

opportunities for women and individuals with physical disabilities. She is a member of the Business Advisory Committee for the Institute of Advanced Technology, an organization that provides computer systems education to individuals who are physically challenged, and she was the 1995 chairperson for Tech-Link, an organization that introduces middle and high school students with physical disabilities to technology. She recently opened Bender Consulting Services, Inc., to provide employment opportunities in the information industry to physically challenged people who are trained in information systems.

Marcia Martin was honored as the Woman of Spirit for November 1995. Ms. Martin is the vice president of marketing and community relations for Gateway Health Plan in Pittsburgh. She has held other management positions at Gateway, as well as the hospital utilization project, Equibank, McDonald's Corp., and the Urban League of Pittsburgh. She serves on the executive committee of the Arthritis Foundation. She is a cochair of the Nursing Recruitment Coalition fund-raiser. Ms. Martin has been actively involved in the Bethesda Center, the Urban League of Pittsburgh, the Lemington Home for the Aged, and N.E.E.D.

Susan Bohn, executive vice president of corporate development and communications for PNC Bank Corp. was selected as the Woman of Spirit for December 1995. She has held a number of positions of responsibility at PNC Bank Corp. and its predecessor organization, PNC Bank. Ms. Bohn holds a Ph.D. in language communications from the University of Pittsburgh. She has served on the board of the Pittsburgh Public Theater and as program leader for the Financial Women International and the National Educational Researchers' Association. She has been a featured speaker for the Bank Marketing Association, the American Marketing Association, and the American Society for Training and Development. She has served as an adjunct faculty member at Carlow College and as a communications consultant for various Pittsburgh-based companies and area school districts.

The Carlow College Board of Trustees selected Ms. Jo DeBolt as the Carlow College of Spirit for January 1996. Ms. DeBolt has been the executive director of the Mon Valley Initiative, a regional grassroots community development organization, since 1988. The Mon Valley Initiative is widely recognized as a model for regional development. Ms. DeBolt serves on the boards of many Pittsburgh area organizations, including the Lazarus fund for the Pittsburgh Presbytery and the Methodist Union of Social Agencies. Ms. DeBolt holds an MBA from the University of Pittsburgh. She is the mother of four children.

Loti Falk Gaffney was selected as the Women of Spirit for February 1996. She serves on the boards of a number of local cultural institutions, including the Pittsburgh Ballet Theater, the Pittsburgh Symphony Society, and the Chamber Music Society. Mrs. Gaffney is also a member of the board of the Shadyside Hospital Foundation. She is a founding member of the Academy for Life Long Learning affiliated with Carnegie Mellon University. Mrs. Gaffney attended the Sorbonne and New York Cooper Union, and she holds honorary doctoral degrees in art from Bethany College and Shenandoah Conservatory and University. She has 2 sons, 8 stepchildren, 4 grandchildren, and 18 stepgrandchildren.

Patricia Regan Rooney, a mother of nine with a formal background in education, has been active in a number of community cultural and charitable organizations. Mrs. Rooney holds a master's degree in education from the University of Pittsburgh. She has worked as an instructor at Robert Morris College, where she has also served on the college's board of directors. She has been actively involved in volunteer work for the Salvation Army, the Rehabilitation Institute, the American Diabetes Association Western Pennsylvania Chapter, the board of advisors of the Pittsburgh Symphony, the International Poetry Forum, and the National Center for Learning Disabilities. She has nine grandchildren. Mrs. Rooney was chosen as the Woman of Spirit for March 1996.

Artist and designer Gerry Rosella Boccella was selected as the Carlow College Woman of Spirit for April 1996. Ms. Boccella is a graduate of Carlow College, and she has been the creator of the thematic artistic environment for the college's Women of Spirit gala celebrations since the program began. She has designed rooms for Sacred Heart Church and Carlow College, and she has created designs for the Diocese of Pittsburgh's Sesquicentennial Celebration, the Pittsburgh Opera's benefit Maecenas Ball, the Columbus Day Parade, and a number of other art events in the region. She is a founding member of the East Liberty Arts Council, and she has served on the steering committee for the Regent Theater. She is a board member for Citizens for the Arts in Pennsylvania.

Carol Massaro, who was selected as one of two Women of Spirit in May 1996, has been actively involved in a number of local charitable and cultural organizations. She is a member of the Pittsburgh Opera Association, the Pittsburgh Symphony Association, the Civic Light Opera Guild, and the 25 Club of Magee Women's Hospital. She has recently chaired events for the Pittsburgh Opera, the Civic Light Opera, Central Catholic High School, and a benefit for multiple sclerosis. She is a graduate cum laude from Chatham College with a degree in history and a minor in art history. She has four children and six grandchildren.

Carol Anton Murphy, who shared the Woman of Spirit Award for May 1996 with Carol Massaro, is a graduate of Carlow College. Ms. Murphy has worked as a speech therapist for the Allegheny County School System and the Diocese of Pittsburgh. She has been active in fundraising for a number of schools. She is a former chairperson of St. Philomena's Guild, and she served as president of both the Central Catholic High School Mothers Guild and the Duquesne University Women's Advisory Board. She has served as a member and as president of the Carlow College Alumnae Association Board.

Janice Friedman was selected as the Carlow College Woman of Spirit for the month of June. Ms. Friedman is a board member of the Civic Light Opera Society and serves on the production and academy committees. She serves on the executive committee of the Leukemia Society of America; she is a member of the Parental Stress Board; she is on the Advisory Council of the International Poetry Forum; she is a board member of the National Council of Jewish Women, and has been actively involved for over 15 years with their Designer Days. She is past national vice president for 6 years of Alpha Epsilon Phi, her national soror-

ity, and she received the Devoted Alumni Award this past summer.

July's Woman of Spirit was Lois Wholey. A graduate of Mount Mercy College, Ms. Wholey has served as Mount Mercy alumnae president. She has been a 40-year member of St. Bernard's Women's Guild, and she is a former board member of the Pittsburgh Symphony Association. Lois Wholey was a copy writer at Kaufmann's for 28 years under the pen name Frances Fish and coauthored the book, *International Cuisine by the World's Great Chefs*. She is the proud mother of 9 children and the grandmother of 18 grandchildren.

Velma Scantlebury, M.D., was selected as the Woman of Spirit for August. One of a few female African-American transplant surgeons in the world, Dr. Scantlebury is recognized not only for her clinical and research contributions to the field of transplantation, but for her contribution as a role model to young students, the African-American community, and to women pursuing careers in medicine. Dr. Scantlebury is a member of several professional and scientific societies, including the American Society of Transplant Surgeons and the American College of Surgeons, which in 1994 named her as a fellow. She also serves on the Medical Advisory Board and is vice chairperson of the African-American Outreach Committee at the National Kidney Foundation of Western Pennsylvania.

Sister Elizabeth Carroll was the September 1996 Woman of Spirit. After completing her doctorate in medieval history from the Catholic University of America in Washington, DC., Sister Carroll taught history for many years at Carlow College and served as Carlow College's President from 1963-66. She also held teaching positions at Catholic University and Marquette University. Often connected to her community, Sister Carroll served on many advisory boards, most notably the board of trustees for Mercy Hospital in Pittsburgh. An active author and scholar, Sister Carroll has published extensively on many subjects.

Mr. Speaker, all of these women have been blessed with a number of precious gifts—energy, enthusiasm, intelligence, compassion, competence—and they have made it a point to share these gifts with those around them. Carlow College's has chosen well in selecting them as its Women of Spirit for this year.

THE DOLE ECONOMIC PROGRAM—
BEEN THERE! DONE THAT! IT
DIDN'T WORK!

HON. TOM LANTOS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 5, 1996

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, a few days after the Congress adjourned for our August recess, the Republican presidential candidate, former Senator Robert Dole, unveiled his economic program. Although the fight over abortion at the Republican platform meetings in San Diego at the same time upstaged the unveiling and dominated the news coverage that week, Mr. Dole nevertheless continues to press forward with his economic program, which includes a 15-percent tax cut.

Unfortunately, Mr. Speaker, we have been there. We have done that. In the words of the distinguished Senator from South Dakota, Mr.

DASCHLE, who I believe deserves the credit for the most remarkable and descriptive phrase for this program, this is "deja voodoo economics all over again." We saw all of this when Ronald Reagan was elected President and his supply-side economic advisors brought us the tax cuts of 1981 and the budget deficits that plagued our Nation throughout the 1980's. Now, after President Clinton and the Democratic Congress made some extremely difficult decisions in 1993, we have succeeded in cutting in half that Reagan/Bush-era legacy of huge annual budget deficits. It truly boggles the mind to contemplate the serious consequences that would follow the enactment of the Dole economic plan.

Mr. Speaker, one of the best summaries and analyses of the Dole economic program appeared in an article by Matthew Miller which was published in the September 2 issue of the *New Republic*. I ask that this article be placed in the RECORD and I urge my colleagues to give it careful and thoughtful consideration.

[From the *New Republic*, Sept. 2, 1996]

CHARADES

(By Matthew Miller)

Everybody in this room's gonna get tax relief!"—Bob Dole, August 5, 1996.

When respected politicians offer silly plans claiming to fix big national problems, journalists are nonetheless expected to give them the rational analysis only serious plans deserve. The very effort legitimizes such proposals as constructive additions to public debate. Especially when these schemes are offered by a major party's presidential candidate, there's no way around the conundrum, except to note it. Which brings us to Bob Dole's new economic "plan."

Everyone knows that Dole's call to cut taxes \$550 billion over six years while also balancing the budget betrays his lifelong claims to be a fiscal conservative in favor of the "supply-side" voodoo he's loathed. But you need to look at the plan's "details" to really appreciate how it brings budget chicanery to dizzying new heights. Indeed, if Dole's team of job-seeking economists and GOP has-beens had set out to discredit his career-long reputation for fiscal courage, they couldn't have done it any better.

Begin, as Dole does, with the candy. Dole's basic assortment (using his campaign's six-year cost estimates) includes a phased-in 15 percent cut in income tax rates (\$400 billion); a \$500 per-child tax credit (\$75 billion); a repeal of Clinton's 1993 increase in the portion of whether Social Security recipients' benefits that are subject to taxes (\$27 billion); a cut in the top capital gains tax from 28 to 14 percent (\$13 billion); and a potpourri of such savings incentives as IRA expansions and tax-favored education accounts (\$27 billion).

To put Dole's new recklessness in perspective, these tax cuts amount to more than twice what Republicans considered "revolutionary" in the budget the president vetoed last fall, and nearly five times what the GOP specified in its updated budget blueprint this spring. As Martha Phillips of the Concord Coalition notes, Dole's projected revenue loss for 2002 alone is what this year's Congress hoped to enact for the next six years together.

Unfortunately, cost aside, the economics of the plan are no better. Capital gains devotees say lower rates are needed to spur savings and investment. Yet last time we ran that experiment and lowered top rates from 35 percent to 20 percent between 1978 and 1985, savings and investment fell. According to most economists, Dole-style IRA expansions give people tax breaks for saving they're already doing, meaning that or dis-

mal overall savings rate would be unaffected. Demagoguing Clinton's modest Social Security tax hike, which affected only the best-off 13 percent of beneficiaries, poisons the well for the kind of sensible means-testing that Dole knows will soon have to be considered. And even the growth crowd admits Dole's child tax credit will boost only current consumption—unless parents sock it away in Dole's new education account, converting it, in effect, to a huge, government-funded savings plan of the kind liberals would blush to propose.

Of course, the income tax cut is the plan's "crown jewel" when it comes to supposed incentives for work and growth. Assessing its likely impact means entering into the religious war over the economic lessons of the 1980s. The mainstream view is that, yes, Reagan's lower marginal rates spurred some undetermined growth (though for most workers, subsequent payroll tax hikes offset any income tax cuts). But the "boom" supply-siders love to tout, the 3.8 percent annual growth between 1982 and 1989, came mainly because we were emerging from a deep recession that left jobless rates in double digits and much idle capacity. When easier Fed policy and the demand-side boost from Reagan's unprecedented deficits picked up this "slack," we grew faster for a time. Measured properly, however—from peak to peak in the business cycle—the 1970s actually saw faster growth (3.4 percent) than the 1980s (2.7 percent).

The supply-side elixir is an illusion, something Dole's plan unintentionally admits itself. As Robert Reschauer of the Brookings Institution points out, Dole's plan implicitly assumes we'll get to about 2.5 percent growth from 2.2ish today. That's a far cry from the 3.5 percent Dole and new soulmate Jack Kemp peddle on the stump.

When it comes to paying for this bonanza, Dole offers a hoax wrapped in a farce tucked inside a charade. He conveniently extrapolates a mysterious current revenue blip to bank \$80 billion more than the Congressional Budget Office now expects will come in. He says a third of his supply-side tax cuts will pay for themselves via higher growth, nearly twice the "magic" Ronald Reagan himself relied on in the '80s. Dole also books, in advance, the so-called "fiscal dividend" that a credible balanced budget plan might bring (through lower interest rates and higher growth, even though his plan is anything but credible).

Then, if possible, it gets worse. Dole assumes enactment of \$393 billion in spending cuts from the GOP budget that Clinton vetoed last year. But tons of these cuts were legislated by a mere spending "cap," and thus never specified at all. Even with this gimmick, Dole still falls \$217 billion short of balance. That's trouble, since Dole has irresponsibly sworn to keep the most expensive programs—defense and Social Security—off the table, along with any Medicare and Medicaid savings beyond what Republicans have offered already. That leaves basically one area to slice: so-called "domestic discretionary" spending, which makes up just 15 percent of the budget, and which has already shrunk from 5 percent of national income twenty years ago toward 3 percent today. This category includes everything we normally think of as government, from national parks to NASA to the FBI.

Follow the bouncing ball here. Last year, with its painless "cap," the GOP pledged to cut such discretionary spending 25 percent in real terms by 2002. Now, Dole sees that cut and raises it to 40 percent. If you assume Dole would spare R&D, crime-fighting, veterans and education money, he'd have to cut the rest—things such as airline safety, environmental protection and low-income hous-

ing—an astonishing 60 percent. This, when Republicans already say privately that last year's proposed 25 percent cut is both politically impossible and bad policy.

The bottom line? It's a fraud, covered up through deception and double counting. Dole says he'd seek deep cuts in the Energy and Commerce Departments, but those cuts (if achievable) would already have been used by the GOP to meet the zillions in unspecified prior savings Dole wants to count in his own plan. His additional "10 percent cut in non-defense administrative costs" preposterously assumes that \$150 billion of today's \$265 billion in domestic spending is "administrative" (by Dole's reckoning, FBI and DEA agents fit this category).

How does the campaign defend this? As all polls know, the trick on television is to have two "talking points" that sound "credible," because after two nonanswers, interviewers move on. So we see Donald Rumsfeld earnestly explaining that with a line-item veto, Dole can do it—though the "pork" such a veto could excise amounts, under the most porcine estimates, to 1 percent of federal spending. Jack Kemp sidesteps questions about whether Social Security or Medicare will be touched with the usual blather on growth. Since network interviewers—thanks to ignorance, time limits, fear of offending "star" guests or eventual frustration—usually tolerate such official dishonesty, the scam invariably works. So the question of whether Dole's plan is serious becomes, in the public mind, a legitimate matter for debate, rather than being branded—as Newt Gingrich rightly implores the media to dub Clinton's rhetoric about Medicare "cuts"—a con.

Dole allies, putting the bet spin on their man's move, say that he's still a budget-balancer and that his embrace of whopping tax cuts is in the noble tradition of "Nixon going to China." They have it exactly wrong. Nixon's alchemy turned a lifetime of dishonorable redbaiting into a historic overture for peace. By contrast, Dole now squanders a lifetime of honorable resistance to candy-cane politics in a blatant pander that will only hamstring responsible governance even if it works and he wins. If he needed to energize Republicans, Dole could have proposed a reckless plan like this, or named Jack Kemp as veep. Surely he didn't have to do both.

IMPACT AID TECHNICAL AMENDMENTS ACT OF 1996

SPEECH OF

HON. PATSY T. MINK
OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1996

Mrs. MINK of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of H.R. 3269, the Impact Aid Technical Amendments Act of 1996, which addresses certain problems with the impact aid payments to school districts brought to our attention since the reauthorization of this law in 1994.

The House has already passed this bill and we are simply being asked to approve Senate amendments which correct several additional impact aid problems brought to the attention of Senate Members. Our action today will clear this bill for the White House and enact into law these provisions necessary to assure that impact aid payments are distributed fairly among all districts.

After the reauthorization of a program we often discover some unintended consequences or a need to clarify congressional