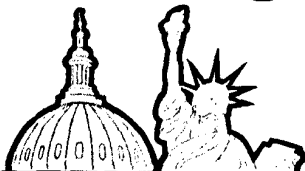




RYAN REPORTS



from Washington to New York

NOT PRINTED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE

Congressman William F. Ryan

Vol. VI, No. 32, January 1972

Dear Friends,

The 92nd Congress is moving into its second session still facing the great issues of the 1970's — peace, full employment, welfare reform, urban reconstruction.

The 92nd began with considerable potential and hope, all depending on leadership in the Congress and from the Administration.

But the war and the shaky economy overshadowed every legislative action, and the leadership failed.

Five times the House failed to approve a Mansfield Amendment to end the war. By mid-1971, President Nixon's economic policies had failed dramatically, and the Administration reversed itself to impose wage and price controls.

When Congress did pass major domestic legislation, the President vetoed it. He vetoed a \$5.7 billion public works bill to give jobs to the unemployed. He vetoed the \$6.3 billion extension of the anti-poverty program.

At the close of the first session, Congress spent weeks dealing with the recession and the economy — extending controls and revising taxes. It passed a number of other significant measures providing 150,000 public service jobs, a pay increase for servicemen, \$1 billion for cancer research; repeal of the oppressive Emergency Detention Act; a Constitutional Amendment, of which I was an original sponsor, giving 18-year-olds the right to vote.

THE SECOND SESSION

There is a lot of unfinished business.

Senator Mike Mansfield in the Senate and a number of us in the House are determined to force further votes on ending the war.

One of the major items on the agenda is an increase in the minimum wage to at least \$2 an hour. The Administration has sought to put off the increase until 1974.

The House and Senate passed different versions of a bill to provide \$24 billion over five years for higher education. Differences had to be worked out.

Action on Social Security benefits is essential. The House passed HR 1 to increase benefits, to tie them to a cost-of-living escalator, and to set up a minimum guaranteed income, a concept I first introduced in the Congress. But the President killed any chance of Senate action in the last session by asking postponement of "welfare reform for one year." This is still one of the most important issues before Congress.

Other House-passed measures awaiting Senate action include a Constitutional Amendment, which I cosponsored, guaranteeing equal rights for women; a measure to permit the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to issue court-enforceable cease and desist orders, and a bill to create a Consumer Agency to represent consumers in government proceedings.

Many other measures are still under committee consideration, including various forms of urban aid, the Health Security Act which Senator Kennedy introduced in the Senate and I am cosponsoring in the House, and a number of bills which I have introduced — to establish the Gateway National Recreation Area in New York harbor; to extend and expand the Lead-Based Paint Poisoning Prevention Act; to control noise pollution.

VIETNAM

The Administration's policy of Vietnamization and its much-publicized terms for peace have not ended the war. As I said on the Floor, they have not brought peace, "but continued death and destruction."

The war and American deaths have continued. Of all the Americans who have died in Indochina since 1961, more than a third have died since January 20, 1969.

The Saigon military dictatorship has continued. Just before the Vietnam elections, I joined with 122 other members of the House and nine Senators to protest the one-candidate Presidential contest, noting the election made a "mockery of the effort and sacrifice."

Destruction has continued. According

to a study by Cornell University scholars, "More bombs have been dropped on Indochina since President Nixon took office than the total dropped during World War II and the Korean War combined."

But the Administration and House Democratic leaders opposed any direct vote on the war — fearful of the outcome and of forcing Congressmen to defend their votes at the 1972 elections. The leadership used various procedural devices to prevent votes.

At one point, speaking for the Mansfield Amendment, I said on the Floor:

"During the seven years since President Johnson's first supplemental appropriation bill to finance the war in Vietnam, I have time and again taken the Floor of the House to urge that the Congress assume its responsibilities and use the appropriation process, by exercising its power over the purse, to bring the death and destruction in Southeast Asia to an end."

In the closing days, the Senate passed a revised foreign aid bill with a Mansfield Amendment declaring it to be the "policy of the United States" that U.S. military forces should be withdrawn from Indochina within six months subject to return of prisoners of war and an accounting of the missing.

The House had previously passed its own version of the bill without the amendment so the issue went to a conference committee to iron out differences. Senate and House conferees were deadlocked.

I used a little-known rule, and moved to instruct the deadlocked conferees to accept the Mansfield Amendment. The leadership immediately moved to table. The tabling motion won, 130 to 101. But it was one of the closest anti-war votes so far.

Yet President Nixon again showed that he has not been listening. Despite a clear majority among the American people and an almost equally-divided Congress, when Congress adjourned, he renewed the massive bombing.

Although Congressmen were scattered

Burglary and robbery insurance is now available to New York City tenants, property owners and businessmen through the Federal Crime Insurance Program. Rates are: \$80 a year for a maximum of \$5,000 residential coverage; \$385 for a maximum of \$15,000 commercial coverage. For detailed information contact any insurance broker.

across the United States, 39 Members joined me in a telegram urging the President cease the air raids.

Then the President's revelations of secret talks at Paris demonstrated again that the Administration's commitment to the present Saigon regime is the real reason for the continuing American presence in South Vietnam.

CONTROLS

More than a year ago, Congress passed the Economic Stabilization Act providing the President with standby authority for wage and price controls. President Nixon declared he would not use the controls.

But the economy continued to deteriorate, and the Administration flip-flopped. The President imposed wage and price controls, cut the dollar loose from gold and called for tax breaks for business. Later, he asked Congress to extend his authority to control wages and prices.

In extending the Economic Stabilization Act, we added a number of significant measures.

LOW WAGE EXEMPTION — Early in October I introduced a bill to exempt substandard earnings, pointing out that millions of families and individuals are earning far less than \$6,960 annually which the Federal government has set as a lower budget for an urban family of four.

Twenty-four Congressmen joined me in sponsoring the measure, and I testified before the House Banking and Currency Committee. I noted that exempting the working poor would be economically sound as well as equitable; the working poor spend most of their wages, thus directly stimulating economic production.

The committee adopted the language of my bill; and the Act, as passed, provided that "wage increases to any individual whose earnings are substandard or who is amongst the working poor shall not be limited in any manner."

The intent of Congress was clear. In explaining my amendment, the Committee noted we intended to exempt wages below minimal levels set by the Bureau of Labor Statistics — \$6,960.

But the Administration refused to implement the law. The Cost-of-Living Council limited the exemption to wages of \$1.90 an hour, less than \$4,000 a year.

That interpretation, as I noted in the House, perpetuates the very inequity we were trying to cure and is a gross violation of Congressional intent.

RENT CONTROL — During Phase I of controls, all wages, prices and rents were

frozen for 90 days. But the Price Commission would have to decide about rent increases in Phase II.

New York City real estate interests and the City Administration badgered the Price Commission for an exemption so that rent increases up to 7.5 percent could go into effect as of January 1, 1972, under New York City laws.

Such rent increases would be a disaster — especially for low and middle income families. I introduced legislation and called on Secretary of the Treasury Connally, as Chairman of the Cost-of-Living Council, to continue the freeze on rents.

In late November, the Price Commission declared it would permit any rent increases "on rent-controlled units" if the increases were authorized by State and local rent control agencies.

As I said in the House, the whole thing was an "outrageous fraud... a charade played out at the expense of the tenants in New York City's 1.3 million rent-controlled apartments."

A New York member of the Banking Committee, on behalf of New York City Congressmen, offered an amendment to include rent controlled apartments under Federal controls. The amendment was accepted.

A week later the Price Commission ignored the intent of Congress by again exempting housing which is subject to local rent control. This allowed New York City to proceed with rent increases up to 7.5 percent effective as of January 1.

INTEREST RATES — I also testified for controls on interest rates and finance charges before the Banking Committee. The Act, as passed, requires such controls.

TAXES

As part of the Administration's new economic policies, the Congress passed the Revenue Act of 1971 — which may well aggravate rather than alleviate the economic crisis.

As I said, it was really a "big business bonanza bill" — a multi-million dollar giveaway to big business at the expense of hard working men and women. The seven percent investment tax credit alone should total \$10 billion over three years in tax relief to big business.

By contrast, individual tax relief is limited to an increase in the personal tax exemption from \$650 to \$675 for 1971, and increases in the standard deduction and the low income allowance.

Unfortunately, the Act came up under a special rule prohibiting any amendments. Congressmen had to take it or leave it. I said on the Floor, "I choose to leave a bill which will line corporate coffers and divert essential funds from helping to meet unmet social needs."

I also joined with 20 Congressmen in cosponsoring a Tax Reform Act which would help close the massive loopholes in

the tax laws, tax those millionaires who now pay no taxes, exclude the very poor and begin to provide funds so we can start rehabilitating our cities and meeting our nation's real needs.

THE FARE

Early last summer, the Metropolitan Transportation Authority made plans to slap a 50 cent fare on New York City's transit riders.

To fight the increase, I organized the Save Our Subways Committee to Stop the 50-Cent Fare, composed of some 150 public officials, labor representatives and civic leaders. The committee collected more than 35,000 signatures. It developed a number of alternative ways to meet operating deficits.

I met with Governor Rockefeller on two occasions to discuss alternatives. On October 15, I told the Governor that without a firm commitment to save the fare, the Committee would probably oppose the bond issue.

Five days later, the Mayor's negotiating team, the MTA and the Governor agreed on a plan to save the fare for two years — based on passage of the bond issue.

With the defeat of the bonds, the Committee concentrated its efforts on preventing any fare increase. Although the bond money would not be available, the balance of the agreed package could stabilize the fare at 30 cents for 12 to 15 months. There would be enough money to cover the anticipated deficit, including a transit workers wage settlement.

Nevertheless, defeat of the bond issue was used as an excuse to raise the fare to 35 cents on January 1 — an intolerable 15 percent increase.

Perhaps a fare of 35 cents is more palatable than one at 50 cents; but it is no less unconscionable. As long as the fare box is viewed as the means of financing operating expenses, we will face future increases.

Our Committee will continue to put pressure to stabilize the fare, while meeting the financial needs of the Transit Authority. The ultimate goal should be a no fare system.

TRANSIT FUNDS

Mass transit is on a starvation diet — but the Administration is determined to starve it even more.

The issues of Ryan Reports are NOT printed at government expense. However, I believe the Reports are an important facet of vital two-way communications between almost 500,000 residents and the 20th Congressional District Office. Public spirited citizens have contributed to printing and production costs, and we have set up a 20th Congressional District Newsletter Account: Mrs. Sonja Chain, Treasurer, 35 Claremont Avenue, New York, New York 10027.

Thus, late in the session, 52 Members of the House joined me to urge the President to carry out "the speedy allocation of the \$900 million provided by Congress for the urban mass transit program in fiscal year 1972."

In 1970 Congress passed the Urban Mass Transportation Act, and applications for aid have totalled more than \$2.6 billion. For fiscal 1972 Congress appropriated \$900 million. But the Nixon Administration said it intended to spend only \$600 million.

A delegation of New York Congressmen met with Transportation Secretary John A. Volpe. I asked the Secretary to urge the Price Commission to stop any increases in New York City transit fares, to use Highway Trust Funds for mass transit; to permit use of present Federal capital grant money for operating expenses; and, immediately, to allocate the total \$900 million.

As I said in Congress, "Mass transportation stands at a critical juncture. Without adequate Federal assistance, it will be unable to fulfill its vital task... It is essential that the \$900 million be made available promptly."

POISONOUS PCBs

Unable to get the Federal government to act, I have introduced legislation to ban the distribution of poisonous PCBs — polychlorinated biphenyls — in interstate commerce. Twenty-three Congressmen have joined me as cosponsors.

Almost two years ago, I pointed out that scientists had discovered that PCBs have been found in toxic amounts in birds, fish, evergreen needles, human fat and human milk. Like DDT, PCBs do not break down in the environment, and they can cause severe damage.

After many discussions and meetings, the Department of Agriculture finally agreed to cancel registrations for pesticides containing PCBs. Monsanto, the only manufacturer in the U.S., announced it would end sale of the materials for insecticides, plasticizers and hydraulic fluids, but would continue manufacture for certain other uses.

In introducing the PCB legislation, I pointed out, "In recent months, we have witnessed a significant number of incidents of massive PCB contamination of our food supply — contamination that has infected milk, turkeys, chickens, fish, shell eggs, swine, broken egg products..."

In one instance some 50,000 turkeys were contaminated. The contamination was kept secret until I revealed it. Then the Department planned to permit cooking of the contaminated turkeys, presumably removing the PCB poisons, so the meat could be used in frozen dinners, soups and potpies. As I said on the Floor, "Those turkeys would have been destroyed... Any attempt to salvage them would be intolerable." I noted that for two years I had "urged the appropriate



With Federal Communications Commissioner Nicholas Johnson and Senator Fred Harris discussing our battle to force the FCC to do its job and investigate the rate structure of AT&T. The FCC had abandoned the investigation on grounds it did not have adequate funds — a position that was, as I said in Congress, a "victory for special interests at the expense of the public." Commissioner Johnson dissented from the decision at an example of the dominance of big business in communications policy." Senator Harris and I introduced the Harris-Ryan bill to fund and thus force the investigation. Major AT&T customers and public spokesmen joined our protest. Finally, our pressure forced the FCC to reverse itself and resume the investigation. However, as I noted, Senator Harris and I were continuing to press for adequate funds so the FCC will really get the facts on whether AT&T is properly charging and serving the public.

Federal agencies to take administrative actions... Given the failure of the Federal government to live up to its responsibilities," I said, "Congress must act" to ban distribution of PCBs in interstate commerce and meet the threat of PCB poisons.

SOVIET JEWRY

The Administration has taken a significant step toward recognizing the plight of Soviet Jews. Attorney General John Mitchell has promised to use his parole authority to enable Soviet Jews to enter this country.

Meanwhile, I testified before the House Foreign Affairs Committee in support of my resolution urging the Soviet government to permit free exercise of religion, pursuit of culture and freedom to emigrate.

A hundred members of the House and some 22 Senators are supporting my resolution calling on the Voice of America to undertake Yiddish broadcasts to Russia. I organized a meeting between Congressmen and State Department officials to stress the importance of the broadcasts to the cultural survival of Soviet Jews. The Voice of America has offered to broadcast programs of Jewish interest in Russian. But only Yiddish language broadcasts can provide essential psychological support.

EQUALITY

For the second time the House has passed a Constitutional amendment guaranteeing women equal rights.

I was a cosponsor of the amendment when we first passed it in the House in 1970; it died in the Senate. I cosponsored the amendment in this Congress, and we have hopes of achieving Senate passage this year.

Thus, if ratified by three-fourths of the

State Legislatures within seven years, the Constitution will specifically state that "equality and rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."

I have cosponsored and introduced other legislation to ensure the equal rights of women. One measure would extend the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to ensure women's rights in public facilities, accommodations, education and federally-assisted programs, as well as in employment. And the Comprehensive Child Development Act, which I also cosponsored, would extend health, education, nutritional and social services to children of working mothers and single parents of either sex.

CHILDREN

Once again in the name of budget balancing and bureaucracy, the President has used his veto against the poorest and weakest in our society.

Late in the session, Congress approved a Child Development Program in the \$6.2 billion extension of the Office of Economic Opportunity or anti-poverty program.

The bill also would have created a new National Legal Services Corporation to assist the poor. I had cosponsored a bill to create such a corporation.

But the President vetoed the whole extension bill, including the Child Development Program and the Legal Services Corporation. He made the absurd claim that the Child Development Program demonstrated "fiscal irresponsibility, administrative unworkability and family weakening implications."

The program would have established educational, nutritional and health services for pre-school children. Middle income families would have had to pay. However, children of the very poor would have received free services — and perhaps the essential aid to lift them out of the morass of inherited poverty.

LEAD PAINT

Lead poisoning continues to destroy thousands of children of our country's inner cities.

Chips of lead-tainted paint and plaster fall from walls and ceilings of dilapidated dwellings. They are picked up and eaten by young children who have a craving for such nonfood substances.

Some 400,000 children are poisoned each year. Of these some 16,000 require treatment; 3,200 suffer moderate to severe brain damage; 800 require institutionalization for the remainder of their lives. 200 young children die each year.

Senator Edward Kennedy and I introduced legislation which became law last year, authorizing \$30 million to combat lead-based paint poisoning.

Some 9,400 residents of the 20th Congressional District answered the annual Ryan Poll. They overwhelmingly supported an immediate end to the war. Before President Nixon announced new initiatives toward China, 83 percent supported Communist China's admission to the U.N. Further, before the President imposed wage-price controls, 72 percent primarily favored controls to combat inflation. Full results of the 1971 poll, as reported in the Congressional Record, were as follows:

1. Vietnam—I favor withdrawing all American troops immediately. 80%; by December 31, 1971, 32%; only as the Vietnamese take over, 19%; a U.S. military victory, 8%.
2. China—The United States should support Communist China's admission to the United Nations. Yes, 68%; No, 17%.
3. Soviet Jewry—The United States should do more to help Jewish citizens of the Soviet Union. Yes, 69%; No, 37%.
4. New York Times—I believe the New York Times acted properly in publishing the secret Pentagon study on Vietnam. Yes, 70%; No, 31%.
5. Welfare—The Federal government should take over all State and local welfare costs. Yes, 62%; No, 18%.
6. Guaranteed annual income—I favor a Federal guaranteed annual income for a family of four of \$3,000—\$5; \$4,000—30%; \$6,000—31%; no guaranteed income—37%.
7. Marijuana—I favor legalizing possession of marijuana. Yes, 48%; No, 48%.
8. Narcotics—The United States should out of foreign aid to countries that permit narcotics to be shipped to the United States. Yes, 84%; No, 16%.
9. Social Security—I favor increasing Social Security benefits by 15%—24%; by 25%—45%; an increase but neither of those, 25%; no increase, 1%.
10. Inflation—I favor primarily tight money and high interest rates, 4%; a ceiling on interest rates, 15%; wage and price controls, 75%; none of those, 12%.
11. Draft—I favor continuing the draft, 15%; an all-volunteer Army, 85%; no student deferments, 17%; alternate service in non-military ways, 80%.
12. TV News—Television news programs generally are accurate portrayals of the day's events, 84%; have a conservative bias, 21%; have a liberal bias, 20%.
13. FBI—J. Edgar Hoover should resign as Director of the FBI. Yes, 75%; No, 25%.
14. Crime—New York City streets generally are safe. Yes, 10%; No, 90%.
15. Crime—More federal policemen should patrol the streets. Yes, 92%; No, 8%.
16. Crime—I have been the direct victim of street crime. Yes, 54%; No, 46%.
17. Corrections—Correctional institutions are generally effective in rehabilitating criminals. Yes, 6%; No, 94%.
18. Whistleblowers—Whistleblowing should be permitted only with a court order, 55%; at the discretion of the Attorney General without a court order, 19%; never, 26%.
19. Health care—Comprehensive health care should be provided by the Federal government for all citizens, 70%; only for those who cannot afford it, 29%; through private means, 7%.
20. Nixon—The Nixon Administration has been doing a generally good job in handling Vietnam. Yes, 37%; No, 49%.
21. Nixon—The Nixon Administration has been doing a generally good job in handling the Middle East situation. Yes, 41%; No, 59%.
22. Nixon—The Nixon Administration has been doing a generally good job in foreign affairs. Yes, 36%; No, 64%.
23. Nixon—The Nixon Administration has been doing a generally good job in domestic affairs. Yes, 19%; No, 81%.
24. Attitude—I consider myself generally liberal, 83%; conservative, 15%; middle of the road, 2%.

However, the Nixon Administration steadfastly refused to implement the law. It was only after I organized a broad based coalition of concerned citizens and Congressmen that the Administration requested a meager \$2 million. Finally, we got Congress to appropriate \$7.5 million, better but still inadequate.

Once more, the Administration failed to act. For months, the funds were frozen by the White House.

Again, I organized an effort to get the Administration to act. Last December, the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare informed me that the full \$7.5 million was available for obligation to local communities "pending" certain administrative procedures. As of this date, these funds still have not reached the local communities.

Now the Congress must insure more adequate funds for an on-going program. On the first day of the second session I introduced legislation to increase the authorization to \$50 million a year. Senator Kennedy is the sponsor of my legislation in the Senate.

Meanwhile, five child health advocates have joined with me in filing a petition with the Food and Drug Administration to ban lead from all household paints. The FDA published our petition in the Federal Register; but at the same time it published a proposal of its own — requiring a warning label on paint cans.

The petition to ban lead-based paint has been supported by medical and scientific experts, who have submitted testimony on the need for a ban to eradicate lead-based paint poisoning.

CHILD HEALTH

Children of families under Medicaid will now receive preventative health screening, diagnosis and treatment.

Under legislation signed into law in January, 1968, State Medicaid programs are suppose to provide health services to such children in order to receive Federal matching grants.

But for almost four years, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare had simply ignored the law — until I demanded HEW Secretary Richardson get the program going.

Washington newspapers picked up my demand, added their editorial support, and in November, HEW published regulations to put the law into effect.

Initially, the new health services will be provided to children under six, but all Medicaid family youngsters up to 21 will be included by July, 1973.

HEALTH CENTERS

Along with other community representatives, I testified before the City Planning Commission for reinstatement of two essential West Side health projects which had been cut out of the New York City capital budget.



In Washington with the 34th President Polk's Offspring and West Side youth. The offspring and young man came to the Capital as part of the President's Police-Youth Dialogue program which is funded under the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968. I met with the 16 officers and 28 youths who toured Washington to see "government in action." The Police-Youth Dialogue program is aimed at creating better relations between police and neighborhood youngsters.

The Planning Commission restored \$4.5 million for the West 83rd Street Health Center. The Mid-West Side Health Planning Project, under a \$120,000 Federal grant, has been developing community awareness of the concept of comprehensive community health care. Some \$85,000 has been provided or spent by the City toward developing the center in conjunction with 300 units of low income housing.

The Planning Commission also restored \$18.2 million for a new Washington Heights, West Harlem, Inwood Mental Health Center at 168th Street and Broadway. The center is now located at 558 West 158th Street and serves more than 200 patients, adding 25 more each month. The Federal government has earmarked \$1.5 million in construction funds for such a center.

As I said in testimony, the projects result from years of community participation, are tied to activities and needs of other agencies and fulfill an unquestioned and urgent health need.

Please do not hesitate to write me about issues of particular interest to you. As usual, I will be spending as much time as possible in the District, and I hope I see you at one of our community or civic meetings.

Incidentally, with an ever-increasing work load and volunteers, the New York City office has moved to larger quarters at 3785 Broadway at 157th Street.

The office is dedicated to serving all the people of the District, and if you would like to help, please call Miss Susannah Gross, AD 4-6900, or drop in during office hours, Monday through Saturday, 10 a.m. to 6 p.m.

Sincerely,

Bill Ryan

BILL RYAN