

May 4, 1983

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE
SENATE—Wednesday, May 4, 1983

10879

(Legislative day of Monday, May 2, 1983)

The Senate met at 10 a.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the President pro tempore (Mr. TRAWAVERS).

PRAYER

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

Let us pray.

Lord God of creation, who hast endowed us with inalienable rights, we thank Thee for a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, designed to secure those rights. We thank Thee for the democratic process which makes such a government work. We thank Thee for men and women of strong conviction, willing to struggle through controversy and compromise, seeking the welfare of the people. Give them patience with the process and with each other.

As tensions increase and emotions rise, infuse them with respect and love for each other. Protect them against selfish and seductive forces which would corrupt and exploit the process and abort sound legislation. Heavenly Father, make Thy presence felt in this Chamber and in the office of every Senator and every committee today. May Thy will be done in this place as it is in heaven. We pray in the name of Him who was Incarnate Truth, Justice, and Righteousness. Amen.

RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The majority leader is recognized.

Mr. BAKER. I thank the Chair.

SENATE SCHEDULE

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, there are no special orders today. There is a time for the transaction of routine morning business that will begin after the expiration of the time allocated to the two leaders under the standing order.

As Members will recall, last evening it was decided that the Senate would resume consideration of the budget resolution at 10:30 a.m. today, at which time the Hatch amendment would be the pending question. An hour of further debate has been provided for on the Hatch amendment, to be equally divided.

The sequence for certain amendments thereafter was provided in the order of last evening.

I will confer with the managers of the resolution and the minority leader as to the sequence of amendments for today.

Everyone should be on notice that the leadership on this side expects the Senate to stay in session for a good long while today. I expect it may be well after the dinner hour before we recess.

Mr. President, I have no further need for the remainder of my time under the standing order and am prepared to yield it to the minority leader.

Mr. BYRD. I thank the majority leader.

I have no need for my time and I yield it back.

Mr. BAKER. I yield back my time.

ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. DAWSON). Under the previous order, there will now be a period for the transaction of routine morning business, not to extend beyond 10:30 a.m., with statements therein limited to 3 minutes each.

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

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

SIGNIFICANCE OF ANDROPOV'S ACCEPTANCE OF SINGLE WAR-HEAD NUCLEAR MISSILES

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, we Americans should not miss the significance of Premier Andropov's announcement yesterday that he would be willing to have the Soviet Union adopt the suggestion made by our President and our negotiators to reduce nuclear, medium-range missiles in Europe to the present NATO levels in number of warheads as well as number of missiles.

The Andropov response has solid significance in the present negotiations over nuclear deployment in Europe. It has much greater significance, however, as a principle. Here is why: One of the most prudent arms control suggestions in recent months has been the proposal by Congressman ALBERT GORE—now supported by Henry Kissinger and others, to phase out the MIRV'd multiwarhead missiles and replace them with scattered single warhead missiles.

This represented a welcome breakthrough in reducing the likelihood of a hair trigger, first strike nuclear war. Why? Because the multiwarhead missiles pose a colossal first strike threat—a devastating threat. But a threat that is also highly vulnerable to any first strike that could knock out perhaps 10 warheads with a single missile. On the other hand three separate single warhead missiles would be only one-third as vulnerable therefore much more likely to survive a first strike, but much less threatening because they would in aggregate carry only one-third the devastating threat of the highly MIRV'd single missile.

So the far more dangerous nuclear world ushered in by the advent of multiwarhead missiles just may be beginning its way out. Mr. President, I hasten to add that Mr. Andropov has merely stated a willingness to negotiate within a limited area. But this principle is so important in reducing the nuclear threat that we should take advantage of the instant Soviet response to extend this principle elsewhere. Here we have a clear example of how arms control can serve both as a means of increasing our military security, and as a means of moving a little way toward a more peaceful world environment, still haunted by the continued deployment of nuclear weapons, but blessed by the fact that these weapons will be less threatening as well as less dangerous than the nuclear weapons they replace.

THE TORMENT OF THE BAHAI'S

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, history is filled with countless instances of man's inhumanity to man, of great atrocities committed for the most despicable of reasons. In the days before civilization this cruelty was perhaps understandable. Today, however, it is inexplicable and unjustifiable that transgressions of the most basic human rights ceaselessly occur.

Currently in Iran, one such unconscionable transgression continues to unfold. The Ayatollah Khomeini's government is once again persecuting the followers of the Baha'i faith.

The Baha'is have been the scapegoats of Persian society for generations, 20 thousand having been killed in the last 100 years, and under the

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by the Member on the floor.

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE

May 4, 1983

Ayatollah, their situation has worsened. Many Baha'i spiritual leaders have been executed since his rise to power 4 years ago. Just this past February, an Islamic tribunal sentenced to death 20 sect members for spying and reputed links to Israel, links that exist largely because, as with many western religions, Israel is the Baha'i holy land. The faith maintains its world headquarters and two shrines there.

To an outside observer, the adherents of the faith are unlikely targets. They believe in the divine origin of all religions, including Islam. They also shun violence and abstain from partisan politics. At great risk, they were the only group that refused to join the Shah's political party.

Nevertheless, the Baha'is have been persecuted as part of a deliberate campaign begun 3 years ago to break the sect. On August 21, 1980, all nine members of the faith's ruling National Spiritual Assembly were arrested. To date, nothing has been heard of their fate. In addition, thousands of members of local spiritual assemblies have been detained.

Baha'is have been denied exit visas and recognition under the Islamic constitution, which, in theory, protects all the Nation's religious minorities. Businesses have been confiscated and trade licenses revoked. Retired government employees have lost their pensions. Houses and crops have been destroyed. Shrines and cemeteries have been demolished. Twenty-five to thirty thousand school aged children have been banned from attending their classes. Most significantly, the house of the Bab, the Baha'i equivalent of the Jewish Walling Wall or Moslem Kaaba, has been bulldozed and converted into a parking lot.

The effects of the program have been staggering. The Baha'i office at the United Nations labeled them:

... so malevolent, so intense, so sustained and so far-reaching that (they) present the eradication of the Baha'i community as a religious minority in Iran.

Criticism by the United Nations, the United States, and the European Community has slowed the extermination of the Baha'is, but more than words alone will be needed to save them.

One step that we in the Senate can take to strengthen the position of the United States is to ratify the United Nations' Genocide Convention. This treaty declares the extermination of a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group an international crime. Already approved by 85 nations, it has not, however, been ratified by the United States.

Ratification of the Convention would underscore our global commitment to the preservation of human rights and reemphasize to the Iranian Government our strong desire to have them cease their persecution of the Baha'is. It would also eliminate an ar-

gument often used by nations that abuse human rights when we cite them for their abuses. Their specious, but nonetheless effective, rebuttal, which holds the United States cannot question them about rights when we ourselves have not signed even the Genocide Convention, impedes our ability to end violations of basic freedoms in countries such as Iran.

Mr. President, in spite of the treaty's very palpable benefits, the Senate has put off its ratification for 34 years now. I would ask today, then, that this body end its delay and take a step for the Baha'is and other unjustly abused groups by ratifying the Genocide Convention.

THE BUDGET RESOLUTION

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, we are on the second leg of the arduous journey on which we seek further solutions to the budget problems that continue to plague this Nation. The Federal Budget faces deficits as far as the eye can see. This sorry situation almost guarantees that we will not find final solutions this year. But I am committed, as I think we are all committed, to alleviate the problem, to make progress in putting our fiscal affairs in order.

In this connection, I believe that the budget that we have before us—as reported by the Senate Budget Committee—is a respectable start in putting the fiscal policy on a proper course. It restrains the growth of Federal spending, it restores our depleted revenue base, and thus provides ever diminishing deficits over the next 5 years. These deficits are lower than any others proposed thus far. However, the budget still falls short of the ideal in several respects, and I hope that we can make improvements on the floor as we go along.

There can be no question but what our national economic policies in the past 2 years have nearly wrecked our economy. Not that there is not plenty of blame to go around. Both tax and spending policies in the seventies, fostered by both political parties, were unwise. We legislated too many spending programs and we opened too many loopholes in the Tax Code through which wasted money poured. But the answer to the excesses of the seventies was not the answer provided by this administration—*increase spending even more and cut revenues even more, thus widening deficits to alltime highs.*

The result has been recession and unemployment on a scale unknown since the Great Depression.

In 1981 the President announced his program for economic recovery under which, he said, "Our economy's productive capacity is expected to grow significantly faster than could be achieved with a continuation of past

policies." He predicted that GNP would grow, beginning in 1982, at a rate between 4 to 5 percent a year. Yet last year it declined 1.7 percent and in the first quarter of this year it disappointed many analysts by growing at only 3.1 percent in the long awaited recovery. The President's recovery program also predicted that unemployment, which in 1981 was 7.8 percent, would decline steadily to 6.6 percent in 1986. We now have, of course, unemployment at 10.3 percent in March. By 1986 the Budget Committee now predicts that it will be 8.6 percent—0.8 of a point higher than it was in 1981 and 3 full percentage points higher than the President's program was to produce. After 5 years we will have nearly 1 million more unemployed than when the economic recovery program started—and over 3 million more than that program anticipated.

Mr. President, there are many more statistics like this, but there is no point in dwelling on the past. I do so briefly, only to show that we must not make the mistake—which many would still have us make—of doing more of the same. There can be no question but what the programs of the past 2 years have put us in this difficulty. We must try something else to get out of it.

The program we have been following for the past 2 years—over my repeated objections—has been to spend more and tax less. That is not how the program is usually described—but that is what it is.

In 1981, total Federal spending was \$657.2 billion. In fiscal year 1984 the President proposed spending of \$648.5 billion—an increase of \$191.3 billion or 29 percent. That is increased spending on a staggering scale—an average of over \$60 billion per year.

In 1981, total Federal spending was 22.9 percent of the gross national product. Under the President's budget for fiscal year 1984 it would be 24.3 percent.

That is clearly increased Government spending in anyone's book. Nor have we failed because we did not follow the President's recommendations. He has received the spending cuts he asked for and he has received the spending increases he asked for. One has to say that the results must be pretty much what he wanted.

On the revenue side, the President endorsed and Congress approved a tax bill in 1981 that will cut revenues by \$1.136 trillion over 7 years. He also endorsed and Congress approved in 1982 a tax bill that will increase revenues by \$255 billion over 7 years.

The results of these, and companion policies are clearly set out in the Senate Budget Committee's report on this budget resolution in the following table: