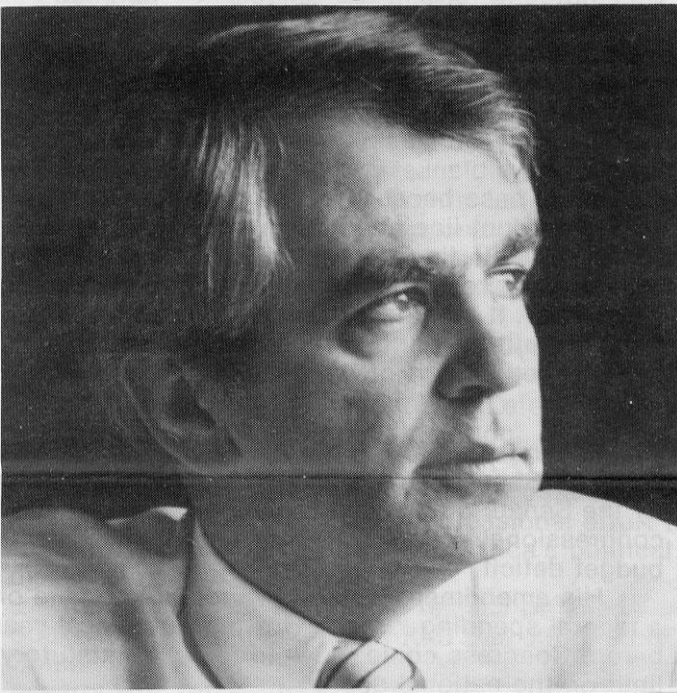


Winter, 1984

SENATOR

# Paul Tsongas Reports

## The Tsongas Record: A Six-Year Review



*This last newsletter from Senator Tsongas, who leaves office Jan. 1, reports on some of his activities in Washington over the past six years. Although much of his work has been on individual projects of urban revitalization and economic development in Massachusetts, the following summary is confined to initiatives in Congress.*

**Adelman Nomination:** In the Senate showdown of 1983 over confirmation of Kenneth Adelman to head the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Senator Tsongas emerged as the leading opponent of the nomination.

During the hearings of the Foreign Relations Committee and on the Senate floor, he argued strenuously that Adelman lacked the arms control experience and commitment required.

Senator Tsongas deemed Adelman, who had called arms control negotiations a "sham," to be unqualified for a job that requires selling the case for arms control throughout the government.

Though the Senate confirmed Adelman for the post on a 57-42 vote, the margin was unusually close for a vote of that kind. Not since Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz drew 44 dissenting votes in 1971 had the Senate cast so many votes against a cabinet-level nominee.

The administration's lack of progress on arms control has been a continuing matter of public concern, particularly during the 1984 presidential election campaign. Senator Tsongas feels that his doubts about Adelman have been proven justified by events since the hearings.

**Afghan Freedom Fighters:** Senator Tsongas waged a successful, two-year campaign to put the Congress on record in support of the Afghan people's resistance to Soviet occupation.

A resolution calling on the United States government to "support effectively ... the fight for freedom in Afghanistan" passed the Senate on a 97-0 vote in October of this year, and the House swiftly concurred by voice vote.

Senator Tsongas began pressing for congressional approval of such a resolution in 1982. He wants U.S. backing of the guerrillas in Afghanistan because he believes they reflect the will of the Afghan people and because of the odds they face in fighting a superpower.

The Afghan guerrillas or freedom fighters emerged after the Soviet Union's December 1979 invasion of Afghanistan.

**Alaska Land Bill:** Senator Tsongas played the pivotal role in the enactment of a monumental law protecting the natural resources and wildlife of more than 100 million acres of federal land in Alaska.

Legislation he authored, known as the

Dear Friends,

*I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for the privilege of representing you in the United States Senate. Representing Massachusetts has been a source of great pride to me.*

*Ours is a marvelous state, and over the 10 years in Washington my wife Niki and I came to miss it more and more.*

*In many ways we had the best of two worlds, having a chance to influence events at home and abroad, while also being able to tap an astounding reservoir of talent in Massachusetts.*

*Now we are coming home.*

*As I begin my new career in the private sector, I look back at my years in public life with great feeling. It has often been said that politics is a noble profession. I hope my service has contributed to that perception.*

*For your support I am very grateful. I hope you consider your confidence in me to have been warranted.*

*Niki, Ashley, Katina, Molly and I are home now. We look forward to being true citizens of the best state in the Union. And we also look forward to seeing you in untroubled circumstances and sharing the warm sense of community that characterizes Massachusetts.*

Sincerely,

Tsongas-Roth bill, became the basis for a compromise on the Alaskan land issue. His leadership as a mediator broke a Senate deadlock, clearing the way for passage of the strong environmentalist bill called by conservation groups "the conservation vote of the century."

As approved by Congress, the Alaska National Interest Land Conservation Act restricts such activities as mining, logging and oil drilling on 104 million acres of Alaska's 363 million acres. The law in effect doubled the size of the country's national park and wildlife refuge systems and almost tripled the nation's acreage designated as wilderness.

When the proposal stalled on the Senate floor, Senator Tsongas spearheaded a week of intense negotiations to reconcile the differences but only after successfully defeating the pro-development interests in a 64-33 key test vote on the Senate floor. His bill passed the Senate Aug. 19 on a 78-14 vote.



*Chrysler workers on the job at an assembly plant in Sterling Heights, Mich.*

**Antisatellite Weapons:** Senator Tsongas has been the prime mover behind the moratorium that bars the United States from testing antisatellite weapons against objects in space without first attempting to negotiate a permanent ban with the Soviet Union. It remains the only successful attempt to halt the spread of weapons into space.

An amendment to that effect, which he proposed to the Senate in July 1983, has twice been adopted by Congress. The latest version, enacted as part of the Fiscal Year 1985 Defense Department appropriations bill, remains on the books.

Once antisatellite weapons are fully tested, negotiating a treaty with the Soviets will be more complicated, if not impossible, because of the problems of verifying compliance.

Senator Tsongas believes the United States can best protect its strategic interest in defending its military satellites from attack and in avoiding another destabilizing round in the arms race by seeking an antisatellite weapons treaty with the Soviet Union.

**Clinch River Reactor:** As a steadfast opponent of the Clinch River Breeder Reactor, Senator Tsongas helped build a consensus in favor of scuttling the controversial multibillion-dollar project.

He fought it as technologically obsolete and uneconomical. He also questioned a plan to build a reactor that would have produced large quantities of weapons-grade plutonium, posing serious hazards of nuclear proliferation.

In November 1981 he led the opposition to Clinch River on the Senate floor with an amendment that would have mandated a 50 percent industry share in the cost before the project could proceed. The amendment narrowly lost but dramatized doubts about Clinch River.

Congress abandoned the Tennessee project in October 1983, saving \$2.5 billion. Total cost would have amounted to more than \$4 billion.

**Computer Crime:** The U.S. Small Business Administration is geared to fighting computer crime by virtue of a red-letter law championed by Senator Tsongas.

Passage this year of the Small Business Computer and Security Act established a nationwide program to prevent such crimes as theft of computer data or sabotage of a computer system.

Senator Tsongas chaired hearings on the issue before the Senate Small Business Committee and pushed for Senate passage of the legislation.

Computer crime is a new but growing phenomenon. It is of particular concern to small businesses which are often vulnerable to the potentially devastating consequences of computer crime and less equipped to protect themselves against it.

**Chrysler Rescue:** As one of the chief architects behind the federal rescue of the Chrysler Corp., Senator Tsongas helped save a major U.S. employer and preserve competition in the nation's auto industry.

In 1979 he was a leader on the Senate Banking Committee in forging the Chrysler Corporation Loan Guarantee Act. By its provisions Chrysler obtained federal loan guarantees while all the parties with a stake in the company's survival agreed to concessions.

Senator Tsongas never endorsed federal bailouts as a blanket policy, but favored one in Chrysler's case because of the auto manufacturer's strong product line and new management committed to sensible financial policies.

Chrysler repaid its \$1.2 billion in loans seven years early. It also paid the U.S. Treasury a \$311 million profit in retiring stock warrants that had been issued as part of the deal with Congress.

**Federal Budget Freeze:** An amendment sponsored by Senator Tsongas in October and endorsed by the Senate dramatized the importance of early congressional action in 1985 to reduce the federal budget deficit.

His amendment would have required a vote on a federal spending "freeze" for the next fiscal year before Congress could move to raise the statutory limit on the national debt.

Senator Tsongas reiterated his case for an across-the-board spending freeze--a bipartisan proposal that received substantial Senate support in 1984 -- as the most immediate and fairest way to curb the spiraling budget deficits.

His measure was incorporated into a Senate tax bill -- the vote was 61-30 with Republicans splitting 25-25 and Democrats supporting it 35-6 -- but died in the House. However, it aroused greater support for urgent attention to the budget-deficit issue on Congress' 1985 agenda. Now the White House is talking about a freeze as are major Republican figures in the Senate.

**Georges Bank Safeguards:** Fishing grounds off the Massachusetts coast are safeguarded from potentially hazardous oil drilling under landmark federal restrictions advocated by Senator Tsongas.

He was a prime sponsor of legislation incorporated in the Interior Department appropriations bills for the past two years that bars federal oil and gas lease sales in sensitive coastal waters. The area includes a 50-mile buffer zone along the Massachusetts coast and lobster and fishing beds on Georges Bank 150 miles off Cape Cod.

Efforts to exempt the maritime resources from oil exploitation prevailed despite the administration's opposition. In 1980 Senator Tsongas championed, along with Senator Edward Kennedy and Congressman Gerry Studds of Massachusetts, legislation to provide environmental safeguards for Georges Bank. At that time the measure was approved by two Senate committees, but blocked from full Senate consideration by the oil lobby.

**High Tech Morrill Act:** A novel program devised by Senator Tsongas and approved by Congress authorizes the National Science Foundation to make grants for spurring partnerships between business and educational institutions to further math, science and engineering education.

Legislation establishing the program is contained in Title III of the Education for Economic Security Act, which was passed in 1984.

The concept behind the program originated with Senator Tsongas and the Massachusetts high technology community, particularly Ray Stata, Dan Dimancescu and James Botkin. His proposal, the High Technology Morrill Act, was introduced in the Senate in March 1983.

As approved by the Congress, the plan permits matching federal grants for up to 50 percent of the cost of an educational venture such as a research project sponsored by a corporation and a university. At least 30 percent of the funds would have to come from private sources.

**Human Rights:** As a human rights activist on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Tsongas achieved important results, including the defeat of Ernest Lefever's nomination to a high-ranking State Department post.

Senator Tsongas was a key figure in building opposition within the committee to Lefever, who was nominated in 1981 to become the assistant secretary of state for human rights. Lefever was faulted for his long-standing opposition to human rights legislation and for his words and deeds that raised questions about his ethical standards and racial attitudes.

The committee ultimately found Lefever unfit for the appointment and recommended that the full Senate not confirm the nomination. Lefever then withdrew his name from consideration.

In another human rights action, Senator Tsongas cofounded the South Africa Political Prisoner Adoption Project, a congressional effort to further the civil liberties of South Africa's political dissidents.

And he helped secure the release of jailed South Korean political leader Kim Dae Jung, protect South African Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu from government persecution, protest Soviet dissident Andrei Sakharov's internal exile, and force government action against Salvadoran death squads, as well as spur human rights progress in such places as the Phillipines, Argentina, Zaire and East Timor.

**Jewish Emigration:** Senator Tsongas has worked steadfastly for the cause of Jews struggling to emigrate from Ethiopia and the Soviet Union.

His 1983 resolution adopted by Congress put the government squarely on record as favoring U.S. assistance for Ethiopian Jews, called Falashas. The resolution called for U.S. efforts to promote the Falashas' right to practice their religion freely and to emigrate.

Interceding on behalf of Soviet Jews, he focused particularly on the cases of two imprisoned men, the scientist Alexander Paritsky and the mathematician Anatoly Shcharansky.

**Joint Research Ventures:** Legislation originated by Senator Tsongas and enacted this year clears away antitrust barriers that have hindered joint research and development projects by U.S. companies.

A bill he introduced in the Senate in 1983 was the first of its kind to seek relaxation of the antitrust laws to allow cooperation by firms in research and development activities. His measure helped lay the foundation for the National Productivity and Innovation Act, which passed the Congress this summer and was signed into law by President Reagan.

U.S. companies stand to benefit by pooling their resources in joint research and development

ventures to achieve what no one of them could afford alone. Research and development leading to new techniques and products are key to U.S. industrial competitiveness, especially in high technology.

**Equal Rights Amendment:** Senator Tsongas has been a prime mover behind legislation to reopen the drive for ratifying the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

He and Sen. Robert Packwood (R-Oregon) reintroduced ERA legislation in the Senate on July 14, 1982, and have been among its most prominent supporters. Senator Tsongas has worked on its behalf with women's groups and other supporters.

A 10-year effort to ratify the ERA ended unsuccessfully in 1982 three states short of the 38 needed for it to become law. Before the ratifying process can begin anew, Congress must again approve the ERA.

**Export Trading Company Act:** To enable U.S. export trading companies to operate on the same footing as their overseas counterparts, Senator Tsongas pushed successfully for revisions in federal law.

He was one of the original and most ardent backers of the Export Trading Company Act, which Congress passed in 1982.

Export trading companies serve as intermediaries for businesses selling abroad, helping with such things as letters of credit and customs duties. U.S. industry, including many high technology firms seeking to export their products, had been at a competitive disadvantage because of the greater latitude allowed export trading companies in countries such as Japan.

The 1980 statute allows U.S. banks to invest directly in export trading companies. It also established a program in the Commerce Department devoted to assisting and promoting export trading companies.



*Once a textile mill, this restored building is now part of the Lowell National Historical Park.*

**Lowell National Park:** Congress this year voted an additional \$12.8 million to complete all the projects under way at the Lowell National Historical Park, which Senator Tsongas has championed for years.

Partly as a farewell tribute to Senator Tsongas, Congress included the largest grant to the park ever in this year's Interior Department appropriation. A bill he sponsored while a member of the House established the park -- the first one designated as an urban area -- in 1978. No national park has been established since.

Since 1978 his efforts and particularly those of Massachusetts Congressman James Shannon, have helped to obtain a total of \$16.3 million in federal funds for the redevelopment project, which aims to preserve Lowell's 19th Century heritage as a center of the industrial revolution.

**Mutual Savings Banks:** A trend-setting law coauthored by Senator Tsongas removed a statutory straightjacket that had put the nation's mutual savings banks in jeopardy.

Passage in 1980 of the Depository Institution Deregulatory and Monetary Control Act marked one of the first steps in the deregulation of U.S. banks and other financial institutions.

The legislation, introduced by Senator Tsongas and Sen. John Heinz (R-Pa.), permitted mutual savings banks for the first time to accept demand deposits from corporations. It also allowed them to make commercial loans up to five percent of assets and to convert from mutual to stock ownership.

Before the law's enactment, mutual savings banks were caught in an interest-rate squeeze, forced to pay sharply rising rates to depositors but prevented by law from diversifying their loans to cushion the effect. Mutual savings banks in Massachusetts account for a majority of the assets held by financial institutions.

**Nuclear Fusion:** If the nation proceeds with development of nuclear fusion as an alternative energy source, the law permitting it to happen is in place because of Senator Tsongas' efforts.

His initial proposal on nuclear fusion became the Magnetic Fusion Energy Engineering Act, which Congress passed in 1980. It establishes a comprehensive, federally-supported program for development of a nuclear fusion prototype.

Nuclear fusion involves the combination of hydrogen atoms in a process that imitates the energy-releasing workings of the sun. It is a potentially efficient and virtually inexhaustible source of energy.

**Regional Banking:** A proposal championed by Senator Tsongas for the past two years and approved by the Senate in 1984 could open the way for development of regional banks in New England.

Though the measure failed this year in the House, it outlines a novel formula that could lead to a federal seal of approval for interstate banking activity between those New England states that desire it.

His New England Interstate Banking Bill allows regional banking operations across state lines to the degree that they are permitted by the states. It bars federal regulatory agencies from interfering with interstate bank mergers and acquisitions approved by the states within New England.

The legislation aims to put New England banks and thrift institutions on a fairer footing to compete with such new nationwide financial services as credit card operations and electronic funds transfer.

**Salvadoran Peace Talks:** Senator Tsongas' mediation between the combatants in El Salvador helped lay the groundwork for the first peace talks in that country's five-year-old civil war.

The peace talks began in October of this year after a dramatic offer by Salvadoran President Jose Napoleon Duarte to meet with guerrilla leaders.

Duarte took his initiative against a backdrop of secret negotiations during much of 1984 between Salvadoran government and rebel leaders. Senator Tsongas and his staff acted as a conduit to facilitate communications between the two sides.

The secret discussions yielded results in prisoner exchanges, the safe conduct of wounded guerrillas from El Salvador and an increasing climate of trust -- in advance of Duarte's peace bid.

As a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Tsongas took a particularly keen interest in El Salvador and other Central American countries in his efforts to promote human rights, peace and stability in the region.

**Solar and Conservation Bank:** The Solar and Conservation Bank, a federal program devised by Senator Tsongas, encourages the use of energy-saving technology.

Created by Congress in 1980, the Bank provides subsidized financing to low and moderate income families who install energy conservation and solar energy devices. Senator Tsongas wrote the Bank legislation as a member of the Senate Energy Committee.

Massachusetts has been one of the chief beneficiaries of the program among the states. For the three years through 1985, Massachusetts is slated to receive \$3 million in Bank funds.

The Bank assists tenants and homeowners in obtaining capital for investing in renewable energy resources.

**South Africa Resolution:** A resolution authored by Senator Tsongas and Sen. William Roth Jr. of Delaware and adopted by Congress this year demanded an end to the arbitrary arrest and detention of South Africa's political dissidents.

The resolution marked the first time Congress had condemned South Africa's policy of racial segregation in years. It stated that the United States should not support South Africa's new constitutional arrangements, whereby different racial groups in that country have separate parliaments.

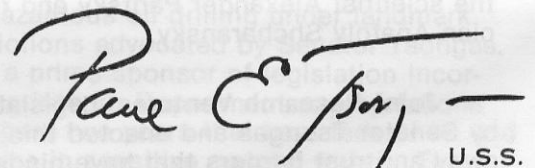
The tenor of the resolution contrasts sharply with the administration's policy of "constructive engagement" toward South Africa. In accord with this policy the United States has developed warmer relations with South Africa as a way to steer it away from apartheid, its system of racial discrimination.

But the resolution declares that the Congress "is dismayed by the South African government's decision to defy and to bypass the legal rulings of its own high courts in order to suppress lawful political opposition." As a former Peace Corps volunteer in Ethiopia, Senator Tsongas maintained a key interest in Africa while serving on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

UNITED STATES SENATE

392 Russell Senate Office Bldg.

Washington, D.C. 20510



U.S.S.

BLK. RT.