

UNITED STATES



OF AMERICA

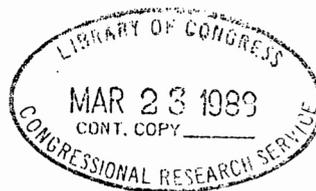
Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 98th CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

VOLUME 129—PART 2

FEB. 2, 1983 TO FEB. 22, 1983

(PAGES 1367 TO 2725)



agement to competitive suppliers to expand output. We desperately need to send our competition a clear signal now of our export intentions.

The Agricultural Export Market Recovery Act does just that in language and action that should leave no doubt in the minds of either U.S. farmers or their foreign competition of this country's commitment to international agricultural trade.

The bill will establish a direct and vital link between crop production and the Government's effort to expand exports. It recognizes the mutual obligation of farmers and the Government to contribute to the reduction of price-depressing surplus grain stocks. Clearly, the quickest and most effective way to eliminate burdensome and costly surpluses is to simultaneously reduce production and expand exports.

The act calls upon the Secretary of Agriculture to draw upon funds already appropriated to the Commodity Credit Corporation for export promotion activities but as yet unexpended. The act causes funds to be drawn from this CCC account in the same amount as payments are made to farmers participating in the 1983 paid land diversion program. That is, for every dollar paid to farmers to divert land out of production, a dollar will be used to promote and expand commercial export sales. Importantly, the magnitude of the Government's export market promotion resources will be in direct proportion to farmers' participation in supply control programs.

In addition to the export sales fund being a needed further incentive for farmers to reduce output, our foreign competitors will view our unilateral decision to reduce production in a totally different light—the more successful we are at reducing production, the greater our capability to respond to market opportunities and challenges.

The bill, in combination with current farm programs, constitutes the fundamental elements of a much overdue U.S. international farm policy—a policy which recognizes and is designed to effectively deal with the realities of world agricultural markets during the decade of the 1980's.

Mrs. SMITH, my dear friend and well-respected colleague, has joined me in sponsorship of the bill in the House, and I urge that my colleagues give this important issue their full attention.

By Mr. JEPSEN:

S. 399. A bill to establish a Presidential Advisory Panel for coordination of Government debt collection and delinquency prevention activities; to the Committee on Governmental Affairs.

PRESIDENTIAL ADVISORY PANEL FOR COORDINATION OF GOVERNMENTAL DEBT COLLECTION AND DELINQUENCY PREVENTION ACTIVITIES

● Mr. JEPSEN, Mr. President, I, once again, rise to introduce a bill to establish a Presidential Advisory Panel for

coordination of Government debt collection and delinquency prevention activities. This legislation is similar to that which I introduced in the second session of the 97th Congress.

There is no doubt about the need for improved debt collection by our Government. Indeed, time and time again, studies by numerous Federal agencies have pointed out the shortcomings and poor record of current Government debt collection procedures.

Some 24 agencies have not, according to the General Accounting Office, rigorously collected the billions of dollars owed to the Government. As I noted last fall, as of September 30, 1979, over \$175 billion was owed to the United States. This figure included \$25 billion in delinquent or defaulted payments and \$13 billion in tax delinquencies. Another \$12 billion represented delinquent or defaulted loans and other borrowings. Unconscionably, over \$1 billion was written off in fiscal year 1979.

As I have said many times, it is unacceptable for the Government to ignore or to write off these debts at a time when the public expects, deserves, and demands that the Government follow sound business practices and balance the budget.

My proposal would create a panel of experts from the private sector to study Government debt collection practices and to make recommendations for increased efficiency and uniformity in those collection activities.

It is important to remember that the Government has begun to contract with private agencies to collect delinquent accounts. As we watch these efforts with interest, now is the time to take that idea another step forward by consulting with private industry on Federal collections efforts overall.

It is my belief that this panel will offer much-needed advice on this serious problem at a time of great need for Government to heed the wisdom of the private sector.●

By Mr. MATHIAS (for himself, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. BAUCUS, Mr. BIDEN, Mr. BRADLEY, Mr. CHILES, Mr. CRANSTON, Mr. DANFORTH, Mr. DODD, Mr. EAGLETON, Mr. GLENN, Mr. HART, Mr. HEINZ, Mr. HOLLINGS, Mr. INOUE, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. LUGAR, Mr. METZENBAUM, Mr. MOYNIHAN, Mr. PERCY, Mr. RIEGLE, Mr. SARBANES, Mr. SPECTER, Mr. STAFFORD, Mr. TSONGAS, Mr. WEICKER, Mr. LAUTENBERG, and Mr. HUDDLESTON):

S. 400. A bill to designate the birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr., a legal public birthday; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., NATIONAL HOLIDAY

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. President, I send a bill to the desk and ask that it be appropriately referred.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. President, I send this bill to the desk on behalf of myself and the very distinguished Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY) and 26 other Senators. It is a bill to designate the birthday of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., as a national holiday.

Mr. President, we have had this legislation before us continuously since Dr. King's death in 1968. In my judgment, its enactment is long overdue. I am encouraged, however, by the fact that in the 97th Congress, a resolution was adopted to place a statue of Dr. King in the halls of the Capitol. I believe that, having taken that step, Congress will act soon to memorialize his birthday as 19 State governments have already done, including, I am glad to say, the State of Maryland.

A nation's character is reflected in its choice of heroes. Every nation has holidays that commemorate the lives of its founders or early leaders, but it is a curious thing that very few nations have had the courage or the wisdom to honor their prophets. Rare indeed is a nation which pauses to pay tribute to one who brought honor to the country, not by war, not by conquest, not by violence, but by love and nonviolence.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was such a man. He was a major figure in the prophetic tradition. In a short career, he achieved much that affected the course of our Nation's history. As with the accomplishments of our Nation's founders, Dr. King's achievements can be recalled with pride and admiration.

But Dr. King gave us something more. He cried out against injustice, but he also testified to a stirring ideal of justice. He castigated America for what it had become, but he also inspired it with a vision of what it could yet be. His dream, of a nation where black and white would live together in harmony and equality, was not his dream alone. It was the dream of millions of Americans of all colors who came together in the civil rights movement for the advancement of human dignity.

Of course Dr. King was angered by the injustices which American society had heaped upon his people. But he was not embittered by this history. He loved America and longed to see it reformed and restored to righteousness. Dr. King knew that "the festering sore of segregation debilitates the white man as well as the Negro." His aim was to reconcile the differences between the races, to work with white

Americans in a spirit of cooperation. He viewed nonviolent protest as the most effective and most practical way to apply the redemptive power of love to social and historical ills.

Martin Luther King did not plan to devote his life to politics and social change. Ordained into the Baptist ministry at 19, his intention had been a life of study and preaching to his own congregation. In the mid-1950's, however, he began to feel called upon to lead a larger flock. He was catapulted suddenly into national prominence by the rush of historic events. His life would never be the same after December 5, 1955, when Mrs. Rosa Parks of Montgomery, Ala. refused to give up her seat and move to the back of the bus. That adamant refusal launched a year-long non-violent protest by the blacks of Montgomery, led by Dr. King. Thus began a period of tumultuous change in the South, and Martin Luther King's career as the emblem of the American freedom movement and the voice of its participants.

After the bus boycott in Montgomery succeeded in desegregating the city's buses, the nonviolent crusade spread throughout the Nation, to Selma, Albany, Birmingham and eventually to the urban slums of the North. King and his followers marched, staged sit-ins and freedom rides, in their struggle for the elimination of segregation at lunch counters, interstate buses, and all public facilities. They also struggled for full participation for black people in all aspects of American life: for freedom from employment discrimination, for fair access to housing, and, most importantly, for the right to vote which had for so long been denied them.

When I first met Dr. King in Selma, Ala., he was leading the freedom movement from a jail cell. He was paying the penalty for a civil disobedience charge arising from his historic campaign for the right to vote. Dr. King and his followers endured repeated threats of violence as they worked for full equality under the law. Their homes and churches were attacked and destroyed; many of them were beaten; some of them were killed. The opponents of the civil rights movement did not let the law stand in their way. Dr. King's practice of civil disobedience, by contrast, manifested respect for the law. He and his followers openly defied unjust laws, whether those ordinances enforced racial segregation, or restricted the right of peaceful protest against segregation. But, as Dr. King wrote, "I submit that an individual who breaks a law that conscience tells him is unjust, and willingly accepts the penalty by staying in jail to arouse the conscience of the community over its injustice, is in reality expressing the very highest respect for the law."

Martin Luther King's contribution to the progress of freedom was internationally recognized when he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964. At 35, he was the youngest person ever to receive that award. He accepted it on behalf of all those who were devoting their lives to the cause of civil rights in America. He called himself the "trustee for the achievements of scores of dedicated men and women * * * The prize made manifest the widespread influence of the man whose struggle for justice had touched the conscience of the world. Four years later, when the assassin's bullet cut down Martin Luther King, Jr., not America alone, but the entire world, lost a great spiritual leader.

The prophets of the Old Testament days were without honor in their own country. To some extent, that is true also of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. At least on the national level, we have yet to recognize the contributions of this great spirit. In that sense we have also failed to comprehend fully the challenge with which his memory confronts all of us: the challenge to translate into reality the dream of love and equality to which he dedicated his life.

A national holiday in Dr. King's honor will give us a time every year to reassess our commitment to this challenge. It will be a time each year to chart our progress in freeing our Nation of intolerance and prejudice. Let us rededicate ourselves as a nation each January 15 to the task of fulfilling the dream which Martin Luther King described so eloquently:

Let us all hope that the dark clouds of racial prejudice will soon pass away, that the deep fog of misunderstanding will be lifted from our fear-drenched communities, and that in some not too distant tomorrow the radiant stars of love and brotherhood will shine over our great Nation with all of their scintillating beauty.

I yield to the cosponsor of the bill, the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY).

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I welcome the opportunity today to join with my good friend and colleague, Senator MATHIAS, and others in introducing the legislation to designate January 15, Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday, as a national holiday.

This legislation honors Dr. King not only for the strength of his leadership and the courage of his commitment to human rights, but also for his unique contributions to the fundamental principle that all people are created equal.

Similar legislation has been introduced in every Congress since Dr. King's death in 1968. It is long past time for our Nation to observe not only the birthday of one of the greatest men in our history, but the contributions of the members of an entire race, brought here not in hope but in chains—who built so much of this land—and who in their own liberation

have lifted the shadow of prejudice from so many of their fellow citizens. Martin Luther King's birthday must be a day of all Americans, because Martin Luther King's dream is the American dream.

National recognition of Dr. King is especially timely now, when fundamental rights such as the right to vote, the right to open housing, and the right to integrated schools—issues for which Dr. King literally gave his life—are threatened more seriously than at any time in the modern history of this land. In the struggle of this time, let us recall the words of Dr. King himself: "However difficult the moment, however frustrating the hour, it will not be long, because truth pressed to Earth will rise again."

In Dr. King's last address, the day before his death, he said that he had been "to the mountain top." He spoke of his vision that true equality for all people in America could be achieved.

In honoring Dr. King, we bring that vision a little closer to fulfillment. By establishing a national holiday to commemorate his name, we create a greater national awareness of his life and a greater national commitment to the achievement of his dream.

I look forward to working with the Senator from Maryland to see that there is speedy action on this measure in the Judiciary Committee and on the floor of the Senate.

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. President, I welcome the participation of the Senator from Massachusetts in seeking this goal of making Martin Luther King's birthday a national holiday. The Senator from Massachusetts has been in the forefront of the civil rights battle since he first came to the Senate. I know that he will be a great force in finally completing this action.

Last year, when the Congress had adopted the resolution authorizing the bust of Martin Luther King, I called Coretta King to tell her of that event. "Thank goodness," she said, "But I hope this is not a substitute for the holiday bill."

I assured her at that time that it was not, and the action of the Senator from Massachusetts and the 26 others who have cosponsored the bill I think gives proof that we do not consider that placing the bust of the first black American to be so memorialized in the Capitol is a substitute for the holiday bill.

Mr. KENNEDY. If the Senator will yield, as the Senator from Maryland knows full well, this legislation has been examined in very careful detail already by the Judiciary Committee. There have been hours of hearings. Each feature of the particular proposal has been gone into in very careful detail.

There are those who talk about the economic impact of creating an addi-

tional holiday and what that would mean particularly at a time of economic strife and challenge. But I believe, as does the Senator from Maryland, that each one of those issues has been responded to and the case has been made of the importance of this holiday to all Americans and what it means to them.

I remind particularly our new colleagues who follow these events in the RECORD that there has been a very complete and extensive, and I consider it to be exhaustive, examination of the implications of this issue, and they can familiarize themselves with that record. It has been done. It has been made. It does not seem to me that the Judiciary Committee should have to take a great deal of time to review this legislation.

I join again with my colleague from Maryland in saying that I look forward to working with him and with all of our colleagues in the Judiciary Committee and on the floor of the Senate in the bipartisan way that this has been expressed here today and at other times to insure that we will have successful passage of this legislation.

I thank the Senator.

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, I am deeply proud to join as an original cosponsor of a bill paying tribute to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., declaring his birthday a national holiday. Our country's official honor to this great man is long overdue.

Dr. King has made greater contributions toward achieving equality and justice in this century than has any other American. The architect of our nonviolent revolution in civil rights and one of the most inspiring leaders of any era, he occupies a unique place in American history. He has touched the hearts of all men, around the globe, who cherish freedom and liberty, peace, and the dignity of man.

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, I am honored to join today with my colleagues in the Senate in introducing legislation to designate January 15, Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday, as a legal public holiday. I have been a longtime supporter of efforts to designate Dr. King's birthday a national holiday and have cosponsored this legislation in the 97th Congress and in previous Congresses. Many cities and States observe the birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr., as a time of commemoration, reflection, and peace for all of their citizens. I am proud that my own State of Maryland has celebrated January 15 as a legal holiday since 1974.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was one of our Nation's greatest leaders in the ongoing struggle to achieve full equality for all citizens. The 13 years of his leadership in this struggle for civil and human rights—from the beginning in Montgomery, Ala., in 1955, to the end in Memphis, Tenn., in 1968—changed

and continue to affect the life of our Nation. That time saw a massive upsurge in public support for and participation in the civil rights movement, and witnessed great strides in the areas of voting rights, fair housing, and equal employment opportunity. Dr. King's courageous stands and his unyielding belief in the power of non-violence reawakened the consciousness of our Nation to the continuation of injustice and racial discrimination in America, 100 years after the Emancipation Proclamation and the enactment of the guarantees of the 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution. All Americans owe Martin Luther King a debt for his willingness to take personal risks, and ultimately to pay the price with his life, in order that the affirmation "with liberty and justice for all" might become a reality.

Dr. King dreamed of an America in which our children will not be judged by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character. Nearly 15 years after his death, America is still striving toward the fulfillment of his vision. The designation of January 15 as a national holiday not only pays tribute to this great man, but would also set aside time for all Americans to reflect on and rededicate themselves to the principles of justice and equality which Dr. King's life exemplified. I urge my colleagues to join me in sponsoring this important and long-overdue measure, and to work for its swift enactment in the 98th Congress.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I am honored to join my colleagues in sponsoring legislation to designate January 15, the birthday of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., as a national holiday. By so doing, we honor not only the man but the cause for which he stood and fought and died—the cause of the justice and equality for all. By awakening a nation's conscience, as he did, Dr. King brought closer to realization the dreams of millions of people who have looked on America as a land of liberty and justice. Declaring his birthday a national holiday will help us remember and allow us to rededicate ourselves to the principles for which he stood and for which this Nation must forever stand.

During the 200-plus years that the United States has existed as a nation, many great and courageous men and women have fought—and some have died—for their beliefs in equality. Dr. King, who was assassinated in Memphis on April 4, 1968, would have been 54 this year, had he lived.

Dr. King first came to national prominence following the 1955 bus boycott in Montgomery, Ala. This non-violent protest of discrimination, which culminated in the desegregation of Montgomery's public transportation system, was the springboard from which Dr. King rallied millions of

Americans of all creeds and colors against injustice in America.

In his 1964 book entitled "Why We Can't Wait," Dr. King explained his strategy of nonviolent protest in the following manner:

In any non-violent campaign there are four basic steps: collection of the facts to determine whether injustices exist; negotiation; self-purification; and direct action . . . in Birmingham . . . there can be no gainsaying the fact that racial injustice engulfs this community . . . Negro leaders sought to negotiate with the city fathers. But the latter consistently refused to engage in good-faith negotiation . . . certain promises were made by merchants—for example, to remove the stores' humiliating racial signs . . . As the weeks went by, we realized that we were the victims of a broken promise . . . we had no alternative except to prepare for direct action [and] undertake a process of self-purification . . . we repeatedly asked ourselves: "Are you able to accept blow without retaliating?" "Are you able to endure the ordeal of jail?" . . . We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. . . . For years now I have heard the word "Wait!" It rings in the ear of every Negro with piercing familiarity. This "Wait" has almost always meant "Never." We must come to see, with one of our distinguished jurists, that "justice too long delayed is justice denied."

The nonviolent demonstrations for justice and freedom by Dr. King and his followers and the violent reactions of those determined to maintain and defend bigotry and racism received worldwide attention. No longer could this crisis of injustice and inequality be dismissed or ignored. Who among us can erase the memory of 5-year-olds marching outside of segregated public facilities being viciously attacked by police dogs, elderly women being hosed down while trying to register to vote, of a burning bus of freedom riders and of civil rights demonstrators being beaten, kicked, and spat upon?

Despite the attempts to turn Dr. King and his followers back, they journeyed onward toward the goal of eradicating racial injustice in our society. His determination to insure that his "dream" would become reality was a motivating force behind the passage of critical legislation such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Is it now time we help renew our dedication to his goals of freedom and equality and honor him for his many contributions to our society by enacting legislation to designate his birthday, January 15, as a national holiday?

Mr. President, there are many who have argued, and will continue to argue, that if a national holiday is declared for Dr. King's birthday, other minority groups will expect the same for their "heroes." Such an argument ignores the fact that the racially integrated crusade which he led was to

benefit all Americans. White as well as black freedom riders, marchers, and so forth, gave their lives in the war against racial injustice.

Martin Luther King, Jr., had a cause he believed in so strongly that it cost him his life. It is a sad but true fact that his dream of equality and freedom for all of us has yet to be achieved. Let us pay him the tribute that is long overdue by enacting this legislation.

● Mr. HEINZ. Mr. President, I am pleased to join with so many of my colleagues from both sides of the aisle in cosponsoring this legislation to establish January 15 as a national holiday in honor of the birthday of the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.

Dr. King was a man who stirred this country to action to correct injustice in a manner consistent with America's principles. Through nonviolent demonstrations, he focused national attention on a travesty that too many would have preferred not to see: the pervasiveness of racism in our society. Often at great risk to himself, he persistently challenged all Americans, black and white, to practice our national virtues of justice and equality for all. Because he risked so much, so often, he paid the highest price for his vision, and his work was cut short.

Creating a national holiday in honor of Dr. King does more than just pay homage to his courage and his commitment. It also serves as a constant reminder that Dr. King's work—indeed, the Nation's work—remains unfinished. His life was an example of how any American can learn to live up to our national principles.

Just as for our other national holidays in honor of great American individuals, the importance of a day of remembrance is not so much in recognizing the man, but in acknowledging what one man can do, and come to symbolize. In the case of George Washington, we memorialize his devotion to country. For Jefferson, it is his articulation of principle. In Dr. King's case, a national holiday is a reminder that every American can put principles into practice to better our country.

Mr. President, I fully support the establishment of a national holiday in honor of Dr. King, and I urge my colleagues to support swift enactment of this legislation.●

● Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, today I am pleased to join the Senator from Maryland, Mr. MATHIAS, in introducing legislation to proclaim January 15, the birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr., as a national holiday.

Dr. King, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, was one of the towering figures in recent American History. His advocacy of nonviolence and peaceful change and his leadership in the cause of equality and civil rights in the 1950's and 1960's are familiar not only

in this country but also throughout the world.

As we attempt to meet the complex social and economic challenges facing us in the next decade, we should honor the man who was so successful in achieving major social change through peaceful means.

I have consistently cosponsored legislation to amend the United States Code making January 15 a national holiday, and I believe that it is important to continue the effort to make this legislation a reality in the 98th Congress.●

● Mr. TSONGAS. Mr. President, I am deeply honored to join Senators KENNEDY and MATHIAS as an original cosponsor of legislation to declare the birthday of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., a national holiday. The struggle of black Americans to overcome bigotry and oppression has been founded on faith, education, and commitment, the tools of equality and freedom. The gains in the moral fight against slavery, discrimination, and poverty can only be sustained and enhanced through example. In this regard, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was one of the great world leaders of all time. He was a tireless advocate for the poor and the oppressed. He dedicated his life to the struggle for equal rights, social justice, and political opportunity for all. He gave his life in a fight for justice, and his loss is still deeply mourned by all peoples, for he touched our lives with leadership, guidance, and compassion.

Dr. King's courage and unswerving commitment to social justice and racial equality has certainly changed the course of history. It is this same legacy of courage that we must draw on to combat fear and racial unrest in our Nation and throughout the world. If there is one gift that we can dedicate to Dr. King and each other, it is for people of decency and good will of all ages, races, and ethnic origins to commit themselves to this challenge.

The importance of declaring Dr. King's birthday a national holiday cannot be overestimated. It will serve as a constant reminder to our youth, the poor, and the oppressed that change through faith, education, and commitment is not only possible, it is inevitable.

Mr. President, I request unanimous consent that the editorial, "Dr. King's Enduring Message," from the January 15 issue of the Washington Post, be printed in the RECORD.

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

DR. KING'S ENDURING MESSAGE

For many Americans, the remembrances remain vivid, but the years are making a difference: though Martin Luther King Jr. would have been only 54 today, it has been nearly two decades now—time enough for an entire generation to reach adulthood—

since that famous electrifying yesterday in Washington when the voice and the message boomed out from the base of the Lincoln Memorial, all about a man's dream. There was a magnificent clarity in this man's hopes and demands for justice, and if the full measure of his presence is lost on those born since, his vision should not be, because it is ever clear.

What gave that speech its lasting power was only in part the resonance of the speaker; there was force that made you want to speak along, to reaffirm a commitment to some old-fashioned values having to do with humanity and letting freedom ring. At that time the evidence of ugly prejudice, intolerance and physical violence may have been far more obvious and prevalent in the land—but does anyone today suggest that it has all gone away?

Despite what he saw around him, Dr. King insisted on a faith that "unconditional love will have the final word in reality." At the same time, he made a distinction between pacifism and passivity, noting that solutions will come "when men develop the type of discontent which says, within, 'We will take it no longer!'"

The words were not merely those of a "black leader" about civil rights for people of color; the "dream" was that of an American for all Americans—patriotism at its finest. This is why the sentiment runs deep and arguments are strong for making Dr. King's birthday an official national holiday. Granted, the act of remembering Dr. King does not in itself require a holiday; nor should the declaration of this day as a holiday set off a chain of calls for more such observances for narrow reasons. The honoring of Dr. King's birthday has become far more than a symbolic issue for many people who see it as an exceptional, formal, nationwide recognition of the goals of his struggle and the hopes in his dream.

"All that I have said boils down to the point of affirming that mankind's survival is dependent upon man's ability to solve the problems of racial injustice, poverty and war. The solution . . . is in turn dependent upon man squaring his moral progress with his scientific progress, and learning the practical art of living in harmony.●

● Mr. HART. Mr. President, I am proud to join my colleagues in cosponsoring legislation to make the birthday of the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., a national holiday. Dr. King used his life not only to secure fundamental constitutional and economic rights for minority Americans, but he worked to preserve these rights for all Americans.

Dr. King's work is most deserving of this honor, at the very least. Those who supported him and shared his commitment also deserve this tribute. And his widow, Coretta, her colleagues and supporters should be assured that we are committed to her work to fulfill Dr. King's dream further.

Mr. President, I urge my colleagues to join in cosponsorship of this legislation. The battle for civil rights and civil liberties is never over. It is never won because we keep putting it off and turning back the progress we have made. Let us start again with this bill that symbolizes so much for all Americans—minority Americans, our youth,

our elderly. And more importantly, Mr. President, let us get on with the job we are here to do—to promote the well-being of the people of the United States, and to enact legislation which reflects this mandate.●

● Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, I am pleased to join with my distinguished colleague, Senator KENNEDY, in introducing legislation establishing a national holiday commemorating the birth of Martin Luther King, Jr. This is a most fitting tribute to a great man who dedicated himself—and indeed, gave his life—to the struggle for racial equality and social justice. By adopting this measure, we would make manifest our commitment to the spirit and vision of Dr. King, and to the achievement of a society that he so boldly and eloquently championed, one free of prejudice and unjustness.

Dr. King's life was truly an inspiration; his words a beacon of hope; his actions an exemplar of steadfastness and determination; his death a national tragedy. Many who scarcely knew him are daily influenced for the better by what he did, what he said, what he stood for.

For Dr. King achieved something that few others have. He created a movement that was both visionary and pragmatic, spiritual and political, vigorous yet nonviolent. It has succeeded. It is succeeding. It confounded those who thought segregation and discrimination to be immutable facts of American life. It struck down century-old barriers. It gave hope and concrete improvement to millions. It proved that oppressed persons can organize themselves, and advance themselves. It gave new meaning to equality as it eroded the walls of inequality. And it demonstrated that this could be accomplished without violence or hatred.

Martin Luther King, Jr., was a force for reconciliation. Just as his memory endures undiminished, so does the need for the force it evokes. Walter Lippman wrote:

The final test of a leader is that he leave behind him in other men the conviction and the will to carry on.

By that standard and by others, Dr. King was a remarkable leader.

As with all things, time will be the true measure of his greatness. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s legacy—the ideals he so cherished, the dedication with which he strove for a social and moral awakening of America, and his ability to instill in millions of disadvantaged black Americans a new sense of hope and pride—shall forever remain a part of this country's heritage. That we, as a people, should take so long to formally recognize his lasting contributions, is most unfortunate. To let pass by, once again, the opportunity to declare Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday a national holiday, would be more so.●

● Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, a couple of weeks ago, I joined members of the NAACP of Newark and the YMCA and YWCA in that city, to celebrate Martin Luther King, Jr. Day. In New Jersey, it is a State holiday. But, close to 15 years after his death, our Nation has not yet seen fit to establish a national holiday to honor the work and the ideals of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. I pledged to join the effort to change that. So, I am pleased to join many of my colleagues in sponsoring legislation to make Martin Luther King, Jr. Day a national holiday—for all Americans.

Now, someone may say, "Why bother?" A man or woman out of work does not need another holiday. He or she has been on a forced holiday long enough. And a man or woman who suffers injustice all year long, needs more than a day's worth of commitment to justice.

That may be true. But there is another more salient point. People need to be reminded of Martin Luther King, Jr. Schoolteachers should have an occasion to impress upon schoolchildren the ideals of the man. He stood for justice—not just legal justice, but economic justice. And, lest we forget, we need a national reminder. Because if we do not carry his goals—of peace and justice—fresh in our minds, we will not achieve them in the everyday world.

Our Nation should remember his long fight for justice. It is a struggle that continues. We should recall the march on Washington and the dream he so eloquently expressed. We should recall the long march from Selma to Montgomery and the need to continue to protect the unfettered right to vote. We should recall his commitment to nonviolent change. And we should recall his commitment to social justice.

For these reasons, I join in sponsoring legislation to designate the birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr., a national public holiday.●

By Mr. DODD (for himself, Mr. CRANSTON, Mr. HUDDLESTON, Mr. BENTSEN, Mr. MELCHER, Mr. METZENBAUM, Mr. RANDOLPH, Mr. PELL, Mr. MATSUNAGA, Mr. JOHNSTON, Mr. HOLLINGS, Mr. INOUE, Mr. SARBANES, Mr. SASSER, Mr. BURDICK, Mr. RIEGLE, and Mr. LEVIN):

S. 401. A bill to authorize financial assistance for a continuing education program to secondary school teachers of science and mathematics designed to increase their competency, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

NATIONAL SCIENCE AND MATHEMATICS TEACHERS DEVELOPMENT ACT

● Mr. DODD. Mr. President, the legislation I am introducing today, the National Science and Mathematics

Teachers Development Act, will help address a serious national problem, the critical shortage of secondary science and mathematics teachers.

The changing technological world in which we live demands more than just a rudimentary knowledge of science and mathematics. The military, the marketplace, the workplace, our homes, and many education curricula are becoming increasingly technically oriented. To meet growing demands for science and mathematics knowledge and skills will depend, for a large part, upon adequate instruction by qualified teachers.

Unfortunately, at the same time demands for science and mathematics skills are increasing, national surveys and reports indicate a critical shortage of qualified science and mathematics teachers.

According to a 1982 report of the National Science Teachers Association (NSTA), 50.2 percent of the Nation's newly hired secondary school science and mathematics teachers are not qualified to teach. The new staff is teaching by virtue of "emergency certificates" simply because qualified teachers are not available.

To further complicate matters, the NSTA report also suggests that fewer students are entering the science and mathematics teaching areas. Moreover, one in four of the younger faculty plans to leave the teaching profession completely. The report projects that if the present rate of teachers leaving academe continues, the Nation will have a net loss in science and mathematics teachers of 35 percent between now and 1992.

The decline in numbers of qualified teachers has had a profound effect on the scientific and mathematical knowledge and skills of American students.

For example, science and mathematics high school achievement scores and college entrance exam performances have been tagged as inadequate for several years. To make matters worse, test scores in science and mathematics have been dropping continually while improving in other subject areas. The American Academy of Sciences, at a recent convocation labeled the lack of science and mathematics knowledge as "scandalous."

Dr. Frank Press, president of the American Academy of Sciences, stated:

The danger is not in failing to train the gifted who wish to be scientists and engineers; they still seem to receive the requisite education and opportunities. * * *

Many high technology and defense-related industries echo Dr. Press' concerns. They have expressed skepticism about filling high technology vacancies within their firms.

For example, Michael Hateley, vice president of Human Resources and Administration of the Northrop Corp., stated that his firm faced difficulties

breaking up (range) ground, they shouldn't be entitled to any federal benefits. When I drive down the road, I see a lot of sod being broken up. I'm going to keep seeing it if the feds don't stop subsidizing it."

Ending the incentives for plowing range was the goal of Sen. Armstrong's "Sod-Buster Amendment," which would have forbidden payment of government price supports (deficiency payments) and other benefits for land brought into production once the new law took effect.

It hasn't passed yet, deleted in the 11th hour by a conference committee working out the Ag Appropriations bill last week. So it appears that at least another crop year will blow with plowdown encouraged by what Leon Silkman calls "the incentives to destroy conservation."

"On the one hand we're paying to promote conservation," he complains. "But we almost mandate that the farmer be participating totally in this exploitation" of the soil and the U.S. Treasury.

Farm subsidies cost the government \$12 billion in 1982, three times the original estimated pricetag.

"Anyone in the world can find a way to get around any law that's been passed," says Walcher. Foreign ownership can be disguised through complicated corporate organization of subsidiaries, or deficiency-payment limits and other restrictions can be circumvented by setting up a series of corporations—each receiving the legal limit.

It seems apparent that farm programs are not only not working but having effects opposite to their stated purpose. The farm policies in effect began being assembled in 1976.

The goals were to bolster prices by limiting wheat supplies through acreage cut-backs. The deficiency payments and other benefits were intended as incentives for those reducing their grain acreage.

Since then, the United States has amassed a record wheat surplus of 1½ billion bushels. In the country, wheat is selling for \$3-\$3.50 per bushel (depending on nearness to export facilities) this year, one-third less than its worth in 1976, according to lobbyist Margie Williams of the National Association of Wheat Growers, and "wheat acreage has increased 40 percent in the past five years."

WORST LAND IS DIVERTED

"Strip farming"—long, narrow fields planted at right angles to prevailing winds, alternating between crops and summer fallow—are a product of the 1930s.

It is the technological answer to the threats of dust blows and drought.

Cultivating the summer fallow will conserve 10-15 percent of the annual rainfall, enough to give the next crop a good start, and often the difference between a crop and a failure. While the fallow ground grows nothing and conserves moisture, the alternate strips of growing crop or stubble act as buffers, breaking the wind to curtail blowing of the fallow soil.

Since the farm program has incentives for taking some grainland out of production, one might think that in the case of newly broken range, an operator might use the farm program to subsidize his gradual conversion of the fields toward a normal 50-50 ratio of crops and fallow.

Not so, says Greg Walcher, staff assistant to Sen. Bill Armstrong (R-Colo.). "What they'll do is take out the worst 15 percent (to comply with acreage reductions and qualify for incentives) and dump fertilizer on the rest of it to increase yields," Walcher told the Record Stockman.

Each bushel the farmer can get off his ever-reducing acreage can be sold at the market price or put into storage and mortgaged at low interest to the government. Also, each bushel nets the grower another 50 cents in deficiency payments.

If the average yield can be kept up, each acre put into the paid diversion program is worth that much more, since payments are based on the "lost" wheat those acres could produce.

Walcher said that when new land is brought into production, existing policy encourages the inclusion of some acreage that is wholly unsuited to crop growing. This very sub-marginal land, of course, will be the first to be removed from production once the operator enrolls in the farm program and starts reducing his grain acreage.●

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., HOLIDAY

● Mr. GLENN. Mr. President, I am pleased to cosponsor legislation to make the birthday of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., a national holiday. Although Dr. King died violently at the hands of an assassin, his courage, eloquence, and commitment to freedom and equality lives on as an inspiration to our peaceful pursuit of a more just society. Dr. King brought new life to the historic words that "all men are created equal" and by commemorating his birth we rededicate ourselves to that principle.

As a young man, Dr. King brought maturity to our Nation's development. He taught us that love can destroy hate and that peaceful means can resolve violent conflicts. He endured the temporary indignities of jail to advance his long-term goal of freedom for all. He organized a bus boycott to demonstrate the liberating effects of a simple act of integrity. As Dr. King proudly declared at the time:

We came to see that, in the long run, it is more honorable to walk in dignity than ride in humiliation. So in a quiet, dignified manner we decided to substitute tired feet for tired souls and walk the streets of Montgomery until the sagging walls of injustice had been crushed.

Some would tell us that racism and discrimination are ineradicable aspects of life in an imperfect world and that we should simply accept them. Dr. King's life taught us that the well-springs of decency run deep in the American people and that we only weaken that sense of decency by refusing to act in the cause of liberty.

By celebrating Dr. King's birthday, we express our hopes for the future, not just our appreciation of the past. We signal our desire for an America in which every person realizes his or her full potential as a human being, an America in which race keeps no one from a job, an education, a home, or a meaningful role in our political process. This was Dr. King's dream, but much remains to be done.

We are not yet a world at peace as he dreamed we would be, and the mere passage of this legislation will not in

itself right all the wrongs that still haunt our troubled world. But if he were here, Dr. King would counsel us not to despair. Even in the darkest times Dr. King projected an inner serenity and confidence that came from his unshakeable faith in himself, his fellow Americans, and his religion. No unfair laws can long survive that kind of combined moral power.

Mr. President, I sincerely hope that my colleagues will join with me to commemorate the birthday of this courageous American and man of peace. Because his life symbolized many of the ideals and principles fundamental to this Nation, let us resolve to make Dr. King's birthday a holiday. But even more, let us resolve to make an America full of freedom and equal opportunity.●

RULES OF PROCEDURE, COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

● Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I request that the rules that have been adopted by the Committee on Finance be printed in full in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as required by Senate rule XXVI.

The rules of procedure of the Committee on Finance follow:

RULES OF PROCEDURE: COMMITTEE ON FINANCE, U.S. SENATE

(Adopted February 1, 1983)

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

ROBERT J. DOLE, Kansas, Chairman.

Bob Packwood, Oregon; William V. Roth, Jr., Delaware; John C. Danforth, Missouri; John H. Chafee, Rhode Island; John Heinz, Pennsylvania; Malcolm Wallop, Wyoming; David Durenberger, Minnesota; William L. Armstrong, Colorado; Steven D. Symms, Idaho; Charles E. Grassley, Iowa; Russell B. Long, Louisiana; Lloyd Bentsen, Texas; Spark M. Matsunaga, Hawaii; Daniel Patrick Moynihan, New York; Max Baucus, Montana; David L. Boren, Oklahoma; Bill Bradley, New Jersey; George J. Mitchell, Maine; David Pryor, Arkansas.

Robert E. Lighthizer, Chief Counsel; Michael Stern, Minority Staff Director.

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

I. Rules of procedure

Rule 1. *Regular Meeting Days.*—The regular meeting day of the committee shall be the second and fourth Tuesday of each month, except that if there be no business before the committee the regular meeting shall be omitted.

Rule 2. *Committee Meetings.*—(a) Except as provided by paragraph 3 of Rule XXVI of the Standing Rules of the Senate (relating to special meetings called by a majority of the committee) and subsection (b) of this rule, committee meetings, for the conduct of business, for the purpose of holding hearings, or for any other purpose, shall be called by the chairman. Members will be notified of committee meetings at least 48 hours in advance, unless the chairman determines that an emergency situation requires a meeting on shorter notice. The notification will include a written agenda together with materials prepared by the staff relating to that agenda. After the agenda for a committee meeting is published and