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MEMO *from* COPE

AND **AFL-CIO**

LEGISLATIVE ALERT!

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Odds 'n Ends

INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE announces budget cuts force it to reduce its taxpayer assistance program, but some groups will still get help in filling out returns. With straight face, agency says it will prepare returns for the physically and mentally handicapped, illiterates, and members of Congress. (Note: In 1981 tax law, members of Congress arranged it so they'd have to pay hardly any income tax at all.)

FEWER RETIREMENTS among members of Congress announced than in any recent year. Only two senators not seeking re-election: S. I. Hayakawa (R-Calif.) and Harry Byrd (Va.), the Senate's only Independent. So far, only 11 House members say they're stepping down, while 17 are running for other offices. At this point in 1978, eight senators had announced retirement, and in 1980 five had. The 11 House retirements are about one-half to one-third the number in most recent election years.

BREATH-TAKING SPEED is not phrase to describe congressional redistricting as result of 1980 Census. Right now, fewer than half U.S. House members are certain of the boundaries of the districts they'll be seeking to represent. Only 27 states with 174 House members (out of House total of 435) have final districting plans in place. Twenty-three states with 261 members are in limbo. Either legislatures have not yet acted, or completed plans are under review by Justice Department or a court.

MEANWHILE, GOP GAINS expected from redistricting seem more and more remote. First projections by GOP leaders anticipated pick-up of 12 seats from among the 17 that shifted from industrial to southern and Sun Belt states (GOP needs 26-seat gain to grab numerical control of House). Only confirmed GOP optimists still talk in same terms. Most party people appear grateful for anything they might pick up. One GOP problem: Remapping plans drawn

by state legislatures under Democratic control have for the most part cleared the hurdle of court challenges brought against them, while GOP-drafted plans have been rebuffed by the courts in state after state.

WATCH OUT FOR DEMAGOGUES, President Reagan warns as he tries to sell his 1983 budget. They'll twist everything, he says. Here's some of those "demagogues" and what they're saying. Rep. Jamie Whitten (Miss.), conservative Democrat and House Appropriations chairman: "Just read the history of the Depression, which started with the same policies (as Reagan's)." Sen. Cus D'Amato, conservative New York Republican: Budget is "totally unrealistic (and would) bring about the ruination" of social programs. "No comptroller in my town who came in with this document would have been permitted to work for me." GOP Gov. Richard Snelling (Vt.): "These cuts would fall heavily on many of the nation's needy citizens and would shift unacceptable burdens to state and local governments already struggling with the recession and deep 1982 federal aid reductions." James Schlesinger, acting budget director to previous GOP Presidents and one-time Defense Secretary: "... a set of budget projections that knowledgeable people can only regard as preposterous." David Broder, Washington Post columnist: "This budget says that the clear, concerted and forcefully applied strategy of this administration is to grind down the domestic side of the national government between the millstones of a rising defense budget and a declining tax base."

FOOD STAMP beneficiaries hardest-hit in latest Reagan budget proposals. More than five of every six households receiving stamps would have benefits reduced or eliminated, according to Congressional Budget Office. One-eighth would lose benefits entirely. Families of the working poor would lose 40 percent of what they now receive. The elderly and disabled would lose 25 percent.

Saga of the Balanced Budget

It's cruel, base, mean, dirty, contemptible and inhuman to throw words of elected and appointed officials back at them.

But it's fun. So, without further ado, The Saga of the Balanced Budget.



Phase I: No Way We Can Miss

"We must balance the budget. . . . I know we can do (it) and I know we will."

—Candidate Ronald Reagan 9/9/80

"I believe the budget can be balanced by 1982 or 1983."

—Candidate Reagan 9/21/80

"I have submitted an economic plan . . . and believe . . . that it can provide for a balanced budget by 1983, if not earlier." —Candidate Reagan 10/28/80

"One of the things I have not retreated from is the 1983 target" (of a balanced budget).

—President Reagan 2/3/81



Phase II: Who Said '83? We Meant '84

"By fiscal 1984—under the policy recommendations presented in this document—the Federal budget should be in balance." —White House document 2/18/81

"This administration is committed to a balanced budget, and we will fight to the last blow to achieve it by 1984."

—President Reagan 9/21/81



Phase III: It Was All Carter's Fault

"Maybe you'll remember that we were told in the spring of 1980 (by President Carter) that the 1981 budget, the one we have now, would be balanced. Well, that budget, like so many in the past, hemorrhaged badly and wound up in a sea of red ink. I have pledged that we will not stand idly by and see that same thing happen again."

President Reagan 9/24/81

Phase IV: Oops!

"I don't think anybody's talking about literal accounting balance or making a fetish" of a balanced budget. —Budget Director David Stockman 10/26/81



Phase V: So Much for Dave

"The President is sticking firmly to the idea of a balanced budget in 1984."

—White House aide David Gergen 10/29/81



Phase VI: Oops Again!

"Testifying before the Senate Budget Committee, Mr. (Treasury Secretary Donald) Regan said it is 'possible, but not probable' that the goal of a balanced budget will be reached." —Baltimore Sun 10/30/81

"We will not be able to achieve a balanced budget by 1984, but we will be on a path leading to a balanced budget." —Treasury Secretary Regan 11/6/81



Phase VII: You Misunderstood from the Start

"I've never said anything but that it (balanced budget) was a goal." —President Reagan 11/6/81



Phase VIII: Stick That in Your Pipe and Smoke It

"I did not come here to balance the budget—not at the expense of my tax-cutting program and my defense program. If we can't do it in 1984, we'll have to do it later."

—President Reagan quoted in *Newsweek* 11/16/81

• Voting Records Tell Grim Story •

Recently, the official AFL-CIO voting record of members of Congress in 1981 was published. (You can get copies by writing to COPE.)

No document better illustrates the grim story of the Reagan Administration's piece-by-piece dismantling of key people-helping programs and Congress's role as accomplice in swinging the wrecking-ball.

Jobless benefits cut and/or delayed; job safety laws rolled back; big tax bonanzas for the rich and the corporations and pathetic dribbles for working people; lavish give-aways to Big Oil; programs to help feed the needy and provide them medical care sliced drastically; vitally-needed aid to help workers' children pay for college education pulled back—it's all there, a record of retreat from responsibility, spear-headed by President Reagan and a Republican-controlled Con-

gress, but acquiesced in by a large number of so-called "Boll Weevil" Democrats from southern and Sun Belt states.

One lesson that comes through stark and clear—for workers and their unions—is the tremendous price paid for the presence of a large group of U.S. Senators elected with the help of "new right" and corporate PAC money in the past three elections, 1976-78-80.

There are 20 of them, all Republicans. They march in lock-step. They form a hard core of anti-worker, anti-union, anti-people helping ultra-conservatives unlike anything since Dixiecrats controlled the Senate.

Their aggregate AFL-CIO voting record is 72 "right" votes, 961 "wrong" votes for an over-all 93 percent "wrong."

Following are their individual records:

Senator/State	Right-Wrong Votes	Percent Wrong
Jeremiah Denton, Ala.	2- 17	89% wrong
S. I. Hayakawa, Calif.**	13- 78	86% wrong
Wm. Armstrong, Colo.	1- 53	98% wrong
Steve Symms, Idaho	1- 15	94% wrong
Dan Quayle, Ind.	0- 19	100% wrong
Richard Lugar, Ind.*	6- 89	94% wrong
Charles Grassley, Iowa	1- 17	94% wrong
Roger Jepsen, Iowa	4- 51	93% wrong
Rudy Boschwitz, Minn.	7- 50	88% wrong
Harrison Schmitt, N.M.*	15- 74	83% wrong
Cus D'Amato, N.Y.	4- 14	78% wrong
John East, N.C.	2- 17	89% wrong
Jesse Helms, N.C.	15-141	90% wrong
Don Nickles, Okla.	1- 18	95% wrong
James Abdnor, S. Dak.	1- 18	95% wrong
Orrin Hatch, Utah *	9- 83	90% wrong
Robert Kasten, Wisc.	3- 16	84% wrong
Malcolm Wallop, Wyo.*	10- 84	89% wrong
Alan Simpson, Wyo.	1- 55	98% wrong
Aggregate	72-961	93% wrong

* Seek re-election this year

** Will not seek re-election

Key Tests Flunked By Reagan Administration

One in 10 American workers is currently looking for a job. When unemployment strikes an economy it is the duty of a responsible and a civilized society to perform four basic tasks:

First, assist the unemployed in their job search through effective employment service programs.

Second, improve the skills of the unemployed through realistic job training programs.

Third, maintain a decent quality of life for the jobless through unemployment insurance, and,

Fourth, develop a strategy for relieving the burdens of the unemployed by creating jobs through a realistic look at the economy—not as it was or how we hope it might be, but as it is.

The Administration has failed to perform the four basic tasks. The fact that we are here today, responding to an emergency request for supplemental unemployment benefits, is testament to the failure of this Administration's policies.

—Rep. George Miller (D-Calif.), in House debate, Feb. 9, 1982.

Budget in Brief

The following summarizes the effect on key programs of President Reagan's 1983 budget proposals.

► **LABOR DEPT. PROGRAMS**—Employment and training programs, severely cut in the current fiscal year, would be further reduced and parcelled out to state control. Subsistence payments for those in classroom training programs would be eliminated. Overall, programs under the Comprehensive Employment & Training Act budgeted for \$4.6 billion this fiscal year would be reduced to \$2.4 billion. The Job Corps would be retained but cut back.

Budget in Very Brief

Dave Stockman says it'll put the economy back on its feet. He'll explain why in forthcoming *Atlantic Monthly* article.

The remnants of the Trade Adjustment Assistance program would be wiped out, all cash assistance ended and persons displaced by imports would merely be covered by unspecified "targeted assistance" services, along with Indians, migrant farm workers and older workers. Special benefits for workers displaced by expansion of the Redwood National Park in California would be curtailed.

► **HEALTH PROGRAMS**—Both Medicare and Medicaid patients would have to pay higher out-of-pocket expenses and a number of previously separate programs would be combined with less total money available.

Low-Income Assistance—Food stamp assistance would be reduced \$2.3 billion from current services levels, on top of heavy cuts already made in eligibility. Aid to Families with Dependent Children—the basic family welfare program—would be cut \$1.1 billion on top of a comparable cut in this fiscal year. An example

of the change: a family receiving fuel-aid payments for winter heating bills would have its AFDC payment reduced by that amount. Child nutrition programs would be reduced. And benefits under the supplemental security income (SSI) program would be reduced for the poor, disabled and elderly.

► **FEDERAL EMPLOYEES**—Comparability pay raises for federal workers, supposedly mandated by law, would again be reduced by executive action—to 5 percent. Federal workers would have to pay a Medicare payroll tax in addition to their civil service retirement contributions. Further layoffs would be required and retirees would face reduced cost-of-living adjustments to their pensions in future years.

► **TRANSPORTATION**—Mass transit subsidies cut 38 percent, funding for non-interstate highways reduced 21 percent, Amtrak passenger train subsidy cut \$185 million. The Railroad Retirement Board would be abolished. The Social Security Administration would take over direct payment of the social security portion of the two-tier railroad retirement system. The industry-financed tier of benefits would be administered by a non-government pension fund.

► **EDUCATION**—In addition to previously noted cuts, the Dept. of Education would be abolished and replaced by a non-Cabinet Foundation for Educational Assistance. The Administration plans to ask Congress for tuition tax credits for families sending children to private schools.

► **HOUSING**—New federally-assisted housing almost completely eliminated, along with cancellation of unused budget authority from past years for new housing construction. Threatens deeper problems for already hard-hit housing industry, greater difficulty for poor, near-poor and working families to locate acceptable dwellings. Would force more needy families to double up. Elderly, minorities particularly hard hit.

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