statutory most favored nations clause as the average of the three highest prices being paid by each of three different pipeline purchasers for gas from the same area. The three contracts referenced must be comparable to the contract at issue in their terms and conditions, dedicated reserves, contract quantities, quality specifications, term of contract, delivery conditions, etc. The term "area" means the areas defined for area rate purposes by the Federal Power Commission and set forth in 18 C.F.R. 154. Any such election by either buyer or seller must occur prior to June 30, 1986, and in no event shall the price determined under the statutory most favored nations clause apply prior to January 1, 1985.

Sec. 405 amends section 313(b) of the NGPA to provide that no price paid for gas under a commodity escalator clause may be considered in determining the price to be paid under any existing most favored nations clause (as defined herein).

Sec. 406 provides protection for buyers and sellers of natural gas who renegotiate their contracts. It declares that the renegotiated price shall be deemed to be the fair market value of such natural gas for purposes of any law or lease provision.●

By Mr. ROTH:

S. 2075. A bill to amend the Second Liberty Bond Act to increase the investment yield on U.S. savings bonds to a level competitive with 52-week Treasury bills; to the Committee on Finance.

TAKE STOCK IN AMERICA ACT OF 1982

Mr. ROTH. Mr. President, I am introducing legislation today to amend the Second Liberty Bond Act in order to permit the Treasury Department to fix the interest paid to U.S. savings bond holders at a rate that is more competitive with other investment opportunities available to small investors.

This measure is similar to H.R. 4853, a bill introduced in the House by Congressman ROTH.

Under present law, the Treasury Department is prohibited from increasing the interest rate on savings bonds by more than 1 percent during any one 6-month period.

Until November of 1980 the interest rate on Series EE savings bonds was fixed at 7 percent. On November 1, 1980, the Treasury Department increased the rate to 8 percent and then to its current level of 9 percent on May 1, 1981.

The Treasury Department did not use its authority to increase the rate up to 10 percent on November 1, 1981. Instead, it announced that it planned to seek legislation to permit Treasury to vary the savings bond rate with market rates.

Mr. President, in 1979, savings bond redemptions exceeded sales by over \$5 billion, over \$11 billion in 1980 and by over \$10 billion in 1981. The maximum rate increases of 1 percent per 6-month period permitted under existing law have not been sufficient to stem the savings bond cash drain from the Treasury because of higher interest rates available from other market instruments.

These cash drains from the savings bond program must be financed by other, more expensive Treasury borrowing; namely, the issuance of additional securities at interest rates much higher than the savings bond rate. Indeed, interest rates on Treasury marketable intermediate notes and bonds have been as high as 16 percent in recent months.

In order to stem this cash drain, the Treasury must assure savings bond investors that they will receive a fair rate of return throughout their holding period. Thus, the Treasury must be able to promise investors that the rate on savings bonds will vary with market rates of interest.

The alternative of raising the savings bond rate to, say, 10 percent now and possibly a higher rate later, under existing legislation, was rejected by the Treasury last November.

While such rate increases may reduce the savings bond cash drain in time, they would be relatively expensive to the Treasury over the long run if market rates of interest declined.

The answer is simple. We need a savings bond rate that automatically increases, and decreases, with market rates. And Treasury cannot offer such a bond under existing law.

Mr. President, over the years millions of Americans, including many of our servicemen and women, have invested in savings bonds. The payroll savings plan has been a vehicle for personal savings for the small saver for decades.

Unfortunately, savings bonds have become a losing bargain because Congress has failed to act to insure a fair rate of return on the bonds. Why should the average investor purchase a savings bond at 7-, 8-, or even a 9-percent rate of return when he or she can simply invest in money market funds or small CD's with a 13-, 14-, or 15-percent rate of return. Again, the answer is simple. Unless our average investor plans on losing money, he or she will definitely seek the highest return possible. And that eliminates U.S. savings bonds from consideration.

The legislation I am introducing today will in effect, peg the series EE savings bond rate to a rate equal to 85 percent of the yield on 52-week Treasury bills. The savings bond rate of return will vary according to changes in the T bill rate of return.

This measure will insure a fair return to Americans who have historically trusted the U.S. savings bond program as a secure investment.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the bill printed in the RECORD.

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

S. 2075

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That paragraph (3) of section 22(b) of the Second Liberty Bond Act (31 U.S.C. 757(c)) is amended to read as follows:

"(3) Notwithstanding paragraph (1), the Secretary of the Treasury shall fix the investment yield on any United States savings bond at a yield which makes such bond competitive with comparable investments; provided, however, that in no event shall the investment yield on such bonds exceed 85 percent of the average investment yield for the most recent auction (before the week in which the certificate is issued) of United States Treasury bills with maturities of 52 weeks."

SEC. 2. The amendment made by section 1 hereof shall apply with respect to interest accrual periods beginning after the date of enactment of this Act.

By Mr. LAXALT:

S. 2076. A bill for the relief of Oikos, Incorporated, and the Nevada Opera Association, both of Reno, Nevada; to the Committee on Finance.

RELIEF OF CERTAIN ORGANIZATIONS IN RENO, NEV.

● Mr. LAXALT. Mr. President, on behalf of my distinguished colleague, Senator Cannon, and myself, I introduce a bill which will deem both the Oikos Inc., Reno, Nev., and the Nevada Opera Association, Reno, Nev., from having not filed a valid waiver under sections 3101 and 3111 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954.

I introduce this measure as a means of relieving both organizations of a burden brought about by a set of paralleling, extenuating circumstances. Each organization, respectively, provides the Reno community with greatly needed cultural and rehabilitative services. In no way does this measure carry the intent to restructure the basic provisions of the code as they were adopted. Rather, it addresses the difficulty that such organizations encounter when dealing with complicated regulations with which they have had no prior experience.

Knowing that an enforcement of the penalties issued to both organizations would result in the termination of their existence, I urge that this measure be acted upon favorably by the Senate so that the Reno community may continue to receive their services which, to date, have been nothing less than successful.●

By Mr. HART:

S. 2078. A bill to prohibit the use of funds for the production of lethal

binary chemical munitions; to the Committee on Armed Services.

PRODUCTION OF LETHAL BINARY WEAPONS

● Mr. HART. Mr. President, today I am offering a bill to prohibit the expenditure of any funds from the fiscal year 1983 defense budget for the production or deployment of a new generation of "binary" chemical weapons. I intend to offer this legislation as an amendment to the Defense appropriations bill at the appropriate time.

Today, the Senate has received notification from the President of the United States that he intends to authorize the production of a new generation of chemical weapons. By so doing, the President has signaled the intention of this administration to begin the actual construction of "binary" chemical munitions in the near future.

I oppose this decision. As I have said in the past, the more one is concerned about Soviet capabilities in chemical warfare, and the threat they pose, the more one should seek effective, practical military counters to this threat. The critical issue is how best to respond to the Soviets. The production of binary chemical weapons is not essential to the national security, nor is it necessary to deter Soviet first use. Our current stock piles are adequate for that purpose. Our principal emphasis should be the acquisition of additional protective and defensive equipment for U.S. combat forces to reduce the effects of a chemical weapons attack.

I ask unanimous consent that the bill be printed in the RECORD.

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

S. 2078

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) notwithstanding any other provision of law, no funds may be obligated or expended after the date of the enactment of this Act for the production of lethal binary chemical munitions.

(b) As used in this subsection (a), the term "lethal binary chemical munitions" shall have the same meaning given such term in section 818(b) of the Department of Defense Authorization Act, 1976 (Public Law 94-106; 50 U.S.C. 1519).●

By Mr. THURMOND (for himself, Mr. BAUCUS, Mr. DOLE, Mr. GRASSLEY, Mr. HATCH, Mr. LEAHY, Mr. LUGAR, and Mr. MOYNIHAN):

S.J. Res. 143. Joint resolution to authorize and request the President to designate the week of May 2 through 8, 1982, as "National Physical Fitness and Sports for All Week"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

NATIONAL PHYSICAL FITNESS AND SPORTS FOR ALL WEEK

Mr. THURMOND. I am introducing today a joint resolution to authorize

and request the President to designate the week of May 2 through May 8, 1982, as "National Physical Fitness and Sports for All Week." I am pleased to have Senators BAUCUS, DOLE, GRASSLEY, HATCH, LEAHY, LUGAR, and MOYNIHAN join with me as cosponsors of the resolution.

We have come a long way from the time when physical exercise was viewed mainly as an entertainment diversion. Today, a significant segment of the American population is involved in the growing fitness movement in this country. Physical activity has become an important part of daily life for people of both sexes and all ages.

One of every two adults in the United States engages regularly in exercise and sport. A third of us swim, a fourth ride bicycles, and a fifth play one of the racket sports. Running has more than 20 million adherents. It is interesting to note that the number of physically active men and women has doubled in 10 years, and continues to grow rapidly.

Typically today, interest in physical activity begins at an early age, and presently, nearly 30 million boys and girls take part in age-group team sports and other organized out-of-school activities. More than 6 million teenagers and over 600,000 college students compete in athletic programs.

Our physical fitness and sports programs are one of the primary means by which we strengthen and refresh ourselves. It is essential that we publicize such programs and make them increasingly available so that all of our citizens will be able to experience the benefits they offer. Accordingly, I am sponsoring this resolution, which requests President Reagan to declare May 2 through 8, 1982, as "National Physical Fitness and Sports for All Week."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a copy of the resolution be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

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

S.J. RES. 143

Whereas one of every two adults in our country is a regular participant in exercise and sports;

Whereas the number of physically active men and women has doubled in ten years and continues to grow rapidly;

Whereas today we recognize that physical activity is an important part of daily life for people of both sexes and of all ages;

Whereas physical activity is vital to good health and is a rich source of pleasure and personal satisfaction;

Whereas our physical fitness and sports programs are one of the primary means by which we strengthen our bodies and refresh our spirits; and

Whereas it is essential that we make fitness and sports programs increasingly available so that all of our citizens will be able to

experience the joys and benefits they offer. Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation designating the week of May 2 through 8, 1982, as "National Physical Fitness and Sports for All Week", and to call upon Federal, State, and local government agencies, and the people of the United States to observe the week with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities.

By Mr. MOYNIHAN:

S. 2079. A bill to require that Poland be declared to be in default unless certain liberties and rights are found to be restored in Poland before payments are made by the U.S. Government for loans owed by Poland or credits which have been extended to Poland which have been guaranteed or assured by agencies of the U.S. Government; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

POLAND'S DEBTS

● Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, I rise to introduce legislation that would place Poland in default of its international debt.

Specifically, my bill would require that Poland be declared in default before any payments could be made by any U.S. Government agencies, including the Commodity Credit Corporation and the Export-Import Bank, to individuals or corporations in satisfaction of any debts incurred by Poland and guaranteed by these Government agencies.

The need for this legislation is self-evident. On January 29 the administration put in place an extraordinary policy that would permit the Commodity Credit Corporation to pay banks the amounts Poland has failed to pay them for guaranteed loans—without declaring Poland to be in default of its debts. The administration thus chose not to use the leverage this debt had given the United States to encourage an acceptable political accommodation in Poland. In the words of the Wall Street Journal editorial of February 3:

It looks as if the battle for freedom in Poland is going to have to be taken to the floor of the U.S. Congress.

My bill will provide Congress that opportunity.

I look forward to an early debate in the Senate on this question, Mr. President.

For the information of Senators, I ask unanimous consent that my legislation be printed in the RECORD following the insertion of several analyses of the Polish debt.

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

[From the Wall Street Journal, Feb. 3, 1982]

CONGRESS'S CHANCE ON POLAND

It looks as if the battle for freedom in Poland is going to have to be taken to the

floor of the U.S. Congress. With Ronald Reagan's administration slipping into tacit collaboration with martial law by making it easier for the Soviet bloc to finance repression, any serious action against the Polish regime will have to be taken by another branch of government.

It turns out that the administration, far from calling in the Polish debt to hamper the flow of credit to the Soviet Union and its satellites, is bending U.S. law to keep Poland out of bankruptcy. The Commodity Credit Corporation provides government guarantees to banks financing grain shipments abroad, offering to repay the banks if foreign governments cannot. For ordinary, non-Communist governments, no payment is made until the bank declares the loan in default. But in the case of Poland, this was deemed too embarrassing.

So the State Department lobbied to change the CCC rules, and the administration decided to pay off \$71 million to the banks without their declaring a formal default. This is a down payment on about \$400 million in guarantees on Polish loans due this year. No sooner is the decision taken than Secretary Haig rushes off to Chicago to spend Solidarity Day posturing before Polish voters as a tough guy on Poland.

One point that begs attention is how this decision was reached. At what level of the government was it decided? Did the President understand the full implications of the change in the rules? Did the National Security Adviser? Where was the Treasury? (The undersecretary for monetary affairs says he's under instructions not to discuss the issue.) Was the Defense Department even consulted? Was this the foreign policy equivalent of the decision to change the tax status of segregated private schools? Everything we learn leads us to suspect that the answers to these questions would be profoundly embarrassing, that this is another example of sloppy management at the White House.

A second point concerns the banks. They have refrained from declaring a default in Poland because the writedowns would hurt their earnings. It would also hurt their chances of doing new business with the Communist dictators of Poland and the rest of the Soviet bloc. But the real question is how did U.S. and other Western banks make all these bad loans, and how can we stop them from doing it again?

The banks have made the loans because Western governments encouraged them to do so, implicitly suggesting that loans to Communists had a favored position, deserved lower rates and would more or less be backed by Western governments. The CCC deal can only encourage this notion. The Soviets rushed to get the gas pipeline deal and other credits wrapped up before the Polish crackdown, and with the new incentives just demonstrated by the Reagan administration, the flow of credit will resume again as soon as the bad press dies down.

The U.S. government ought to at least stay neutral toward Communist loans. The Polish loans clearly are sick, and probably terminally so. The banks ought to be establishing large reserves against them—we have previously suggested 50%—as a matter of pure commercial prudence. The government ought to be encouraging them to do this, not helping them avoid it, to limit the commercial damage from any forceful foreign policy initiative. Instead, the Reagan administration sponsors a TV show.

Fortunately Congress will have an opportunity to show greater forcefulness, for it

controls the power of the purse and bail-out money has to come from somewhere. Specifically, it would come from House Joint Resolution 389, a budget-busting supplemental appropriation of \$5 billion for the CCC. This measure has been marked up—with unseemly haste—in the agriculture appropriations subcommittee by the Mississippi Democrat, Jamie Whitten. The main purpose is to provide pork for American farmers, who are calling on their CCC entitlements because of low farm prices. But a lot of the money—between \$500 million and \$1.5 billion, so far as we can learn—could be used to bail out repression in Poland.

It would not be the worst thing in the world if this whole supplemental were grounded, farm price supports being one of our least favorite subsidies to the land-owning poor. But if Congress is going to bail out the American farmer, it can at least write in an amendment prohibiting the use of these tax funds to bail out Polish dictators, at least until a default is declared and the economic lessons of Poland digested.

[From the New York Times, Feb. 5, 1982]

DEFAULT IS REAGAN'S

(By William Safire)

WASHINGTON, Feb. 4—With all due solemnity, the White House press office has declared that the memo quoted in this space a few days ago—revealing national security adviser Clark's order to secretly circumvent regulations requiring that Poland be placed in default—was a leak of classified information, subject to the latest lie-detector rules.

This is an illustration of the arrogance of ignorance. Mr. Clark evidently thinks that his power to stamp "secret" on documents affecting national security extends to documents that are merely politically sensitive. By confusing what is genuinely secret with what is politically embarrassing, he abuses his power to classify.

For example, his order to protect Poland from normal default procedures was passed along to at least seven major American banks at noon Friday of last week. The Polish junta was promptly informed; the West German banks were notified; the Kremlin knew all about it. The only people not in on Mr. Clark's "secret" was the American people, whose tax money was being used to make good Poland's debt.

Moreover, Mr. Clark's improper use of his classification power could have made it possible for bank insiders to benefit from information denied to the investing public. The \$71 million payment was good news for worried bankers; perhaps bank stock activity was wholly unrelated to this development, but the Clark abuse of secrecy made a mockery of S.E.C. "full disclosure" requirements.

The abuse of the classification power was compounded by the cover-up that followed. A party line was propounded at State that turned truth on its head: the cave-in to the junta's financial needs was described in testimony to Senate Percycats as a triumph of toughness. Default, went this Orwellian argument, would let the debtor "off the hook"; only by preventing default, insisted the Secretary of State, could we recover our money.

In the case of sovereign nations, that alibi is palpably false. Countries are not corporations with limited liability; when Poland defaults, it must make good on its debts before getting credit again. The same with Rumania, next on the Clark-Haig list for largesse. Default is sustained and serious pressure,

and is not relief from pressure. Nor are we trying to recover money; we are trying to end martial law. The Reagan Administration is deliberately misinforming American taxpayers on this at great risk to its own credibility.

William Clark, hailed as a problem-solver, is thus creating great problems with his secrecy-sycophancy and alibi-cooking. For another example, take the case of William Van Cleave, a long-time policy adviser to candidate Reagan.

The outspoken Mr. Van Cleave was denied a job at State by Haig detente-niks and shut out of Defense by Frank Carlucci, the lie-detector king. As a sop to hard-liners, the campaign deputy to Richard Allen was named to head the advisory board on arms control, even after he made clear in writing he would continue to dissent on the MX decision.

This week, Mr. Clark called Mr. Van Cleave into the White House and said that even the sop would be denied. "The vote was 3 to 1," sympathized the new national security adviser. It seems that Messrs. Baker, Deaver and Meese—there's a bunch of foreign policy experts—had opposed Mr. Clark on the nomination. Soft-liner Percy's opposition turned out to be more important than hard-liner Eugene Rostow's support. Strangely, Ronald Reagan was never asked to cast a vote.

To conservatives, Mr. Clark put forward the alibi that only Mr. Van Cleave's publicly expressed dissent to MX blocked him from the post he had afterward been promised. That is demonstrably false, but as in the case of the Orwellian explication, Mr. Clark sticks to his story and further erodes his credibility.

What is Bill Clark's game? By pandering to the President's irritation with dissenters and whistle-blowers, he undermines the tottering troika; by tolerating the humiliation of Mr. Van Cleave, he gains the chance to substitute Donald Rumsfeld in that slot and thus to send a chill through Al Haig.

But he is not knowledgeable enough to take charge himself; no interviewers are permitted to probe his thoughts, thereby to suggest that still waters may run shallow. Why, then, is President Reagan bringing Mr. Clark along so fast?

My guess is that the President wants an amiable no-liner to make peace between the high-riding detente-niks and the gloomy hard-liners at Defense, so that he can continue to concentrate on those domestic challenges that interest him most. Next year, he may figure, will be time enough to bring in a second wave of foreign policy makers.

What a mistake. Americans threw out Jimmy Carter because they believed him to be uncertain and impotent on the world stage. Next year will be too late for the creation of a coherent foreign policy. Default, dear Brutus, is not in our advisers; as abuses grow and alibis fly, the blame is placed in the Oval Office.

[FROM THE WASHINGTON POST, FEB. 7, 1982]

NO, IT WOULD ONLY HURT SOME FOOLISH BANKS

(BY GEORGE F. WILL)

Everyone needs a hobby, and Teddy Gleason's hobby is stiffening U.S. foreign policy. He is head of the International Longshoremen's Association, and if the Reagan administration will not seriously restrict trade with the Russian and Polish regimes that are brutalizing Poland's labor movement, Gleason's men may do it, as they have before.

Gleason's foreign policy would be a distinct improvement on the government's. The government has paid \$71 million to U.S. banks in lieu of interest payments Poland owes on loans the U.S. government guarantees. The payment was contrary to the law, which requires prior notice of default. Indeed, the purpose of this surreptitious payment was to prevent Poland from being declared in default, which would disrupt East-West trade and efforts to resuscitate detente.

"The United States," says Secretary of State Alexander Haig, "has made it clear that we will not do business as usual with either Poland or the Soviet Union while repression in Poland continues." Indeed, it is highly unusual to ignore U.S. law in order to subsidize Poland's martial law. To do otherwise, Haig says, would "bring down the temple of Western unity." Temple? All that would be brought down would be the earnings of some foolish bankers.

Eastern Europe's economies, which help sustain Russia's war economy, have received Western loans four times the value of all American aid to Western Europe during the Marshall Plan. Russia is so pressed for hard currency it is asking Japanese and West German companies to stretch out payments for goods shipped to Russia. Yet, as *The Wall Street Journal* says, the administration is "slipping into tacit collaboration with martial law by making it easier for the Soviet bloc to finance repression."

Even before the \$71 million payment, administration policy regarding Poland was dimly congruent with the general Western response, which *The Economist* magazine says will be remembered as the Great Handwringing of 1981-82. Democrats are noticing the opportunity to pluck from the administration's palsied grasp the falling flag of national honor, and to do so by opposing bankers on behalf of a large ethnic group.

Haig has had his way with the U.S. response to Poland's crisis and has become a hostage to fortune. He says the crisis has just begun and America must hold all serious measures in reserve for when the going gets rough. But what additional suffering by Poland could provoke action from people who worship at the "temple" of allied unity?

In Cuba, Russia long ago repealed the Monroe Doctrine and now, with the recent arrival of heavy bombers, advanced fighters and 63,000 tons of war material, it is shredding whatever is left of whatever agreement was reached at the end of the missile crisis 20 years ago. Haig is adamant, and correct, concerning the need for difficult decisions about El Salvador and the source of much other violence, Cuba. But he seems oblivious to certain problems inherent in the conduct of foreign policy in a democracy—oblivious to the practical consequences of symbolism, and to the demoralizing symbolism of America's policy regarding Poland.

Always, but especially when the president is preoccupied with domestic policy, the nation needs a secretary of state with some of Dean Acheson's attributes—someone articulate, intellectual, elegant, ironic, at ease with himself, and justifiably confident of his ability to argue America's case before skeptical elites at home and abroad. The Achesonian combination of attributes is rare, but Haig's lack of them is a problem compounded by a policy toward Poland that is certain to confuse and paralyze the nation's will. In the early 1970s, the rhetoric and other atmospherics of detente—the "end of the Cold War," "an era of negotia-

tion, not confrontation," accords on "principles of conduct"—subverted public support for diplomatic and defense measures arduous enough to prevent detente from becoming what it became: a recipe for American retreat and an incitement to Russian expansionism. Haig then understood the problem and was a corrective force.

Today, administration policy regarding Poland is generating similar confusion and lassitude that will color defense and foreign policy debates generally. Haig argues that paying Poland's interest charges is really the "tough" policy because it keeps Poland under the burden of debt. That argument is entertainingly brassy, but it is too clever by half, which means it is not clever at all. Even if it were true, it would be politically unwise.

Someone who argues that subsidizing Poland's generals is toughness will find that when he turns to talking of other, more recognizable, forms of toughness in Central America, the public is not deferential, or comprehending, or even attentive.

S. 2079

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That no funds may be paid out of the Treasury of the United States to any private individual or corporation in satisfaction of any assurance agreement or payment guarantee or other form of loan guarantee entered into by any agency of the United States Government with respect to loans made and credits extended to the Polish People's Republic, unless either—

(1) the Polish People's Republic has been declared to be in default of its debt to such individual or corporation, or

(2) the President certifies to the Congress that civil liberties and the rights of free trade unions have been restored in Poland to such a degree that it would be appropriate for the United States Government to promote commerce with Poland in order to protect and expand those liberties and rights.

SEC. 2. The President may delay implementation of this Act for up to 30 days after the date of enactment if he determines, and so notifies Congress, that to do so would be necessary and desirable in order to coordinate the response by monetary authorities in the United States and in member countries of the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development to a Polish default.●

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 1215

At the request of Mr. PROXMIRE, the Senator from Michigan (Mr. RIEGLE) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1215, a bill to clarify the circumstances under which territorial provisions in licenses to distribute and sell trademarked malt beverage products are lawful under the antitrust laws.

S. 1634

At the request of Mr. COCHRAN, the Senator from Oregon (Mr. HATFIELD), the Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. PROXMIRE), the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. PRYOR), the Senator from Illinois (Mr. PERCY), and the Senator from Alabama (Mr. DENTON) were

added as cosponsors of S. 1634, a bill to incorporate the National Federation of Music Clubs.

S. 1693

At the request of Mr. KASTEN, the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. PRYOR), the Senator from Georgia (Mr. MATTINGLY), the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. EAST), the Senator from Iowa (Mr. GRASSLEY), and the Senator from New Mexico (Mr. DOMENICI) were added as cosponsors of S. 1693, a bill to provide for the issuance of a special stamp to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the presence of the bald eagle on the official seal of the United States of America.

S. 1958

At the request of Mr. DOLE, the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. WILLIAMS), the Senator from Indiana (Mr. LUGAR), and the Senator from North Dakota (Mr. BURDICK) were added as cosponsors of S. 1958, a bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to provide for coverage of hospice care under the medicare program.

S. 1992

At the request of Mr. MATHIAS, the Senator from Georgia (Mr. MATTINGLY) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1992, a bill to amend the Voting Rights Act of 1965 to extend the effect of certain provisions, and for other purposes.

S. 1996

At the request of Mr. DOLE, the Senator from Florida (Mrs. HAWKINS) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1996, a bill to provide for more effective deterrents for violent crime offenders.

S. 1997

At the request of Mr. DOLE, the Senator from Florida (Mrs. HAWKINS) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1997, a bill to provide assistance to State and local governments in combating crime.

S. 2009

At the request of Mr. KASTEN, the Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. RUDMAN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2009, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code to eliminate special rules for leases.

S. 2012

At the request of Mr. PROXMIRE, the Senator from Hawaii (Mr. MATSUNAGA) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2012, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to limit the deduction of living expenses by Members of Congress and to eliminate the provision which allows such deduction without substantiation of such expense.

S. 2013

At the request of Mr. INOUE, the Senator from Virginia (Mr. WARNER), and the Senator from Kansas (Mr. DOLE) were added as cosponsors of S. 2013, a bill to amend the Controlled Substances Act to establish a temporary program under which heroin would be made available through

qualified hospital pharmacies for the relief of pain of cancer patients.

S. 2027

At the request of Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD, the Senator from Oregon (Mr. HATFIELD) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2027, a bill to provide for an accelerated study of the causes and effects of acid precipitation, to provide for an examination of certain acid precursor control technologies, and for other purposes.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 140

At the request of Mr. MATHIAS, the Senator from Arizona (Mr. GOLDWATER), the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. HUDDLESTON), the Senator from Alabama (Mr. HEFLIN), the Senator from Hawaii (Mr. INOUE), the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY), the Senator from Michigan (Mr. LEVIN), the Senator from Indiana (Mr. LUGAR), the Senator from West Virginia (Mr. RANDOLPH), the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. SASSER), the Senator from Vermont (Mr. STAFFORD), the Senator from Idaho (Mr. SYMMS), the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. TSONGAS), the Senator from Virginia (Mr. WARNER), the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. WILLIAMS), the Senator from Alabama (Mr. DENTON), the Senator from New Mexico (Mr. DOMENICI), the Senator from Missouri (Mr. DANFORTH), the Senator from Arizona (Mr. DECONCINI), the Senator from New York (Mr. D'AMATO), the Senator from California (Mr. CRANSTON), the Senator from Nevada (Mr. CANNON), and the Senator from Washington (Mr. GORTON) were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 140, a joint resolution designating February 11, 1982, "National Inventors' Day."

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 62

At the request of Mr. HATCH, the Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. KASTEN), the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. DURENBERGER), the Senator from Indiana (Mr. LUGAR), the Senator from Washington (Mr. GORTON), the Senator from Maine (Mr. COHEN), the Senator from Oregon (Mr. PACKWOOD), the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. BOSCHWITZ) were added as cosponsors of Senate Concurrent Resolution 62, a concurrent resolution to congratulate Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America on the celebration of its 70th anniversary.

SENATE RESOLUTION 261

At the request of Mr. CHAFFEE, the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. SPECTER) was added as a cosponsor of Senate Resolution 261, a resolution expressing the sense of the Senate that the President should not impose import fees on crude oil and refined petroleum products.

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 64—CONCURRENT RESOLUTION RELATING TO A RECEPTION IN THE CAPITOL ROTUNDA

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD (for Mr. PELL) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was considered and agreed to:

S. CON. RES. 64

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Zeta Beta Tau fraternity is authorized to conduct a reception in the rotunda of the Capitol on March 31, 1982, to commemorate Roger Williams for his contribution to religious toleration and freedom in the United States. The reception shall be conducted in accordance with such conditions as may be prescribed by the Architect of the Capitol.

SENATE RESOLUTION 314—RESOLUTION RELATIVE TO THE LIFE OF DR. ARTHUR M. BUECHE

Mr. SCHMITT (for himself, Mr. BAKER, Mr. D'AMATO, Mr. JACKSON, Mr. MOYNIHAN, and Mr. RIEGLE) submitted the following resolution; which was considered and agreed to:

S. RES. 314

Whereas, Dr. Arthur M. Bueche, as one of the outstanding scientists and engineers in the United States, made substantial and enduring contributions over his lifetime to science, industry, Government service, and education;

Whereas, the United States continues to face an era of increasingly complex problems depending on scientific and technological progress for solutions;

Whereas, Dr. Bueche devoted his individual research efforts in the field of material sciences pioneering the development of synthetic rubber and silicones, obtaining many patents, publishing dozens of outstanding papers and reports, and was an active participant and officer in numerous scientific and technical societies.

Whereas, Dr. Bueche has been widely praised for his management skills in industrial research, resulting in breakthroughs in the fields of electronics, materials science and energy, and implementing innovative approaches for rapidly converting laboratory achievements into products benefitting mankind. Among these products are: an advanced computer-directed axial tomography X-ray (CAT) scanner, stronger and safer plastic materials, extraordinarily hard materials for metal cutting tools, more energy-efficient lamps, and fuel conserving electric generating equipment;

Whereas, Dr. Bueche has contributed to the field of education as a member of the Board of Trustees of the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Albany Medical College, and the Hudson-Mohawk Valley Association of Colleges and Universities, as a member of the Visiting Committees at Massachusetts Institute of Technology at Harvard University, and as an advisor to his alma mater, Cornell University;

Whereas, Dr. Bueche has rendered valuable Government service as a frequent witness before many Congressional committees, as an advisor to the National Science Foundation, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, United States Air

Force, National Bureau of Standards, and most recently as Co-chairman of the President-Elect's Advisory Task Force on Science and Technology;

Whereas, Dr. Bueche has received the recognition of his peers by election to the National Academy of Sciences and the National Academy of Engineering, and selection for the Industrial Research Institute Medal, and the Fahrney Gold Medal of the Franklin Institute; and

Whereas, Dr. Bueche displayed exemplary personal qualities, leadership skills, devotion to public service, and a rare combination of knowledge and abilities demonstrated over the course of his lifetime: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the United States Senate honors the memory and expresses its appreciation for the accomplishments and outstanding contributions to society of Dr. Arthur M. Bueche.

SENATE RESOLUTION 315—RESOLUTION DIRECTING THE SENATE LEGAL COUNSEL TO INTERVENE IN A CERTAIN ACTION

Mr. BAKER (for himself and Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD) submitted the following resolution; which was considered and agreed to:

S. RES. 315

Whereas, by S. Res. 121, 97th Congress, 1st Session (1981), the Senate directed the Senate Legal Counsel to appear as amicus curiae in the name of the Senate in Consumer Energy Council of America, Inc., et al. v. Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, et al., Nos. 80-2184, 80-2312 in the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit;

Whereas, on January 29, 1982, the Court of Appeals ruled that the legislative review provision in section 202(c) of the Natural Gas Policy Act of 1978 (15 U.S.C. § 3342(c) (Supp. III 1979)), violated Article I of the Constitution and the principle of separation of powers;

Whereas, the Senate as amicus curiae may not have the procedural opportunities available to a party to seek review of this decision and intervention as a party would enable the Senate to do so;

Whereas, pursuant to sections 703(c), 706(a), and 713(a) of the Ethics in Government Act of 1978 (2 U.S.C. §§ 288b(c), 288e(a), and 288l(a) (Supp. III 1979)), the Senate may direct its Counsel to intervene in the name of the Senate in any legal action in which the powers and responsibilities of Congress under the Constitution are placed in issue: Now therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate Legal Counsel is directed to intervene in the name of the Senate in Consumer Energy Council of America, Inc., et al. v. Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, et al., Nos. 80-2184, 80-2312.

AMENDMENTS SUBMITTED FOR PRINTING

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE AUTHORIZATION ACT, 1982

AMENDMENT NO. 1250

(Ordered to be printed and to lie on the table.)

Mr. SASSER submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 951) to authorize appropriations for the purpose of carrying out the activities of the Department of Justice for fiscal year 1982, and for other purposes.

AMENDMENT NOS. 1251 AND 1252

(Ordered to be printed and to lie on the table.)

Mr. JOHNSTON submitted two amendments intended to be proposed by him to the bill S. 951, supra.

REGULATORY REFORM ACT

AMENDMENT NO. 1253

(Ordered to be printed and lie on the table.)

Mr. DANFORTH (for himself, Mr. CHILES, Mr. NUNN, Mr. ROTH, Mr. PERCY, Mr. STEVENS, Mr. RUDMAN, Mr. MATTINGLY, Mr. COHEN, Mr. SIMPSON, and Mr. EAST) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 1080) to amend the Administrative Procedure Act to require Federal agencies to analyze the effects of rules to improve their effectiveness and to decrease their compliance costs; to provide for a periodic review of regulations, and for other purposes.

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL

AMENDMENT NO. 1254

(Ordered to be printed and lie on the table.)

Mr. MATHIAS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S.J. Res. 95) to authorize and direct the Secretary of the Interior, subject to the supervision and approval of the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Commission, to proceed with the construction of the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial, and for other purposes.

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. President, I am today reporting Senate Joint Resolution 95 from the Rules Committee. Senate Joint Resolution 95 authorizes the construction of the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial.

As reported, Senate Joint Resolution 95 would be subject to a point of order on the Senate floor under section 402(a) of the Budget Act. To avoid this problem and also to avoid the necessity of a budget waiver, I intend to offer an amendment to Senate Joint Resolution 95 when the resolution is taken up on the Senate floor to make it clear that any sums authorized would be "for fiscal years beginning after September 30, 1982." It never was the intention of the Rules Committee to have any sums expended on this memorial in fiscal year 1982.

I have today written to Senator DOMENICI, chairman of the Budget Committee, telling him of my intention to offer the clarifying amendment to Senate Joint Resolution 95.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the proposed amendment to Senate Joint Resolution 95 and my letter to Senator DOMENICI be printed in the RECORD along with these remarks.

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

On the first page, line 4, strike out "approved" and insert in lieu thereof "approval".

On page 2, line 4, strike out "March 2, 1978" and insert in lieu thereof "September 20, 1979".

On page 2, line 13, insert "for fiscal years beginning after September 30, 1982" immediately after "appropriated".

FEBRUARY 5, 1982.

HON. PETE V. DOMENICI,
Chairman Committee on the Budget,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR PETE: Enclosed you will find a copy of S.J. Res. 95 and a proposed amendment to S.J. Res. 95.

The Rules Committee, at its markup on January 25, 1982, ordered reported S.J. Res. 95. S.J. Res. 95 authorizes and directs the Secretary of Interior, subject to the supervision and approval of the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Commission, to proceed with the construction of the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial, and for other purposes. Section 3 specifically states, "There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this joint resolution".

Since S.J. Res. 95 is being reported from the Rules Committee after May 15, 1981, and, as written, authorizes new budget authority for Fiscal Year 1982, it would be subject to a point of order on the Senate floor under Section 402(a) of the Budget Act.

In order to avoid this problem and also to avoid the necessity of a budget waiver, I intend to offer the enclosed amendment to S.J. Res. 95 when the resolution is taken up on the Senate floor. The amendment would make clear that any sums authorized to be appropriated would be "for fiscal years beginning after September 30, 1982".

I hope this letter is sufficient for the purposes of the Budget Committee, in order to avoid the necessity of a budget waiver resolution. It was never the intention nor the thought of the Rules Committee that any sums would be expended for this memorial in Fiscal Year 1982.

I appreciate your assistance in this matter.

Sincerely,

CHARLES MCC. MATHIAS, JR.,
Chairman.

NOTICES OF MOTION TO AMEND THE RULES

RADIO AND TELEVISION COVERAGE OF SENATE PROCEEDINGS

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, I submit the following notice in writing:

In accordance with rule V of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby give notice in writing that it is my intention to move to amend rule XII of the Standing Rules of the Senate for the purpose of proposing to the resolution (S. Res. 20), providing for the

television and radio coverage of proceedings of the Senate, the following amendment; at the end of the resolution add the following:

AMENDMENT NO. 1244

Sec. 4. Rule XII of the Standing Rules of the Senate is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

(5) When yeas and nays are ordered on the floor, each Senator shall vote from the assigned desk of the Senator.

Mr. President, I submit the following notice in writing:

In accordance with rule V of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby give notice in writing that it is my intention to move to amend rule XII of the Standing Rules of the Senate for the purpose of proposing to the resolution (S. Res. 20), providing for the television and radio coverage of proceedings of the Senate, the following amendment; at the end of the resolution add the following:

AMENDMENT NO. 1246

Sec. 4. Rule XII of the Standing Rules of the Senate is amended by adding after the first sentence the following new sentence: "No Senator may change or withdraw his vote unless he so declares."

NOTICES OF HEARINGS

COMMITTEE ON THE BUDGET

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, the Task Force on Federal Credit of the Senate Budget Committee will hold a hearing to examine the economic and budgetary effects of Federal credit activities on Thursday, February 11, at 2 p.m., in 6202 Dirksen Senate Office Building.

Witnesses scheduled to testify are representatives from United States Chamber of Commerce, National Association of Manufacturers, National Federation of Independent Businesses, Mortgage Bankers Association of America, Mortgage Insurance Companies of America, National Association of Realtors, Committee for Title II Vessel Financing, and National Foreign Trade Council.

For further information, contact Nancy Moore of the Senate Budget Committee staff at 224-4129.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON SECURITIES

Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, the Subcommittee on Securities of the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs will hold a hearing on February 12, 1982, beginning at 9:30 a.m. in room 5302 of the Dirksen Senate Office Building.

I have previously announced hearings which are now underway, on February 4, 9, and 10 to consider alternative approaches to amendment of the Glass-Steagall Act. The hearing on February 12 has been added to that schedule in order to provide an adequate opportunity to consider the views of interested witnesses.

For additional information, interested persons should contact Diane Sanger of my staff at 224-6542 or John Daniels of the Banking Committee staff at 224-1561.

AUTHORITY FOR COMMITTEES TO MEET

SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEE POLICY

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Immigration and Refugee Policy of the Committee on the Judiciary be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Tuesday, February 9, 1982, at 2 p.m. to hold a hearing on proposed regulation changes for refugee assistance.

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

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Armed Services Committee be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate at 10 a.m. on Monday, February 8, to receive testimony on the Department of Defense military authorization request for the fiscal year 1983.

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

COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Tuesday, February 9, at 10 a.m., to hold a hearing to consider the President's proposed budget for the Department of the Interior for fiscal year 1982.

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

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, February 10, to hold a hearing to consider the President's proposed budget for the Department of Agriculture and the U.S. Synthetic Fuels Corporation for fiscal year 1983.

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

SUBCOMMITTEE ON TRANSPORTATION

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Transportation Subcommittee of the Committee on Environment and Public Works be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate at 2 p.m. on Wednesday, February 10, to discuss the Federal aid to highways program.

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

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

CBO REEVALUATES CONDITION OF SOCIAL SECURITY TRUST FUNDS

● Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, for most of last year we heard from some of our colleagues that proposals to restore the solvency of the social security

trust funds were actually poorly disguised attempts to balance the Federal budget. They justified inaction on social security reform on the grounds that the trust funds would remain sound through the 1980's, needing only the modest adjustment of inter-fund borrowing. CBO projections were used to substantiate these claims.

Last week's news that CBO now projects the social security system will be insolvent in fiscal year 1984 leads me to wonder. Could those who opposed real reform have actually been that naive, failing to heed the many caveats contained in trust fund projections, or were they just playing politics? In either case, it seems worthwhile to point out some of the facts that anyone involved in social security financing, at least since 1977, already knows.

The accuracy of any projection is predicated on the economy performing in a very precise way. CBO's projections last year, for example, which showed solvency being barely maintained through the 1980's with inter-fund borrowing, required inflation in the 6- to 7-percent range, unemployment in the 7-percent range, and healthy expansion in the economy. It was clear that the slightest deviation from these projections in the economy would threaten the system with insolvency. As Dr. Alice Rivlin said in testimony before the Joint Economic Committee last fall:

The margin for error is very small . . . if economic conditions are even slightly worse than now projected, legislative action beyond interfund borrowing would probably be necessary.

Today, just 4 months after Dr. Rivlin testified, CBO now reports that the social security trust funds are likely to be insolvent by the end of 1983 or early 1984. Rather than reviving in 1986 and 1987, as earlier estimates showed, the trust funds are now projected to continue deteriorating.

I do not mean to suggest that we now know, on the basis of CBO revised estimates, that bankruptcy will occur on a given date in 1983 or 1984. What I am suggesting is that insolvency during the 1980's is highly likely and that we have had plenty of warning that more substantial action than inter-fund borrowing is necessary. Every year since 1977, when we enacted legislation that was said to be restoring solvency well into the next century, trust fund projections have become progressively gloomy. In 1980, before social security became the political issue, even the House Democratic Study Group warned that the system was headed for difficulties that a reshuffling of assets could not solve.

Then, of course, we heard from the Social Security Board of Trustees who reported last fall that insolvency was likely in the mid-1980's. Under their

pessimistic or "worst case" projections—those that were so highly criticized by some in this body as administration scare tactics—insolvency was projected as early as late 1983.

It has been obvious to responsible observers for some time that trust fund reserves must be replenished and then maintained at levels capable of withstanding short-term fluctuations in the economy. This, after all, is the purpose of reserves—insuring the timely payment of benefits to the 36 million recipients despite unexpected changes in income or outgo.

Views differ on what is an adequate level of reserves. The National Commission on Social Security recommended a level of reserves equal to 100 percent of annual outgo, or 1 year's worth of benefits; the 1979 Advisory Council on Social Security recommended 75 percent. Our current level of reserves—just 20 percent of outgo, or barely 2 months' worth of benefits—is well below these targets and critically depleted by historical standards. It was not until 1970 that the reserve ratio first fell below 100 percent.

Now that CBO has put their stamp of approval on bankruptcy projections, perhaps we can refocus the social security debate—away from the question of when and if bankruptcy will occur and toward the only important question of how to restore the financial integrity of the system.●

EXPRESSION OF RESPECT FOR REPRESENTATIVE JOHN DINGELL

● Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, on January 28, 1982, I placed in the RECORD a statement concerning H.R. 5252. Appended to that statement was an editorial from the Los Angeles Times.

I regret that inclusion of the editorial may appear to endorse improper and offensive criticism of my distinguished colleague, Representative JOHN DINGELL.

While we may disagree on legislative issues from time to time, my respect for the chairman of the House Energy and Commerce Committee is unwavering. I want to make it clear that the editorial comment is not consistent with my sentiments.●

PHILIP ORTH CO. CENTENNIAL

● Mr. KASTEN. Mr. President, I am pleased to call to the attention of my colleagues the centennial anniversary of one of Wisconsin's finest firms, the Philip Orth Co.

This company, based in Oak Creek, Wis., has been under the dedicated and far-sighted leadership of three generations of the Orth family. The company has grown from a small milling and grain enterprise to become one of the leading suppliers of custom food

processes, bakery mixes and bases to the commercial bakers of the Nation and the world.

The Philip Orth Co. now stands out as a national leader in the industry as a corporation possessing sound leadership, advanced research and product development, innovative sales and marketing strategies, streamlined manufacturing facilities, and a dedicated family of employees.

The company looks to the future with great promise. They have the people and products that will meet the challenges of future business and market conditions with the flexibility and determination that have been the hallmark of its first 100 years.

I am sure that my colleagues in the Senate join me in saluting one of the Milwaukee area's proudest establishments on this historic achievement. I wish them the best on their next century of service to Wisconsin and the Nation.●

SRI LANKA

● Mr. INOUE. Mr. President, on February 4, 1982, the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka celebrated its 34th year of independence. I wish to congratulate the people of Sri Lanka and their President, the Honorable J. R. Jayewardene, on this happy occasion.

Sri Lanka has distinguished itself as a country committed to the same democratic principles of government that the people of the United States hold so dear. The laws of Sri Lanka guarantee every adult the right to vote and include women at all levels of national politics. A unicameral Parliament legislates on behalf of the different ethnic and religious groups that comprise Sri Lankan society, and the President does not have the power to veto its decisions. Sri Lanka's constitution embodies all of the clauses of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations. It mandates a strict separation of the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government and includes other time-tested principles of government found in the constitutions of the United States, Great Britain, and France.

The present government of Sri Lanka is dedicated to promoting economic self-sufficiency and self-help. As a nonaligned nation, its relations with other countries are characterized by consideration, cooperation, and constructive dialog. I wish the people of Sri Lanka all the best as they enter their 35th year of independence and trust that the friendship between our two countries will continue to grow.●

OAG ARTICLE ON AIRLINE DEREGULATION IN MIDWEST

Mr. PRESSLER. Mr. President, today I would like to address an issue which affects every region of the country but which has had special ramifications for the Midwest—airline deregulation. The Airline Deregulation Act has been in effect for several years now. Commuter airlines across the country are currently struggling to fill the vacuum left in rural areas by departing commercial carriers, and legislation is being considered for early sunset of the Civil Aeronautics Board, the Federal agency primarily responsible for the efficient and orderly transition to deregulation. In light of these developments, I would request that an article published in the January 1982 edition of the Official Airline Guide/Frequent Flyer be inserted in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks. This article entitled "Air Traveler Woes in the Upper Midwest," outlines the problems of service cutbacks and excessively high fares which the upper Midwestern States, including my home State of South Dakota, now face.

Although many Government officials maintain that airline deregulation has consistently improved the service and fare structure offered to consumers, this article presents some convincing evidence to the contrary. Some predictions made during the debate on airline deregulation have now come true. The major commercial carriers have moved quickly to discontinue service in low-density areas. Certainly these changes were necessary to assist an industry which has suffered severely during these times of economic hardship and uncertainty. However, the areas which have lost service have also suffered because of the difficulty in finding adequate replacement service. As the OAG article explains, nationwide figures are deceptive. Many regions have actually seen an increase in air service, but it is important to note that these areas are primarily communities with high density traffic. The story is much different in the upper Midwest. Seven small Midwestern hubs, including Sioux Falls, S. Dak., have experienced a 12-percent decrease in departures while the national average for small hubs' departures has actually increased slightly. South Dakota also has five nonhubs with air service. In this category, the upper Midwest has experienced a 25-percent decrease in departures while the national average has only declined by 1.5 percent.

In anticipation of this loss of service, Congress included in the Airline Deregulation Act a provision for "essential air service" needs in these smaller towns. However, even with these statutory assurances, rural communities have experienced problems. For instance, a partial loss of commercial

service does not automatically qualify a town to receive "essential air service" designation. Commercial service is a major attraction to businesses and industries wishing to locate and develop in smaller communities. If even some of this air service is lost, the negative economic impact on the community can be devastating. Furthermore, even when the CAB makes the "essential air service" designation, commuter airlines just now entering the market must struggle to provide acceptable service. The economic situation in this country today, coupled with the dislocation and cutbacks of service due to the air traffic controllers strike, has created serious obstacles for small commuter airlines attempting to provide replacement service.

In addition to the loss of service, our small hubs and nonhubs in the upper Midwest are facing massive price hikes on airline tickets. It is generally understood that short-haul routes are in fact more expensive to operate. However, the disparity in ticket prices can be astounding. Flights between large and small hubs in the Midwest can be much more expensive than a flight of equal or greater distance between two large hubs. For example, a one-way coach class ticket from New York to Los Angeles can be purchased for \$225. But a traveler going from Sioux Falls, S. Dak., to Los Angeles via Minneapolis must pay \$311. This is a 38 percent price difference. And one must remember that the Sioux Falls traveler has fewer transportation options available to him.

Clearly, airline deregulation has not helped States like South Dakota. Higher fares and reduced service have been the result again and again. The industry maintains that low levels of passenger traffic necessitate cuts in service and increases in ticket prices. However, passenger levels could be higher in these rural areas if lower fares and dependable service were offered. It is a continuous and damaging economic cycle which the private and public sectors must address.

The article follows:

[From Official Airline Guide, Frequent Flyer Magazine, January 1982]

AIR TRAVELER WOES IN THE UPPER MIDWEST

Before its passage in 1978, opponents of the Airline Deregulation Act argued that smaller communities would face sharp cutbacks in scheduled air service if carriers were permitted easy exits from unprofitable markets. Perhaps nowhere was this fear more prevalent than in Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota and South Dakota.

Now that deregulation is a fact of life, there is evidence to back up the claim that the upper Midwest has been more severely hit by cutbacks than other regions of the country. According to the CAB statistics, between April 1978 and April 1981, small hubs—airports emplaning .5 percent of national traffic—recorded a nationwide gain of .8 percent in the number of scheduled departures. Yet during the same period, the seven small hubs in the upper Midwest—Bismarck, Fargo, Green Bay, Madison, Rapid City, Rochester (MN) and Sioux Falls—experienced a 12 percent decline in the number of departures.

The rate of decline for nonhub airports was even more severe. Nationwide, the number of departures at nonhubs dropped 1.5 percent. Yet, in the upper Midwest, there were nearly 25 percent fewer departures at nonhubs in April 1981 than in April 1978. The CAB estimates that the number of available seats in these markets dipped approximately 20 percent. What's more, seven communities in the four-state region lost air service entirely, while only one—Dickinson, ND—gained service.

Because of sparse load factors, many routes in the region are subsidized by the CAB. The largest subsidy operator in the country, Republic Airlines, is also the principal regional carrier in the upper Midwest. Yet in the past several months, Republic has been dropping many of its subsidy routes. In 1981 alone, the carrier announced plans to suspend service to twelve smaller cities in the four-state region.

"To cut off a large number of these marginal cities is really not in conformity with our basic operating philosophy," explains Republic spokesman Walt Hellman. "Yet even with the subsidies, these are cities at which we cannot operate profitably. With load factors so low, it really doesn't make sense at all to continue service."

As an example, Hellman cites the case of Pierre, South Dakota, the state's capital (population: 9,699). According to Hellman, each of Republic's two daily flights to and from Pierre averaged less than three passengers. Even the South Dakota Department of Transportation concedes that such flights are money losers for major carriers. "I'm sure if Republic were making money at such cities, they'd want to stay," says Dan Parish, Jr., air service specialist for the department.

Of course, Republic isn't the only carrier to withdraw from markets in the upper Midwest. During the past year, Western, Frontier and Air Wisconsin have all notified the CAB of service suspensions.

Largely because Congress was so concerned about cutbacks to smaller communities, the region will continue to receive at least some air service. Under the essential air service provision of the Airline Deregulation Act, even after a carrier announces intent to withdraw from a market, it must continue to serve the route until the CAB can locate a replacement carrier. Usually, such a replacement is a commuter airline. Mesaba Aviation, for example, replaced Republic at Mankato, MN. And Republic's departure from four South Dakota communities—Pierre, Brookings, Huron and Mitchell—triggered the formation of an entirely new commuter, Northern Airlines, which now links these cities with Minneapolis.

Not all communities welcome the change. Says Hellman, "A lot of cities feel their status is greatly enhanced if they're served by a major carrier as opposed to a commuter airline." Yet because commuters can operate at far lower costs, they can often provide greater scheduling frequency. Says Dan Parish, "The pullouts by Republic have caused a rather severe turmoil in the short term, but in the long run we may end up with better and more frequent air service."

Although commuters may increase the levels of service in the region, they won't solve yet another dilemma triggered by deregulation: steep air fares. On October 1, a roundtrip coach ticket between New York

and Los Angeles was priced at \$600 (24¢ per mile). A Supper Saver on the same route sold for \$450 (18¢ per mile). Yet during the same period, a roundtrip coach ticket between Minot, ND, and Los Angeles was priced at \$622, or 46¢ per mile. No Supper Saver fare was available. Because such steep fares reflect the lower load factors and higher operating costs of providing air service to the upper Midwest, that price disparity is not likely to disappear in the near future. ●

A TRIBUTE TO MARIAN HAYES MILLER, A DEDICATED PROFESSIONAL IN THE FIELD OF AGING

● Mr. CHILES. Mr. President, as ranking minority member of the Senate Special Committee on Aging, I would like to take this opportunity to commend a dedicated professional and a well-known advocate for the needs and concerns of older Americans, Marian Hayes Miller. It is indeed an honor to commend Mrs. Miller for her activities on behalf of our Nation's 36 million older persons.

Marian Hayes Miller, who served as regional program director, Administration on Aging, region V, Chicago, Ill., from July 1972 until February 1982, is deserving of special mention on the occasion of her new assignment outside the field of aging. Mrs. Miller has done work on behalf of older persons since 1968 when she first joined the Administration on Aging.

Her early responsibilities with the Administration on Aging resulted in the design and publication of a policy and procedures manual for State agencies on aging which were just then emerging as a force in the developmental phase of the aging network. Mrs. Miller had a major role in the development of viable professional career education and inservice training programs—training so necessary at that time—for the emerging field of gerontology. Her efforts helped to build programs for gerontological training and education in scores of universities and colleges, which in turn recruited and trained thousands of persons for careers in aging, while retraining still others already working with or on behalf of the elderly.

Mrs. Miller provided invaluable staff work in the preparation of, what is known throughout the national network on aging as, the Green Book which was used until recently as a guide for the development and management of the highly successful nutrition programs for the elderly. She assisted in the development of the multipurpose senior center program. Through her technical assistance efforts to State and area agencies on aging, she has been responsible for improving the quality and quantity of community-based social services to the elderly. Mrs. Miller has indeed done a remarkable job and performed as a

highly visible and effective advocate for the elderly during that period of development when the network on aging grew to 57 State and territorial offices on aging, 610 area agencies on aging and more than 25,000 local service providers. Her dedication as an able advocate for the elderly, and her support of and interest in programs such as legal services for the elderly, the advocacy assistance program, protective services, congregate housing, day care for the elderly and others, has significantly contributed toward the growth and development of community programs which now serve the elderly of our great country. ●

RULES OF THE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND FORESTRY

● Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, paragraph 2 of rule XXVI of the Standing Rules of the Senate requires that each committee of the Senate publish its rules not later than March 1 of each year.

Therefore, I submit for the RECORD the rules of the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry:

RULES OF THE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND FORESTRY

1. Regular meetings shall be held on the first and third Wednesday of each month when Congress is in session.

2. Voting by proxy authorized in writing for specific bills or subjects shall be allowed whenever a majority of the committee is actually present.

3. To assure the equitable assignment of members to subcommittees, no member of the committee will receive assignment to a second subcommittee until, in order of seniority, all members of the committee have chosen assignments to one subcommittee, and no member shall receive assignment to a third subcommittee until, in order of seniority, all members have chosen assignments to two subcommittees.

4. Six members shall constitute a quorum for the purpose of transacting committee business: *Provided*, That for the purpose of receiving sworn testimony, a quorum of the committee and each subcommittee thereof shall consist of one member. ●

TRAGEDY CONTINUES IN EAST TIMOR

● Mr. TSONGAS. Mr. President, on December 16 of last year I spoke of the tragic situation in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, which 6 years ago was invaded by Indonesia. I referred to accounts from Roman Catholic sources reporting a recent Indonesian military offensive in the territory which could lead to food shortages in the coming months. In addition, I stressed that these potential shortages would occur among a population still recovering from the Cambodia-like catastrophe that struck their island nation from 1978 through 1980. I also suggested that food stockpiles be established in East Timor to prevent further disaster.

Last month, additional information became available on the food situation from media coverage in Australia, a close neighbor of East Timor. These accounts were based on an urgent appeal from Monsignor Martinho do Costa Lopes, the Apostolic Administrator of East Timor, to the head of Australian Catholic Relief, calling for food assistance to avert a possible famine. The Australian Government responded immediately with a pledge of 1,000 tons of corn for the Catholic Relief shipment.

However, Australian Catholic Relief has not been permitted to enter East Timor to supervise the distribution of the aid shipment, and at present, there are no international relief agencies in the territory on a full-time basis. The director of Australian Catholic Relief, Mr. Michael Whitely, appealed to the Indonesian Government in mid-January to "allow Australian aid agencies into East Timor to see the situation for themselves and to assess how they might cooperate in the establishment of normal conditions there." I would like to register my support for this appeal as well as for any others that may come from qualified, independent international relief groups that are prepared to work in East Timor.

Recently, the Timorese Bishop made it clear that Indonesian military action was responsible for the deterioration of the food situation. He pointed out that Timorese villagers were forced by the Indonesian army to participate in operations aimed at rooting out continuing guerrilla resistance to Indonesian rule, taking able-bodied men away from normal agricultural activity, with the result that there will at best be a poor harvest, at worst a famine. Australian Catholic Relief affirmed that the Bishop's information corroborated what the organization already knows from other sources. On January 14, 1982, the respected Australian daily, *The Melbourne Age*, offered another account supporting this version of events; which, I should add, reached me from other sources.

In my December 16 statement for the RECORD, I also drew attention to a November 1981 account by a distinguished Timorese Roman Catholic cleric, who charged Indonesian troops with committing gruesome atrocities. A January 1, 1982, article in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* underscores the seriousness of the situation. It tells of a report written by Indonesian-appointed members of the East Timor "Popular Assembly" set up by Jakarta after the 1975 invasion of the territory. The report, which was sent to Indonesian President Suharto last June, says, for example, that assembly members were "continually, with deep sorrow, receiving verbal as well as written reports or complaints from the people about torture, maltreatment,

murders and other unimaginable cases." Curiously enough, the day after the report was first discussed publicly in the U.S. Congress, at a hearing in the House of Representatives, the authors of the report were arrested. Fortunately, the Timorese assemblymen were later released, largely through the efforts of Indonesian human rights attorney Muliya Lublis of the Jakarta-based Legal Aid Institute.

It is significant to note that, according to an account from Reuters news agency, the document prepared by the Timorese assemblymen is "similar to a secret report compiled recently by Catholic priests in Timor for the Vatican." I would like to remind my colleagues that the Timorese were installed in their positions by Indonesian authorities.

The existence of this and other information only confirms my belief that a neutral international presence is needed in East Timor, to help protect the civilian population from further violence as well as to distribute food and medicine. It also confirms my belief that in the long term, a just political settlement in accordance with international law is the only viable solution to the East Timor problem.

Mr. President, for the benefit of my colleagues I ask that the following articles from the *Canberra Times*, the *Melbourne Age*, and the *Sydney Morning Herald* be printed in the RECORD; together with the article from the *Far Eastern Economic Review*.

The articles follow:

[From the *Canberra Times*, Jan. 11, 1982]

"THREAT OF FAMINE" IN TIMOR

SYDNEY.—Substantial international assistance will be needed to prevent famine breaking out in Timor this year, according to the Australian Catholic Relief agency.

It has received urgent requests for aid from the island's capital, Dili, where hundreds of thousands of Timorese have gathered to avoid Indonesian military operations in country areas.

Monsignor Martinho Da Costa Lopes, the Roman Catholic Church's administrator in Dili, said in a letter to ACR that food shortages already were serious and that many farmers had been killed.

He said that the continued presence of Indonesian soldiers was to blame for the disruption to the island's subsistence economy, and confirmed that a major operation to flush Fretilin forces from mountain areas was a substantial cause of the current shortages.

The national director of ACR, Mr. Michael Whiteley, said yesterday that the monsignor's explanation corroborated "what we already had known and heard from other sources".

Monsignor Lopes said that the Indonesian soldiers forced all able-bodied men between the ages of 15 and 50 to form a "human fence" through the Fretilin-controlled territory to keep the resistance fighters and their families on the move.

Many Timorese were killed in the operation, which took place in July, August, and September last year.

They included women and children and 300 people were said to have been killed in a four-day siege at a local shrine, the Rock of St. Anthony.

The removal of the men from their villages prevented the planting of crops and those who returned were often too weak to work. Some crops were planted but this was too late.

"The result will be at least a poor harvest—at worst, a famine", Monsignor Lopes wrote. "This conclusion is inescapable as the people now can do nothing to increase food production for at least six months".

There are no international relief agencies in Timor. The Red Cross and the US Catholic relief services wound up their work in April last year and the distribution of aid has been left to the local Catholic Church.

Mr. Whiteley said that ACR had allocated about \$90,000 for 1981 and this year to the East Timor emergency rehabilitation program, but church relief workers had requested \$250,000 mainly for food, medicine and care for orphans.

There are an estimated 550,000 people on Timor, and the majority are in and around the relative safety of Dili. This is placing great pressure on the resources of the capital and disrupting agricultural work.

[From the Sydney Morning Herald, Jan. 12, 1982]

AUSTRALIA TO SEND CORN TO INDONESIA FOR TIMOR

(By Scott Milson and Malcolm Brown)

The Federal Government announced yesterday that it would give 1,000 tonnes of corn to Indonesia to help avert food shortages in Timor.

It was a day of angry accusations and pleading by Australian aid officials to have direct access to Timor, countered by replies from the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra that there was not a critical food shortage and aid was going through normal channels.

The Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Street, said yesterday that the corn, valued at \$430,000, was being given in response to a request in November from the International Committee of the Red Cross.

The announcement was brought forward following the urgent appeal at the weekend from the Roman Catholic representative in Dili to the Australian Catholic Relief agency to avert possible famine in Timor.

In addition to the food, the Australian Government has decided to give \$45,000 to the International Committee of the Red Cross to maintain its operations in the territory till mid-year.

Mr. Street said yesterday that Timor was an area where food supplies were traditionally precarious. He would not comment on reports that Indonesian military operations had adversely affected food supply in Timor.

In Sydney, the national director of Australian Catholic Relief, Mr. Michael Whiteley, said the facts as he knew them suggested that the Indonesian Government was deliberately trying to starve out Fretilin guerrillas hiding in the countryside.

"I appeal to the Indonesian Government to allow Australian aid agencies into East Timor to see the situation for themselves and to assess how they might co-operate in the establishment of normal conditions there," he said.

Mr. Isslamet Poenomo, the Indonesian Embassy's press attache in Canberra, said yesterday that his Government's policy was straightforward on the distribution of relief.

"The procedure is to give relief or aid to Indonesia and especially Timor through the

Indonesian Red Cross," he said. "To give directly to East Timor will not be allowed."

[From the Age, Jan. 14, 1982]

TIMORESE FACING STARVATION, SAYS SMUGGLED LETTER

(By Jim Brumby)

A letter smuggled out of East Timor, written by an opponent of Fretilin has confirmed reports of the Indonesian army using Timorese peasants to fight guerrillas, and warns of impending starvation.

The letter's author, who now works in the Indonesian bureaucracy, sent the letter to his cousin in Melbourne at the beginning of December. It was handed over to The Age yesterday by Mr. Cliff Morris, a translator of Timorese stories. The letter was written in Portuguese.

In chronicling the events since the Indonesian invasion in late 1975, the letter draws particular attention to the "corral campaign," dubbed the "fence of legs" by the Timorese.

It says: "Since July the most depressing and painful drama in the history of the Timorese people has taken place—the corral campaign. All males from age seven to 60 have been conscripted to take an active part (in flushing out the guerrillas).

"The campaign embraces the whole of the territory, from Lapsalos to the border. The Indonesian propaganda is impossible, it says 'East Timor is integrated with Indonesia'—but why then has this war been going on for six to seven years?

"It shows the people do not want foreign domination. Why is there a nation of 150 million inhabitants fighting with one of a ½ million—something one would think impossible to imagine or fantasize about, but it is happening.

"More and more people suffer, but it will not be in vain. At the middle of the suffering, the Indonesians are perceived as murderers, intruders, evil traitors, oppressors, robbers and more. This will continue."

The author says the corral campaign began in most sections of the country in the first week of July. It involves Timorese walking in front of the Indonesian army in the search for guerrillas—hence the title "fence of legs."

Mr. Morris said the mass conscription of Timorese men had led to a break in the subsistence food chain and would cause mass starvation. He said this was a deliberate strategy of the Indonesians.

The letter continues: "It has brought social and political discontent. Many have been treated badly. There is murmuring revolt in so many—but in vain. Many good men have been banished to the islands which act as prison camps—often because they have relatives who are still in the woods.

"Economically the campaign has brought total misery for the people. It has caused a failure in agriculture. How in general can a population continue to survive when produce like rice, maize, cassava, potatoes et cetera are deficient? As well, the produce which grows on the plains is not gathered because there is nobody there to gather it."

[From the Canberra Times, Jan. 14, 1982]

EAST TIMOR BRUTALITY CONTINUING

LONDON, Wednesday (AAP).—East Timorese refugees arriving in Lisbon say mass executions and indiscriminate brutality are continuing in their homeland, six years after Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese colony, it was reported in London yesterday.

Jill Jolliffe, writing for *The Guardian* said that, according to refugees who recently arrived in Portugal through a precarious escape route from Dili, fighting was still going on between Indonesian troops and Timorese nationalists led by Fretilin, the Revolutionary Front of Independent East Timor. Arrests and arbitrary imprisonments were also continuing.

Amnesty International has been monitoring the situation since the invasion, and its list of East Timorese who have disappeared or allegedly been executed is growing.

Jill Jolliffe said the refugees were bitter that the world community was vocally indignant about Afghanistan but appeared to have forgotten them.

In recent months, the territory had been the scene of a new military offensive by the Indonesian Army. The result, according to a Roman Catholic Church source in Dili, had been the execution of about 500 civilians late last year.

According to Jill Jolliffe, the resistance has survived the most devastating Indonesian military onslaughts over six years, and the population at large appeared as opposed to the occupation as it was in 1975.

[From the Far Eastern Review, Jan. 1, 1982]

JAKARTA'S CAN OF WORMS

(By Michael Richardson)

The Jakarta-appointed provincial assembly in Indonesia's East Timor province has warned that corruption, brutality and other abuses of power by some in the army and administration are causing growing fear and anti-government feeling in the territory. The warning came in an assembly report addressed to President Suharto. And its leakage led to the arrest in November of the two assembly representatives who signed it—Leandro Isaac and Sousa Soares. They were later released.

Their lawyer, Muliya Lubis of the Jakarta-based Legal Aid Institute, told the Review he had heard that two other Timorese had also been arrested, one of them a member of the provincial assembly, Francisco Dios Himines. Lubis said he had not been able to confirm this, though other sources in Indonesia also believe there have been four arrests.

They had heard that Oscar Lucio Gonçalves, a close relative of East Timor's Governor Guilherme Gonçalves, had been taken into custody. Gonçalves was one of the leading supporters of the integration of East Timor into Indonesia when the territory was still under Portuguese colonial rule in the early 1970's. The provincial assembly has about 24 members, handpicked as supporters of integration in July 1976.

Publication of the provincial assembly report, which complains of economic hardship as well as malpractices, is an embarrassment for the Indonesian Government. It confirms that there is deep disenchantment in East Timor. An English-language translation of the report begins by claiming that the people of East Timor are "forever indebted and grateful" for the incorporation of the Portuguese colony into Indonesia. But it goes on to say that some people from elsewhere in Indonesia—most of them military personnel—who had come to the province, were guilty of "great brutality" and abuse of power. They were ignoring local customs and behaving as "conquerors."

The report says that the East Timor provincial assembly "is continually, with deep sorrow, receiving verbal as well as written reports of complaints from the people about

torture, maltreatment, murders and other unimaginable cases. The basic laws in this province are controlled by certain individuals or groups who place their personal interests above the interests of the people as a whole . . . feelings of fear are widespread . . . with the result that the living conditions of the people have worsened."

So far the Indonesian Government has made no comment about the reported arrests of the two signatories of the assembly report, though the news has been carried in both the Indonesian and foreign press. But on December 22, the speaker of the Indonesian parliament, Daryatmo, criticised their arrest. He said he had discussed the matter with the national security chief, Adm. Sudomo.

The Legal Aid Institute earlier challenged the arrests on the grounds that under the law members of both central and provincial assemblies are supposed to be immune from arrest. Daryatmo said detention of any assembly member should have the approval of Suharto after consultation with the speaker of the parliament in Jakarta. "The authorities should not act arbitrarily and they should abide by the procedures and law of the government," he added.

An Indonesian source familiar with the case told the Review that Isaac and Soares brought copies of the report, dated June 3, 1981, to Jakarta in late August or early September, staying about a week. They were unable to see the president to give him a copy, though it is believed he subsequently saw the report. They also gave a copy of it to the Indonesian parliament.

Lubis said the two Timorese assemblymen were arrested on November 18 in Dili by members of Kotis, a special operations group of the army in East Timor. They were later taken to Denpasar in Bali, where the commander for the military region that includes East Timor, Brig. Gen. Dading Kalbuadi, has his headquarters. Lubis said he had not been able to contact his clients or get official permission to visit them.

There has been no official word on who ordered the arrests or why, but the Jakarta daily newspaper, *Merdeka*, reported that the two men were detained for allegedly allowing copies of the assembly report to reach foreign organizations, diplomats and news media. An English translation first appeared in the September issue of a monthly bulletin issued by Tapol, a British-based group that campaigns for political detainees in Indonesia. The government claims the Tapol organization is communist-influenced. The bulletin included a photostat copy of the covering letter in Indonesian to Suharto from the assembly. It was signed on behalf of the chairman by Isaac as the youngest member and Soares as the oldest.

Observers believe the army in East Timor made the summary arrests in an attempt to prevent criticism of Indonesia from spreading. General elections are to be held in May 1982 and they will be the first in East Timor since its incorporation. In a speech on December 22, Suharto called on the people of Indonesia to ensure that the polls do not disrupt national unity.

The East Timor assembly report accuses several Indonesian army units stationed in the territory of killing Timorese, mainly for practising "black magic." This presumably refers to the traditional animist religion of the bulk of the Timorese population. Most members of Indonesia's army are Muslims or Christians.

It cites two cases involving two battalions in which several people allegedly were

killed. The report charges that in Viqueque district "inhabitants were murdered after being tortured by having their sex organs slashed because they did not obey orders serving the interests of certain individuals or groups and also because of black magic practices." It claims that in Likisa district people "were murdered by the sub-district military command after being tortured with electricity and other forms of burning . . ."

The report continues: "These murders and acts of torture committed by these irresponsible persons or groups have resulted in a situation of instability throughout . . . East Timor where there have been many reactions, fears and a variety of other feelings. Furthermore, in a situation where there are no legal restraints and no discipline, problems relating to morality occur, such as in Dili where several women in a prison were tortured with electricity and burnt cigarettes by some elements of the armed forces, who also inflicted immoral sexual acts upon them." The report does not say when these alleged abuses took place.

It goes on to say that though "quite a lot of financial assistance has been received from the central government in Jakarta for development of East Timor, the Timorese people have not yet felt any real benefits." It complains that an army-controlled enterprise, P. T. Denok, has a monopoly on trading in two of East Timor's main export commodities—coffee and sandalwood (Review, May 23, 1980)—and says the company pays very low prices for what it buys.

Three leading non-local government officials in East Timor are specifically accused of corruption, including squandering project funds and diverting medicines sent from abroad for private gain.

The report ends as it begins, on a conciliatory and loyal note. It says the damage to the "fine, high ideals" of the Indonesian armed forces in East Timor is being caused by "a mere handful of individuals." The purpose of the report is to "help create a good name and respect for the Indonesian armed forces in the eyes of the people of East Timor."

The assembly hoped that Suharto "will be gracious enough to rectify these distortions which can lead to unrest and anxieties among the people and native officials of East Timor . . ."

[From the Canberra Times, Jan. 12, 1982]

AUSTRALIA BOOSTS FOOD ASSISTANCE TO TIMOR

(By Teresa Mannix)

The Federal Government announced yesterday that \$430,000 worth of food aid would be sent to Timor, despite assurances by the Indonesian Government that no famine existed.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Street, said 1,000 tons of corn would be shipped to Dili within the next few weeks.

Including freight, the aid was valued at about \$430,000.

Mr. Street's announcement follows a report by a senior Roman Catholic representative in Dili, Monsignor Martinho da Costa Lopes, that a serious food shortage was looming in Timor because Indonesian troops had disrupted the economy.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said yesterday that Timor had always been a "food problem" area and that the Government had been approached by the Red Cross last month to set up "buffer" supplies of food which could be drawn on during bad harvests. Because of the current publicity about a possible famine in Timor, yesterday

seemed an appropriate time to announce new arrangements.

Mr. Street said the grain buffer stock had been established with the agreement of the Red Cross and the Indonesian Government. It was to supplement any shortfall in the province's current harvest. In addition, Australia had contributed \$45,000 to support the involvement of International Catholic Relief in the province until at least mid-1982.

Australia would continue to give sympathetic consideration to any further requests for assistance.

A spokesman for the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra said yesterday that his Government was annoyed by the reports of a famine.

"We deny this allegation", he said.

He said Monsignor Lopes had met Indonesian President Suharto in August last year and had pledged his support to the Indonesian Government. He could not understand why Monsignor Lopes had written a letter saying there was a famine.

There were special boards in the major Timorese towns to monitor food supplies and to distribute food when necessary. A good rice harvest was expected this year and the Government had spent a great deal of money developing Timor.

Monsignor Lopes said Indonesia's campaign against Fretlin troops was taking farmers away from their fields, and the harvest was suffering.

The embassy spokesman said the military campaign was purely voluntary, and no villager was compelled to enlist. Although villagers aged between 18 and 40 were encouraged to be responsible for their own defence, there were many villages which did not take part in the program.

SYDNEY.—The national director of Australian Catholic Relief, Mr. Michael Whiteley, said yesterday, "Many Australian aid agencies have been critical of Indonesian actions in East Timor solely because they saw the unnecessary suffering they were causing to the Timorese people."

"We want to alleviate the suffering. It is our experience that the only sure way to do this is to embark on a long-term development program that will reestablish the agricultural sector and rebuild adequate medical facilities."

"I cannot understand why the Indonesian Government will not allow us to help. Our agencies are already involved in programs in Indonesia and there has been no government criticism of those programs."

Referring to an Indonesian statement that it was shipping rice to East Timor, Mr. Whiteley said this would not be necessary if a viable agriculture was developed. The cost of shipping this rice to Timor would mean that those most in need could not afford to buy it.

The chairman of the Australian Council for Overseas Aid, Mr. Richard Alston, wants the Indonesian Government to allow a delegation from Australian overseas-aid agencies to visit East Timor.

Mr. Alston, whose organisation is the co-ordinating body for 37 Australian voluntary agencies, said, "It seems that Indonesian authorities are determined to suppress the truth about the current situation in East Timor with the result that valuable humanitarian assistance will not be available to those reportedly in the greatest need".

ELIMINATE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY POULTRY EXPORT SUBSIDIES

● Mr. ROTH. Mr. President, today, as three top European Community officials—Agricultural Commission Paul Dalsager, International Affairs Commission Etienne Davignon, and External Affairs Commissioner Wilhelm Haferkamp—begin their 2 days of meetings with administration and congressional leaders, it is appropriate to review one very important issue that will be part of these meetings, namely, the European Community's use of unfair agricultural export subsidies.

A number of petitions have been filed with the U.S. Trade Representative under the provisions of section 301 of the Trade Act of 1974 alleging unfair trade practices that injure U.S. producers. These petitions, involving poultry, wheat flour, citrus, pasta, and other products, charge that the European Community has used unfair export refunds to displace U.S. exports into third-country markets.

I am pleased the administration has accepted these cases for international investigation and has served notice that the United States will no longer tolerate unfair trading practices that adversely affect U.S. exports. It is long past time to serve such notice. The United States has been one of the most open markets in the world, and, as a consequence, we have seen our market shares at home and abroad eroded by foreign predatory practices.

In the poultry industry, for example, trade data support the argument that there has been a direct link between the European Community's poultry export subsidies and a reduction in the U.S. share of important foreign markets. Community export subsidies have disrupted U.S. poultry sales in non-EC Europe, the Middle East, the Far East, and the Caribbean. Until recently, the impact has been mainly on whole chickens, our principal poultry export. Now, however, there is concern about other segments of the poultry trade.

According to the data, subsidies enabled EC farmers to capture more than 93 percent of the combined U.S./EC share of the non-EC European market, leaving the United States in 1980 with only 6.5 percent of this market. The most drastic impact of Community export subsidies on the United States, however, has been in the Middle East, where, until 1966, we accounted for virtually all trade. After the introduction of the Community's subsidies, U.S. exports were severely curtailed. Furthermore, the Community's takeover of this market prevented the United States from benefiting in the threefold increase in the Middle East poultry market between 1975 and 1980. Of the combined U.S./EC exports to the Middle East in 1980, the U.S. share was only 18 percent, while

that of the Community was 82 percent.

In the Far East—another growing market—the Community has been the main supplier only when the subsidy has been in effect. Community farmers' share of the combined U.S.-EC market in the Far East climbed from 36 percent in 1968 to 99 percent in 1974. When the subsidy was suspended in 1975, the EC share began to fall and, by 1979, had declined to less than 8 percent. In 1980, with the subsidy reactivated, EC exports increased 35 percent. This cannot just be coincidence.

While my own State of Delaware and the Delmarva poultry industry as a whole do not export, EC agricultural subsidies injure them by distorting markets and prices worldwide. We cannot stand idly by while our European Community trading partners use unfair practices to gain an inequitable share of the world market for poultry and other agricultural products. Should we be unable to redress the balance through present law, the United States may have to reconsider the means to achieve freer international trade and institute "reciprocity" as a guiding negotiating principle.

The Community is a powerful force in world food trade and a powerful friend and trading partner of the United States. It is in the EC's interest, as well as ours, that trade be conducted without government intervention or unfair benefits. I trust our visiting European leaders understand this.●

VOLUNTEERS

● Mr. ARMSTRONG. Mr. President, I have long believed that volunteers have an important and a potentially decisive role to play in improving the quality of life in communities all over the country. Volunteers bring to community problems insights and concern, sometimes also expertise, of extraordinary significance.

In Colorado Springs, volunteers contributed more than 12,000 hours to assist the Colorado Springs Police Department. The interesting story of how these volunteers have helped the Colorado Springs area cope with rising crime rates and declining Federal financial resources is outlined in the following article from the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin. I recommend it to the attention of all my colleagues.

The article follows:

VOLUNTARISM

A POLICE DEPARTMENT'S RESPONSE TO CHANGING TIMES

(By Maria B. Taylor)

The decade of the 80's, the most scientific and educated in recorded history, also looms as the most violent. Crime threatens to become our greatest public concern.

This concern is also coupled with increasing public pressure for lower taxes and improved productivity. Recent Federal budget cuts eliminating needed programs and re-

sources have complicated the situation even further by gradually reducing capital resources to law enforcement agencies. Clearly, it is time for those in law enforcement to examine alternative resources.

The Colorado Springs Police Department (CSPD) started developing an alternative to both its own and the surrounding community's frustration over climbing crime rates and decreasing dollars when 8 years ago, the department's first volunteer program was introduced.

The motivation for using volunteers was not based on economic factors but on very human ones. Through exposure to daily police activity, the volunteer develops a realistic perspective of the law enforcement system and a resulting positive regard for the police agency and its personnel. Rather than internalizing all law enforcement problems, police agencies can share these problems with the community. The public relations impact and advocacy role developed through such citizen involvement is invaluable. The traditional communication gap between the police and the community begins to close.

The CSPD's volunteer program challenges other traditions. In the past, police volunteers throughout the Nation were usually reserve officers and posse members, emphasizing direct law enforcement assistance and field activity. The current law enforcement volunteer in Colorado Springs is of a new breed. The emerging portrait of this volunteer is that of a serious citizen advocate who provides the agency with a host of support services that extend and enrich the delivery system. It has been repeatedly shown in Colorado Springs that the volunteer is motivated out of genuine concern for an commitment to the law enforcement agency's purpose and function. As one volunteer succinctly explained, "We are all angry about crime, and this is one way we can positively channel our anger." In this decade of alarming crime rates, the realization is growing that law enforcement is no longer just the responsibility of the police officer but is a partnership between the public and private sectors.

This two-pronged realization that involvement fosters ownership and that personal contact increases awareness and understanding has given birth to what has become an expansive program in the CSPD, using a broad cross section of citizens in voluntary capacities. The 100 volunteers include all age, socioeconomic, racial/ethnic, religious and educational strata. Ages of volunteers range from 18 to 80, with the average age being 45. Fifty-one percent are male, 61 percent are employed, 25 percent are 55 or over, and some are handicapped and disabled. In 1980 alone, volunteers donated over 12,000 hours—equal to about \$100,000 in services and over five full-time positions. Volunteers can be found in all four major bureaus of the department.

Overseeing the voluntary staffing of these units is a full-time paid volunteer services coordinator who serves as an advocate for both the law enforcement agency and the volunteer. He need not be employed in law enforcement but must be knowledgeable in human relations skills and volunteerism.

In managing these volunteers the coordinator/director uses the same fundamental skills and principles as personnel managers. Although unpaid, the volunteer is "hired," trained, integrated, evaluated, recognized, and even "fired" in a parallel process to paid department personnel. The result is the cultivation of professional volunteers in an es-

established professional environment. Incorporation of an unpaid staff in this manner not only lends importance and significance to the volunteer's role but also from the staff perspective, lends credence to volunteer work and creates acceptance.

Since staff resistance to volunteers is the primary problem facing volunteer programs today, professionalism of a program is a valued goal. In the CSPD, the term "professional volunteer" is not contradictory. A close look at a few of the volunteers is perhaps the most illustrative method of documenting this point.

—The 80-year-old retired civil servant who assists running the extra-duty office by scheduling 80 officers per month and keeping a statistical log that documents and supports the need and increasing priority for extra-duty personnel to help alleviate an on-duty manpower shortage.

—The priest who loaned his expertise on "aging" to help develop, teach, and be a consultant to the Senior Victim Assistance Program, which was selected by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) as an exemplary project.

—The middle-aged housewife in transition from a confined domestic role provides needed clerical assistance to the department's business office, while developing valuable marketable skills.

—The nurse who deals with crime victims in distress and provides emotional and physical comfort, followup, and referral.

—The 36-year-old criminal justice student who, while exploring a career shift, edits the weekly warrant information newsletter, which updates personnel in the patrol and investigative divisions on current fugitive information.

—The disabled volunteer who works in public relations by manning the substation police desk for case reporting and making public presentations on the subject of the policy department to community organizations.

—The volunteer who, in her third career, manages the office of the Organized Crime Strike Force, goes undercover to type confidential reports, and receives and records information from informants.

—The volunteer crime analyst who reviews approximately 250 criminal mischief cases per month and provides statistical data reflecting crime patterns, areas of concentrated activity, and M.O.'s. The information alerts the police officer to the possible relationship between criminal mischief crime patterns and other crime patterns in his sector.

This variety of examples indicates that volunteers, when well-matched with their personal goals, needs, and interests, can perform a voluntary job with professional quality. These examples also challenge the frequently encountered myth that "if the volunteer were competent, he/she would acquire a paying job." The success of the volunteer program in the Colorado Springs Police Department demonstrates that the primary motivator for work is the intrinsic value of work itself. Remuneration for the volunteer comes from the performance of challenging work, the satisfaction of achievement, increased responsibility, recognition for accomplishment, and personal growth and development through use of skills, talents, and creativity. For these reasons, volunteers are self-motivated and possess a personal commitment to the task at hand.

JOB DESIGN

The process of matching CSPD volunteers and duties begins with the development of a

written job description that states the reason and specifications of recruitment. Frequently, organizations, in a frenzied attempt to supplement manpower shortages, will enlist volunteers with little or no knowledge of where or how they will be used. In "The Effective Management of Volunteer Programs," Marlene Wilson points out that recruiting before designing jobs is rather like trying to dance before music begins. The possibility of ending up out of step is very good.

A well-developed job description should include the title and objective of the position, major responsibilities, qualifications, time required, length of commitment, training provided, the supervisor or to whom the volunteer is accountable, and benefits (optional). The job description is drafted either by the requesting unit supervisor or jointly with the director of volunteers. The initial impression the potential volunteer develops about the agency is based primarily on the job description. When carefully and imaginatively written, a job description invites participation; when concretely and specifically developed, the description indicates the value of the position in context with the overall agency goals and objectives. It is the cornerstone of a well-managed volunteer program—the fundamental tool on which to recruit, motivate, and eventually evaluate.

RECRUITMENT

Recruitment naturally follows job design. It is a "selling" job and requires careful thought in targeting the audience and marketing the product—the job. This selective recruitment is preferable to general and widespread solicitation. A common mistake in recruiting is "looking in the wrong place for the right people."

The key to effective recruitment is marketing. It not only is necessary to sell the job to the volunteer but also provide and promote benefits—it is an exchange or barter system. Since the potential volunteer will not receive financial compensation, an effective marketing approach must be used to meet psychological needs and personal goals. Volunteers themselves can play a large part in the recruitment process. Satisfied volunteers sharing their experiences by word-of-mouth are a program's richest asset. Volunteers with specific professional skills can also provide technical savvy for recruitment activities. Presently, the CSPD draws from the expertise of a retired advertising executive, a commercial artist, and a graphics company. Clever and attractive publicity to establish the program's visibility and credibility in the community furnishes a sound base on which to begin recruiting.

An additional aspect that must not be overlooked is that recruitment is a highly individualized task, and therefore, needs to be tailored to the situation. There are many variables, such as the number of positions being filled, the type of job(s), the number of people needed for the job(s), and the types of skills required. An agency needs to be adequately equipped for a host of recruitment situations by maintaining a large "tool box" with a variety of "tools." According to the situation, a different tool may be selected and used, alone or in combination with other tools, to accomplish the task. Since recruitment strategies vary widely, pinpointing a successful formula is virtually impossible. The best recruitment tools, however, are a good sound volunteer program and meaningful jobs.

SCREENING, INTERVIEWING, AND PLACING

With the foundation laid in job design and recruitment, the screening, interviewing, and placement process becomes the next crucial step in volunteer program management. This selection process provides a built-in mechanism to determine appropriateness and suitability of the potential volunteer and to ensure quality control. For law enforcement agencies, most particularly, this is of paramount concern.

Ivan Scheier, Ph. D., noted consultant in the field of criminal justice volunteerism, states that we must "screen out those candidates clearly unsuited for certain jobs and redirect them to appropriate placements whenever possible." This is essential for several reasons:

- (1) The agency must be protected. It must be helped, not hindered, by volunteer involvement;
- (2) The agency's reputation is greatly affected by its volunteers;
- (3) Morale of paid staff and other volunteers declines when inappropriate or poor volunteer placements occur; and
- (4) The volunteer himself suffers when misplaced.

As important as screening out these "high risk" volunteers is the screening in of "high potential" candidates. Each potential volunteer has something to contribute—the volunteer director's task is to discover what that contribution is and put it to work effectively on behalf of the agency. This takes time and an ability to listen, probe, and "try on for size." If the interview process accomplishes its purpose, the candidate and agency will be able to make a fairly accurate assessment of mutual needs, expectations, and goals.

It follows, then, that the bottom line of the volunteer director's job is human resource development. One of the saddest mistakes made by volunteer administrators is not efficiently using a person's talents and abilities. Marlene Wilson points out that there are three concerns repeatedly expressed by volunteers:

- (1) Their volunteer work will be a waste of time;
- (2) Their skills and talents will not be used; and
- (3) They may be placed in jobs for which they are not suited.

Effective interviewing and placing speaks to all these concerns, while ensuring that careful and deliberate steps have been taken to provide the most qualified person for the job.

The interview process should not end in the volunteer director's office but should proceed to the requesting unit supervisor and appropriate staff for final determination. To further ensure a successful placement, the selection process should include as many of the volunteer's potential coworkers as possible.

TRAINING

Training is a concept with which law enforcement personnel are very familiar. It has received increased emphasis and has enhanced the officers' and community's respect for law enforcement.

Training experiences for the volunteer also need to be provided. The volunteer appreciates and derives satisfaction from training programs that are relevant and provide skills and personal growth. Good training, therefore, is a primary motivator of volunteers, as well as a way to share information. It is a valuable tool to use in re-

taining volunteers and furnishing incentives.

Training is also believed to be a primary factor in limiting the number of on-the-job injuries. Since the inception of the CSPD volunteer program, there have been no job-related injuries; however, all persons involved in the program are covered by the city's medical insurance company.

Manpower and funding shortages have brought patrol functions to dangerously low levels, thus increasing the importance of the volunteer's role. Properly trained, a volunteer can release an officer to do what he/she is trained to do in handling high-priority calls for service and demanding, detailed investigative tasks.

Volunteer training, when effectively implemented, is conducted in three stages:

(1) Orientation—familiarizing the volunteer with the agency, its philosophy, functions, policies, organizational structure, and goals. This may include a tour, a briefing session (formal or informal), and arranged observation opportunities in areas of interest.

(2) Preservice training could include formal classroom instruction, required courses, suggested sessions of the police training academy, and/or informal on-the-job training by unit supervisor or appointee.

(3) Inservice training—volunteers need and want ongoing training and continuing educational opportunities. The more knowledgeable and informed they are, the more proficient they become in absorbing the routine work burdens generated by increasing population and criminal activity.

The value of training is best illustrated by the CSPD senior victim assistance team and the CSPD chaplaincy corps. The senior victim assistance team, a 15-member team that works with elderly victims of crime, undergoes a 3-month preservice training program in crisis intervention, communication skills, and familiarization with referral resources. Monthly meetings are held for case information exchange and discussion, in conjunction with specialized inservice training.

The chaplaincy corps, composed of 30 local clergy, accompany patrol officers on a rotating basis during peak evening hours 7 days a week. They are also on call 24 hours a day through a paging unit for counseling, consultation, and crisis work in the community and within the department itself. Their monthly training deals with topics ranging from police crisis intervention, department policies and procedures, legal matters, safety, psychological profiles on suicidals, battered women and substance abusers to pastoral skills development.

As well as receiving training, chaplains also train. In keeping with the chaplaincy program's purpose of professional sharing, chaplains provide training at the police academy to rookies on job-related and material problems and community referral resources.

A second dimension to training is staff training, a critical but often neglected element of a successful volunteer program. Considerable work needs to be done to develop a positive agency attitude that reflects the support of volunteers and enthusiasm for the program. Therefore, careful attention and continuous work is required to foster effective relationships between paid and volunteer staff.

Staff training also prevents potential problems by addressing topics such as resistance to volunteers; myths about volunteers; the philosophy of volunteer management,

emphasizing a professional approach; supervision; evaluation and recognition of volunteers; and termination of volunteers. Failure to resolve barriers or to deal with issues, biases, and concerns can lead to poor and ineffective programs implementation, negative public relations as a result of a volunteer's unpleasant experiences, and eventual program rejection.

EVALUATION

Evaluation of both the volunteer's performance and the appropriateness of the placement assignment needs to be performed periodically. This review may be conducted formally at a prearranged time, working from the written job description, or informally and spontaneously according to the volunteer's needs and the coordinator's individual approach. Volunteers need to know on a regular basis how they are doing. Conversely, they need to communicate beliefs and suggestions that may contribute to the overall improvement of the program.

Likewise, the staff needs the feedback and support generated from the evaluation interview in order to respond appropriately. The volunteer services coordinator as a volunteer/agency liaison person should, with diplomacy and insight, furnish information and ideas that will enhance the volunteer's job satisfaction while increasing effectiveness and productivity for the agency.

The development of a volunteer program is too often viewed as a panacea to an agency's budgetary problems. Implementing a volunteer program, however, is not cost-free. While it is both cost-effective and cost-beneficial, there are built-in expenses, such as the coordinator/director's salary, office equipment and supplies, staff time spent in training and supervision, and volunteer recognition. These expenses are eventually counteracted by the program's final product. As with many human services, quantitative measurement and documented results of a volunteer program are difficult to pinpoint. Cost-saving elements in donated man-hours, teamed with the number of officers freed for priority calls, provide some numerical clues. However, the breadth of the public relations dimension, the impact of citizen participation as a deterrent to crime, and the trust gained from a team relationship between police and citizens are benefits that cannot be purchased through any budgetary process. Clearly, the volunteer is a positive and revitalizing response to the increasing demands of law enforcement today. It is a resource that must be explored.●

RECORD TO REMAIN OPEN UNTIL 5 P.M. TODAY

Mr. BAKER. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD remain open until 5 p.m. today for the introduction of bills, resolutions, and statements.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mrs. KASSEBAUM). Without objection, it is so ordered.

PROGRAM

Mr. BAKER. Madam President, on tomorrow, the Senate will convene at 11 o'clock. After the recognition of the two leaders under the standing order, two Senators will be recognized on special orders not to exceed 15 minutes each.

At the hour of 12 noon, the Chair, without further notice, will recess the Senate, in deference to other requirements involving the attention of Senators on both sides of the aisle, until 2 p.m.

Madam President, on tomorrow, after the recognition of the two leaders and special orders, there will be a period to be provided for in the morning time permitting the transaction of routine morning business.

It is expected that the Senate will be asked to resume consideration of Senate Resolution 20 during the day tomorrow prior to the taking up of the Department of Justice authorizations bill at 3 o'clock, as previously ordered. It is not expected that tomorrow will be a late day.

Of course, under the rules, if cloture is invoked, then the Senate must remain on the Department of Justice authorizations bill. If cloture is not invoked, the Senate will resume consideration of Senate Resolution 20.

Madam President, I know of no further business to come before the Senate today. If there is no matter that the minority leader wishes to address to the Senate at this time, I am prepared to recess.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Madam President. I thank the distinguished majority leader. I have no matter to bring to the attention of the Senate.

Mr. BAKER. I thank the minority leader.

RECESS UNTIL 11 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. BAKER. Madam President, I move, in accordance with the order previously entered, that the Senate now stand in recess until the hour of 11 o'clock tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and, at 4:37 p.m., the Senate recessed until Tuesday, February 9, 1982, at 11 a.m.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate February 8, 1982:

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION

Tony E. Gallegos, of California, to be a Member of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission for the remainder of the term expiring July 1, 1984, vice Daniel Edward Leach, resigned.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION

F. Keith Adkinson, of West Virginia, to be a Federal Trade Commissioner for the unexpired term of seven years from September 26, 1975, vice Robert Pitofsky, resigned.

PROMOTIONAL IN THE REGULAR ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES

The following named Regular Army officers for permanent promotion in the U.S. Army, in accordance with section 601, title VI, Transition Provisions, Defense Officer Personnel Management Act of 1980, with

dates of rank to be determined by the Secretary of the Army:

To be colonel

Abbott, Rudolph E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bacas, Harry J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bell, Arthur F.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Abrahamson, James L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bachelor, Larry D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bell, Berdon M., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Acinapura, Joseph N.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bachmann, Robert R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bell, Charles H.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Ackermann, Henry F.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Backus, Richard J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bell, Jerry L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Acomb, Kent M.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Badger, William W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bell, William E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Adair, Robert B.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Baeb, David E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bellamy, Albert D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Adams, Allen D., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bagdanov, James L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bellizzi, Ralph,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Adams, Frank S.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bagnal, William K., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bellows, Ronald L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Adams, James W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bagnerise, Joseph W., Sr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Beltson, Richard D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Adams, Tom, Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bair, Authur H., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Benchoff, Dennis L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Ady, Samuel J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Baker, Charles R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bennett, Richard C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Affourtit, Rene J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Baker, David G.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bennett, Thomas R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Ailor, John E., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Baker, Harlan H., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Benson, Richard D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Akin, Havis D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Baker, Larry A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Benson, Roger R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Akin, Jere H.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Baker, Wardell G.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Benson, Warren D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Akridge, Jimmie H.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Baldwin, Edward R., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Berdux, Sylvester C., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Albert, Harold L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Baldwin, Ronald C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bergeron, Gary P.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Albright, John D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Balish, Warren N.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Berkley, Nathan R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Alcala, Raoul H.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Ball, James W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Berliner, Daniel S.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Alden, Errol R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Balsarak, Robert J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Berner, John J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Alderman, Nathaniel, Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bambery, Thomas W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bernier, William E., Barr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Alex, Allen M.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bangasser, Fredric D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bernstein, Donald I.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Alexander, Byron B.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bangerter, Jerald C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Berry, John A., III,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Alexander, Franklin D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Banks, James H.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Berry, Peter T.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Alexander, George W., II,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Banks, John W., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Berta, Thomas L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Alexander, Joseph D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Banning, Robert D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Berteikamp, John N.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Alexander, Joseph E., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Baratto, David J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Best, David M.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Alhouse, Robert D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Barber, Don W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Best, James W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Allanson, Will B.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Barber, Leroy M., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bettors, Richard B., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Allen, Charles B.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Barborak, Franklin D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Beurket, Raymond T., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Allen, David J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Barcia, Peter J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Beyer, Alfred H.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Allen, Eugene E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Barck, John C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bezanson, Ronald S., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Allen, Richard H.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Barkett, John S.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Brickford, James E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Allen, Teddy G.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Barkley, Craig C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bidgood, Ferdinand C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Allen, Wayne C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Barkley, William A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Biemeck, John F.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Allison, Howard H.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Barlow, Matthew J., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bierly, Robert N., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Allison, Stanley C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Barmore, Frederick E., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bihn, Marvin A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Allison, William C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Barnebey, Hoyt W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Blberry, Ralph W., Emerson,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Allred, Raymond S., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Barnes, William R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Billings, Barry B.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Alsop, Jackie R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Barnes, Wilson E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Biondi, Richard M.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Ament, Richard G.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Barnett, John R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Birrane, John H.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Amick, Robert L., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Barnwell, Isaiah E., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bishop, Edward L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Ammons, David C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Barnwell, Marion L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bishop, Garland G.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Anderson, Charles E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Barr, Grady W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bishop, Robert L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Anderson, Paul D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Barreca, Nicholas E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bissell, Norman M.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Andres, Dudley M.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Barrere, Richard P.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bivings, Donald E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Andreson, Ronald K.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Barrett, Peter J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bizer, James E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Andrews, Anthony J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Barrett, Reid A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Black, Edward J., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Andrews, James H.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Barrett, Robert C., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Black, Wendell W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Andrews, Joel E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Barrett, William M.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Blahna, Gary L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Andrews, William R., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Barrow, John P.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Blaho, Daniel M.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Andy, Charles W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Barrowman, Thomas J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Blair, John D., II,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Antopol, Michael R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Barry, Michael J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Blake, Phillip L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Antross, Richard C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bartlett, William E., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Blake, Richard J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Appleton, Forrest W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bartos, Robert E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Blake, William B.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Appleton, Isaac E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Battle, Lucius W., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Blanchard, Charles E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Appling, David A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bauchspies, Richard E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Blank, Ronald R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Apruzzese, Vincent A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bauer, Anthony G.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Blasco, Andrew P.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Archer, John R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bauer, Daniel H.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Blewett, John H.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Archibald, Harold R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Baugh, Raymond C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Blight, Edward M., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Armitage, David T.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Baxter, Thomas R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bliss, Richard A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Armstrong, Charles H.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bay, Charles H.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bloom, John D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Armstrong, David A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Beakey, Danny J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Blount, Richard B.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Armstrong, Donald R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bean, Roger K.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Blume, Geoffrey E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Armstrong, James S., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Beard, Graham E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Blumer, Robert B.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Arndt, Gary L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Beard, Louin L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Blumhardt, Glen A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Arndt, Terrence L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Beasley, Benjamin B.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Blumhardt, Ralph,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Arnold, Steven L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Beasley, Joe D., III,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bobitt, John R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Arnold, Wallace C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Beasley, John D., III,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bode, Donald D., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Arroyo, Francisco,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Beaver, Reinard W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Boes, Richard W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Arthur, James D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Beavers, Leslie E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bogart, John N.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Arthur, James F., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Beck, Buddy G.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bogart, William V.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Arwood, Thomas B.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Becker, Ronald C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bogliarski, Stephen P.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Aschliman, Edward L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Beckley, Leander K.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bohach, John L., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Atkins, George C.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Beckman, Charles H.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bohls, Robert J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Auzins, Janis, Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Beebe, Merrell S.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Boice, Craig H.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Averill, Ronald H.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Beech, Gary D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Boice, William M.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Ax, George R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Begtrup, Robert O.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bole, Charles T., II,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Babcock, Charles S.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Behrenhausen, Richard A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Boles, Wayne T.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Babcock, William S.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Beinhacker, Neal D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Boling, Douglas L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Babigan, Alan E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Belan, Charles G.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Boller, Richard R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
		Belasco, John R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bomar, Hobby J., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
		Belcher, Lillard F.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bond, Nelson B.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
		Belitz, Charles L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Bons, Paul M.,	xxx-xx-xxxx

Borg, Naldean J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Borgman, John D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Borlund, Thomas V., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Borneman, Frederick H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Borrello, Ronald A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Borson, Bernard K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Borstorff, Allan R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Borum, William D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bosch, Brian J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bosway, Stephen G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bouton, Peter H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bowden, John C., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
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 Bowe, Robert M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bowen, Guy P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bowen, Thomas E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bowers, Curtis R., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bowers, Joseph M., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bowers, Robert F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Box, Joe M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boyd, Claude D., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boyd, Leo S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boyd, William M., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boyer, Kenneth H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boylan, Peter J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boyle, David J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boyle, Ernest W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boynton, Robert E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boysen, John H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bradin, James W., IV, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bradley, Peter W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bradley, William A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brady, Patrick H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brady, Robert E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brailsford, Marvin D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bramlett, David A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Branagan, Brian J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Branch, Leslie B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brand, Fred C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brass, Ronald W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bratz, Gordon T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Braun, Edward S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brehaut, Joseph W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bretsch, Kenneth P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brett, Thomas H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brewer, Jessie S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bridenbaugh, Robert H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bridgwater, Tom W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Briggs, David B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Briggs, Duncan D., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Briggs, Harold L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brintnall, Clarke M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brisach, Eugene M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Britten, Samuel L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brock, Donald E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Broering, Leo F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Broocke, Nathan I., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brooke, Arthur L., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brooks, Delbert R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brooks, Ronald E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brooks, Thomas J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Broshous, Charles R., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brott, Walter H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brough, Alfred E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brown, Alan R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brown, Charles L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brown, Clyde O., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brown, Gary L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brown, Gene L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brown, George O., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brown, Gerald C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brown, Harold L., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brown, Joe M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brown, Joseph E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brown, Patty E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brown, Richard T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brown, Roger A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brown, Roy E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brown, Stanley M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Browning, David B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Browning, Philip Y., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brownlee, Romie L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brunelle, Pierre V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brunkow, Richard O., xxx-xx-xxxx

Brunner, David G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bruschi, Walter A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bryan, Richard L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bryant, Robert J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bryde, Walter J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bubon, John J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Buchanan, William J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Buck, Alfred S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Buck, Edward G., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Buckles, Harvey I., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Buckley, Benjamin C., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Buckley, James M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Buckman, Leroy R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Buczek, Richard C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Budack, Marietta E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Budge, Larry D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Buff, Max L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bugay, Glenn L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bullard, Monte R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bunker, Robert M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bunting, Willis R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Buono, Daniel P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burba, Edwin H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burbank, Arlene G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burchell, Larry E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burg, Hans A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burger, Leslie M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burger, Robert B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burgess, Douglas R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burke, Allan R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burlas, Joseph E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burleson, Grady L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burleson, Willard M., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burnett, Lewis G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burns, Gerald C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burns, Thornton A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burrell, Raymond E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burrow, George D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burrus, William S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burt, John C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Buscemi, Jon H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Buss, Carole J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Buswell, Arthur T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Butkiewicz, Edward J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Butler, Dennis F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Butler, Melvin, L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Butterworth, Larry R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Buttolph, Dan D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Butts, Orville N., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Byrd, Johnnie P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Byrd, Melvin L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Byrnes, James E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Byrom, Seymour B., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Byzewski, Lewis R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cadoria, Sherian G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cahill, Ralph D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Caldwell, Marion L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Caldwell, Robert W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Call, Thomas, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Call, Robert I., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Callahan, Donald J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Callender, William E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cameron, Richard D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Camp, Junius W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Camp, Richard A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Campbell, Dan H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Campbell, George C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Campbell, J. F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Campbell, James G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Campbell, Jerry P., xxx-xx-xxxx
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Heermans, Samuel H.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hewitt, Leland H.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hodge, James D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
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Heffner, Albert R., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Heyman, Eugene F., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hodgson, George G.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
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Helmlinger, John A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hicks, Norman A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hogan, Vincent G.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
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Hemphill, Robert L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Higgins, John J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Holcomb, Larry D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx

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Holland, James R.	xxx-xx-xxxx	Howard, Thomas W., III	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hutchinson, Craig R.	xxx-xx-xxxx
Holland, Kenneth J.	xxx-xx-xxxx	Howe, Charles E.	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hutchinson, Milford B.	xxx-xx-xxxx
Holland, Leon L.	xxx-xx-xxxx	Howe, Michael B.	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hutchison, James M.	xxx-xx-xxxx
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Hoose, Frederick R.	xxx-xx-xxxx	Huggins, Ansel L., Jr.	xxx-xx-xxxx	Isaac, Alfred G.	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hoover, Richard W.	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hughbanks, James C.	xxx-xx-xxxx	Isaacson, Harold G.	xxx-xx-xxxx
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Hooverson, Richard	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hughes, Justin R.	xxx-xx-xxxx	Isbell, Paul R.	xxx-xx-xxxx
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Hopkins, John A.	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hughes, William D.	xxx-xx-xxxx	Isenhower, James F., Jr.	xxx-xx-xxxx
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Horridge, David J.	xxx-xx-xxxx	Humphrey, Elbert A.	xxx-xx-xxxx	Izzo, Lawrence L.	xxx-xx-xxxx
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Hoskinson, Charles E.	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hunt, Henry L.	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jackson, Daniel J., Jr.	xxx-xx-xxxx
Hospodar, Edward J.	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hunt, James P.	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jackson, David S.	xxx-xx-xxxx
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Hotop, Arthur R.	xxx-xx-xxxx	Hunt, Lynn J.	xxx-xx-xxxx	Jackson, Jerry D.	xxx-xx-xxxx
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Sloane, Medwyn D., III,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Smith, Thomas A., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Spiller, Winton, Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
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Taylor, James A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Thompson, Clark J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Totten, Michael W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
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Taylor, John L.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Thompson, Dale L., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Towley, Carl K.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
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Taylor, John R.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Thompson, Gerald E.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Tracy, David S.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Taylor, John W., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Thompson, Grover P.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Tracy, Stephen A.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
Taylor, Kenneth D.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Thompson, Jerry F.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Tracz, William J.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
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Taylor, Morris M., Jr.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Thompson, Michael H.,	xxx-xx-xxxx	Tragemann, Richard W.,	xxx-xx-xxxx
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CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate February 8, 1982:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Walter J. Stoessel, Jr., of the District of Columbia, a Career Member of the Senior Foreign Service with the personal rank of Career Ambassador, to be Deputy Secretary of State.

U.S. INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION AGENCY

John R. Bolton, of Virginia, to be an Assistant Administrator of the Agency for International Development.

NATIONAL FOUNDATION ON THE ARTS AND THE HUMANITIES

William J. Bennett, of North Carolina, to be Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities for a term of four years.

The above nominations were approved subject to the nominees' commitment to respond to requests to appear and testify before any duly constituted committee of the Senate.

THE JUDICIARY

Michael S. Kanne, of Indiana, to be United States District Judge for the Northern District of Indiana.

James T. Moody, of Indiana, to be United States District Judge for the Northern District of Indiana.

Robert H. Bork, of the District of Columbia, to be United States Circuit Judge for the District of Columbia Circuit.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

William F. Weld, of Massachusetts, to be United States Attorney for the District of Massachusetts for the term of four years.

Alan C. Nelson, of California, to be Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization.

George L. McBane, of North Carolina, to be United States Marshal for the Middle District of North Carolina for the term of four years.

Stuart E. Earnest, of Oklahoma, to be United States Marshal for the Western District of Oklahoma for the term of four years.

William J. Jonas, Jr., of Texas, to be United States Marshal for the Western District of Texas for the term of four years.

Eugene H. Davis, of Utah, to be United States Marshal for the District of Utah for the term of four years.

Lamond Robert Mills, of Nevada, to be United States Attorney for the District of Nevada for the term of four years.

Thomas A. O'Hara, Jr., of Nebraska, to be United States Marshal for the District of Nebraska for the term of four years.

Stephen S. Trott, of California, to be United States Attorney for the Central District of California for the term of four years.

COPYRIGHT ROYALTY TRIBUNAL

Edward W. Ray, of California, to be a Commissioner of the Copyright Royalty Tribunal for the unexpired term of five years from September 27, 1977.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Department of State nominations beginning Donald S. Brown, to be Career Member

of the Senior Foreign Service of the United States of America, Class of Career Minister, and ending Gerald Wein, to be Career Member of the Senior Foreign Service of the United States of America, Class of Counselor, Consular Officer and Secretary, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record on December 15, 1981.