

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

THE DEATH OF AN AFGHANI  
FREEDOM FIGHTER

HON. WM. S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, as the massive Russian war machine tightens the noose around Afghanistan, the outnumbered Afghani Freedom Fighters are put under increasing pressure. Among these lightly equipped brave fighters was a brave Afghani named Allah Berdi. His recent death in a remote mountain village is testimony to the bravery and toughness of the Afghani people who are determined to keep that country free. It is curious to note that Mr. Berdi's family had fled from the Soviet Union to Afghanistan when the Russians suppressed Islamic nationalism in southern Russia in the 1920's. I am certain that Mr. Berdi knew the family stories of how brutal their Soviet masters were when they set out to crush the ethnic groups in the Soviet Union.

As we sit back and enjoy the good life which this great and free country has given us, we should all pause and realize that at this very moment, a once independent country is being slowly absorbed into the Soviet empire.

Let us remember that at this very moment, there are freedom-loving men and women who are willingly laying down their lives in the struggle against communism. With these concerns in mind, I recommend the following New York Times article on the death of a Freedom Fighter to all of my colleagues in the House. By any standard, he is a hero.

[From the New York Times, July 14, 1985]

## A REBEL NAMED 'GOD'S BLESSING' DIES

BALKHAB, AFGHANISTAN.—His name was Allah Berdi. Freely translated, it means "God's Blessing."

He was huddled over and shivering in a corner near the stove of a teahouse where a column of Afghan rebel fighters had stopped for lunch and a rest one day in late April.

The man, in his early 20's, had the smooth skin, long face and narrow eyes of a Central Asian. Now, his eyes were glazed and barely open, and he was apparently suffering from malaria.

A foreigner traveling with the rebel group gave him the four chloroquine tablets that a doctor in Pakistan, before the Afghan trip began, said should be given to anyone with obvious symptoms of malaria—fevers and chills.

In the next 10 days, Allah Berdi could be seen leaning back against a tree, sheltered

behind a large rock on a steep slope, or sitting motionless among his group as they joked and cleaned their weapons.

Usually he could be found toward the center of the march. One day, the rebel commander at the rear of the convoy prodding stragglers forward saw Allah Berdi sitting under a tree, barely able to walk.

## HE MOUNTS, THEN DISMOUNTS

He ordered someone to dismount from a horse so Allah Berdi could ride. Less than half an hour later, the young man had dismounted and was walking again, saying he was feeling much better.

On the morning of May 1, the rebels were in the village of Balkhab, in north central Afghanistan. Someone happened to dial a small radio to an English-language program. It was the Moscow radio. The announcer told of preparations for the May Day parade and of the Soviet Union's contributions to world peace. He spoke of peaceful coexistence and noninterference in the affairs of other nations.

The march began about 7 A.M. The advance unit had gone only a short distance when shots from back in Balkhab signaled a halt. Allah Berdi had died.

The column returned, the pack animals were unloaded, and the men scattered to the rooms where they had spent the previous night.

Allah Berdi's body was wrapped in a cloth and placed on a narrow wooden bier with two handles at each end and two at each side so that it could be shouldered by eight men. At about 9 A.M., there was a shuffling and tramping of feet through the bazaar that lines the main street of Balkhab. The body was carried to a mosque on a side street with the men walking quickly and silently behind in a small group, changing places frequently so that many could share in carrying the burden.

The mosque was wide but not deep, and most of the men had to stand outside on the steps. The priest intoned "Allah Akhbar," or "God is great," three times with short intervals in between.

## BURIAL ON A ROCKY HILL

In less than a minute the bier was picked up again and hurried back through the bazaar, down a steep gully and up the other side to a bare rocky hill where the grave was still being dug.

The digging ended as the men sat watching, chatting quietly. The body was taken from the bier and the outer cloth removed. The body was lowered into the grave, and large flat stones were removed from forgotten graves strewn over the hillside and placed on top of the body. Smaller stones were filled in, and finally all was covered with a packing of mud.

The men now gathered around, taking turns shoveling earth into the grave or pushing the dirt in with their hands. Someone had brought a branch. Green cloth was tied to one end of the branch. The other end was put in the ground at the head of the grave and held upright by the packed earth.

As water was poured on the filled grave and it was stamped into a smooth mound, a priest intoned a long prayer. Finally stones were put at the head and feet and a string

was tied lengthwise between them. It was about 10:30 A.M.

The men walked back to their rooms, talking, showing no emotion. They were told that the march would resume after lunch and the noon prayer.

## FOREBEARS FLED SOVIET

The men were grouped according to the language they spoke and their village areas. Allah Berdi was with a group from a region of Balkh Province just across the Amu Darya River from Soviet Uzbekistan, near Soviet Turkmenistan. His unit leader, Lal Mohammed Khan, a tall, solemn man with long black chin whiskers, talked about Allah Berdi.

He said Allah Berdi's grandparents fled to Afghanistan from Turkmenistan when the Russians were suppressing Islamic nationalism in the 1920's. His parents were dead and so was his only brother.

About a year ago, the unit leader said, Allah Berdi was seized in one of the regular sweeps that the Russians make of rural areas to press men into the Afghan Army. Unwilling recruits are usually sent to a region where a different language is spoken, to make it more difficult for them to defect or leave the army.

Allah Berdi was sent far south to the besieged garrison at Samkani, in Paktia Province, only a few miles from the Pakistani border. After about six months, the rebel said, he managed to escape, taking with him two Kalashnikov rifles and a full-sized machine gun.

The local rebel fighters gave him the equivalent of \$50 for the weapons and guided him to Pakistan. The real value of the weapons on the open market was about \$5,000, the rebels said.

## WANTED TO FIGHT RUSSIANS

"He wanted to be a mujahedeen," to fight with the forces opposing the Soviet-Afghan Government forces, said Lal Mohammed Khan. "He was happy when he was with us in our camp in Pakistan. He said he had no parents and no relatives except a cousin and we were his real relatives. He said he wanted to be with us and fight the Russians and the Communists."

Asked about the time Allah Berdi got off the horse, Lal Mohammed said: "He was ashamed. He said that was not the mujahedeen way. He said if he rode he would remain weak, and he wanted to be strong to fight."

His friends said Allah Berdi had not eaten for four days. The closest approximation to a doctor in Balkhab, the rebels said, was a man who had been sent to Iran for six months' training. The night before, he had given Allah Berdi a pain-killing injection.

Allah Berdi had stirred when the call came to resume the march. He even sat up, but fell back and died as the men set out.

At 12:30 P.M., the march resumed. None of the rebels looked across the gully to the distant mound on the hillside, where a limp green pennant marked the grave of the man known as God's Blessing. ●

**ROY J. WARD, DEDICATED  
CITIZEN**

**HON. THOMAS J. BLILEY, JR.**

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. BLILEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to place into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a commendation for the great work which has been done by one of my constituents on behalf of handicapped citizens of this Nation. Mr. Roy J. Ward has, for the last 44 years, been an example of leadership and dedication which have enriched the lives of countless thousands through his work at the New York Lighthouse, Maryland School for the Blind, and in the State of Virginia.

His special contribution to Virginia's visually handicapped citizens for 26 years has been heartwarming and invaluable. His cane walking, home and yard navigation, and his techniques for using public transportation have been models of performance.

The fact that he has made these great contributions in spite of the fact that he is blind has been all the more an inspiration to the many people whose lives he has touched over the years.

It is with great personal pride that I thank Mr. Roy J. Ward on behalf of all Virginians for 26 years of caring and sharing his love and skills.

Best wishes for a retirement rich with personal satisfaction.●

**D.C. BLACK MEN AND WOMEN IN  
BLUE CELEBRATE 50TH ANNI-  
VERSARY**

**HON. WALTER E. FAUNTROY**

OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. FAUNTROY. Mr. Speaker, over the years, black men and women have served with distinction in the D.C. Police and Fire Departments.

On Saturday, July 13, 1985, active and retired firefighters and police officers constituting the "50th Anniversary Committee" will host a salute and celebration honoring D.C. black men and women in blue.

As part of the celebration, the history of the D.C. Police and Fire Departments will be reconstructed, with special attention being paid to the vital and important role black men and women have played.

Public safety is an essential element in any community. The protection of life and property against the hazards of fire and those with criminal designs is a major responsibility. In the District of Columbia, such responsibility carries additional and special burdens. Not only are the police and fire de-

partments charged with protecting local residents, but they must also protect the many visitors and tourists from across the United States as well as the foreign dignitaries who visit or make their homes here. They also protect Federal installations and personnel here. They are indeed America's guardians.

For more than 50 years, black men and women have served as D.C. police and fire persons. With dedication, perseverance and unusual determination, they have overcome many obstacles and great odds to help fill the ranks, and in most recent years to lead the ranks of the men and women in blue.

Racial discrimination, hazardous duty, strict public scrutiny and all manner of exposure has not discouraged these men and women in their appointed task.

It is most appropriate therefore that we pause to honor and recognize their efforts.●

**LIQUIDATING U.S. ASSETS**

**HON. ANTHONY C. BEILENSON**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. BEILENSON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call my colleagues' attention to some provocative and intriguing suggestions by my cousin Laurence Beilenson, a distinguished lawyer and historian, and Robert Poole, Jr., the president of the Reason Foundation, for cutting the Federal deficit. In the following article from the Wall Street Journal, Mr. Beilenson and Mr. Poole argue that the U.S. Government ought to consider liquidating some of its assets as one way to increase revenues without raising taxes. I hope that my colleagues will take the time to read these recommendations for dealing with the budget deficit crisis:

**TIME TO THINK AGAIN ABOUT LIQUIDATING  
U.S. ASSETS**

(By Laurence W. Beilenson and Robert W. Poole Jr.)

President Reagan supports a constitutional amendment mandating a balanced budget, but continues to send Congress budget proposals with massive, built-in deficits. And his agreement last week to allow inflation-adjusted increases for both Social Security and defense throws the prospects for any serious package of budget savings into jeopardy.

While certainly worthwhile, a balanced-budget amendment lacks credibility at a time of unending, huge annual deficits. Those who wish their advocacy of such a measure to be taken seriously have an obligation to show how the budget can be balanced without large tax increases.

One method would be to borrow a leaf from the book of any struggling corporation and begin selling off assets. There are additional precedents, both in theory (Adam Smith) and U.S. history. As was done with the accumulated deficits from the Revolution and the War of 1812, much or all of the

government's debt can be paid off by selling the lands and other assets owned by the government and putting the proceeds into a trust fund devoted solely to that purpose.

The architect of the original debt retirement was Albert Gallatin, treasury secretary under Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. Gallatin started a sinking fund in 1817 to accelerate repayment of what he rightly called "the national curse of growing and perpetual debt." All federal revenues from land sales, tariffs and other charges (except for \$10 million a year to cover the government's then-current expenses) went into the fund. By 1835 the U.S. was out of debt.

Congress then went on a spending spree. To avoid a repetition, every dollar raised by selling government assets should go into a sinking fund, and we should pass a rigid balanced-budget amendment. Such an amendment sounds like pie in the sky today, but would be quite credible if accompanied by liquidation of the national debt and budget cutting.

The U.S. government owns sufficient assets to pay off most or all of the \$1.5 trillion national debt. This assertion will astonish most people, because conventional "balance sheets" for the federal government show liabilities far in excess of assets. But that is because most government assets are carried on the books at far less than their market values.

A start at correcting this misperception has been made by economists Robert Eisner and Paul J. Pieper. Their work on restating federal balance sheets shows the government moving from a negative net worth at the end of World War II to a positive net worth by the early 1960s, which continued increasing through 1980. Messrs. Eisner and Pieper have converted all government securities from par to market values, revalued gold reserves from the official \$42 an ounce to market value, and revalued government buildings (but not land) to their replacement costs rather than their acquisition costs. The result for 1980 was asset values estimated at \$1.4 trillion vs. liabilities of \$1.15 trillion, for a net worth of about \$250 billion.

The figures have changed somewhat since 1980, to be sure. The official "public debt" has increased to more than \$1.5 trillion, while the price of gold has slumped. On the other hand, Messrs. Eisner and Pieper's estimate of federal land holdings at only \$119.5 billion is grossly understated. It is based on revisions of revisions of an estimate made in 1950 by J. E. Reeve for the National Bureau of Economic Research. Mr. Reeve's figure for nonmilitary land—two-thirds of the total value—is based on a poorly justified statistical adjustment of original acquisition costs to 1946 market values. All subsequent federal land value estimates are simply updates and adjustments to these questionable numbers, rather than present-day market-value appraisals.

The federal government owns one-third of all U.S. land and a vast treasure-trove of mineral resources. Out of total federal land-holdings of 729.8 million acres, only a bit more than 10% is in park-type land. The majority is in commercial use as timber or grazing land. There is no accurate inventory of what the lands alone might be worth in their highest and best use. Several years ago an aide to then-Sen. Charles Percy estimated that a selected 10 million of the some 300 million acres managed by the Bureau of Land Management would be worth \$200 billion if sold. Economists Michael J. Boskin

and Marc S. Robinson have estimated that the value of just federal oil and gas rights—onshore and offshore—exceeded \$800 billion as of 1981.

Of course, there will be naysayers at the idea of selling federal assets. They will dub it simplistic, but most good ideas are simple. It goes without saying that we will not sell off national parks and the like. Nor will we harm the environment. It's a common misperception that private ownership equates to environmental destruction while public ownership equals preservation. In fact, just the reverse is true. Private ownership provides incentives for the long-term stewardship of resources such as forests or erodible lands. While there are environmental trade-offs in moving from public to private ownership, more sophisticated environmentalists are coming to realize that today more damage is associated with the Bureau of Reclamation, the Corps of Engineers and the BLM than with private timber and mining companies that own their own land and have a long-term stake in preserving its value.

Of course, in disposing of public lands, there are values at stake other than economic. Where certain types of use are deemed important (e.g., recreational uses in addition to timber sales), they can be assured by deed restrictions in the original grant from the government as part of the divestiture process. The deed could include a right of reversion to the original owner in case a defined misuse occurs. Sales can also be regulated so that ownership of the lands sold will not be concentrated in a few hands. The support of communities close to proposed land sales can be won if residents are given an advantage or discount in the sale or bidding. We would not be selling our birthright for a mess of pottage.

Sales of physical assets were discussed briefly during President Reagan's first year in office, but haven't drawn much attention since. This half of the federal balance sheet isn't limited to real property, however, and there has been movement in one area by an unexpected player. Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan (D., N.Y.) proposed in March that the government sell its entire \$280 billion loan portfolio to private investors—realizing at least \$150 billion in proceeds that could reduce the deficit.

It is time to begin. Because government creaks along, Mr. Reagan should put the plan into operation at once, without the delay of a commission or task force. After all, liquidating the public debt and shrinking the role of the government are merely an extension of his own philosophy. But the plan also agrees with his critics that deficits are a menace to our economic health. We can grow our way out of our fiscal morass, but not without some pruning first. ●

#### ABANDON ABORTION RULE

**HON. HENRY J. HYDE**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, not very much of the major media views the issue of abortion as seriously—and hence as correctly—as does the Chicago Sun Times. In an insightful editorial on July 18, they once again expressed sound judgment and common sense about this most troubling of

issues and I would like to share these views with my colleagues:

#### ABANDON ABORTION RULE

The Reagan administration has been firm and consistent in its opposition to abortion. It has attempted, without success, to persuade the Supreme Court to relax or modify some of the inflexibility of the landmark 1973 ruling that established abortion as a woman's constitutional right. It is, therefore, right in now seeking to have the 1973 ruling reversed in toto rather than just dealing with the problem piecemeal.

Abortion opponents need not go overboard with joy, however. It is one thing for an administration sympathetic to their cause to take such a step. It is quite another to have the plea succeed.

After all, just two years ago the court had the opportunity to grant, in another case, much of what the administration is asking now. It rejected the request with a forceful disdain usually displayed by a teacher when a student has the temerity to suggest in open classroom that maybe the teacher had been wrong on something important and ought to correct the situation.

Justice Lewis F. Powell Jr. asserted, in effect, that precedent was more important than common sense. Adherence to precedent, he declared in the majority opinion, "is a doctrine that demands respect in a society governed by the rule of law."

It does, indeed. Provided the precedent itself is sound. In the case of *Roe vs. Wade*, the 1973 case, the Supreme Court left the high road of the Constitution and turned into the alley of legislating social fancy and factional passion. It has been stuck there ever since. And the lower courts, in no position to comment on the lack of judicial garb on the Supreme Court justices, have not only embraced the fatally flawed decision in its entirety, they have also given it new—and unjustified—interpretations.

That is what adherence to precedent does, if done blindly.

The Sun-Times believes strongly, with the administration, that "the textual, doctrinal and historical basis for *Roe vs. Wade* is so . . . flawed" that the Supreme Court should abandon it.

And if the justices are still bothered by the question of precedent, they might want to consider another precedent: In 1954, the government asked, and the court agreed, to overturn a ruling that had supported the constitutionality of the "separate but equal" system of schooling for whites and blacks.

If sound education was important enough to warrant the Supreme Court to abandon precedent, surely a question involving life and death, literally, is at least as important. ●

#### YOU NEVER MISS THE OIL UNTIL THE WELL RUNS DRY

**HON. MARILYN LLOYD**

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mrs. LLOYD. Mr. Speaker, the public and the Congress are apparently no longer concerned about energy supplies. The gasoline lines are 10 years behind us. One would almost believe that the world has more oil today than it had 10 years ago. But that's

impossible, isn't it? I also want to remind my colleagues that estimates of the U.S. oil reserves made just 4 short years ago were grossly over optimistic.

In 1981, the Department of the Interior estimated that 27 billion barrels of oil and 167.2 trillion cubic feet of natural gas lay buried off the shores of the United States. But on May 9, 1985, the Interior Department released new estimates which indicate 12.2 billion barrels of oil and 90.5 trillion cubic feet of natural gas, a far cry from their previous figures which helped convince the public that the energy crisis was over.

In 1981, the U.S. Geological Survey had estimated 12.2 billion barrels of oil off Alaska alone. The current estimate is a mere 3.3 billion barrels. That is 73 percent less than originally expected. At the same time, the estimated natural gas resources are only 13.8 trillion cubic feet, not the 64.6 trillion cubic feet that had been expected.

The disappointment in the Atlantic coast deposits has been even greater. Four years ago, the U.S. Geological Survey estimated 5.4 million barrels of oil. Now the estimates, which are based on more complete data from the private sector, indicate a somewhat meager 680,000 barrels, or 87 percent less than expected. If you question estimates, as we all do, ask yourself, "how many oil rigs do I see off the Atlantic coast?"

The Office of Technology Assessment recently reported that "exploration in the Atlantic has been disappointing." Two continental offshore stratigraphic test wells and eight exploratory wells turned up dry in the North Atlantic while two test wells and 32 exploratory wells found only uneconomic amounts of natural gas in the mid-Atlantic.

The Federal portion of Cook Inlet has had similar disappointing results when one test well and nine exploratory wells failed to reveal any deposits.

Mr. Speaker, isn't it time for the Congress to exercise some wisdom and think long-range enough to alleviate future problems? Isn't it time to recognize that we need to maintain a rational and stable long-term energy research program in order to prevent a future energy crisis? Or, is Congress to join forces with those who want the United States to go out of the energy R&D business on the basis that it is cheaper in the short-term to sell the store? ●

## KILLING POPULATION AID

HON. MICHAEL D. BARNES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. BARNES. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues an editorial that appeared in the Washington Post on July 19, 1985, which correctly states that: "It would be nothing less than a tragedy if the United States, for more than a generation the world's principal sponsor of population aid for developing countries, ended its support." As a strong supporter of U.S. funding for family planning programs, I fear that the steps taken by the House and the Senate to curtail U.S. funding to organizations like UNFPA and IPPF are indeed tragic and will result in more suffering and death for thousands in the developing world.

As chairman of the Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs I have come to appreciate the important role that international population organizations like IPPF and UNFPA play in promoting the welfare of millions throughout Latin America and the Caribbean. During the current debate we have heard much about one country, China, but very little about the rest of the world, where birthrates are soaring and the need for family planning programs is great.

In Latin America alone the demographic trend is alarming. The population in Latin America has almost doubled during the last 25 years. From 218 million in 1960 to 397 million in 1984. The region's birthrates are double those of the developed nations. By the end of the century, Latin America will have a population of 562 million. The high birthrates and the lack of access to population programs and family planning services translate into high levels of infant and maternal mortality. Latin American infants on the average are seven times more likely to die before their first birthday than infants in the United States. Up to 40 percent of the Latin American children under 5 suffer from severe malnutrition. Family planning can reduce infant and maternal mortality by half by providing couples with access to family planning services and thus helping them to space births. But in Latin America, less than 50 percent of couples have access to family planning services.

IPPF and UNFPA are recognized as the two organizations that have done the most to provide family planning services in Latin America and the Caribbean. The IPPF represents 24 national family planning associations in the region, including in countries where the United States has no bilateral assistance programs such as Mexico and Colombia. IPPF repre-

sents a worldwide network of 119 indigenous family planning associations. In some countries, IPPF affiliates are the major or sole provider of contraceptive information and services. The most important contribution that IPPF makes to the region is in terms of institution building. I have been informed that in the case of Guatemala, AID's bilateral population assistance is essentially turned over by the Government to the Guatemalan Family Planning Association to operate a national program. In addition to this IPPF network, UNFPA provides support for population programs in 32 Latin American countries. In contrast, the Agency for International Development has bilateral population programs in only 11 countries in the region.

I understand and share the concerns expressed by my colleagues about forced abortions and infanticide that occur in China. But it is important to look very closely at the larger picture and the effects that a cutoff of population programs like UNFPA and IPPF will have on the health and welfare of children, mothers, and families throughout the Third World. It is clear that the impact of the elimination of U.S. funding for these organizations is likely to be a rise in birthrates, a rise in infant mortality rates, and a rise in illegal abortions. Most of these illegal abortions are botched abortions which have become the largest killer of women in Latin America and the Caribbean.

I trust that this House will have an opportunity to once again analyze this issue and rectify the erroneous decisions of the past. The editorial follows:

## KILLING POPULATION AID

Representative David Obey, chairman of the House subcommittee dealing with foreign aid appropriations, says he won't recommend any money for international family planning programs next year until Congress decides what if any policy it wants to pursue. Mr. Obey is no foe of these programs. But, he points out, amendments added to other bills, together with new restrictive administration regulations, may have put most family planning programs out of business already. As a result, the need for continued funding is unclear.

It would be nothing less than a tragedy if the United States, for more than a generation the world's principal sponsor of population aid for developing countries, ended its support. No small element of the tragedy would be the increases in infanticide, abortion and infant mortality that would inevitably result. But Congress cannot go on pretending to respond to widespread public support for voluntary family planning programs while also making it impossible for those programs to operate.

U.S. family planning aid has always operated on the premise that deference should be paid to local laws and customs and personal preferences. Channeling aid through voluntary and multilateral organizations has been the preferred approach to avoid the appearance or the reality of interference by the U.S. government. Developing a trustworthy network of service providers in impoverished and remote areas has not been

easy. But the cooperation of church groups, voluntary organizations and local governments has produced significant progress in recent years.

No U.S. money—for that matter, no United Nations money—is used for legal abortions, much less for coerced abortions or infanticide. The Reagan administration itself has investigated and certified that. Nonetheless, in the name of combating alleged coercive practices in China, both Houses have adopted amendments to a supplemental appropriations bill and to the foreign aid authorization bill that may make it impossible for many family planning programs to operate.

The Agency for International Development, moreover, having already cut off aid to the International Planned Parenthood Federation, the major operator of programs in developing countries, has now issued rules giving favored treatment to programs that counsel sexual abstinence as the only method of birth control. The new rules also require all other local agencies to stop dealing with doctors, hospitals and other medical service providers that perform legal abortions.

The most vocal groups advocating these restrictions make no bones about the fact that they oppose all "artificial" birth control. That's not a position that would win much support among U.S. families and certainly not one that Congress should be imposing on people in other countries, directly or indirectly. If Congress doesn't believe the Chinese government's assurances that it opposes infanticide and other abuses, it should deal with that issue head on instead of using it as an excuse to obliterate an immensely valuable world program. ●

## A TRIBUTE TO ROBERT S. FOERSTER

HON. JOHN T. MYERS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. MYERS of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, July 19, Vice President George Bush announced the winner of the first teacher in space competition, Mrs. Sharon K. McAuliffe. I congratulate Mrs. McAuliffe on her high honor, and I also commend 1 of the 10 finalists, Mr. Robert S. Foerster, an outstanding young man from the Seventh District of Indiana. Bob Foerster teaches math and science at West Lafayette's Cumberland Elementary School.

Mr. Foerster was one of the original 40,000 applicants who jumped at the opportunity to fly when the President first announced last August that a teacher would be the first private citizen in space. Not only did Mr. Foerster undergo extensive interview sessions to earn the honor of being West Lafayette's candidate for the first teacher in space but he also flew on a KC-135 to experience the sensation of weightlessness at high altitudes.

Mr. Foerster was in Washington last week for the final interviews and to anticipate the countdown of Friday

afternoon's announcement. I had the opportunity to congratulate this fine young man when I hosted an informal luncheon in his honor on Wednesday, July 18. Mr. Foerster is a bright, articulate person who represented the State of Indiana with pride.

Mr. Foerster has always had a special place in his heart for flight since he watched the early Apollo launches as a fifth grader. He believes his computer background—he does consulting for several school districts—helped him become a finalist.

Mr. Foerster and his wife, Lee, also a teacher at Lafayette's Washington Elementary School, have two daughters, Lisa, 14, and Lorijane, 9.

Mr. Foerster is expected to work closely with NASA officials throughout the upcoming year to plan lectures, teacher workshops, curriculum guides and other educational programs to share his knowledge of the space program with as many schools as possible.

Today let us congratulate the 10 finalists; each has proven to be unique and talented individuals. But I especially salute Mr. Bob Foerster—he has made all of Indiana proud.●

#### OUR RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL

### HON. JIM COURTER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. COURTER. Mr. Speaker, about 1 month ago, when the TWA hijacking was newly before us, I told this House of my belief that the crime was a political act, aimed at weakening the United States-Israeli alliance and poisoning America-Israeli friendship. During the subsequent 2 weeks, the terrorists and their masters must have taken satisfaction in all of the following:

Headline, June 21: "Strains Between Israel, U.S. Surface in Crisis."

Item: A concern in Israel that the United States is playing "A strange game" with its ally over the matter of the 700 Shiite prisoners.

Item: A spokesman for American hostages calls on Israel to surrender the 700, which he calls "hostages."

Poll results: Forty-nine percent of Americans questioned say Israel has not done enough to resolve the crisis.

Poll results, only 2 days later: Fifty-eight percent now hold that view.

Item: Rumors and deficient interview tape cause Israelis to believe that a German-born American employee of TWA airlines helped separate Jews from the other passengers.

Headline: "Poll Finds Rising Sentiment for Distancing United States from Israel." Results widely publicized in Israel and America show 42 percent of Americans surveyed want to reduce

United States ties to Israel to protect us from terrorist acts.

Headline, July 1: "Crisis Boosts Assad and Berri; Clouds U.S.-Israeli Alliance."

Mr. Speaker, we cannot yet know how severe the damage has been. Presumably, some ill-will does remain beneath the surface, in both nations. But both democracies have too much in common, have been attacked by terrorists for such similar reasons, and stand for too many of the same good things, to let this base crime remain. Terrorism is a war for public opinion. It is not the sort of war democratic nations can afford to lose.●

#### TURKISH INVASION OF CYPRUS

### HON. MICHAEL BILIRAKIS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. BILIRAKIS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take a moment to reflect upon an anniversary. Unlike most anniversaries, however, this is, unfortunately, not one to be celebrated. Rather, it is one to be solemnly acknowledged and remembered, for it marks a tragedy that continues to this day.

Mr. Speaker, July 20 marked the end of yet another year in the tragedy that has plagued and afflicted the Republic of Cyprus for the last 11 years. Yes, July 20, 1974, was the day that Turkish troops undertook the fateful invasion that resulted in the occupation and colonization of 40 percent of the previously independent Republic's territory. Today, 11 years after the invasion, approximately 30,000 Turkish troops and more than 50,000 settlers from Turkey are illegally occupying and exploiting the properties of 200,000 displaced Greek-Cypriots who have become refugees in the land of their birth.

To make matters even worse, Turkey and the Turkish-Cypriot leadership, in direct violation of relevant U.N. resolutions, have taken a series of actions, subsequent to the 1974 invasion, which are aimed at consolidating the occupation and division of that small Mediterranean Republic. For example, as recently as 1983, there was even an illegal attempt to create a new Turkish political entity in the occupied areas. This unprecedented secessionist action was, fortunately, promptly labeled as illegal and unacceptable by the international community and received the condemnation that it so well deserved. As a matter of fact, the Reagan administration not only refused to recognize this unlawful action, but rightly called upon other governments not to extend recognition as well. Interestingly enough, of all the countries in the world, Turkey was the only one to

recognize the existence of the pseudo-state.

There can be no question that resolution of the Cyprus issue must come soon, not only for the sake of the people of Cyprus, but also for the peace and stability of the Eastern Mediterranean as a whole. Initiatives at peace have been undertaken by various parties throughout the years, but experience has proven that the single most important issue that prevents any progress on Cyprus is Turkey's insistence on maintaining a military presence in the Republic of Cyprus, even after a settlement is reached. Turkey and the Turkish-Cypriot leadership must be made to realize that this unacceptable posture has ruined several initiatives to resolve the Cyprus problem in the past and threatens to do the same to the current U.N. initiatives at a time when the Secretary-General has declared that he remains "convinced that an agreement is within reach."

On June 11, 1985, U.N. Secretary General de Cuellar reported to the Security Council that, following extensive consultations, he has prepared a "consolidated draft agreement" that he believes "represents the formula most likely to lead to a just and lasting solution to the Cyprus problem." He further stated that the Greek-Cypriot community has already given an affirmative reply to his proposal.

This progress would certainly constitute encouraging news, were it not for the Turkish side's discordant and unconciliatory stand. The unfortunate facts are that not only has the Turkish-Cypriot side yet to reply to the Secretary General's proposals, but they have publicly expressed positions that are contrary to Mr. de Cuellar's dedicated efforts and are introducing new measures that further the partition of Cyprus. Discordant attitudes and unacceptable actions such as these can do nothing but undermine the road to peace.

Mr. Speaker, we are currently within grasp of an opportunity to resolve the complex issue of Cyprus peacefully. It is an opportunity that cannot, and must not, be lost. The Turkish-Cypriot leadership must be convinced that they will have to make concessions for the sake of peace, just like those that the Greek-Cypriot community has already demonstrated, and Turkey must accept the fact that the presence of her occupation troops in Cyprus is unacceptable. Finally, both Turkey and the Turkish-Cypriot leadership must be effectively persuaded to accept the new proposals put forth by the Secretary General in order to reunify the country and bring freedom and peace to all its people.

Mr. Speaker, divided countries spell trouble and, for the sake of everyone involved, the division of Cyprus must

not be allowed to continue. The Republic of Cyprus has been a good friend to the United States. It has extended assistance whenever we have needed it, such as in the case of the tragedy of our marines in Lebanon and in the recent hijacking of TWA flight 847. It is now time for us to do our part to help Cyprus. Let us, therefore, stand ready to help and join efforts to end this tragedy that has been allowed to fester so long. ●

#### "NO" TO NORFOLK SOUTHERN

### HON. DENNIS E. ECKART

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. ECKART of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, the proposed sale of Conrail by the Federal Government continues to be one of the most important issues facing the Congress as well as rail employees and shippers in numerous States.

The proposed sale of Conrail to the Norfolk Southern Corp. has raised several serious questions which remain unanswered, including: Anticompetitive effects, increases in unemployment, inadequate return to American taxpayers, and increased shipping costs. The Cleveland Plain Dealer published an editorial last Saturday, July 13, which eloquently discusses several of these issues. The article follows:

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer, July 13, 1985]

#### "NO" TO NORFOLK SOUTHERN

The word in some quarters around Capitol Hill is that the proposed sale of Conrail to the Norfolk Southern Corp. is, if you'll pardon the transported metaphor, dead in the water. If so, its demise should be cause for some rejoicing among nearly every interest dependent upon rail transportation in the Northeast United States. The proposal, put forward last winter by Transportation Secretary Elizabeth Dole, does not properly serve Ohio, the region or the nation. Although it would meet the well-intended congressional mandate to remove the federal government from the railroad business, the sale amounts to a giveaway of a very valuable property. It could serve only to limit competition severely—and thus prove unnecessarily costly to those industries dependent on rail freight transport.

The transaction's complexities are keeping legions of accountants busy trying to determine its ramifications. But the more that congressional calculators tally the tax benefits the sale would give Norfolk Southern, the more the announced \$1.2 billion purchase price shrinks in its true return to the federal treasury. Granted, no sale, proposed or conceived, would recover anywhere near the \$7 billion that taxpayers have provided to seed and cultivate the system's return to competitive excellence. Yet the tax write-offs the acquisition could provide for Norfolk Southern—estimated by one congressman to approach the full purchase price—could amount to a handsome payment to Paul by a deficit-ridden Peter.

The worst feature of the proposal is the potential it has to destroy the competitive

balance of rail freight in the northeastern United States. Although Norfolk Southern and the Justice Department say that competition would be maintained through a complicated series of divestitures, such does not appear to be the case. Opponents say that Justice used a non-standard antitrust yearstick to measure the sale, one that underestimated the competitive problems and overestimated the efficacy of divestiture. Indeed, the two regional railroads most often mentioned as recipients of the shed lines—Guilford Transportation Industries and the Pittsburgh & Lake Erie Railroad—already operate on restricted budgets. How they would be expected to take over and use the Conrail castoffs is beyond the ken of many analysts. The weight of the added trackage might well be more than either could bear, and would mean the end of whatever competition they might afford. Shippers then would be left to the questionable mercies of Norfolk Southern's rate-setters. Congressional staffs are re-examining the Justice study.

Finally, the sale would mean the loss of jobs in Ohio—not only for the 300 employees of Cleveland's Collinwood Yards whose work would be transferred to Bellevue, O., but for hundreds and perhaps thousands of others whose livelihoods are wrapped in services that the merged lines would not use. And the loss of jobs is the last thing Ohio needs.

If Conrail's future does not lie in absorption by Norfolk Southern, then what should be done with it? Some, Sen. Howard Metzenbaum among them, say Conrail is a money-making proposition that the government should retain indefinitely. The inference is that it should be sold only if it started to lose money. But then, who would want it?

More and more, the proper course seems to be some form of public stock offering along the lines of that proposed by the banking firm of Morgan Stanley & Co., Inc. That proposal would see the investment house buy the railroad for cash and tax revenues—the combined values of which it places at about \$1.8 billion—then return ownership to the private sector through a series of stock sales. Conrail then would be left to fend for itself in the marketplace—a situation that its management, led by L. Stanley Crane, says it eagerly anticipates. Secretary Dole has opposed the public offer concept as unworkable and too time-consuming; in selecting the Norfolk Southern bid she said she wanted the system to go to a railroad company with pockets deep enough to carry it through projected income troughs and keep it off the dole.

But a public offering—whether Morgan Stanley's or one set up by the government itself—seems workable. Supporters point to the recent public sale of the \$8 billion British Telecom by Reagan soulmate Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher as proof that a giant government entity can be privatized successfully in a timely fashion. And, as far as pocket depth and dedication are concerned, Norfolk Southern Chairman Robert B. Claytor told the House Transportation subcommittee last month that, should the tax advantages be stripped (he places them at less than \$100 million) or the deal delayed past December, his company would reconsider its offer. *Sic semper* perseverance.

Congress is indicating it will not be hurried into a decision on Conrail's fate. It should not be. Too many questions, too many dollars and too many jobs are involved to yield to Secretary Dole's desire for

a quick Conrail fix—especially one that might ultimately cripple the region's transportation system. If Norfolk Southern can't wait, too bad. The nation can—and should. ●

#### JOB, HOME, FAMILY

### HON. HENRY J. NOWAK

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. NOWAK. Mr. Speaker, as part of "Helen Keller Deaf-Blind Awareness Week," the Buffalo News published an article on July 26 describing the success story of Eileen Wuest, both deaf and blind. Eileen despite her handicaps leads a surprisingly normal life. She holds a job, runs her household and with her husband Marvin Wuest, Eileen raised their two children, Christopher and Charleen.

Recognition must also be given to the Blind Association of Western New York, an organization that both employs and counsels Eileen. The Blind Association of Western New York has helped integrate Eileen as a capable and working member to our society.

I am bringing to your attention this article entitled, "Job, Home, Family," in assurance that Eileen Wuest's story will inspire others in realizing that the blind and the deaf can assimilate effectively into our community. Eileen Wuest is an inspiration for us all and her story should support observance of "Helen Keller Deaf-Blind Awareness Week."

#### JOB, HOME, FAMILY

(By Paula Voell)

Quickly and unerringly, Eileen Wuest guides the edges of a washcloth under a sewing machine needle, controlling the speed with a foot pedal, stitching each side to keep it from raveling.

As she finishes, she tosses the washcloths into a large cardboard box. Throughout the day they are removed to be shipped for use in New York State hospitals. By the end of her 6½-hour shift, Mrs. Wuest (rhymes with east) will have thrown 90 dozen washcloths, with a few misses, into that box.

After her work day at the Blind Association of Western New York, where she works in a sheltered workshop, she cooks supper, vacuums, does laundry, knits or reads the New York Times or a spicy detective novel.

Her active life is possible with several adaptive aids, with help from her husband, Marvin; her daughter, Charleen, 21; and her son, Christopher, 19; but mostly because she refuses to give in to deafness and blindness.

Deaf since birth Mrs. Wuest started at St. Mary's School for the Deaf at 4. She met her future husband there; in seventh grade they became good friends, by their junior year, they were dating.

Wuest, a letter sorting machine operator, who wears a hearing aid and has a residual amount of hearing, can converse by reading lips and has speech that can be understood with careful attention.

Because she is deaf, Mrs. Wuest gave up her girlhood dream of being a nurse. Instead, she had jobs as a dishwasher and cleaning lady. She was trained and hired as

a keypunch operator but lost that job within an hour because her sight was beginning to fail.

She started to lose her vision in 1969 and became blind in 1981 as a result of Usher Syndrome, an inherited disease that causes hearing loss and retinitis pigmentosa, a degeneration of the retina.

She became one of 40,000 Americans deprived of both sight and hearing, a group being recognized this week, "Helen Keller Deaf-Blind Awareness Week."

Asked which handicap has been harder to live with, Mrs. Wuest replied: "Being blind is harder, but being deaf and blind is much harder. It was very hard to accept blindness, but I had to do it. I had to adapt or die."

Mrs. Wuest sat next to her husband while being interviewed, cupping her left hand over his right to "read" the gestures, motions and movements of his hands and fingers. She responded to questions in sign language interpreted by Wuest and their children, a frustrating and time-consuming process. Neither of the children is deaf.

It's difficult for Mrs. Wuest because she has to rely on a translator to keep her in touch with what's going on, and frustrating for those who want to talk with her but don't know how.

As her sight deteriorated, her family urged her to attend a rehabilitation program at the Blind Association to learn techniques for keeping house and how to get around, but she resisted, saying she was depressed and ashamed.

In February of 1979 she overcame her fear and enrolled in the program. Since then she's convinced others to go through the program and worked with a deaf-blind woman in her home.

In rehabilitation she learned to read Braille and use a printer; how to wash and vacuum a floor in sections (warning everyone to get their socks off the floor before she vacuums); how to slice bread and meat using a knife with a guide; and how to handle a double spatula that operates like tongs.

She marks canned goods with Braille magnets and uses only one brand of cake mix because she knows the temperature and other ingredients.

Her son thinks she's clever to have devised these systems and he has a strong opinion about the finished product: "She makes the world's best chicken and stuffing," said Chris, a freshman in fine arts at Villa Maria College. "Hands down, the best."

Mrs. Wuest attaches a metal tag marked in Braille to each piece of clothing so her clothes are coordinated and she can sort the laundry.

The family has worked out a system for her to get back and forth to work. Each morning Chris walks her to the bus stop and keeps her company until she's on the bus. While traveling, she wears a sign to let people know she is deaf and blind. When she leaves work, a staff member accompanies her to the bus stop where she carries a sign that reads "Please touch me on the shoulder when bus 13 comes."

Drivers discharge her in a specific place near her home so she doesn't have to cross the street.

Mrs. Wuest uses many aids to get her through a world she can neither see nor hear. She has a Braille watch, a cane and a Mowat sensor (a sensing device the size of a transistor radio that sends vibrations to signal her when she is near an object). She subscribes to monthly magazines and each week gets a condensed version of the New York Times in Braille.

"She always saying, 'Why didn't you tell me this happened?'" Chris said.

With the family's diverse schedules (Charleen works in the office of Western New York Services for the Hearing Impaired and Chris works part time while attending college), Mrs. Wuest is often home alone.

Two years ago they applied for a Telecommunication Braille Device, a \$5,000 instrument that allows deaf-blind people to communicate with others on a Braille printer over telephone wires. Until recently funding for such aids was restricted to job-related devices, but legislation now allows for the latest technology for home use. The device would give everyone in the family a secure feeling when Mrs. Wuest is alone, Wuest said, but they still haven't received it.

Mrs. Wuest takes camping trips in the couple's motor home; she bowls, and she attends the national deaf-blind convention each year. One year she flew alone; this year she is going with a friend who is driving.

When the family is in public, Chris said they get all sorts of reactions, from "rubberneckers" to "little old ladies who come up after church and say 'God bless you'" to an unhearing Mrs. Wuest.

Chris said some people come up and speak very distinctly and slowly, as if that will help. Mostly, though, they don't know quite what to do, he said. At work, some people spell in her hand, a few have learned sign language.

"It's fun going through a crowd with her," he said. "When we were in Las Vegas I just yelled 'blind person coming through.' 'If that doesn't work we start swinging the cane.'"

As he was being interviewed, his mother and father were conversing and the gestures became more animated. "You're right in the middle of a family squabble," he explained. "Mom wants to go out to lunch and Dad wants to get back to work," he said. Last seen, they were heading for Burger King.

Chris said his mother has always been the family disciplinarian. "She has a wicked right hook," he joked. When asked if that was true, Mrs. Wuest smiled and held up a fist, an easily recognized word in sign language.

"You don't get much past her," he said. "I have a friend she's not fond of and she didn't want him in the house. Once she followed right after him and cornered him in the bathroom. Sometimes I think she can still see."

When he and Charleen were youngsters, they went to St. Mary's School for the Deaf for kindergarten so they could learn sign language. Charleen has been tested and found not to have Usher Syndrome nor to be a carrier. Both know that it can show up on subsequent generations.

As they talked about growing up in unusual circumstances, Charleen said it seemed normal to her because it was all she knew.

The frustrations are there always—the inability to talk to others, to see the beauty of the outdoors, the knowledge that there is no cure for a world in darkness without sound.

There is a conquering spirit, however, in this family that shows itself in humor and affection, not pity or dismay.

"I really enjoy myself," Mrs. Wuest wrote in response to a series of questions. "I appreciate God for putting light in my life. I still help people who need help . . . We raised two lovely children." ●

## CATHOLIC CHURCH IN PARAGUAY CONDEMNS PRACTICE OF TORTURE

HON. MICHAEL D. BARNES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. BARNES. Mr. Speaker, the House recently adopted language in the foreign aid authorization bill conditioning the provision of IMET funds to Paraguay on a certification by the President that the Government of Paraguay has ended the practice of torture and the abuse of individuals held in detention by its military and security forces and has instituted procedures to ensure that those arrested are promptly charged and brought to trial.

The official paper of the Catholic Archdiocese of Paraguay recently carried an editorial addressing the issue of torture in Paraguay, stating that:

We cannot be silent on the subject because until now in our country, police reports based on statements extracted under duress, despite the fact that all legal systems expressly forbid this practice, are used to initiate court proceedings. We speak of torture because, although many cases have been reported and proven, we do not know of any perpetrators having been sentenced. In some cases, the authorities involved merely issued communiques denying the accusations. In other cases, court proceedings were initiated and then dropped . . . It should also be made clear that nothing is gained by hiding this evil or by not admitting its existence. Consequently, we gain nothing by denying the existence of torture in our country, because it does exist.

As we go to conference on the foreign aid bill, I hope and trust that the House will stand firm on its language.

The complete text of the editorial follows:

### WHY WE SPEAK OF TORTURE

We feel the need and obligation to speak of torture because cases of illegal mistreatment in police precincts have come to light in recent weeks. There have even been some deaths. The reports, including evidence of physical mistreatment, are a deplorable testimony that this debasing and criminal practice continues.

We have to speak of torture because the national constitution is not being strictly complied with, as it should be. The Constitution says: "No one will be subjected to torture or cruel and inhuman treatment." The many specific norms of international law, which repeatedly condemn this practice, are also not respected.

We have to talk about torture because we cannot be content to listen to hollow condemnations or official denials, and because we want to actively participate in the eradication of this social scourge so that the word torture will be no more than a sad remnant of the past.

We cannot be silent on the subject because until now in our country, police reports based on statements extracted under duress, despite the fact that all legal systems expressly forbid this practice, are used

to initiate court proceedings. We speak of torture because, although many cases have been reported and proven, we do not know of any perpetrators having been sentenced. In some cases, the authorities involved merely issued communiques denying the accusations. In other cases, court proceedings were initiated and then dropped. Once and for all, we must admit that remaining silent, "playing dumb," "looking the other way," and taking no interest in this matter are just forms of complicity with this degrading practice.

It should also be made clear that nothing is gained by hiding this evil or by not admitting its existence. Consequently, we gain nothing by denying the existence of torture in our country, because it does exist. We are duty-bound to firmly and straightforwardly denounce the existence of torture so that this practice can be eliminated through the investigation of all reported cases and the punishment of those responsible.

The national and international laws clearly stipulate that torture cannot be justified. An individual cannot be tortured for reasons of national security, or by orders from the government or legally constituted authority, or "from the top." An individual cannot be tortured on behalf of "Western and Christian civilization." Therefore, nobody is under any obligation to torture or to obey orders from anyone to do so.

Today's torturer is equivalent to the pirate or slave trader of the past. He is an enemy of mankind. He is also a cowardly criminal, because he perpetrates the crime against a totally defenseless individual by abusing power.

Today we also speak of torture because our Christian conscience is aroused by indignation. Man is the son of God and, therefore, his body is a living temple of the Holy Ghost and part of Christ's mystical body. All this elevates the dignity of the human being even more. Catholics clearly understand that whoever attacks man, attacks God; whoever injures, mutilates, or destroys a man's body is indeed injuring, mutilating, or destroying a creature of God. The Second Vatican Council clearly stated: "Anything that attacks human life, anything that violates its integrity, such as mutilations, moral or physical tortures, or similar practices are in themselves shameful, degrading to human civilization, disgrace the perpetrator more than his victim, and are detrimental to the honor due to the Creator."

There is no alternative but to eliminate torture as the most terrible of evils. Its perpetrators, instigators, abettors, and accomplices must be brought to justice and punished on behalf of the highest interests of humanity in general and our society in particular.

This is a challenge for the entire national community, but it is a more direct challenge for the state branches, the executive and the judicial powers, which must comply with and enforce the law lest they ignore their duties and become passive accomplices of such acts of perversion.●

## JUSTICE DEPARTMENT REVEALS ITS ANALYSIS OF CONRAIL DIVESTITURES WILL TAKE UNTIL YEAR END

HON. JAMES J. FLORIO

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. FLORIO. Mr. Speaker, in February, the Department of Transportation recommended the sale of Conrail to the Norfolk Southern Corp. The Subcommittee on Commerce, Transportation and Tourism, which I chair, has been expeditiously evaluating this proposal, along with other options.

Because the proposed sale to Norfolk Southern would violate the anti-trust laws, the Justice Department has required the divestiture of certain rail lines to other railroads, subject to a review of the actual proposed divestitures to ensure that the carriers acquiring the divested lines would be viable competitors with a combined Conrail-Norfolk Southern.

However, the following article from Traffic World reveals that, because of lack of information, the Justice Department does not anticipate completion of its review until the end of the year. Despite this delay from the administration, the subcommittee will continue to expeditiously review the sale options. The article follows:

[From Traffic World, June 24, 1985]

### JUSTICE ANTITRUST REVIEW OF NS DIVESTITURE PLANS WILL TAKE UNTIL YEAREND

The antitrust division of the Department of Justice will not allow third parties to impose deadlines on its review of the divestiture proposed as part of Norfolk Southern Corp.'s bid for Conrail, according to an agency official, who added that the review process would take at least until the end of the year.

James Weiss, the assistant director of the transportation section of the antitrust office, said at a luncheon in Washington June 14 that his agency "hasn't received anything yet" except the agreements themselves from Norfolk Southern, Guilford Transportation Industries or Pittsburgh & Lake Erie Railroad.

Under terms of those agreements, NS would sell certain segments of rail line to Guilford and P & LE to satisfy potential antitrust objections to its proposed acquisition of the government's 85-percent interest in Conrail. The two smaller rail lines would also gain the rights to operate over the trackage of NS and Conrail.

"We are sending (the agreements) out now to the states involved," Mr. Weiss said at a meeting of the Transportation Table in the National Press Club. "We have very detailed letters of inquiry out to NS, Conrail, P & LE and Guilford. We will be meeting with all the states' people and local shippers. Once they start responding, I would anticipate it would take us a while because of the volume of the material. We will make a more detailed assessment based on the facilities and financial circumstances later."

The agency is now hiring consultants to conduct that detailed study, he said.

"I wouldn't anticipate we'd be done with that before the end of the year," Mr. Weiss said, adding that "the sale cannot go through until we are completed. That's assuming that NS is going to make the offer. It could be Morgan Stanley, in which case we're out of it," he added, referring to the alternative bid to purchase Conrail proposed by investors led by the Morgan Stanley & Co. (T.W., June 17, p. 37).

Asked if NS was aware of the agency's time frame, he responded, "we've said under a number of circumstances that we can't be tied down to a time frame because we don't have the information" which has been requested.

Mr. Weiss added that his office would be looking at the recently announced plan of Texas Air Corp. to acquire Trans World Airlines. He indicated that route overlaps could raise a number of potential objections.

Mr. Weiss was responding to reporters' questions after a brief talk on antitrust aspects of intrastate rate regulation of motor carriers. He predicted that state-approved bureaus would disappear eventually despite the Supreme Court's *Southern Motor Carrier Rate Conference* decision, which allowed the bureaus to continue under certain circumstances (T.W., Apr. 1, p. 5).

Mr. Weiss argued that market forces would draw motor carriers away from the rate conferences since the "pressure to go along on prices" could compel certain carriers to accept rates that were higher than those they could otherwise offer. "Carriers are thus compelled to act against their own interest—not by pricing below cost but by pricing above it," Mr. Weiss said.

He indicated that the agency would continue ongoing oversight of the rate conferences and hold them to the traditional tests Justice has established for such entities.●

## FENTON HIGH SCHOOL: DIVERSITY IN DUPAGE COUNTY

HON. HENRY J. HYDE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, the June 1985 issue of Illinois Issues included a very informative and insightful article about Fenton High School in Bensenville, IL, which is in my congressional district. The community of Bensenville is most fortunate to have an excellent high school with a challenging and diverse curriculum offering a wide range of choices for all of its students. Fenton is also known for its first-rate faculty and an outstanding superintendent, Carl Herren.

I am very pleased to share this excellent article with my colleagues:

FENTON HIGH SCHOOL: DIVERSITY IN DUPAGE COUNTY

(By Richard J. Sherekis)

If the students at Fenton High School in Bensenville learn nothing else during their stay at the northwest suburban school, they will learn to make choices. Fenton, located in the northeast corner of affluent DuPage County, has the ways and means to offer something for nearly everyone. The school's 1,500 students can choose from over 200 course offerings, including traditional



courses in English, foreign languages, the sciences and industrial arts, as well as unusual offerings like Comedy and Satire, Cartooning, Fashion Illustration and Foreign Foods.

They may choose among 18 different sports (nine each for girls and boys) which are contested at 54 different levels. (Football, for example, is played at six levels: Freshman A, Freshman B, Sophomore A, Sophomore B, Junior Varsity and Varsity.) They may choose to join any of nearly 20 extracurricular organizations or activities, including clubs for students interested in skiing, chess, angling and community service.

In a month like April 1985, which included the school's spring break, they could choose among 154 different athletic events, at the various levels, where they could cheer their Bison on to victory.

The options, among other things, make school attendance attractive. "We have an average daily attendance of 96 percent," says Carl Herren, Fenton's superintendent. "That compares to an absence rate of 40 percent or more in some Illinois schools. Our dropout rate is only 1.86 percent. And we're not talking about some exclusively college-prep kind of student body. About 50 percent of our graduates plan to attend college, while the other half are planning careers right out of high school. That's pretty unusual for a suburban school, but we're proud of it." The average ACT score of Fenton students is just over 19, which compares favorably to the state average of around 18, according to Herren.

Fenton has no rigid, ability-grouping program, but teachers and counselors "try to keep close track of every student," says Herren. "If they want to get into college-prep courses at the start, that's OK. But if they start getting D's and F's in those, a counselor will call them in, maybe with their parents, to talk about it and see if it's realistic for them to plan that way. We try to offer enough options so that the students who want to learn about specific careers will have a chance to get a good start here."

Robert Varney is one of those on the Fenton staff who takes a special interest in students' vocational interests. He is the chairman of the eight-member business education department which offers over 27 courses, from Shorthand and Typing to Accounting and Marketing and Distribution, from Today's Consumer to Salesmanship. Every freshman is required to take a course in Keyboarding/Computer Literacy, and the school has 80 computer terminals to make this possible. "At least 700 of our students will take business education courses each year," says Varney, "and the school and community are very supportive of our programs, partly because so many of our students get work right out of school at the industrial park. We're very proud of what we do."

The presence of that industrial park is also one of the reasons why Fenton can offer so many choices. The substantial taxes they pay increase the school's budget, so that Bensenville's essentially middle-class home owners do not have to bear the entire burden of financing their children's education (the estimated median household income for 1984 was \$31,573). "Our tax base, including what the industrial park generates, allows us to spend around \$4,800 per student each year," says Herren, "and only about 5 percent of that comes from the state. So we have a budget of around \$6.5 to \$7 million a year to work with. That lets us

do a lot of things for the wide range of students we have here."

Herren points with pride to the diverse accomplishments of Fenton's athletic and speech teams as an illustration of the school's ability to offer activities to students from disparate socioeconomic backgrounds. "We won state in wrestling in 1973, and we've remained very competitive in wrestling over the years. We just won the girls' state bowling championship. We've won three state championships in speech and been second a couple of times. How's that for balance? State championships in bowling and speech?"

Fenton's exceptional facilities provide the opportunities for the excellence and balance. The school has five different gymnasiums, not including a large wrestling gym that permits numerous bouts and practice drills to take place simultaneously. The former main gym, spacious and well-equipped, is used now exclusively for girls' sports. (Girls can compete in badminton, basketball, bowling, cross-country, gymnastics, softball, tennis, track and volleyball.) There is also a large new gym, featuring an 11-lap running track and a seating capacity of 4,000, which makes Fenton an attractive site for basketball and wrestling tournaments. Most of the boys' indoor sports are contested here. (Boys may choose among baseball, basketball, cross-country, football, golf, soccer, tennis, track and wrestling.)

The facilities also permit Fenton's athletic teams to accommodate large numbers of students. "We've got about 800 kids out for sports each year, probably 500 different ones, since a lot will go out for two sports," says Pete George, Fenton's athletic director for the past 10 years. "We'll have as many as 120 out for the six different levels of football; maybe 80 to 100 playing boys basketball. There are 30 different teams among the nine girls' sports, so most girls who want to compete have some chance in one of the interscholastic programs."

George has a yearly budget of around \$70,000 for supplies, entry fees, officials and upkeep. Coaches' salaries and travel expenses are funded from other sources, and his operation includes 56 different coaching positions, 10 of them for football alone. George, who came to Fenton after serving as wrestling coach at MacMurray College in Jacksonville, is proud of the many athletic opportunities his department can offer. "At a school like this, you understand, we're competing with music, speech, theater, for some students' time. We do all we can to let kids do both, if they want. And with the various levels for each sport, we give kids a chance to develop."

Opportunities abound within the curriculum, too, for both the college- and career-bound students at Fenton. The 14-member English Department regularly offers over 25 courses in writing, literature, speech and theater. At various points in their careers, students may take Journalism or Mass Media if they are interested in communications. Others may take courses in Acting and Stagecraft/Design, and get practical experience in the 750-seat theater which is used for student productions and other events. College-bound students can take traditional survey courses in British and American literature, as well as electives like Pre-College Composition and Advanced Placement courses in English and American literatures. Creative Writing, Film Making and Science Fiction are also available.

Neither the department's course offerings nor its stated philosophy makes any men-

tion of the study of traditional grammar, which suggests the department's enlightened approach. Research for years has shown that there is no correlation—except possibly a negative one—between the study of formal grammar and improvement in writing, and the English department operates accordingly. "We try to reach all students through the various offerings, which also include English as a Second Language and Developmental Reading," says Angela Durkin, a member of the department since 1977. "We teach writing by having students write, not by memorizing rules." In the past four years Fenton students have won five awards in the national writing contests sponsored by the National Council of Teachers of English. "Those were advanced students, of course," says Durkin, "but we try to give everyone, college-bound or not, a lot of chances to write."

College-bound or not, all Fenton students are served by the office of Pupil Personnel Services, headed by Gloria Harrington. Harrington's staff includes five counselors, a social worker, a nurse and a full-time psychologist. Their facilities include a Guidance Information System, from which students can gain essential information about specific colleges and careers. "They can punch a career into the computer, for example, and get a reading of the starting salaries, educational prerequisites, long-range potential and other factors," says Harrington. "Or they can get a printout on any of hundreds of colleges and find out immediately about financial aid, admissions standards, deadlines for applications and things like that. Next year, we'll be subscribing to a more sophisticated system that will cost a bit more. But then a student will be able to punch in her anticipated financial picture, her test scores, interests, even the kind of climate she'd like, and then get printouts of the schools that fit her requirements."

Harrington's staff also supervises students who take part in the programs offered by the DuPage Area Vocational Education Authority (DAVEA), a 15-district consortium that provides students in the region with more sophisticated opportunities for vocational education than they can find in their own buildings. DAVEA programs include courses like Dental Assisting, Ornamental Horticultural, Data Entry Occupations and Aviation Maintenance Technology.

Using funds from a recent grant for the education of gifted students, Harrington has planned a series of enrichment programs which began in the 1985 spring semester. During that term 69 of the students identified as gifted at Fenton chose to participate in a program on the performing arts. They met a couple of times each week. They made field trips to important cultural locations, like the Goodman Theater in Chicago, where they saw a play and then went backstage to talk with actors and others involved in the production. Members of a dance troupe came to the Fenton campus for demonstrations and discussions, and the students also met musicians from the Chicago Symphony. "In the fall, we'll have a bit different clientele because the general topic will be math and science. Next spring the subject will be Chicago. A lot of these students, believe it or not, never get into the city. They have all kinds of stereotypes about it and don't even think of it as a place to look for work. We plan to travel a main street—Halsted or Western or Clark—from end to end, looking at the neighborhoods. We'll study the architecture there and have visits from architects and historians."

But Fenton students need not be in the gifted program to study architecture. They may take a two-course sequence in Architectural Drafting in the industrial arts department, which offers over 20 courses in eight different areas. "We look on it as general education, not vocational education," says Alex Georgas, who has taught auto mechanics, carpentry, and machine courses in his 25 years at Fenton. "This is not a typical suburban school," says Georgas. "Almost half of our students take something in our department, and we like to think these are things they can use all their lives, even if they don't make a living from them." Once again, well-equipped facilities make the offerings attractive and effective. The photography area boasts a darkroom with 12 stations in it and equipment that makes professional-level work possible. There is a foundry, as well as areas for welding, carpentry and auto mechanics, and well-stocked drafting and electronics classrooms. "All of them want to go to college when they're freshmen, even though this is kind of a blue-collar community," says Georgas. "But after they see what's available and find out what they like and what they're good at, many of them realize they might have a future in a trade."

And if they're looking for other futures, Fenton students might even look to their own teachers as models, which is not always possible in these days of embarrassingly low teacher salaries. While Fenton's faculty salaries aren't lavish, especially in light of the cost of living in the areas, they are respectable enough so that the district's teachers feel they are getting some reward for their effort and credentials. About 75 of the 100 faculty have master's degrees, according to Herren. "The average faculty salary is around \$32,000," he says, "and four or five make something like \$45,000 a year when you add in coaching and extra days they might work in the summer." The starting salary for a B.A. with no experience is \$17,500; for a beginning M.A., \$19,250. After 17 years, a teacher with a M.A. plus 45 credit hours earns \$38,500, according to the 1984-85 salary schedule. A few administrators earn more than \$50,000 per year.

Generous pay scales help, of course, to attract highly qualified faculty. But they alone would not insure good morale and commitment among teachers. Administrators can set a tone for a school, and many at Fenton credit Herren for the upbeat spirit that seems to prevail in the halls and classrooms. Herren, who began as a chemistry teacher, first in Aurora, then at Bremen High School in south suburban Midlothian, has been the Fenton superintendent for two years. After his stint at Bremen, he served as counselor and assistant principal at Lyons Township in LaGrange for nine years before coming to Fenton as principal in 1974. When he walks the halls, students say "hi" to him easily; more importantly, he returns their greetings, seeming to know them all by name. His administrative staff, including Principal Alf Logan, Assistant Principal Larry Brandes and Business Manager Roy Doll, interact with him casually and frankly. When he goes to the cafeteria, he chats easily with faculty, speculating about the Chicago Cubs, about Fenton's athletic teams and reminiscing about a field trip he took with a social studies class to the Cook County Jail. His style sets a tone that may help Fenton as much as its substantial financial base, but Herren knows that decent salaries and first-rate facilities make his job much easier. "Sometimes it doesn't seem

fair that we can offer so much while other districts are so strapped," he says. "It would be nice if every high school could offer what we can offer, but right now that doesn't seem possible."

That feeling raises a number of questions about quality and equity in Illinois public education. Clearly, Fenton is an attractive place in which to teach and learn. Decently paid teachers work in well-equipped facilities to offer students an imposing array of options and opportunities. The students seem to respond. When you look into classrooms, you see, for the most part, students involved and attentive, perhaps because they're in classes they've chosen to take, rather than ones they must be in. The halls look clean and orderly, though not repressively so. "There's not much graffiti here," says Herren, "partly because the kids don't do much of it, and partly because we paint it right over before it encourages someone else." A disciplinary system which moves systematically from warnings through more serious punishments while yet remaining flexible seems to keep unruliness in check. A policy that prohibits students from leaving campus for lunch reduces truancy and tardiness, says Herren. The student body, predominantly white with only a scattering of Hispanics, blacks and Asians, seems cheerful and lively. Larry Brandes, the assistant principal who is in charge of student activities and organizations, feels that students' pride in themselves and in the school has grown in recent years. "I sense a real anti-drug attitude among the students," he says. "And they've really getting back into the value of hard work, sports, academics and positive school spirit."

The questions raised by a visit to Fenton are fundamental: Would it be possible to provide the same kinds of opportunities for all Illinois high school students? Doesn't it seem right to try? How could we do it? What would it cost? What is the price, in missed changes and unmet needs, if we don't? Who would have the courage to propose it?

Alex Georgas may be right when he says that Fenton "is not a typical suburban school." Ah, but wouldn't it be nice if it were a typical Illinois school? ●

#### LEGISLATION FOR UNINCORPORATED FARMERS

HON. SID MORRISON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. MORRISON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation along with 21 of my colleagues designed to offer this Nation's farmers a tax incentive for contributing surplus, or damaged food commodities to nonprofit, charitable organizations for distribution to the poor and needy.

This legislation simply restores a tax incentive that farmers had until 1969 and one that Congress restored for corporations, but not individuals in 1976. I want to restore equity to the majority of farmers who are not incorporated, but who donate their crops to charitable organizations. Last year, in the State of Washington, State food banks received 2.5 million pounds of

produce, worth \$1.25 million through a unique volunteer gleaning network. It is my belief that providing nonincorporated donors with a 10-percent tax credit for their gifts would increase those donations considerably.

Farmers donate the food because 20 to 40 percent of some crops often aren't marketable to the American consumer. But these products are perfectly edible and can help feed the hungry. It seems only natural that in these times of budget constraints that alternatives to meeting the basic food needs of our citizens be found. The gleaning approach provides one such alternative.

In my own State of Washington, there is a statewide, year-round gleaning operation. The two cornerstones to its success are transportation and communication. The director of the project receives word that a surplus commodity is available from a farmer, shipper or packer. Transportation is arranged through both private distributors and military units. Then a call is made to local food banks to offer the food for distribution.

Prior to the 1969 Tax Reform Act, the general rule was that a taxpayer who contributed crops to charity was able to deduct the fair market value of the property at the time of the gift. The charitable deduction resulted in an incentive for some taxpayers in high marginal tax brackets to donate rather than to sell the crop.

The 1969 Tax Reform Act allowed the farmer to deduct only the cost incurred in producing the donated crop. This rule not only eliminated the abuse mentioned above, but also greatly reduced contributions of appreciated property to charitable organizations. In 1976, the Senate Finance Committee concluded that:

It is desirable to provide a greater tax incentive than in present law for contributions of certain types of ordinary income property which the donee charity uses in the performance of its exempt purpose.

The Tax Reform Act of 1976, through a complicated formula, allowed for a tax incentive for corporate donors but not for individual farmers who wish to contribute gleaned crops. It has been estimated that only 1.7 percent of all farms are incorporated, so the majority of farmers are unable to utilize the 1976 act. Unlike the incorporated farmer who can fully deduct their costs and a significant portion of the appreciation in his crop, the individual farmer is left with no financial incentive to contribute unmarketable crops.

This legislation only provides nonincorporated donors with the same incentive already provided his corporate colleagues. This will provide the needed stimulus for farmers to participate in a gleaning effort on an even larger scale, making it possible to feed

a greater number of hungry people. I urge my colleagues to give this cleaning bill their careful attention and active support. ●

### A SELF-POLICING PROGRAM THAT'S WORKING

#### HON. RON MARLENEE

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. MARLENEE. Mr. Speaker, recent efforts to curb military waste, mismanagement, and fraud by Malmstrom Air Force Base in Great Falls, MT, are proving to be a tremendous success. Everyone at Malmstrom deserves our hearty salutes.

In addition to these efforts, Malmstrom should also be commended for their reduction in energy use; they are the lowest among SAC facilities with a 33-percent cut in the last 10 years.

While I understand that all areas of the military budget are not mismanaged, I cannot stress enough the importance of continuing our focus on stopping wasteful practices.

I urge and challenge all U.S. military bases to show the same professionalism and dedication as Malmstrom.

I submit to my colleagues a laudable editorial from the July 6 edition of the Great Falls (MT) Tribune.

#### MALMSTROM DESERVES APPLAUSE FOR PROGRAMS THAT HALT WASTE

Discovery at Malmstrom Air Force Base that the Air Force was paying \$190 for a clamp used on missile wings—even though overpriced by \$185—just doesn't have that same gasping notoriety as some other more publicized Pentagon purchases, including \$640 toilet seat covers, \$44 lightbulbs, \$7,622 coffee makers or \$180 flashlights.

After all, we've all bought considerably cheaper light bulbs, flashlights and coffee makers, and have a good guess what a toilet seat cover should cost.

But the fact that the incidents of waste or overpricing uncovered by Malmstrom personnel are not dramatic enough to be used in gag lines by Johnny Carson or in attacks on military spending by such Pentagon critics as Montana Sen. John Melcher does not mean they're not important.

Col. Bruce Harger, 341st Strategic Missile Wing vice commander, recently told the Tribune about Malmstrom programs to catch waste, fraud and overpricing. He listed several successes, including the \$190 clamp, uncovered after a staff sergeant's complaint. The investigation bore fruit: the Air Force will save an estimated \$18,000 a year and the sergeant received a \$1,300 reward.

Other claims of overpricing are being reviewed, as is a complaint that a firm overcharged Malmstrom \$100,000 last year for contracted services.

Harger stressed that most of Malmstrom's parts come from out-of-state military depots, so local merchants rarely are involved in overpricing investigations.

Air Force personnel are encouraged to report what they think is fraud or overpricing, but most complaints of overpricing are determined after investigation to be unfounded, he said. One reason is that the Air

Force sometimes must pay a higher price for what seems a mundane hardware-store item to get special reliability needed in missile maintenance.

Malmstrom should be commended for its efforts at cost-saving. It also has reduced its energy use by 33 percent since 1975—lowest among all SAC facilities. Also due for praise are the Air Force and the entire Pentagon, which claims to have saved \$500 million last year through more efficient acquisition of spare parts.

There's even something to the argument made by the military that—although it is usually military programs that uncover fraud and overpricing—it is the military that is made the whipping boy, with politicians and the press citing the expensive coffee pots and toilet seat covers as examples of how the military budget is bloated and can be cut without damaging American security.

It's an oversimplification to jump to conclusions about the entire Pentagon budget from a few overpriced items, although the revelations of major military supply companies improperly writing off thousands of dollars of campaign contributions as part of their defense contracts are troubling.

But it also is an oversimplification for defense advocates to imply that all major weapons expenditures are sacrosanct and absolutely necessary to U.S. security.

In summary, we applaud the military's internal uncovering of waste and fraud and encourage that such programs be continued with full funding. ●

### TAX REFORM'S STING IN PUERTO RICO

#### HON. JAIME B. FUSTER

OF PUERTO RICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. FUSTER. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago, the New York Times editorialized again regarding the effects on Puerto Rico of the tax reform which the Congress is currently considering. This time the New York Times editorial highlights not only the grave economic damage to the island that will result from the proposed repeal of IRS section 936, but also some of the political costs which such repeal would have.

I believe the July 20, 1985, editorial should be considered by all those that will be deciding on tax reform, so I request that it be inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

[From the New York Times, July 20, 1985]

#### TAX REFORM'S STING IN PUERTO RICO

Some major bad news for Puerto Rico has stirred too little concern in Washington. The resource-poor but labor-rich island has benefited for decades from a special tax provision that generated half its manufacturing jobs. So Puerto Ricans were stunned to find the Treasury proposing its instant elimination as part of tax reform. Now President Reagan offers what looks like a compromise but isn't: the benefit would be phased out in five years, to be replaced by a gimmicky wage credit.

The argument concerns Section 936 of the Internal Revenue Code, adopted in 1979 but rooted in longstanding practice. It excuses

U.S. corporations from Federal taxes on earnings they repatriate from Puerto Rico. The Treasury complains it costs as much as \$1.7 billion a year and that the benefits go not to mass employers but to capital-intensive industries, like pharmaceuticals.

The Treasury seems to assume that those businesses would remain in its jurisdiction. Experience argues they will move elsewhere, probably Asia. And every job thus lost in Puerto Rico will cost yet another in its service industries.

The Treasury also complains that the incentives system is cumbersome. The benefiting corporations seem to have no trouble understanding; 23 of them want to expand the idea by establishing "twin plants" that employ skilled labor in Puerto Rico and less-skilled labor in other Caribbean countries. That is now possible under President Reagan's Caribbean Basin Initiative, provided Section 936 survives.

In its place, the Treasury suggests wage credits, an accountant's nightmare. Companies would gain a credit against taxes equal to 60 percent of wages below the Federal minimum, plus 20 percent above the minimum, limited to four times the minimum. So much for simplicity.

There is also a political cost to this tampering. Puerto Ricans rightly believe they are owed their benefit under the compact that proclaimed them a commonwealth. Instead of statehood and a vote in Congress it gave them home rule and Federal tax relief. That compact should not be lightly or unilaterally altered. ●

### ST. PAUL-RAMSEY MEDICAL CENTER HONORED FOR HEARING IMPAIRED HEALTH AND WELLNESS PROGRAM

#### HON. BRUCE F. VENTO

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. VENTO. Mr. Speaker, throughout their lives, individuals who have hearing impairments may become frustrated and isolated by their disability. A serious barrier to learning and socializing, hearing impairment can cause serious psychological repercussions, as well. Although nearly 7 percent of all Americans have hearing impairments, mental health services designed to meet the needs of the hearing impaired are limited.

Until 1975, such services were non-existent in St. Paul, MN. That year, the Department of Psychiatry at the St. Paul-Ramsey Medical Center began collaborating with 26 agencies and organizations to establish a comprehensive network of mental health services for the hearing impaired. The result was the creation of the Hearing Impaired and Wellness Program at St. Paul-Ramsey Medical Center.

Recently, this innovative program was selected for special honor and recognition by the American Psychiatric Association at its 36th Annual Institute on Hospital and Community Psychiatry. Chosen from among 134 applicants, St. Paul-Ramsey Medical Center

received an award of significant achievement recognizing its outstanding efforts in serving the mental health needs of the hearing impaired. Furthermore, the Hearing Impaired and Wellness Program at St. Paul-Ramsey has served as a model for the establishment of similar programs at other hospitals around the Nation. The selection of St. Paul-Ramsey Medical Center for recognition of its program for the hearing impaired is especially significant in light of extensive and impressive competition as well as lengthy site visits and interviews by members of the American Psychiatric Association, the medical specialty society representing over 30,000 psychiatrists nationwide.

Mr. Speaker, I commend the St. Paul-Ramsey Medical Center for its outstanding Hearing Impaired and Wellness Program and for its exemplary commitment to the mental health needs of the hearing impaired. Hopefully, this innovative program will be duplicated in other hospitals across the country which serve those with hearing impairments.●

#### A TRIBUTE TO CARL CLEMENS

### HON. THOMAS J. MANTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. MANTON. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege to call to the attention of my colleagues the contributions made by Carl Clemens to his community, Ridgewood; to the county of Queens; and to the city of New York.

Carl Clemens is president and publisher of the Ridgewood Times, a weekly newspaper which has been in continuous publication since 1908, serving the Queens communities of Ridgewood, Glendale, Maspeth, and Middle Village. Carl Clemens joined the Ridgewood Times in 1920 at the age of 15, while a student at the Queensboro Business Institute. The institute placed him there on a temporary basis. However, Mr. Clemens exhibited such energy and dedication that George Schubel, the founder and publisher of the Times, kept him on and he eventually assumed management of the paper.

Carl Clemens has been part of every improvement in the communities he serves. His recollections include the first library built in the area, the first subway line brought in, the first bus service made available, the building of the Interborough Parkway and the Long Island Expressway, the establishment of the YMCA, the opening of the first high school in Ridgewood, the formation of the Community Boards, the reconstruction of Myrtle Avenue, the restoration of the Onderdonk House, and the designation of

parts of Ridgewood as the country's largest historic district.

In January of 1985, in recognition of the contributions made by Carl Clemens during his long and distinguished career, Mayor Edward I. Koch signed a bill passed by the city council officially designating the triangle on Cornelia Street a Myrtle and Cypress Avenues as "Carl Clemens Triangle." In his remarks at the signing ceremony, Mayor Koch said, "Carl Clemens has been a lifetime New Yorker, and has worked continuously for the betterment of the quality of life for its inhabitants. His life is truly a success story and he deserves the praise we give him today."

Carl Clemens is a member of numerous civic and fraternal associations, and served as Commissioner of Public Events under Mayor John V. Lindsay in the late 1960's. In addition to his many civic affiliations, Mr. Clemens is also an active member of Community Board 5. Now 80 years of age, Mr. Clemens can be found daily at his desk at the Ridgewood Times, making his unique contribution to the paper and the community.

Mr. Speaker, one of the great rewards of my years in public office has been the opportunity to work with Carl Clemens. Carl Clemens has never failed to be in the forefront of the fight for a better life for his communities. I have always enjoyed working with Carl Clemens on behalf of the people in his area, and I look forward to many more years of fighting at his side for progress and prosperity.●

#### CLEVELAND'S "SHOES FOR KIDS" CAMPAIGN

### HON. MARY ROSE OAKAR

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Ms. OAKAR. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, August 1, 1985, the Shoes for Kids Program in Cleveland will launch its 1985 campaign with a continental breakfast at the Sheraton in Beachwood. All of the money raised for the campaign is used to buy clothes for needy schoolchildren, so that everyone attending will pay for their own breakfast. This year's goal is to raise \$125,000.

Shoes for Kids started in 1969, when Mr. Morrie Sayre, board member of the Metropolitan Branch of the Cleveland YMCA learned through firsthand experience that there were children in Cleveland who were not attending school because they did not have shoes to wear during the bitter winter months. His response was to begin a campaign to organize enough shoes for every needy child and the Shoes for Kids project under the auspices of the YMCA began. The YMCA pro-

vides 501(c) status and serves as a fiscal agent for the project.

Over the past 16 years, the Shoes for Kids project has evolved from a 3,000 pair used shoes collection and repair effort to an activity with Cleveland and suburban impact. Thousands of dollars worth of shoes, hats, socks, mittens, boots, underwear, and other apparel are purchased at wholesale prices or lower, and distributed to Cleveland area elementary school-age children with the cooperation and assistance of Cleveland public school and volunteer personnel.

Mr. Morrie Sayre, a businessman and YMCA branch board member and past chairman, serves as the general chairman, personally supervising the Shoes for Kids project. This entails soliciting funds and other donations, the purchase of shoes and clothing, publicity and coordination of distribution throughout the entire Cleveland area. Irving B. Fine and Albert Ratner, two prominent Cleveland area citizens, assist Mr. Sayre as cochairmen.

The Greater Cleveland Shoes for Kids project, deserves the support of the entire community. Its many participants and supporters deserve commendation for their civic-mindedness and generosity.●

#### THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF SOCIAL SECURITY

### HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to commemorate the 50th anniversary of one of the truly seminal events in our Nation's history, the enactment of the Social Security Act. The Social Security Act represents the most basic fulfillment of our social contract: that Americans should work hard and proud for their Nation, and that these Americans in turn will sleep well with the knowledge that they will have the means to survive when they become older. Yet Social Security is no handout. For the last 50 years, when older Americans have received Social Security benefits, they have done so with pride, as they have toiled long and hard to receive the money they contributed to the system for all their working years.

When President Franklin Delano Roosevelt signed the Social Security Act into law on August 19, 1935, he did so to recognize the salient changes occurring in American society. America was no longer the rural society it once was, whose older and disabled citizens could live with children and relatives as they grew older. America of 1935 found unprecedented numbers living in cities, industrial workers whose families were often hundreds of miles

away, with little hope for any future after they were retired or became disabled. Social Security allowed people to contribute to their future, and not live in mortal fear of disability, or being left alone in poverty in their golden years.

In the past 50 years we have witnessed great changes in the Social Security system, each step intended to bring the reality of a secure society closer to all. When first enacted, the Social Security package applied to only a very few workers. Yet Americans soon realized the necessity of expanding the people covered under the system's safety net. By the mid-1950's, virtually all American workers were contributing and planning their futures around the promise of Social Security benefits. The numbers of workers covered was further expanded when the maximum taxable earnings base was lowered, allowing even greater numbers to contribute to Social Security.

In the 1960's many other important changes were implemented in Social Security. Earlier benefits to widows, early retirement, and Medicare were all instituted to expand the size of our society's safety net. By the dawn of the 1970's, Social Security benefits were raised in accordance with the inflation rate, to prevent a retired person's earned benefits from being eroded away by inflation.

I also want to honor those who have worked in the Social Security district offices for the past 50 years. These workers have devoted their lives to transforming Social Security legislation from theory and putting it into practice. These workers often provide the most common interface between the Government and its people, and we cannot commemorate Social Security without thanking the excellent workers who provide these crucial services.

Today, too much of what we hear about Social Security centers around its financial problems. Pessimists will insist on the impending demise of Social Security, claiming that demographics and other factors have sapped the fund of its fiscal livelihood. Yet these pessimists and predictors of doom fail to account for the desire and will of the American people to maintain a basic guarantee of safety and security for all Americans. Social Security stems from the core of the American spirit. It grew from the suffering of the Depression, and now provides the basic measure of safety and financial solvency to all Americans. I salute 50 years of a secure society, achieved through Social Security.●

## SUPPORT SUPERFUND REAUTHORIZATION

HON. FRED J. ECKERT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. ECKERT of New York. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 2817 sets up a responsible and effective program for cleaning up hazardous waste. I shall support it. Superfund is very important to the people in my district and throughout western New York.

There is currently one national priorities list site in my district and a second will be placed on the list shortly. The adjoining congressional district has the famous Love Canal site.

Superfund is also very important to the people in my district who are employed by numerous chemical producing and using businesses. For example, I want to ensure that none of the approximately 60,000 persons employed by Eastman Kodak, the 900 persons employed by Du Pont, the 475 persons employed by 3-M, the 150 persons employed by Jones Chemical Co., or the hundreds of other persons employed by chemical using or producing businesses in my district are thrown out of work as a result of being taxed out of business, regulated to the point of losing their competitive edge, or having their important trade secrets opened up to their foreign or domestic competitors.

We need a clean environment. I am committed to a clean environment and reauthorization of Superfund. I am also committed to protecting the jobs of the thousands of people working in the Greater Rochester Area in these important industries which have helped to create a quality of life which a recently prepared study for the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency ranked Rochester third in the Nation, the only community east of the Mississippi River so acclaimed, for outstanding quality of life in economic, political, environmental, health, education, and social components of urban living.

This bill is a bipartisan effort that strikes a balance between the need to continue full economic growth and employment and the need to keep the environment in as clean a state as possible. I have some reservations about the bill, including the provision that calls for a spending level of \$10 billion—a sum which exceeds what the EPA says it can effectively spend. On the positive side, I find that the taxing provisions are more broad based and designed to provide the funds necessary to move ahead with the cleanup without penalizing a very few industries.

The bill accomplishes six very important things.

First, the bill establishes a schedule for cleanup by requiring the EPA Ad-

ministrator to initiate remedial investigation and feasibility studies [RI/FS] at 150 sites a year, and to start remedial action at 90 percent of these sites within 12 months of completing the RI/FS's.

Second, the bill establishes cleanup standards at national priority list sites.

Third, the bill allows citizens to become involved in the Superfund process by allowing them to participate in the selection of the cleanup plan, sue the Administrator of EPA if he fails to perform a required act, or to sue individuals or corporations who violate the regulations established under the bill.

Fourth, the bill insures the protection of the community by establishing a workable community right to know plan that will provide those involved in responding to emergency situations the information to carry out their responsibilities.

Fifth, the bill emphasizes the cleanup of sites over litigation, while still providing citizens new rights to sue in order to enforce the law.

Sixth, the bill provides for adequate contractor cleanup by reducing the exposure to liability except in those cases where contractors willfully or negligently carry out their duties under the law.

The bottom line is a bill that is a bipartisan consensus that reflects the give and take of the legislative process, a bill that moves the cleanup of hazardous waste sites forward without costing thousands of people their jobs. I would urge my colleagues to support the compromise.●

## WHAT IS A FARMER

HON. RICHARD STALLINGS

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. STALLINGS. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to focus briefly on the plight of the American farmer. Many people argue that there is not an actual crisis on the American farm, or that the farmer is so inefficient he deserves the current credit crunch. I do not support either school of thought. I strongly believe that the American farmer is the most efficient producer in the world, and also worthy of our deep concern. I do not believe that the Federal Government should give the farmer a blank check or that the farmers are asking for handouts. The American farmer is merely looking to maintain a way of life which has made this Nation strong.

Ted Meyer, a farmer from Kendrick, ID, recently sent me the following poem about the plight of the farmer. I found the poem simple yet profound. The American farmer truly plants in

hope, cultivates in faith, and ends in debt.

#### WHAT IS A FARMER?

A farmer is a man who wears out two pairs of overalls growing enough cotton for one.

A farmer starts every year with nothing, loses everything he grows, and at the end of the year comes out even.

Planting time and harvest season, he finishes his 40-hour week by Tuesday noon—then puts in another 72 hours.

He loads his planter with \$1,500 worth of seeds, fertilizer, herbicides and insecticides. That is one hour's worth.

In a normal farm afternoon (1 to 10 p.m.) he will bury \$13,500 in the ground.

Odds are it will get too wet or too dry, or there will be hail, wind, early frost, bugs, brickbats, or bureaucrats.

And, if he gets a good crop, he still won't meet expenses.

He buries last year's disappointments with this spring's plowing.

And, so he plants in hope, cultivates in faith, and ends in debt—and then starts all over again.●

#### SUPPORT FOR MEDICAL EDUCATION IS SUPPORT FOR PATIENT CARE

### HON. EDWARD F. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, after a decade of high-paced inflation in medical costs, the Federal Government has moved decisively over the last several years to curb health care expenditures and to promote greater efficiency in the delivery of medical services. Sharp reductions in the medical inflation rate are welcome signs that this policy has already begun to have some success.

But as we continue to pursue efforts at cost containment, we should not lose sight of two other aims that ought to remain fundamental to America's health care policy: humane care and broad access. The same technological revolution in medical procedures that has pushed up the cost of medical care has also accelerated specialization in the health professions. Doctors have been called upon to master increasingly narrow and complex techniques, while nurses have assumed a number of roles formerly held by physicians. If the quality of patient care is to be maintained through this transformation, then the Federal Government must help prepare nurses for their more extensive doctoring roles while encouraging a healthy supply of physicians committed to general patient services. Two bills passed by us last week would achieve these goals by reauthorizing assistance for a number of educational programs in the health professions. They deserve support from both sides of the aisle.

The Nurse Education Act would provide grants to support advanced nurse training as well as programs for nurse midwives, nurse anesthetists, and nurse practitioners. The Health Professions Education Assistance Act would reauthorize the Health Education Assistance Loan [HEAL] and Health Professions Student Loan [HPSL] Programs and provide assistance to family medicine and general dentistry curricula. Both bills would promote the recruitment of minority and disadvantaged students seeking careers in the health professions.

The technological push to specialization in the health professions has been amplified by economic forces. Cuts in Medicaid, the revamping of the Medicare reimbursement system, and pressures from the growing for-profit hospital sector have put the financial squeeze on many of our country's teaching hospitals. The costs of medical, dental, and nurse training have thus skyrocketed, and the financial incentives for specialization have increased accordingly. The bills before us last week would help ease some of these pressures. By increasing the supply of primary care practitioners—both nurses and doctors—by improving the geographical distribution of medical personnel and by fostering opportunities for disadvantaged students in the health professions, the bills would enrich the quality of American medicine while assuring a more equitable distribution of its benefits.●

#### OHIO BAND REPRESENTS UNITED STATES ABROAD

### HON. JAMES A. TRAFICANT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. TRAFICANT. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to salute the Warren Junior Military Band of Mahoning County in Ohio because they have been selected as the official U.S. band to host the opening ceremonies of the International Youth Festival in Zurich, Switzerland. The Warren Junior Military Band is comprised of 116 talented young men and women who together form the best band in the land.

Because of their accomplished reputation and impeccable competition record, the Warren Junior Military Band has been chosen to spend the summer touring Europe and representing the United States in competition. The band is performing in Innsbruck, Austria; Salzburg, Munich, and Strasbourg, Germany; Paris, France; and Brussels, Belgium, during the month of July 1985.

The Warren Junior Military Band was formed in 1927 in Trumbull and Mahoning Valley area of northeastern Ohio, and the band has been success-

ful in competition ever since its formation, winning 20 national championships, 11 Canadian championships, and numerous other State and local awards.

The current band owes much of its success to the renowned director, Donald W. Hurrelbrink, who was awarded the Nation's highest award in 1973, the George Washington Award. Under the direction of Hurrelbrink, the Warren Junior Military Band has traveled from the east coast to Hawaii and from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico performing at countless events for an impressive list of dignitaries, Presidents, and Prime Ministers. They have toured Europe as goodwill ambassadors and have performed in competition, concerts, field shows, and parades such as the Macy's, Hudson's, and Gimbel's Thanksgiving Day Parades; Orange Bowl Parade; the Indy and Cleveland "500" Parades; and the Hall of Fame Parade. In 1983, the Warren Junior Military Band was the grand champion at the Flags of Freedom competition in Sun Prairie, WI. And in 1984, the band was the overall champion in the Falling Leaves Festival in Salamanca, NY.

The accomplishments of the Warren Junior Military Band speak highly of the dedication of the young men and women who have contributed to the band's success by developing their talents, and the band currently has over 5,000 alumni. The band's representation of the United States in foreign lands is worthy of pride at home in the 17th District of Ohio and the United States of America. We in Congress should remain aware of those institutions in our home districts that reinforce American pride and spirit, and the Warren Junior Military Band has been a source of community pride and spirit since its early formation in the first half of the century.●

#### TRIBUTE TO JOHN BISHOP, JR.

### HON. RICHARD C. SHELBY

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. SHELBY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues in the House of Representatives a delightful story that appeared in the July issue of Alabama magazine, written by Joanna C. Hutt.

It is a wonderful account about Mr. John Bishop, Jr., and his famous Dreamland barbecue. Following is the enjoyable story:

For a heap of folks, from California to New York, the search for the best barbecue—ribs only—ends at Dreamland Drive Inn. Here amidst the neo-neon beer-sign decor, the menu offers beer, white bread, and ribs—hence the famous rib sandwich.

Don't look for delicious side dishes. There's no slaw, french fries, baked beans, anything. Not even knives and forks. Just the ingredients for what John Bishop Jr. calls an inside picnic—beer, white bread, and ribs only.

Then why do people like Joe Namath, Ray Perkins, a Russian poet visiting the University of Alabama, a New York women's soccer team, Bart Starr, and hordes of people you haven't heard of keep coming back?

It's the ribs only.

"So, what's the secret?" which is the first question for any good barbecue joint. According to Dreamland's mountainous owner, John Bishop Sr., known affectionately to his regular customers as Big Daddy, "Well, first one thing an' another."

Bending only slightly to persistent questions, Bishop goes on in his rich black dialect, as rich as those slabs on the pit. "Some people say the sauce makes it, but the sauce is just a part. It's the wood. I use just hickory. It's in the fire. It's in the cookin'. It's in the sauce. And it's in the brains."

He fires up his pits early, and experience tells him when the temperature is just right. He choose his ribs carefully. "I'll tell you somethin' about me. I like things did right. And not everybody has good teeth. You can pull out your dentures an' eat my ribs."

The sauce, explains Bishop, has to do justice on the ribs. He started working on his recipe back in 1958 when he built the cement block building and started up the fires. He experimented for about eight months. He admits he changed it one time, but when a customer confronted him about the difference, he went back to his original creation.

Rumor has it that he adds a touch of turnip greens to his sauce, but Bishop will neither confirm or deny.

Bishop has been approached about bottling his sauce and selling it, but he says he'll wait on that a while.

Dreamland is not the easiest place to find, but lots of people have followed their noses and had no trouble. If you're in the Tuscaloosa area going east on highway 82, go through McFarland intersection and turn left on Jug Factory Road (just past McDonald's) into Jerusalem Heights. Wind around until you get to a fork in the road. Do what it says, and you can't miss it.

I am honored to be able to share this delightful story with my colleagues in the House. I always enjoy going home to Tuscaloosa and eating at Dreamland. It is barbecue at its finest, and I certainly wish Mr. Bishop the very best in all his future endeavors. ●

#### END COLD WAR AGAINST CUBA

### HON. TED WEISS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. WEISS. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Wayne S. Smith, a career Foreign Service officer from 1958 until 1982 and currently an adjunct professor of Latin American studies at the Johns Hopkins University, recently gave an address before the Humanist Society of Metropolitan New York. The speech, entitled "Let's End the Cold

War Against Cuba," was made to an audience which included diplomats from the United Nations. The following is a report of his speech by Prof. James Aronson, which appeared in the May newsletter of the Humanist Society of Metropolitan New York. I am sharing this article with my colleagues because I strongly believe it is in the national interest of the United States to improve our relations with Cuba.

#### END COLD WAR AGAINST CUBA

(By James Aronson)

In a sharp rebuke to the government of the United States for its "policy of confrontation" toward Cuba, a former chief advisor to the State Department on Cuban affairs urged the government to return to a "policy of diplomacy" and make its mission one of "encouraging a more stable world situation under the rule of law."

The criticism was leveled by Dr. Wayne S. Smith, a Foreign Service career officer from 1958 to 1982, when he resigned because of differences with the foreign policy of the Reagan Administration. Dr. Smith served as chief of the U.S. Interest Section in Havana from 1979 to 1982. He is at present a professor of Latin American studies at Johns Hopkins University. He spoke at the monthly Humanist Dialogue meeting of the Humanist Society of Metropolitan New York on April 15, on the subject, "Let's End the Cold War Against Cuba."

Dr. Smith ranged beyond Cuba in his analysis of U.S. foreign policy. "We behaved counter-productively in Angola," he said. "The U.S. was in Angola before the Cubans came in. We became involved in a stupid, inept military movement." He went on:

"We have learned nothing from the Bay of Pigs, nothing from Angola, and we are doing the same thing in Nicaragua. What is the objective? Is there to be no analysis ever? It is time we grew up as a nation and took our obligations seriously."

He was not optimistic, however, that the Reagan Administration would change its policy, and indicated that the "misinterpretation" of the facts of our involvement in the world's trouble areas would continue.

Dr. Smith said that Fidel Castro in the early stages of the Cuban revolution was "too determined to breathe fire in all directions," but that Castro had changed because he now believed "a dialogue with us is in his interests." It would be in the interests of the U.S. too, he said, because we could once again have access to Cuba's nickel, tobacco products and shellfish. But that was not the crucial element, he said: Dialogue with the Cubans could help achieve a solution in Central America too. "Conditions for accommodation between the two countries exist," Dr. Smith said, "and we should recognize that."

"Cuba is a Marxist-Leninist state and will remain one," he said. "It is an ally of the Soviet Union and is likely to remain one. We must accept the situation and begin a dialogue. Our present policy achieves absolutely nothing." He charged that the U.S. had rejected all overtures from Cuba while insisting that none had been made.

"Why this attitude?" he asked. "It is partly ideological—appealing the Right. Cuba is declared to be the vilest part of the Evil Empire."

On the question of human rights, Dr. Smith said that it was "inconsistent to talk about human rights in Cuba when we ignored their violation elsewhere." Our policy,

he said, has to do with the way the Administration projects the Soviet role in Central America. This, he said, forces our policy makers to misinterpret deliberately any Cuban overture. The fact is, he said, "there is never any response from the U.S. to Cuban overtures."

In a lively question period, Dr. Smith said that the U.S. had helped bring about the confusion and bitterness engendered by the Mariel migration of thousands of Cubans to the U.S. Beginning in 1979, he said, the Cubans had asked for talks on migration, just as they had initiated the talks on airplane hijacking; but the U.S. had refused, thus forcing the conditions governing the migrations from Mariel and their aftermath in the U.S. He said that the Cubans had begun in 1980 to seek talks, but that the Reagan Administration had dropped the whole thing, and "it took four years to get around to doing it."

Asked whether the Cubans were better off under Castro than under Fulgencio Batista, the last president, who fled to Portugal, Dr. Smith said that there had been obvious material and health gains since the revolution, but that there had also been "a heavy cost in freedom." "The judgment of history is still out," he said.

Reiterating his position that he saw little hope for immediate change in U.S. policy, he said: "The march of folly goes on. My sense is that anti-communism is the theology of our time."

Dr. Julius Manson chaired the meeting in place of Professor Richard Falk, who was called unexpectedly to Switzerland. ●

#### QUALITY RENEWAL ACT OF 1985

### HON. GUY V. MOLINARI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. MOLINARI. Mr. Speaker, I commend the chairman and the ranking members of both the Public Works and Transportation Committee and the Subcommittee on Water Resources for their strong leadership in crafting this bill before us today and I urge my colleagues to support it. It is crucial that we reauthorize the Clean Water Act. This has, however, proven to be a difficult task due to the wide range of conflicting interests and priorities which must be addressed. The Water Quality Renewal Act of 1985 resolves many of those concerns as a practical and ambitious approach towards cleaning up and maintaining our Nation's waterways.

I am especially pleased to note that two amendments which I sponsored during consideration of the Clean Water Act last year are contained within this bill. Section 15 of the committee print prohibits the EPA Administrator from issuing any treatment works grants which are part of an approved areawide water quality plan required under section 208 of the Clean Water Act if that plan is not being implemented or developed and reasonable progress is being made towards its implementation.

The section 208 plan is an areawide, interstate waste treatment management plan, wherein States identify areas which have significant water quality problems as a result of urban-industrial discharges. The section 208 program is the only program aimed directly at identifying nonpoint source water pollution problems. Nonpoint sources contribute a major share of many serious pollutants to our waters. Effective execution of the section 208 plan could ultimately save moneys by investing in cost-effective treatment processes.

The other provision, section 17(c)(2) of the committee print, earmarks \$2 million annually to the Interstate Sanitation Commission [ISC]. The ISC has been consistently underfinanced and as a consequence, has had to dramatically reduce some of its core activities. Among some of the activities which have slowed significantly or stopped altogether included: Sampling and analyzing the overall interstate waterbodies, inspecting and sampling public and private treatment plants, monitoring discharges and water conditions, and analysing toxics in effluents. The additional funding of \$2 million is necessary to permit the ISC to resume the above activities at a fully effective level.

This provision is long overdue. The ISC plays a vital role in protecting the waters of the Greater New York-New Jersey-Connecticut Area. The funds provided in the legislation before us appropriately reflects the Commission's needs.

I am pleased to note that the committee amendment to H.R. 8, which will be offered on the floor and which was inserted in the July 16, 1985 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, contains two additional provisions which I sponsored last year. One provision provides for continued and accelerated research into the harmful effect on human health and welfare caused by water pollutants, with particular emphasis on the bioaccumulation of pollutants within the indigenous aquatic population.

The current regulatory process places predominant significance on the pollution levels within a specific body of water. We need to refocus our attention on the effects of pollutants upon the indigenous population rather than simply examining the levels of pollutant concentrations within the water. This is a true test of the progress made by the Clean Water Act—whether the aquatic ecosystem has been restored and/or maintained.

The other provision within the committee amendment would include the term "leachate collection system" to the definition of point source discharge. A leachate collection system functions to collect leachate from groundwater or landfill. An EPA report listed approximately 400 land-

fill sites with degraded water quality due to leachate discharges. In my district alone, 4 million gallons of leachate are collected from a landfill on Staten Island and channeled daily into the water body separating New York and New Jersey. EPA has refused to require a discharge permit for the landfill claiming that it does not represent a point source. The intent of the Clean Water Act is to regulate all sources of pollutant discharge—there is no valid reason to exempt leachate collection systems from that regulatory net. This provision clarifies congressional intent by specifying leachate collection systems as a point source.

In closing, I again urge my colleagues to support quick passage of this strong and sensible reauthorization bill. ●

#### DENY MOST-FAVORED-NATION STATUS TO ROMANIA

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a resolution to reject the President's request for a waiver under section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974, as amended. The purpose of this resolution is to deny renewal of most-favored-nation [MFN] trade status to the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Mr. Speaker, it is time for us to stop deceiving ourselves about the nature of the Romanian Government.

Since 1975, we have conducted trade with the Socialist Republic of Romania under the provisions of the Jackson-Vanik amendment to the Trade Act, which links the assignment of MFN status to the establishment of free and open emigration procedures. Time and time again, we have been presented with substantial evidence that the Romanian Government harasses and persecutes those who try to emigrate. Time and time again, President after President has chosen to overlook these violations of the basic principles of human rights and to accord the Romanians MFN status, citing Romanian "assurances" that progress would be made. Time and time again, these assurances turn out to be tragically empty promises.

Last May, our former Ambassador to Romania, David Funderburk, revealed the Romanian's latest dodge around the provisions of the Jackson-Vanik amendment. The Romanian Government has allowed our Embassy to be swamped with emigration applications. At first, we applauded. But later we learned that Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu was merely trying to dispose of undesirable Romanian citizens unqualified for U.S. citizenship,

much as Fidel Castro did with Cuban criminals in 1980. This is the type of negotiating strategy we've come to expect from the Romanian Government.

In addition to this gross violation of Jackson-Vanik we find that those citizens which are given emigration passports by the Romanian Government are termed traitors to their country and consequently are evicted from their homes, fired from their jobs, and denied food ration cards. Last April, Romania's leading dissident poet, Dorin Tudoran, began a hunger strike to protest his inability to obtain a passport from his government to emigrate. Shortly after he began his hunger strike, the Romanian Government cut off all written and telephone communication between him and the outside world. He was then apprehended by the government. No traces of him have been found since that time.

The late Senator Jackson's concern with free emigration reflected his deep commitment to the protection of all human rights, and the spirit of the Jackson-Vanik amendment speaks to the entire range of human rights issues. The most cursory examination of the abysmal Romanian record on human rights would reveal just how underserving Romania is of MFN status.

The Romanian Government persists in its systematic persecution of the religious community. In recent years, at least seven clergymen have died during or following "questioning" by the authorities, the most recent case occurring only last year. In this case, a Catholic priest by the name of Geza Palffy was beaten by the Romanian secret police [the CIE], his liver crushed and kidneys shattered, for simply criticizing in his Christmas, 1983, sermon the policy of the Romanian Government not to allow Christmas Day to be a legal public holiday. It was recently discovered that the 20,000 Bibles which the Romanian Government so graciously allowed into the country were confiscated and recycled to make toilet paper. In addition, churches are being bulldozed, strict limitations placed on the number of students allowed into seminaries, and pastors denied licenses to preach in fast-growing congregations.

In the period in which Romania has enjoyed preferential trade status with the United States, the Romanian Government has attempted to silence critics of the regime. In July 1978 General Ion Pacepa, former deputy director of the CIE and special adviser to President Ceausescu, was instructed personally by Ceausescu to conduct secret assassinations by mailing plastic explosives to exiles critical of the Ceausescu regime. Pacepa refused and defected. Since his 1978 defection, he has been



the target of at least seven assassination attempts.

Paul Goma, the dissident writer expelled to France in 1977, was targeted for assassination in 1982. His would-be assassin, Matei Haiducu, revealed to the French secret service the details of his mission. In 1980, West Germany arrested a man who spied on Romanian emigrants for Romanian intelligence; in February 1981, parcel bombs were sent to the house of prominent Romanian exiles in Paris and Cologne, injuring two of them and a police bomb expert; in July 1981, Emil Georgescu, an outspoken Romanian program editor at Radio Free Europe was stabbed 22 times. Other Radio Free Europe personnel who have been beaten or targeted for assassination include Monica Lovinescu and Sergius Manoliu. Many more cases can be found during the period in which Romania has enjoyed MFN status.

It is interesting to note that Romania was the first country to send its airline to the Beirut airport after the United States called for an embargo of the airport which was the scene of the most recent terrorist act against the United States. Should we tolerate this blatant slap in our faces?

The abuse of religious rights, harassment of emigrant applicants, and assassination of critics of the regime continue unabated. Yet we decline to speak out forcefully.

To remain silent while these gross violations of fundamental human rights continue is unconscionable. To my mind, these abuses far outweigh the token gestures of cooperation with which the Romanian Government has been forthcoming. I cannot stand idly by while the Jackson-Vanik amendment becomes a dead letter. I ask my colleagues to join me in respectfully but firmly asking the President to withdraw his request to waive the imposition of section 402 penalties. Should he prove unresponsive, I ask you to support my resolution to disapprove his request for a waiver. ●

**RESPECT FOR ELDERLY—  
VIETNAMESE STYLE**

**HON. ROBERT J. MRAZEK**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 23, 1985*

● Mr. MRAZEK. Mr. Speaker, I think we can all agree that our perceptions of a given phenomenon can alter radically when viewed from a different perspective, and that an impartial observer often can shed new light on a set of circumstances that those of us close to a situation could never see.

These points were brought home to me recently in the form of the observations of a constituent who grew up in another land. The constituent, Hao

Hoang of Port Washington, is Vietnamese. In the following passage, he gives a unique perspective of American society that we all could do well to consider, as he speaks directly to a part of our culture that is distinct from other lands. As Americans, we think of ourselves as a youthful society, an attitude which is not without its positive aspects. Yet, this same philosophy also can foster a dilemma in many of us as we consider the implications of old age on our families and, ultimately, ourselves.

I offer Hao Hoang's thoughts for the consideration of my colleagues and of the American people:

When I first came to the United States, I was shocked by what I heard about how old people are being treated in this country. I heard that an old man had been dead in his house for a week before his children knew what had happened. Old people are being put in care centers away from their homes. To me, care centers are not homes; Care Centers are places where old people are away from their grandchildren and other loved ones, and they feel rejected by their children. This was not how I used to see old people being treated in my country.

I remember when I was in Viet-Nam every new year, the first person my father took to visit was my dear old grandmother, who was living with my uncle. When all our relatives had arrived, my uncles and aunts, with my parents, each carried a cup of warm tea and walked toward my grandmother. They wished her a long life and good health. Then all her grandchildren, from the eldest to the youngest stood in line; each of us walked toward my grandmother and wished her a happy new year, and we would say things that lightened her heart. In reply, she wished us a brilliant future and a great career. This was what I used to see and remember. I used to think that being old was so rewarding, and how happy I would be to grow old.

My father had set a fine example to all his children. He had shown that old people like my grandmother need comfort, not loneliness. I will take care of my parents as they had once taken good care of theirs. It won't be a special thing to do, it will be a normal thing to do.

I want you to take a look at the world around you, it was made especially for you by the contributions of your elders. I want you to feel your heart, the blood that is pumping in your heart is as pure as your parents'. When you were born, a stranger to the world, you were not able to take care of yourself, who took care of you? Now, your parents are old, and unable to support themselves; it's your chance to take good care of them. It's not a matter of tradition, it's a matter of right. Is it right to take care of your own flesh and blood? The answer should naturally be yes.

You know, you are the one that will influence the next generation. I want you to set a fine example, to all your children, show them that you care for your parents emotionally and financially, show them you respect them. There may have been some rough times between your parents and you, but when you have finally grown, you should give and forgive.

I know I can do for my family alone, but if all in America set a fine example for their families, there will be no more bitter tears of loneliness. The problem of how to treat

old people will be solved, and there will be a difference in our future.

For every action, there is a reaction. How you treat your parents will be how your children will treat you, and what your parents receive from you will be what you will receive from your children. ●

**REMEMBERING HIROSHIMA**

**HON. TED WEISS**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 23, 1985*

● Mr. WEISS. Mr. Speaker, 40 years ago last week, at a remote site in the New Mexico desert, the United States tested the world's first atomic bomb. Within a month, nuclear explosions would devastate Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the war with Japan would end. Historians have often debated the link between the Japanese surrender and the use of the atomic bomb, and we will never know for sure how many American lives President Truman's decision saved. What we do know, however, is how many lives it cost. To see, as I did, the destruction at Hiroshima is to know that nuclear weapons must never again be used in war.

One concrete, practical step that the United States could take to reduce the likelihood of nuclear war is to renounce the first use of nuclear weapons. We already have a limited policy of no first use. In 1978, President Carter forswore the use of nuclear weapons against any nonnuclear nation, provided that that country was not being assisted in aggression by a nation that did possess such weapons. The Reagan administration has reaffirmed its commitment to this pledge.

It is time for this limited policy to be extended to total renunciation of the first use of nuclear weapons. Such a step is not only supported by three out of every four Americans; it also makes military sense. No one supports a strategic first strike. As former Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara recently noted in testimony before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs,

It would be \* \* \* reckless to attempt a disarming first strike. Nevertheless, the arms race is driven by deep-seated fears held by each side that the other has, or is seeking, the ability to execute just such a strike.

Adopting a policy of no first use would help to control those fears, and the resulting arms race that threatens us all.

Turning our attention to tactical nuclear weapons, we find that they are inherently uncontrollable, and NATO's continuing reliance upon them creates more problems than it solves. Because of their short range, such weapons must be deployed close to the front, where they are most likely to be overrun. Consequently, the authority to release them would prob-

ably have to be delegated to officers in the field, thus destroying the principle of civilian control. Many experts believe that the dispersal of nuclear weapons from their storage depots into the field would immediately provoke a preemptive attack by the adversary. Finally, the British Government's recent embarrassment over American assertions that they have agreed to accept deployment of the W88 nuclear artillery shell demonstrates that NATO's reliance upon nuclear weapons subjects the alliance to unnecessary stress.

Even the smallest nuclear weapon can cause extraordinary damage to lives and property, to civilians and combatants, and to friend and foe. Recently I had the privilege of meeting several Japanese hibakusha, or atomic bomb victims, who were visiting this country to press their plea for an end to the nuclear arms race. Nihon Hidakyo, the Japanese association of atomic bomb survivors, plans to send similar delegations to China, France, Britain, and the Soviet Union.

The testimony of the hibakusha confirms everything that we know about the horrific nature of nuclear war. Some describe the terrible physical destruction and the ghastly task of burying the dead and caring for the wounded. Others focus on the psychological effects of this horror. Among the latter is Shoji Sawada, now a professor of physics at Nagoya University, who described how his boyhood experiences at Hiroshima led to his persistent commitment to peace. I urge my colleagues to read Professor Sawada's moving account, the text of which follows:

#### REMEMBERING HIROSHIMA

"I still hear my mother call my name"  
"Get away from here, right now!"  
"Forgive me, mother!"

This was the last conversation I had with my mother in the encroaching fire, and I still remember it very vividly even now. I lost my mother when the atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. I was 13 and my mother was 36 years old.

When the bomb exploded, my mother and I were in the same room. Since I was sleeping in the room, I didn't see the flash of the bomb, nor was I aware that I was caught under the crushed house. Everything happened instantaneously. I struggled and wriggled in the piles of broken wood and plaster. At last I was able to crawl out of the piles. I stood up vacantly and found myself in a world of desolation which was filled with yellowish air. I could see small fires here and there.

I could not understand what was happening. Immediately, I heard mother call my name. Her voice seemed to be coming from far away, though I knew there was not much distance between me and her. So I inferred that the broken roofs and piles of crushed plaster prevented her voice from coming straight to me. My mother said her legs were caught in big beams or pillars, being unable to move. I tried to pull out the broken pillars and struggled to push up the plaster with all the power I had. But it was

far beyond my ability. I called for help to adults in vain, because those wounded people could do nothing more than find a safe place for themselves.

The fire was spreading gradually. When it came nearby, my mother said to me, "That's enough, never mind your mother. Get away from here right now!" It was a faint but strong word that made me decide to leave there without her.

There was no road and I could see only piles of pieces of completely crushed houses and escaping people burned and blackened in the flames and smoke. I walked on the broken roof-tiles, woods and plaster, and swam across Enko-river to reach the dry river-bed. Standing there, I watched the burning town across the river. The smoke became a cloud and was hanging over my head. When I thought about my mother under the smoke, I felt my heart was broken. "Couldn't I really help her out? There must have been a way." I had tears of regret and repentance in my eyes.

Even now, forty years after that incident, the same feeling fills me, and I am depressed whenever I think of my mother.

After the war, the world has changed. Especially, in the field of science and technology, the progress has been remarkable. Now we can never think of our life as separate from scientific achievements. Sometimes I wonder what my mother would say about the present life, which is always followed by the feeling of regret at not having been able to rescue her.

While I studied and did research in nuclear physics, I realized the great responsibility given to the scientists in utilizing scientifically discovered truth solely for the welfare and peace of mankind. Atomic bombs were followed by far more powerful hydrogen bombs, and this nuclear arms race has never ceased to grow under the illusion of nuclear deterrence or military balance. Now, based on the development of both the strategic and tactical nuclear weapon systems, the policy makers and the strategists of the United States hold a first-nuclear-attack strategy and dream of the possibility of the atre nuclear war. They proceed on the totally mad assumption that it is possible to use nuclear weapons in practice.

Through the peace movement, we have learned that the very force which has prevented the use of nuclear weapons is the collective will of the people—the world opinion—who truly want peace. Furthermore we must strengthen the forces for peace so that they defeat the forces for war. Then we can avoid recreating the living hell, where mother and child have to call each other's names in agony under the A-bomb clouds.

This is the acute feeling I must face every summer when I think of my mother, who was burned to death, being unable to move in this burning inferno.●

#### SLATINGTON HOSE COMPANY NO. 1: 100 YEARS OF SERVICE

#### HON. DON RITTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. RITTER. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to bring to the attention of my House colleagues the 100th anniversary of the Slatington Hose Company No. 1.

On August 12, 1885, a group of concerned citizens first came together to organize a system of fighting fires in their community. On September 21, 1985, citizens again will come together to mark a century of service by the heirs to this tradition.

A proud tradition it is too. The depth of community commitment was measured in the summer of 1980, when hundreds of people from the borough—and even across the country—donated hundreds of volunteer hours and thousands of dollars to restore the unique fireman's statue damaged by a hit-run driver. From this community tragedy came renewal of community spirit and a new spirit of unity.

This year, these active Slatington volunteers have undertaken a new project—to restore the Northern Lehigh Firemen's Memorial Bell, the first in the borough. The Baltimore manufacturer will acid dip, sandblast, and finally polish this 1891 bell. On its return, the bell will be mounted on a unique silicon-bronze frame, placed prominently on an octagonal slab illuminated by four lights. Borough council was unanimous in its support for this project.

As a frequent visitor to Slatington, I often gaze with admiration on the statue. Whenever I do, once again I am reminded of the quality of the fire company and dedication of its members, its ladies auxiliary and the community that supports it.●

#### APPLYING JACKSON-VANIK TO MFN

#### HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation which would eliminate a provision in the Trade Act of 1974 which allows the President to ask for a waiver of Jackson-Vanik human rights provisions in conjunction with granting most favored nation [MFN] trade benefits to Communist countries. My purpose in introducing this legislation is merely to insure that the intent of the Jackson-Vanik amendment is respected.

The Jackson-Vanik provisions were made a part of the trade act in an effort to improve the respect for basic human rights in Communist countries. As the amendment itself states, its purpose is "to assure the continued dedication of the United States to fundamental human rights. . . ." This is accomplished by denying MFN status to the nonmarket Communist countries that have failed to comply with the amendment's provisions regarding the right to emigrate.

In addition, the law also contains a provision which allows the President to ask for a waiver in cases where the nonmarket country does not comply with the emigration requirements of Jackson-Vanik. Unfortunately, the last three administrations have invoked this waiver authority for several Communist countries which do not even comply with the minimal emigration requirement of Jackson-Vanik. It is incomprehensible to me that we should grant MFN status to a country that does not even comply with the simple requirement of "allowing citizens the right or opportunity to emigrate." The only other requirement in Jackson-Vanik is that the Government not "impose more than a nominal tax, levy, fine, or other charge on any citizen as a consequence of the desire of such citizen to emigrate."

These dual requirements are anything but onerous or excessive, and yet we have not insisted that they be respected. Year after year successive presidents have elected to waive compliance with Jackson-Vanik. Meanwhile, merely expressing a desire to emigrate from within these Communist countries could lead to the loss of one's ration cards—without which they cannot buy food—demotions or terminations at the place of their employment, harassment of spouse and children, detainment and imprisonment, and even death. We would all agree that this is most severe treatment for expressing a wish to leave a country.

I believe that the time has come for us to let these nonmarket countries know that in order to get MFN trade status they must deserve it. We owe it to the people of these Communist countries to exercise our congressional authority over trade and remove from the President the ability to grant trade status without even considering human rights conditions. I urge my colleagues to join me in revoking the President's waiver authority. ●

#### THE SENATE UNDER THE HANDGUN

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, today in the Washington Post I read a powerful article by our colleague PETER W. RODINO, JR., the distinguished chairman of the House Judiciary Committee. This article forcefully discusses why our handgun control laws need to be made tougher. I would like our colleagues to have the benefit of Chairman RODINO's careful thoughts on this very serious matter, so I am submitting the article for the RECORD today.

I agree with Chairman RODINO that weakening our gun control laws makes no sense considering the grim statistics on handgun crime in America. Handgun crime has already taken too great a toll on our Nation, taking thousands of lives and shattering innumerable futures. As Mr. RODINO points out, rather than giving criminals more tools to commit crimes, we need to give law enforcement officials more tools to fight crime.

Chairman RODINO has long been an advocate of gun control as a way to fight crime. In his article, he proposes one solution: Institute a reasonable waiting period to enable law enforcement agencies to check the records of a prospective purchaser of firearms. This would serve as a vital deterrent. And, it is a proposal that the American people overwhelmingly support.

Knowing that we are all concerned with the unacceptable level of crime in America, I hope our colleagues will bear in mind the insightful and sensible thoughts contained in the article that follows.

[From the Washington Post, July 23, 1985]

#### THE SENATE UNDER THE HANDGUN

(By Peter W. Rodino, Jr.)

If Congress really wants to fight crime, emasculating controls on the interstate sale of handguns surely is not the way to do it. But that is exactly what the Senate did recently with the passage of a bill that will render toothless the minimal gun control laws we now have on the books. What these laws need is strengthening, not weakening.

Considering the grim statistics on handgun crime in America, the Senate's action is surprising. In 1980, there were more than 11,000 handgun murders in the United States—as compared to four in Australia, eight in Great Britain and eight in Canada, each of which has a tough handgun control law. In 1983 handguns were used in 200,000 robberies and 120,000 aggravated assaults, and accounted for 44 percent of all murders. Even more alarming is the fact that while the Vietnam war claimed 46,121 American lives in the decade from 1963 to 1973, handgun murders killed more than 70,000 civilians back home in America.

But statistics cannot tell the whole story. Behind the numbers are thousands of personal tragedies, grieving families and shattered futures, brought about solely by reckless use of handguns by criminals. Our national memory is equally scarred by handgun-wielding assassins taking aim at our political leaders. Fortunately, presidents Reagan and Ford, as well as Gov. George Wallace, survived handgun attempts on their lives. Presidential Press Secretary James Brady barely did. Robert Kennedy, Allard Lowenstein and George Moscone did not.

Sadly, murder by handgun has become, in the words of one London newspaper, "a peculiarly American death."

So why did the Senate approve the bill weakening controls? Ostensibly to help out-of-state hunters and sportsmen who want easier access to weapons. But hunters have no use for handguns such as the easily concealed snub-nosed "Saturday night special." Only criminals do. Loosening restrictions on such weapons defies reason.

While no one wants to inconvenience hunters and sportsmen, at the same time we don't want to make it easier for criminals, drug addicts, felons and mental incompetents to get their hands on a handgun. But with the bill passed by the Senate, all a criminal has to do is cross a state line and the snub-nosed gun is his.

It's no surprise that every major police organization opposes this bill. Last year, two-thirds of the American police officers who died in the line of duty were killed by handguns. A bill that would loosen restrictions—making it easier for criminals to purchase a handgun—can only add to the crime rate and increase the chance that murder, robbery and other violent crimes will jeopardize more lives.

There is a clear consensus in America that crime must be reduced. Last year Congress passed the Comprehensive Crime Control Act with just that purpose. One of its provisions called for strict prison sentences for persons who commit crimes while carrying firearms. What we really need are laws to prevent these crimes from happening initially—after-the-fact prison sentences do little for the victims of crime. The Senate bill, however, only makes the fight against crime more difficult by affording potential criminals greater opportunity to commit a violent crime. Instead of giving law enforcement officials more tools to fight crime, this bill would end up giving criminals more tools to commit crimes.

Public opinion polls indicate that an overwhelming majority of Americans favor tougher gun control laws. So did the attorney general's 1981 Task Force on Violent Crime, which recommended a mandatory waiting period to enable law enforcement agencies to check the records of a prospective purchaser of a firearm.

To that end, I recently introduced legislation that calls for a reasonable waiting period. State and local laws with waiting periods have been highly effective: for example, two felons per week are prevented from buying handguns in Columbus, Ga., and in 1981, 1,200 felons were screened out in California. (In fact, had such a law been in place, John Hinckley might have been prevented from purchasing the handgun he used in his assassination attempt on President Reagan.)

A 1981 Gallup poll showed that 91 percent of Americans favor just such a waiting period. Americans are serious about fighting crime.

In America, we enact tough laws against drunk drivers and speeders because they cause highway deaths. We pass laws that crack down on drugs because they cause death and violent crime. Yet, if the bill passed by the Senate ever becomes law, we will be giving a free pass to criminals to purchase a gun.

For years opponents of gun control legislation have used the tired argument that guns don't kill, people do. But if the Senate's bill passes the House, more of the people who are likely to kill will find it easier to get their hands on a gun. It just doesn't make any sense. ●

CONGRESSIONAL EFFORT TO  
ELIMINATE PENTAGON WASTE

**HON. JIM KOLBE**

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. KOLBE. Mr. Speaker, in recent months Congress has taken significant steps in an attempt to end massive fraud and waste within the Pentagon. These steps have also tried to make the process by which we acquire and maintain a military and national defense more efficient and cost effective.

I'm not here to add to the multitude of "horror stories" that illuminate waste in defense procurement—the \$9,609 hexagonal wrenches, \$1,100 plastic stool caps and \$436 hammers. But it is time that serious attention and examination be given to the system of parts control which manifests these problems. Despite promises of reform by the Pentagon, the system continues, seemingly on autopilot. We can scream until we are blue in the face over thousand dollar toilet seats, but until we implement serious reforms that make the spare parts control system effective, such waste will continue.

There exists in the Department of Defense a highly touted program that was designed to save the Government millions of dollars a year on procurement of new and replacement parts for Department of Defense systems. The Defense Logistics Agency monitors the parts that contractors propose to use on Department of Defense equipment and attempts to replace contractor specified parts with parts that are already in the military supply system. If a contractor proposes that a part that shows promise for becoming a part used in various applications, it can be entered into the military supply system. According to an article written by Lt. Gen. Woodrow W. Vaughan, USA (retired) of the Defense Logistics Agency, the program seeks to minimize the variety of parts used in new design, enhance systems reliability and maintainability through the use of reliable parts, and keep specifications and standards current with the state of the art (Defense Management Journal, July 1978).

The Defense Logistics Agency contends that the parts control program is saving us money by letting fewer unique items into contracts, allowing larger buys of the parts that are standardized and using competition to buy these parts. The Defense Logistics Agency handles parts control through its four subgroups, the Defense Electronic Supply Center, the Defense Industrial Supply Center, the Defense General Supply Center, and the Defense Construction Supply Center.

Serious questions have been raised that suggest that the Defense Logis-

tics Agency is not fulfilling its mission of saving the Defense Department or the taxpayer money. A Department of Defense Inspector General Audit Report, February 20, 1985, conducted between November 1983 and May 1984:

... showed that reported program results and cost avoidance benefits resulting from the program were overstated.

Of the various problems mentioned in the report, the most serious the Department of Defense Inspector General's finding that in its sample, 88 percent of the recommendations made to contractors were overridden by the contracting officer. The report said cost avoidance of \$128.6 million as a result of replacing nonstandard parts with standard parts were reported in fiscal year 1983. The report concludes that as a result of this and other problems.

... reports submitted to Department of Defense and to Congress did not present a true picture of the program's accomplishments.

John A. Goldsmith, spokesman for the Defense Logistics Agency, stated that:

There was no intent to mislead, but the recommendations of the parts control advisory groups were ignored by the services and the contractors.

He added:

That there was no feedback procedure to subtract those projected cost avoidances from total projected cost avoidances.

This past December, a Deputy Secretary of Defense issued a memo that requested action be taken in the parts control program. Mr. Goldsmith stated that:

The system has been corrected both with respect to their reporting of the cost avoidances and with respect to the acceptance of the recommendations.

Mr. Stephen Strop, the Defense Electronics Supply Center spokesman said that:

Steps have been taken to improve the reporting system and correct the deficiencies.

However, it has been apparent to me through conversations with Defense Electronics Supply Center employees that the waste at that agency continues unabated.

Tomorrow, I will request the General Accounting Office to undertake a study to examine whether the Department of Defense Inspector General Audit recommendations have been implemented in regards to the Defense Electronics Supply Center. In addition, I will ask the General Accounting Office to examine spare parts management acquisition deficiencies at the Defense Electronics Supply Center and to suggest means by which we can eliminate the waste endemic in the Department—and thereby save the American taxpayer millions of dollars at an agency originally designed to eliminate waste.●

TRIBUTE TO THE HONORABLE  
LESLIE C. ARENDS

SPEECH OF

**HON. JOHN P. HAMMERSCHMIDT**

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 18, 1985

● Mr. HAMMERSCHMIDT. Mr. Speaker, our late friend and colleague, Leslie C. Arends, served the people of the 15th District of Illinois with honor, determination, and success for 40 years in the House of Representatives. He served in the 74th through 93d Congresses, until he chose not to seek reelection—a record that certainly shows the excellent way in which he represented his constituents. We have lost a fine statesman in Les Arends, who passed away on July 16, and he will be missed by all of us in the years to come.

I was privileged to serve with Les in the House for 8 years, from the 90th to the 93d Congresses, during which time he held the leadership position of Republican whip. Les was a good friend and guiding hand to me as a freshman Member of Congress, and I will always appreciate his help. His exceptional abilities as a whip reflected his personal traits of integrity, loyalty, congeniality, and appetite for hard work.

In addition to serving as Republican whip, Les was also a senior member of the Armed Services Committee, where he was a strong and persuasive advocate on issues under the jurisdiction of the panel. His skillful work on legislation dealing with naval construction projects is just one aspect of his many accomplishments in this arena. Les also had a strong interest in agricultural issues, and was a diligent supporter of farm programs.

Les also served his country in the U.S. Navy during World War I, and he was a charter member of the American Legion Melvin Post No. 642 in his hometown of Melvin, IL. He served as post commander, county commander, and district commander in this organization.

I would like to express my deepest sympathy to Les' wife, Betty, his daughter, Letty, and the rest of his family.●

REAGAN'S INFLATE-THE-DEFICIT  
GAME

**HON. WILLIAM D. FORD**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. FORD of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I want to share with my colleagues an article from the New York Times of last Sunday by Senator PAT MOYNIHAN

entitled "Reagan's Inflate-the-Deficit Game." In this article, Senator MOYNIHAN outlines the purposeful efforts of the Reagan administration to drive up the deficit to create political pressure to cut and eliminate domestic programs. The Senator also discusses the hypocrisy of the administration's increasing the deficit while expressing support for a balanced budget. I urge my colleagues to read this article and to heed the message of Senator MOYNIHAN while we continue to work on efforts to reduce the deficit.

The article follows:

**REAGAN'S INFLATE-THE-DEFICIT GAME**

(By Daniel Patrick Moynihan)

WASHINGTON.—The week of July 8 began with the announcement that David A. Stockman would be leaving as budget director and ended with the Senate Judiciary Committee approving two constitutional amendments requiring a balanced budget. This marks the transition from policy to panic. It suggests we pause for a moment's reflection.

First, some definitions. The policy was the Administration's deliberate decision to create deficits for strategic, political purposes. The panic arises among those who think the deficit was caused instead by a failure of our political system.

The Reagan Administration came to office with, at most, a marginal interest in balancing the budget—contrary to rhetoric, there was no great budget problem at the time—but with a very real interest in dismantling a fair amount of the social legislation of the preceding 50 years. The strategy was to induce a deficit and use that as grounds for the dismantling.

It was a strategy devised by young intellectuals of a capacity that Washington had not seen for years. They were never understood, and as they depart they leave behind an alarming incomprehension of the coup they almost pulled off.

The key concept was that individual Government programs are relatively invulnerable to direct assault. The Congress, the staff, the constituency can usually beat you and always outwait you.

On the other hand, the Budget Act of 1974 contained little understood powers of huge potential. The budget committees, assuming agreement by the full Congress, could require other committees to cut back programs. The power—technically a "reconciliation" instruction—had never been used to the fullest, but it was there.

Thus, the plan: Reduce revenues. Create a deficit. Use the budget process to eliminate programs.

A hidden strategy? Not really. On Feb. 5, 1981, 16 days in office, the President in his first television address to the nation said: "There were always those who told us that taxes couldn't be cut until spending was reduced. Well, you know, we can lecture our children about extravagance until we run out of voice and breath. Or we can cure their extravagance by simply reducing their allowance."

This statement was noticed by Republican conservatives: What was this business of deliberately creating a Republican deficit? As it happened, a new economics was at hand to show that this need not happen. Known as "supply-side," it held that cutting taxes would increase revenues. A few weeks after the President's speech, the Office of Management and Budget issued revised budget

projections showing taxes going down and receipts going up, almost doubling from \$520 billion in 1980 to \$940 billion in 1986.

Well, of course none of this happened. The budget was not balanced in 1984 as promised. Rather, by that time, Mr. Stockman was talking about \$200 billion deficits "as far as the eye can see."

There are plenty of reasons the strategy came to grief, but the least noticed is that the budget committees just couldn't deliver. Successive chairmen, especially in the Senate, tried to transform the process from a straightforward allocation of funds for 19 "budget functions" into an item-by-item decision on everything. Committee meetings became spectacles: dazed legislators, swarming staff, exhausted journalists.

Then it collapsed. Other committees stopped paying any heed. The Senate Budget Committee itself broke apart. In 1982, the chairman in effect gave up and settled for a partyline vote on a one-page budget resolution with about a dozen numbers on it that nobody bothered to examine because by then nobody believed any of it any more.

On June 5, 1985, Mr. Stockman told the board of the New York Stock Exchange: "The basic fact is that we are violating badly, even wantonly, the cardinal rule of sound public finance: Governments must extract from the people in taxes what they dispense in benefits, services and protections . . . indeed, if the [Securities and Exchange Commission] had jurisdiction over the executive and legislative branches, many of us would be in jail."

This is taking too much blame. It was an honest effort, simply too clever. A failing, they say, of intellectuals in Government.

The constitutional amendments are another matter. They reflect a kind of desperation: Don't let us do it again. Which quite misses the point. The deficit was policy, a curious legacy of the young radicals who came to power in 1981, but not a symptom of a failed system of Government.

The budget is now out of control for the moment. Debt service was \$53 billion in 1980; it will be \$234 billion by 1990. The debt is compounding; we will indeed in time be borrowing abroad to pay interest owed abroad.

We can do little about this in the near-term. It is now, at minimum, a 15-year problem. On the bright side, the Social Security Trust Funds begin to grow rapidly after 1988, reaching an estimated \$1 trillion surplus by 1999. The dark prospect is that some administration in the 1990's will give up and wipe out the debt by inflating the currency.

But if there isn't much we can do, there are things we can learn. Principally, that the dysfunction of the political economy is not a symptom of a failing of the political system. The disaster was planned, although not as a disaster. If we can get a truly conservative Administration into office by the 1990's, we can probably restore stability by the year 2000. ●

**SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES**

**HON. DAN BURTON**

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1985

● Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I commend the gentleman from California [Mr. LUNGREN] for

calling this special order regarding Soviet "Active Measures." The public must be made more aware of the Soviet Union's efforts to influence American foreign policy.

Lenin said, "We must be able to agree to any sacrifice, and even if need be resort to all sorts of tricks, slyness, illegal methods, evasion, and concealment of the truth . . . and carry on Communist work at all costs." Throughout the world today the Soviet Union is carrying out this Leninist doctrine uninhibited by any bourgeois regard for truth. Whether we call it active measures, disinformation, or propaganda, it all amounts to the same thing—lies.

People do not realize the extent to which Soviet lies can filter through the American media and powerful affects the public debate. As a member of the Western Hemisphere Subcommittee of Foreign Affairs, I am particularly aware of how Soviet-Nicaraguan-Cuban lies have affected the debate on Central America.

The Soviet Union would like nothing more than to see a string of Cubas in Central America—what better way to destroy the morale and economy of the United States than to engulf it in war on its southern border. They know that the main obstacle to a Communist Central America which would keep the United States busy for decades, is the Nicaraguan people, who are bravely fighting to prevent their country from becoming another Cuba. They also know that if they can get the word out that the Nicaraguan freedom fighters are actually thugs and barbarians, then the American people will think twice about supporting their freedom fighters. So they arrange for a human rights report on the freedom fighters that can be used in a smear campaign against them.

To do this, the Communist Sandinista regime in Nicaragua commissioned an American law firm named Reichler & Applebaum. The firm arranged for a lawyer named Reed Brody to take a team down to Nicaragua to investigate Contra atrocities. The Sandinistas obliged by providing transportation, boarding, housing, office space, and many of the "witnesses" for the report.

Since the Brody report was obviously bought and paid for by the Sandinistas, another group was sent to Nicaragua to verify the report. But this group was led by Donald Fox, whose brother-in-law is a Sandinista official.

Despite the dubious origins and blatant laundering of the Brody report, Representative SAM GEJDENSON and two leftist organizations, the Washington Office on Latin America and the International Human Rights Law Group, held a press conference and demanded congressional hearings on Contra atrocities based on its findings.

The chairman of the Western Hemisphere Subcommittee Representative BARNES, held hearings at which Mr. Brody and Mr. Fox testified.

The result of all this hoopla over blatant Sandinista propaganda was articles in the Washington Post, the New York Times, and network coverage, including a good size story on the CBS evening news.

It would not be fair to accuse the press of being willing agents of propagandists in Moscow, Havana, and Managua. What can be said is that the American people should demand that the media, instead of denying that they can be manipulated, be much more vigilant about being duped by classic active measures such as the Brody report.

I recommend that my colleagues read the article by Jim Denton in the Wall Street Journal following my remarks, describing the complicated path of the Brody report from Managua to CBS News, and into the minds of the American people. This disturbing story is just one example of how lies spread by our adversaries can affect the public debate, impinge on our foreign policy, and endanger the security of this Nation.

[From The Wall Street Journal, April 23, 1985]

CONTRA ATROCITIES, OR A COVERT PROPAGANDA WAR?—A LOBBYING DRIVE BEGAN IN MANAGUA

(By Jim Denton)

The likely congressional defeat of President Reagan's proposal to provide military aid to the anti-Sandinista contra forces comes in the wake of an extraordinary lobbying campaign. The struggle for the hearts and minds of Congress has mobilized a handful of partisans who have been enormously effective in distorting the Nicaraguan human-rights story. Although it is not uncommon for foreign governments to try persuasion on Capitol Hill, the manner and degree to which the Sandinistas have manipulated public and congressional opinion is noteworthy.

A review of the origins, the dubious handling and the reception of a report recently released by Rep. Samuel Gejdenson (D., Conn.), and two putative human-rights groups provides a case study of how Sandinista propaganda is legitimized and makes its way into the public debate and, ultimately, congressional policy.

The Washington, D.C., law firm of Reichler & Applebaum is the Nicaraguan government's official registered agent in the U.S. For its services, the firm is paid an annual rate of about \$320,000. From all outside appearances the firm has ably represented its client. An accounting of the lobbyists' appointments with legislators and staff reads like a Who's Who among Senate and House liberals.

But Reichler & Applebaum's lobbying efforts on the Sandinistas' behalf have gone beyond the congressional routine. In an interview, Mr. Reichler confirmed that some months ago he originated and orchestrated a plan to send a team of "professional attorneys to Nicaragua to conduct an objective, independent investigation of contra atrocities."

Reed Brody, a 31-year-old lawyer, and Jim Bordeloin, a law-school student, were selected to conduct the "objective investigation." They spent four months in Nicaragua taking statements from witnesses of resistance-force atrocities, all with the full cooperation of the Sandinistas. Mr. Brody confirms that most of the investigators in-country transportation, boarding, housing, office space, staff and, one can assume the witnesses themselves, were provided compliments of their Marxist hosts and sympathizers in Managua.

Upon completion of the "investigation," the 141-page Brody Report, consisting of nearly 150 sworn affidavits from "witnesses," was duly processed back through the Sandinistas' lobbyists at Reichler & Applebaum. There it was prepared in final form and, according to a report submitted to the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs, passed to the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA), the International Human Rights Law Group and Rep. Gejdenson for public dissemination.

These three parties all have their individual biases. WOLA, for example, has been a particularly prolific and harsh critic of the human-rights records of Latin American governments friendly to the U.S., as well as the contras, and sympathetic to the Sandinistas and other Marxist insurgents in the region. In reviewing WOLA reports, articles and studies, no serious or critical account of Fidel Castro's human-rights record in Cuba could be found. It is also worth noting, in weighing the group's objectivity, that two former WOLA employees are now employed by the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry.

Apparently recognizing that a hasty embrace of the Sandinista-sponsored Brody report might be viewed with skepticism, Rep. Gejdenson, WOLA and the Law Group assembled a second delegation to verify the Brody findings. This second delegation consisted of Michael Glennon, former chief counsel to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee under the chairmanship of Frank Church; Donald Fox, a New York City-based international human-rights lawyer-activist; Valerie Miller, the delegation's interpreter, who lived in post-revolutionary Nicaragua for two years and wrote a book on the Sandinista literacy campaign; and, as an observer, a staff aide to Rep. Gejdenson. Mr. Fox confirmed that his Nicaraguan-born wife, now a U.S. citizen, Ana Clemenzia Tercero, accompanied the group to Managua to visit family members at WOLA's expense. Ms. Tercero's brother is a high-ranking official in the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry assigned to Rome. This group uncovered no discrepancies in the Brody findings after having corroborated only 10 of the nearly 150 Brody affidavits during its one-week visit to Nicaragua.

Then, on March 7, in releasing the Sandinista-sponsored Brody Report, Rep. Gejdenson, WOLA and the Law Group called for a congressional investigation into contra atrocities before a packed press conference on Capitol Hill. Mr. Gejdenson stated he was forwarding the report to Rep. Lee Hamilton (D., Ind.), chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, and Rep. Michael Barnes (D., Md.), chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs, of which Mr. Gejdenson is a member. In their prepared press statements Mr. Gejdenson, WOLA and the Law Group did not mention the Sandinistas' role in originating and facilitating the Brody Report.

Last week the House Western Hemisphere Affairs Subcommittee held several days of hearings on aid to the contras. At Thursday's session, at the request of Mr. Gejdenson, Mr. Brody testified before the committee and had his report entered into the Congressional Record. Mr. Fox also testified, embracing the Brody report. And, apparently in order to gain some distance from the Sandinista-inspired document, Mr. Fox submitted a second report written by himself, Mr. Glennon, the Law Group and WOLA. The findings of this report substantiated and reinforced the Brody report.

The Brody document made its way into the public and congressional debate with a splash. The media fallout included articles in the Washington Post and the New York Times, and network coverage, including about 2½ minutes on the CBS Evening News. None of these accounts seriously challenged the report's origins or handling, ignoring or playing down the Sandinista sponsorship to the point that it was virtually unrecognizable to the audience.

The overall impact of the press accounts and congressional responses served the purposes of a Marxist regime to distort the U.S. public and Congress' understanding of the human-rights saga in Nicaragua—all of which will continue to shape U.S. policy in that war-torn country. ●

## A DOUBLE STANDARD IN BLACK AND WHITE

HON. BILL LOWERY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. LOWERY of California. Mr. Speaker, in the past few years, this body has unceasingly made clear its abhorrence of the disgraceful political and social structure in South Africa known as apartheid. However, many black-governed African nations have been increasingly subjugating other black Africans within their own borders, instituting a de facto "apartheid." There has been a double standard applied to the African Continent that few of my colleagues have recognized. I have, therefore, included an editorial from the July 22 Wall Street Journal, addressing the social, economic, and political inequities between blacks in black-governed African nations.

## A DOUBLE STANDARD IN BLACK AND WHITE

(By George B.N. Ayittey)

Apartheid is an abomination. But the sad fact is that many of the black African leaders who applaud sanctions on South Africa have themselves instituted de facto "apartheid" regimes in their own countries against their own black people.

The first characteristic of apartheid is its caste system: separation of people on the basis of race. White South Africans, who control the government, have refused to share meaningful power with the disenfranchised black majority. The standards of living of the whites are far higher than those of the blacks. The second feature is a dual system of justice: a relatively lenient one for whites but a swift and brutal one for blacks. The third is an intolerance of any

opposition—the death of Steve Biko and the imprisonment of Nelson Mandela are well known. The fourth is insidious repression of the black majority in general through such devices as the pass laws.

Now, if one looks beyond the issue of skin color, similar characteristics also can be found in many black African regimes.

#### ONE-MAN, NO-VOTE

In black Africa, the two classes are not whites vs. blacks but rather the elites (the educated class and the military) vs. the people (the peasants). The elite minority, which controls the government, does not share power with the people. As in South Africa, the elite minority disenfranchises the peasant majority. Until 1984, the peasants of Liberia could not vote in a presidential election unless they had property valued at more than \$25,000.

Indeed, some African leaders who advocate majority rule and one-man-one-vote for South Africa do not give their own black people the right to vote. Many have declared themselves "Presidents for Life." Other black regimes are military dictatorships or farcical "democracies."

The standards of living enjoyed by the elites far outstrip those for the peasants. Contrast the plush and subsidized amenities for the ruling class in the urban areas with the dingy and wretched lives of rural peasants. In Mauritania, while the elites have access to subsidized tap-water supplies, the peasants pay seven to 40 times more for their water from sellers with donkey carts. In Zaire, officials each earn between \$5,000 and \$9,000 a month while a peasant is lucky to make \$50 a month \* \* \*.

The prices at which the rural poor sell their produce are dictated, not by market forces, but by government directives. They face stiff penalties and outright confiscation of their produce if they sell above the dictated prices. In Ghana, farmers receive less than 10% of the world market price for their cocoa. In Gambia, they receive less than 20% of the world market price for their peanuts.

In many African countries, when peasants run afoul of the law, justice is swift and brutal. Consider two cases:

In September 1981, a 43-year-old peasant woman, Kporporvie Dada, was beaten to death by Ghanaian border guards for taking a gallon of kerosene across a border to a relative.

Phillipine Addo, a 27-year-old peasant who in 1982 attempted to smuggle \$3 worth of cocoa into Togo, was jailed for five years at hard labor.

The ruling elites also smuggle, embezzle funds, plunder state treasuries and illegally transfer their booty abroad. If corrupt ministers are apprehended, the sentences tend to be light or nonexistent: forfeiture of the booty or mere dismissals or transfers. Some examples:

In Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso), at corruption trials in 1984, former President Sangoule Lamizana, who could not account for about \$1 million he was charged with embezzling, was acquitted. Three top officials of his government were ordered only to repay to the state money they had allegedly stolen while in office.

Three top officials of the Ghana Meat Marketing Board were merely sacked in 1984 for "gross abuse of office."

South African crackdowns on the African National Congress can be compared with those meted out to opposition elements in

black Africa; many leaders have either outlawed political parties or have declared their countries one-party states and liquidated the opposition. Many opposition members have mysteriously vanished in Zaire, Kenya, Uganda, Zambia and Guinea.

There are also parallels between apartheid and black African regimes in the control of their populations. For example, black South Africans must carry passes that allow them only into certain areas; in black Africa peasants must contend with curfews and road blocks. Only members of the ruling class have the passes or permits to sail through road barriers and break curfew hours. For the majority of others harassment is the norm. Policemen have deliberately set their watches ahead in order to harass and extort money from "curfew breakers." Peasants in Ghana could not legally cross regional borders until restrictions were lifted last year by the military government of Flight Lt. Jerry J. Rawlings. (Some economic reforms demanded by the International Monetary Fund have also been implemented by Mr. Rawlings, but he shows no sign of allowing political freedoms.)

Despite the parallels, world opinion tends to apply radically different standards of morality to South Africa and black Africa. If South Africa had savagely expelled its illegal black aliens, as Nigeria recently did; or if South Africa had resettled some blacks on "homelands" in the midst of a famine, as Ethiopia recently attempted, condemnations at the United Nations and in Congress would have been deafening. As if the skin color or the ideology of the tyrant makes any difference to the oppressed \* \* \*. There are 16 million oppressed blacks in South Africa. But some 400 million people live elsewhere in black Africa, a majority under despotic rule. Why is so little attention given to their plight?

The U.N. does not condemn despotism in black Africa for fear of "interfering in the domestic affairs of sovereign nations." South Africa is not a sovereign nation, it might be argued—its government is illegitimate and unrepresentative of its people. But what black African government is legitimate and representative? Virulent condemnation of apartheid without parallel denunciations of tyranny in black African countries only serves to perpetuate the myth of black inferiority. Applying a lower standard of morality to black Africa betrays an insulting double standard against blacks.

#### REBUTTING RACISM

Some of the remaining support for the apartheid may be caused by conditions in black Africa itself. When South Africans look across their border they see the same atrocities the black African governments accuse them of committing. Furthermore, these governments have, through misguided policies, reduced their economies to tatters. Ian Smith, the former white prime minister of Rhodesia, defended his refusal to hand over power to the majority by observing that black Africans were incapable of running a country and managing an economy. That statement was rightly denounced as racist and invalid, but black Africa's execrable economic record is not a convincing rebuttal.

To the majority of black Africans, the peasants, the whole apartheid issue is largely irrelevant. Many of them would affirm that they fared better economically under the white colonialists. To many, independence has meant oppression and economic deprivation. Indeed, back in 1981, many

peasants in Ghana were calling upon the British to recolonize the country. If we had to die, I and many oppressed Africans would rather be shot dead in South Africa than in an independent African nation under black rule. It seems that only in South Africa does the killing and subjugation of innocent blacks prompt world-wide pressure for reform.●

#### LITERACY ADDRESSED BY THE JOB CORPS

HON. PAT WILLIAMS

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share a description with my colleagues of how the Job Corps has responded to the problems of illiteracy. This was developed from existing Job Corps information.

#### DEVELOPING LITERACY IN JOB CORPS

During the twenty years since its inception in 1965, Job Corps has enrolled more than a million impoverished and undereducated young men and women in an intensive program of reeducation and job skills training. The original direction, set by Congress, was to increase the employability, enhance the life chances and improve the vocational coping skills of 16 to 21 year olds. The education and vocational training program which evolved from this direction and from the special circumstances of the Job Corps setting may be of interest as a model for improving literacy. The challenge and client characteristics that have shaped the focus and content of the Job Corps education systems are common to a number of employability programs.

The Job Corps basic education and reading programs are the result of an originally bold conception and years of dedicated tinkering. They use the systems approach to instruction and incorporate a number of teaching methodologies, of which the most prominent is programmed instruction. The advantages of the systems approach in providing individualized diagnosis of skills and instruction, promoting early success, and adapting to the input of new students at any time have made it the most distinctive and unchanging feature of the Job Corps literacy education. The more varied objectives of the vocational training program in preparing graduates for a hundred and forty-four occupations have led to some modification of the principle, but vocational education also follows a systems approach as far as is practicable.

No one would argue that the Job Corps education and training systems offer a panacea for miseducation and neglect or that they are the only successful approach to improving literacy. They do not meet all the needs of the client populations. Yet they can provide a core around which other training can be structured, and have often been and are being so used public schools, the armed services, and other community programs.

If only by virtue of longevity, the Job Corps basic education program remains the most viable, influential, and widely imitated of employability and literacy programs. It is also probably among the most economical and most easily established.

## THE JOB CORPSMEMBER: TYPICAL AND ATYPICAL

Although the Job Corps population differs in a number of significant respects from other adult literacy client populations—age, work experience, home and family background—it is the needs and skills deficiencies that it shares with a large number of these groups that demonstrate the broad applicability of its literacy programs. The Job Corps population is defined by Title IV of the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) as young men and women who are out of school and out of work, who need improved literacy, job training, and work experience to secure and hold meaningful jobs, participate successfully in schoolwork, or qualify for other civilian or military training. During the last program year, about two-thirds of approximately 55,000 new enrollees were men and about one-third were women. Nearly two-fifths were sixteen or seventeen, another fifth were eighteen, and the remaining two-fifths were nineteen or older. Approximately seventy-five percent were members of minority groups and nearly ninety percent came from families earning less than \$6,000 a year.

In terms of previous level of literacy and education, the average entering Job Corps member has been in school nearly ten years and has roughly fifth or sixth grade reading skills. In other words, the average Job Corps entrant has typically advanced a little more than a half year in reading for each year of schooling, a fact that studies show is characteristic of the educational histories of disadvantaged participants in employability programs generally. Where the Job Corps population does differ educationally and socially from those in other programs, it is a matter of degree rather than kind—they have the same disadvantages, only more so.

Comparative studies of public and private school vocational training students show that Job Corps trainees have slightly worse educational preparation, lower literacy skills, and that a higher proportion come from families on welfare. They also have the least work experience of all groups surveyed. But past studies with the Neighborhood Youth Corps and current research with community programs such as Occupational Industrial Crusade (OIC) that have used or are using the Job Corps basic education approach to literacy indicate that the same techniques are at least equally effective with clients who are somewhat less seriously handicapped by their skills deficiencies than the Job Corps population.

Approximately a fifth of Job Corps entrants read and compute below the third grade level; many cannot even recognize the letters of the alphabet. But another handicap is more subtle and difficult or impossible to measure statistically. Rejected in the two socially recognized arenas of achievement, school and work, the typical corpsmember is convinced that he or she cannot learn. While he or she may momentarily hope that a new method will work, the new corpsmember is extraordinarily sensitive to the slightest sign of failure, and in the absence of clearly demonstrated progress, will assume defeat. Without clear and immediate proof of personal success, enrollees simply drop out of the program.

## THE SYSTEMS APPROACH TO LITERACY

These characteristics, including the inclination of Job Corpsmembers to "vote with their feet" by dropping out of demanding and therefore threatening, public institutions, set the direction for the Job Corps literacy program which has evolved since 1985. The implied requirements in large measure

established the operational philosophy of education behind the Job Corps program, which from the beginning was a combination of most suitable materials in the educational field with new materials specially developed for Job Corps. It is the Job Corps tests, progress records, and teachers' manuals that organize what would otherwise be an assortment of commercial and noncommercial materials into sequential learning systems that build literacy step by step.

It was determined from the outset that the program should, as far as possible:

Reinforce success. Overconditioned to defeat in the classroom, corpsmembers need immediate proof of success to capture attention and allay fears.

Adapt to random entry. Because corpsmembers enter the program at any time of year, the educational system must constantly absorb changing enrollments and integrate new students into a learning sequence.

Provide for individual differences. Like the one-room schoolhouse, the Job Corps classroom has to accommodate many levels and rates of achievement in a basic skill.

Be innately rewarding. Learning activities are meant to be intrinsically meaningful and rewarding. They involve students in charting their own progress in competition with themselves rather than with others.

Be relevant to life goals. Programs should be structured so as to clearly relate to goals that make sense to the learner in terms of jobs or eligibility for further training.

## THE PROGRAM: BASIC EDUCATION

The basic education programs built to meet these specifications in reading, mathematics and high school equivalency preparation have certain features in common: they are diagnostic, individualized, and predominantly self-instructional. To realize the objectives of immediate success, self-competition and intrinsic reward, proper initial placement is essential. The learner can interact successfully with the material only if the proper match is established at the outset. The diagnostic tests are a device for matching student skills with units of instruction. After each unit, the corpsmember takes a progress check to demonstrate mastery of the material. A successful level of completion leads to the next unit. If the results show a need for more work on the first unit, alternative remedial or tutorial work which covers the same material in a different way is assigned.

Though there is provision for one-to-one tutorial work throughout the program, especially in the initial stages of beginning reading, the dominant mode of instruction is programmed learning. The teacher serves as a counselor, guide, and resource person to help students move through the program at their own speed rather than as a lecturer who makes textbook assignments and paraphrases their content in class.

## READING

The Job Corps Reading Program is comprised of beginning reading, covering literacy skills from 0 to the equivalent of school grade 3.4; graded reading, covering skills equivalent to school grades 3.5 to 7.4; and advanced reading, covering skills equivalent to school grades 7.5 and above. Beginning and graded reading are organized as separate classes, while advanced reading is usually conducted as a supplement to the high school equivalency program. Each of these program segments contains multiple graduated skills levels, which place the students in steps of approximately a half-grade level each.

Incoming students are placed roughly at the appropriate level by means of a thirteen minute placement test specially developed for Job Corps, the Reading Job Corps Screening Test #1. Initial fine placement and subsequent advancement from one level to another are accomplished through one-to-one teacher interviewing and testing which place the student at his or her most effective performance level. Students who are placed in the beginning reading section of the program work in the Sullivan Associates Programmed Reading series, book 1-14. Although Job Corps has a policy of continuously evaluating and pilot testing new materials, this is the best series Job Corps has been able to identify during twenty years of use and field trial to provide the critical rewards of immediately reinforced success and inherent meaning.

Students move rapidly and systematically from a few sound symbol pairs, to words, to simple sentences. Experience shows that the psychological impact of finding that this is the first book they can actually read for themselves soon outweighs initial misgivings about juvenile illustrations.

Within the eight half-grade levels of the intermediate graded reading section, there are over 1,800 selections for students to choose from. Selections range from high-interest story-cards to short stories from anthologies. Students are free to choose from among 15 to 225 selections at each level by means of a master index organized by level and interest areas such as science fiction, adventure, mystery, sports, hobbies, jobs.

The advanced program serves the needs of students who have worked their way up through graded reading or whose initial placement scores were in the junior high school range. A system of progress and promotion recording like that in graded reading is used as a means for both students and teachers to monitor learning. Because of the comparable reading levels represented, the advanced reading section is most often used to supplement the advanced general education program.

The initial cost of reading materials to equip a classroom to serve 75 students a day, is approximately \$2500.

## RESULTS

Reliable recent gains data on the use of the Job Corps basic literacy program are difficult to obtain because the Test of Adult Basic Education (TABE) have been instituted just within the last year and insufficient data have been reported. However, preliminary data indicate that gains in reading will probably be consistent with or better than those reported for the years 1968-1974, which ranged from 1.3 to 2.5 months per month of instruction. Even if one takes the average gain of 1.7 months in reading as a conservative estimate of actual gains, it is clear that the results are better with the Job Corps literacy program than the .5 gain per month, or one-half grade level per year, the same students made during their stay in school. Allowing wide margins for the effects of relearning and measurement error, it seems safe to say that students make substantially more progress in literacy while in Job Corps than they did before they entered.●



**DON'T NEGATIVELY AFFECT  
REAL ESTATE INVESTMENT**

**HON. CARROLL HUBBARD, JR.**

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 23, 1985*

● Mr. HUBBARD. Mr. Speaker, I want to share with my colleagues a timely letter that I received from Donald W. Webb and Dudley Webb of The Webb Companies in Lexington, KY. Don and Dudley Webb, natives of Whitesburg in eastern Kentucky, are very successful in the real estate development business in central Kentucky.

They have written to me about the President's tax revision proposal "as it relates to depreciation and capital gains on real estate investment." Don and Dudley Webb are concerned that Tax Code changes to depreciation and capital gains on real estate will, in effect, adversely impact small businesses, industries, and the entire Nation.

I agree with their concerns and urge my colleagues to read their comments. The June 20 letter from Donald W. Webb and Dudley Webb follows:

LEXINGTON, KY,  
June 20, 1985.

Congressman CARROLL HUBBARD,  
Rayburn House Office Building,  
Washington, DC.

DEAR CARROLL: Obviously, we in the real estate development business are quite concerned about President Reagan's tax revision proposal as it relates to depreciation and capital gains on real estate investment.

We understand the President's plan will drastically trim the investment amounts we believe are legitimate calculations for depreciation. More importantly, the proposed revisions would have a profound negative impact on investment in real estate should an individual's return on investment be taxed as "ordinary income" rather than "capital gains."

As evidenced in the government's own monthly economic indicators, commercial construction and housing starts are key barometers to the nations' economic health. Minus the automobile industry, no industry group represents the multiplier effect from dollars invested than the real estate development business.

This industry is not simply a limited group of investors who alone profit from development. Commercial, industrial, retail and residential real estate development and related construction represents a dollar that rolls over four times the number invested in any given community. Indeed, we can think of no industry that participates with small business more than real estate development.

It is our firm belief that the President's currently proposed tax revision as it relates to real estate investment will prove exactly counter-productive to Mr. Reagan's overall economic revival program. We oppose this aspect of the President's tax reform program and solicit your support in revising the program as it comes before you in Congress.

Help keep alive one of America's truly entrepreneurial industries, real estate development.

Sincerely,

THE WEBB COMPANIES,

DONALD W. WEBB.  
DUDLEY WEBB.●

**INTERNAL THREAT TO COSTA  
RICA**

**HON. EDWARD J. MARKEY**

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 23, 1985*

● Mr. MARKEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to urge my colleagues to take note of an article by Robert M. Sussler that recently appeared in the Boston Globe. Mr. Sussler is an American businessman whose work brings him into contact with several Costa Rican clients. Through these clients he has apparently gained an intimate knowledge of the current political climate in the region.

This administration's policy toward Central America has undermined and weakened those who should be our natural allies. While we continue to actively promote the overthrow of the Government of Nicaragua, we thwart our own interests by militarizing the tiny nation of Costa Rica, which for the last 48 years has stood as a model of democracy for the rest of the region. Mr. Sussler makes a noteworthy assessment of the detrimental effects our policy has had on Costa Rica. I share his concerns about a powerful military in Costa Rica leading to growing authoritarianism. I hope my colleagues will keep his views in mind. The text of Mr. Sussler's article follows:

**INTERNAL THREAT TO COSTA RICA**

(By Robert M. Sussler)

NEW LONDON, CT.—The Reagan administration has recently implemented policy decisions that may undermine the democratic system of Costa Rica. Costa Rica is known as the Switzerland of Central America, a bastion of tranquility and democracy, with a private enterprise system and a viable middle class. Reagan's policy is to support a small group of ambitious right-wing, would-be militarists by transforming a portion of the internal police into an army and providing it with training and aircraft. Because these people are vehement anticommunists, the administration is willing to disregard the potential authoritarian threat to Costa Rica's democracy.

Costa Rica is a democratic jewel in Central America. United States aid to the contras in Nicaragua, the equipping of the Salvadoran army and support for the regime of Guatemala constitute interference in countries that are already unstable and authoritarian. Costa Rica is the stable, democratic exception.

In 1948, Costa Rica abolished the army, established private enterprise as a basis for the country's wealth and stability, appropriated 25 percent of national funds for education, developed a social security system with adequate health protection for its citizenry, and entered a stable period of democratic development. Crucial to Costa Rica's subsequent stability was the abolition of the Costa Rican army, an achievement of Jose Figueres, the founder of modern Costa Rica.

He has vehemently spoken out against this new Costa Rican army, calling the new force "dangerous goosesteppers."

In Latin America, the army is the instrument for authoritarianism. It is used to nullify the results of an election when an elected party attempts to enact policies of progressive taxation or social reform.

Without an army, Costa Rica's upper class has participated constructively in the democratic process. Wealthy agriculturalists, retailers and processors in Costa Rica have for the last 35 years supported both major political parties. This has allowed Costa Ricans to develop their country through private initiative, and by sharing the profits from commodity exports among small and large producers and processors. It has resulted in a peaceable, stable democratic society in an area of chaos and violence.

The American Embassy in conjunction with Benjamin Piza, head of the National Security Forces of Costa Rica, has now introduced a growing military presence within Costa Rica. The United States has 24 advisers training Costa Rican National Security Forces in the north of the country to become an army, and is supplying helicopters. Piza, with the contrivance of the US Embassy, pressured President Luis Alberto Monge into accepting this new military force. Piza raised the specter of communist intrusions into Costa Rica by Nicaragua and the threat of a communist domestic insurgency.

Even with a small army, Costa Rica could never withstand an invasion by Nicaragua. Costa Rica's security derives from its borders being guaranteed by Venezuela, Mexico and the United States.

Are there internal dangers of insurgency? The Communist Party has never been able to achieve more than 10 percent of the vote. The police force has been able to control domestic violence, discovering and arresting criminals and terrorists.

Benjamin Piza is a key figure with full access to the US Embassy. As military commander of the augmented public security force, Piza could choose whether to implement Costa Rica's democracy or to proceed down the road toward authoritarianism.

President Reagan, if he stands for freedom fighters, should do nothing that endangers the democratic traditions of Costa Rica.

There is a need, however, for humanitarian aid for the 250,000 Nicaraguan refugees already in Costa Rica. Better to neutralize Costa Rica's northern border than to build up a domestic army. Better to aid these refugees, growing by 3,000 a week, than to spend money for helicopters and an army buildup.●

**A STUDENT'S PLEDGE TO  
AMERICA**

**HON. WALTER E. FAUNTROY**

OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 23, 1985*

● Mr. FAUNTROY. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to take this opportunity to congratulate the District of Columbia's winning contestant in this year's Voice of Democracy contest, Junie J. Harris. More than 300,000 secondary school students participated in the annual competition sponsored by the

Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States and its ladies auxiliary.

Mr. Speaker, I commend Miss Harris, an 11th grade student at the All Saints High School for her commitment to her country and her pledge to make it a better place for all to live.

I submit her speech for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

MY PLEDGE TO AMERICA

(By Junie J. Harris)

My pledge to America is to give back to this great nation what it has given to me. I pledge to give America my honor, my love, peace, happiness, and respect. I also pledge to uphold the standards of the Constitution and the laws of our nation.

Honor in America is defined as glory, admiration, a symbol of distinction, and to display appreciation for it. I will show appreciation for what my country stands for and promise to be a symbol of it. I will pledge allegiance to my flag.

To give those whom I meet love, I must also spread peace, happiness and unity. To love those who want to hate. To give peace to those nations who would like to go to war. To give happiness by making those who are sad, feel my warmth. Also, to give unity by the giving of my time for all to feel that they are alike whether in race, creed, or national origin. All of this makes up my pledge to America to give back love and to love someone, you must first, have respect for that person.

To respect America and not turn my back on its people shows that I am proud of what America stands for; freedom, shelter, food and a dream. To uphold the truths that are self evident. All people are created equal, so we must give the freedom of speech, the freedom of the press, and the freedom to worship as people please. To live our lives judging each other by our character and not our color.

To respect America, all of her people must have adequate shelter, I pledge to give back the shelter that has been provided for me by finding the homeless a place to live. I also pledge my service to help in the fight against hunger. I will do this by feeding those with whatever I have available. I will give of my time to help people find a way to get food. I want to pledge my service to America. As a young person this can also be done by helping the elderly, helping the handicapped, and teaching those who are younger than I. Everyone in America must have a dream and my dream is to serve America and her people where I am needed the most. I pledge to reestablish a dream that was once there, a dream our forefathers once had of the freedoms of our nation.

Martin Luther King, Jr., once said, and I quote, "We must use time creatively, in the knowledge that the time is always ripe to do right. Now is the time to make real the promise of democracy and transform our pending national elegy into a creative psalm of brotherhood. Now is the time to lift our national policy from the quicksand of racial injustice to the solid rock of human dignity."

Now is the time for us, as young Americans, to lift National policy; to act and dedicate our lives to these truths. We must also dedicate our lives to creating a better place for others to live. Now is the time for America, my America, to make a pledge for honor, love, and respect. For America to be all she can be, and for me to be all I can be.●

HOW THE SECONDARY MORTGAGE MARKET FUNCTIONS

HON. STEVE BARTLETT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the House Banking Committee, I have spent a great deal of time learning and appreciating the secondary mortgage market. So, it is with great pleasure that I speak today on behalf of the Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corporation, Freddie Mac, which will celebrate its 15th anniversary on July 24, 1985.

Freddie Mac has been an innovator and pioneer in the secondary mortgage market since its creation. I congratulate the corporation for the outstanding job it has done in helping to make more affordable mortgage credit available to America's homebuyers.

For those of you who may be somewhat perplexed about the secondary mortgage market, I can assure you that it is not some complex thing or entity. It is merely a chain—a linkage that runs from your local homebuyer through to your local depository institution, to your secondary mortgage market conduit like Freddie Mac and then to Wall Street. And everyone benefits along the way: The homebuyer finds mortgage money more readily available and affordable; the depository institution can finance and then service more mortgages; and investors have highly liquid securities backed by pools of mortgages that often provide better yields than corporate securities.

I had the pleasure of touring Freddie Mac to see how the secondary mortgage market functions up close. It was fascinating to see the speed at which thousands of mortgage transactions were handled, and it's all so simple. There's a small room in Freddie Mac's basement where a staff of no more than six or seven talk to lenders all over the country to let them know what prices Freddie Mac can buy mortgages for each day. This staff also commits Freddie Mac to buy the mortgages that lenders want to sell in order to replenish their supply of lendable funds.

Approximately 3 hours and 100 calls later, a tape of all the transactions for that day are taken by a messenger from the commitment room to the trading room 3 floors up. The traders there call 15 Wall Street firms simultaneously and the firms bid on the mortgages Freddie Mac has committed to purchase that day.

Almost 70 percent of home mortgages that lenders wrote last year were sold into the secondary mortgage market. Home buyers may not care who gets their monthly mortgage payments in the end, but they do care, as I do, about the availability and afford-

ability of housing. Thanks to the secondary mortgage market, families and individuals can be sure of getting a mortgage from their local lender, at interest rates which reflect national capital market investors' increasing willingness to provide a good price for mortgage-related securities. This willingness translates into interest rates lower than local sources could provide, which means savings on monthly payments for home buyers and which means more people will qualify for loans to buy homes. Freddie Mac has been vital to housing finance in the past 15 years, and will continue to be so for many years to come. Over 60 million home buyers are coming into prime home buying age during this decade, the biggest bulge the census bureau has ever recorded. Freddie Mac will be there to ensure that these home buyers will continue to have access to the American dream with affordable mortgage credit.●

A TRIBUTE TO SAM SMITH

HON. MIKE LOWRY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. LOWRY of Washington. Mr. Speaker, for nearly 30 years, Sam Smith has devoted his time, knowledge, ability, enthusiasm, and determination to the people of Washington State and the city of Seattle. In honor of his many years of dedicated service, the Washington State Legislature has proclaimed July 27 as Sam Smith Day. In addition, the board of directors of the Central Area Youth Association [CAYA] of Seattle, a nonprofit organization dedicated to improving the lives and futures of Seattle's young people, has renamed its annual Hometown Run the Sam Smith Hometown Fun Run. I would like to join the people of Seattle, Washington State, the Northwest, and other regions of the Nation in honoring Sam Smith.

Mr. Smith, the husband of Marion King Smith and the father of five sons and a daughter, is currently serving his fifth term and 18th year as a member of the Seattle City Council. For 4 of these years he was president of the council, a position to which he was elected by his colleagues. In this capacity, he served as a lightning rod for cooperation by helping to develop an atmosphere of respect and goodwill. Mr. Smith is now chairman of the Housing, Recreation, and Human Services Committee; vice chairman of the Public Safety Committee; and vice chairman of the Finance Committee. Prior to serving on the Seattle City Council, Mr. Smith served five terms in the Washington State Legislature.

The concern for equal opportunity and fair play was a part of Sam

Smith's life long before he became a public official. He has consistently championed the rights of the poor, the young, the elderly, minorities, and others who often need assistance in obtaining the opportunities and skills that will enable them to be productive, contributing members of society. Sam Smith has always known that the thing that people need the most is a chance. He has dedicated his life's work to making sure that it is forthcoming.

In addition to his years of public service, Mr. Smith has volunteered countless hours to private volunteer and service organizations. He is a former member of the board of managers of the American Baptist Churches USA, life member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, member of the Seattle Urban League, president of the Brotherhood of the Mount Zion Baptist Church for 25 years, church school-teacher for 29 years, and the area director of the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials.

Mr. Smith also organized and guided the Northwest Conference of Black Public Officials in Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Colorado, and Alaska. In recognition of the need to help offenders establish stable lives upon release, he organized the Black Prisoners Assistance Coalition of Washington. The Coalition has not only helped prisoners, but also their children and other loved ones who have been affected by their incarceration. Sam's concern for the elderly and the development of human potential led him to serve on the Seattle-King County Planning Council on Aging and the National League of Cities' Human Resource Policy Committee.

Sam Smith has been commended and honored for his effective leadership and tireless efforts by numerous institutions and organizations. The Seattle King County Municipal League, Seattle University, Mount Zion Baptist Church, the Seattle Urban League, the Washington State Legislature, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Prince Hall Grand Lodge, and the Central Area Jaycees make up only a partial list of those who have recognized Sam Smith's commitment to making our community and our Nation a better place for everyone.

I would like to add my name to the many others in congratulating Sam on a job well done. We look forward to hearing his compassionate voice, being touched by his strength, and benefiting from his experience for many years to come. ●

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## TRIBUTE TO LES ARENDS

## HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 18, 1985

● Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I was surprised and saddened to hear the distinguished minority leader tell us today that Les Arends, who served as minority whip in the House until 1974, passed away Tuesday morning.

What can you say about a man who served 40 years in the House without making a single enemy on either side of the aisle? What can you say about a man who served as Republican whip for 31 years—a record which will probably never be surpassed? He served under four different leaders—all of whom considered him their right hand in the House.

When he retired in 1974, Members flooded to the floor to pay their respects to Les. Members expressed their affection for Les in many different ways: "His years in Congress brought him not only ever-increasing respect—but something very close to love." Others said that if Congress were to create a "Mr. Geniality" award, Les would win it hands down. He was called one of God's gifts to the human race by former Speaker Carl Albert, and former President Ford, who Les served under, said that Les looked at problems from "the point of view of what was right."

Many of Les positions—especially on defense matters—were controversial for many Members of the House. But his views never made enemies for him—because no matter how you felt about his views, you had to admit that he was always firm, fair, decent, and well-prepared to defend his position.

As Republican whip, he knew where his Members stood on an issue and where they could be tracked down. Once, he even asked the Pennsylvania State Police to locate a homebound Member on the Pennsylvania Turnpike to advise him to get back to the Capitol for a vote.

Elected to the Congress by 2,200 votes in 1934, Les was the only Republican House candidate to defeat an incumbent Democrat in that depression year election. His constituents in Illinois sent him back to the House 20 times—and of the over 10,000 Members who have served in this House, only 10 have served longer than Les Arends.

Mr. Speaker, when Les was saying goodbye to Members retiring from the House in 1966, he said:

One of the great rewards of serving in the Congress is the friendships that develop. Whatever the future may bring for any one of us, we cannot look back upon those years in Congress without reflecting on the times of crisis and the failures and successes that we share with our colleagues and with our friends.

July 23, 1985

One of the great rewards of my service in the House was knowing, working with, and serving with my good friend Les Arends. He will be missed. ●

## THE CLEAN CAMPAIGN ACT OF 1985

## HON. TOM LANTOS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, recently I introduced legislation to address a serious and growing campaign practice—the misuse of television and radio broadcasting for negative political commercials against a candidate for Federal office.

Negative, even slanderous, campaigning is certainly not new. What is new, however, is the power of such negative campaigning to reach masses of people through the pervasive media of radio and television. An emotional and well-staged attack on a political candidate through television advertising will certainly draw significant media attention. This fact of campaign life is not overlooked by aspiring candidates and their managers, but equally serious is the growing use of negative campaign advertisements by political action committees [PAC's] and wealthy individuals who are not themselves political candidates.

The foundation of our democracy is a well-informed public. The electorate must be informed about critical national issues which must be decided upon by our democratically elected representatives.

Negative campaigning—especially through television—threatens the right of the public to be informed. Such campaigning increasingly is being used to mislead and deceive the public on important and complex issues. Short ads on radio and television, often no more than 30 seconds long, use innuendo and half-truths to cast aspersions on candidates without providing the attacked candidate an opportunity to respond directly. Untruths and distortions of facts are deliberately broadcast, and the perpetrators cannot be held accountable.

Under recent court decisions, political action committees [PAC's] and individuals who are not candidates for public office are free to participate in political campaigns without many of the restrictions placed on official campaign committees and candidates. Often these PAC's and individuals abuse our democratic system by paying for negative campaigns against candidates for public office. Armed with millions of dollars, independent political action committees are attacking candidates whom they oppose with a deluge of vicious, even slanderous, commercials.

The most recent campaign, 1984, hit an all time high both in the tastelessness of many charges made against candidates and in the use of negative advertising. Many political candidates sponsored commercials impugning their opponent's character and record, rather than explaining or defending their own positions. The volume of PAC advertising, targeted against particular candidates, also reached new highs. This negative campaigning constitutes a growing proportion of an average campaign's advertising. In the 1950's and 1960's less than a quarter of the campaign ads were negative in tone; in the 1970's that increased to about one-third. In 1980, negative advertising took a quantum leap as conservative groups targeted individuals they opposed. Using similar negative tactics in self-defense, candidates have contributed to an escalation of this problem. Negative spending, in the 1980 election, accounted for 14 percent of all money spent on federal campaigns. Since 1980, these figures have continued to skyrocket.

Political scientists have examined the serious and unfortunate results of such attack politics—all candidates for public office are damaged and the public becomes disgusted. The American people, sick and tired of hearing and seeing these abusive ads, turn off by refusing to go to the polls. Widespread voter disenchantment and cynicism are fostered by negative campaigns.

Continuing barrages of negative advertising intensifies the negative tone of political discourse, not only among candidates but among their constituents as well. Such campaign tactics abuse the potential of television accurately to inform the public. The American people deserve informed and informative political discussion; they deserve political campaigns which present the issues and differences between candidates seriously, honestly, and with statesmanship.

Mr. Speaker, it is time for us to take effective steps to stop this snowballing trend of negative campaign advertising. I have introduced the Clean Campaign Act of 1985 in order to address this serious problem. This legislation has two major provisions to help reduce negative campaigning.

First, any references in a broadcast advertisement by a candidate for Federal office about his or her opponent must be made by that candidate in person. If this is not done, the opponent must be given free media time to respond. The same amount of time during the same period of the day on the same broadcasting station must be made available within a short, reasonable period of time under terms of this act.

While this may not entirely eliminate negative campaign advertising, it will increase the accountability of any

candidate for such advertising. The public will see and hear the candidate personally make negative statements about his or her opponent. The candidate cannot hide behind the words of a paid actor speaking in pompous, omniscient tones.

Second, the legislation requires that if a PAC or an individual who is not a candidate airs a negative advertisement, the candidate against whom it was directed will receive free response time. If a PAC or an individual who is not a candidate advertises an endorsement of a candidate for Federal office, the opponents of that candidate will also receive free response time.

Mr. Speaker, there are serious questions regarding freedom of speech that must be considered. This act, however, in no way abridges that precious right. The fundamental purpose of freedom of speech is to permit the full and fair airing of all points of view in the belief that if all sides are freely and openly discussed and debated, the public will be in a position to make informed, rational choices.

This legislation requires responsibility and accountability, and it assures that all sides of an issue are presented. Present law and current legal interpretations give those who engage in negative campaigning an unfair advantage. The Clean Campaign Act restores balance by assuring that all sides have a full and fair hearing.

This act is a first step toward cleaning up dirty campaigning. It will not violate freedom of the press or freedom of speech; but it will make candidates and their supporters more accountable for their campaign statements. I urge my colleagues to join me in cosponsoring this important legislation.●

#### LACK OF LEADERSHIP

**HON. RICHARD A. GEPHARDT**

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. GEPHARDT. Mr. Speaker, Senator DANFORTH's attempt to blame our present budget stalemate on House Democrats clearly demonstrates the root cause of our dilemma. There is no consensus in the Congress or the country for how to resolve our hemorrhaging deficit. No consensus exists because there is not sufficient Presidential leadership to create the agreement. If Senator DANFORTH would spend more time urging the President to do his job we might end the stalemate and save the economy.

I voted in the House with 52 other Members of Congress for a huge reduction plan much like the plan Senator DANFORTH supported in the Senate. The fact that plan only received 53 votes in the 435-Member House, indi-

cates that such a plan is not likely to be a product of a House-Senate compromise.

The plan ultimately passed by the House was not as aggressive against the deficit as I would like, but Senator DANFORTH is wrong when he complains that it juggles numbers and does not achieve \$56 billion in real deficit reductions.

The Senate passed their plan by voting the Vice President and bringing in Senator PETE WILSON on a stretcher. Now the President has sided with Representative JACK KEMP and House Republicans against the Senate Republican plan. The net result of all of this is that Republicans are attacking Republicans and Democrats are attacking Democrats and vice versa. Meanwhile, the President stands above the fray as the country is paralyzed on the most important problem we face. As the St. Louis Globe Democrat pointed out today in its lead editorial:

There should be no question, President Reagan, as the single leader responsible to all of the people, has to take the lead not only to reach a compromise but an agreement that drastically reduces the string of monster deficits that face the Nation.

The budgetary chaos in Congress today is the direct result of the President expecting a committee of 535 to lead on difficult political issues when he neither cannot or will not lead on the issue himself. As long as the President sees goals like avoiding across-the-board spending cuts or tax increases as more important than deficit reduction, he will not effectively lead the Congress to a solution.

I can understand and share JOHN DANFORTH's frustration. I can also understand his reluctance to identify the President, a fellow Republican, as the problem. To see Republicans and Democrats, Senators and Representatives throwing brickbats at one another would be interesting and perhaps amusing if the stakes weren't so high. I hope Senator DANFORTH will find time after his public salvos to aid Senator DOLE in privately convincing the President to do what he was elected to do.●

#### SYNTHETIC FUELS CORPORATION

**HON. PHILIP R. SHARP**

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. SHARP. Mr. Speaker, along with several of my colleagues, I will oppose the rule on H.R. 3011, the Interior appropriations bill, in order to offer an amendment cutting spending by the Synthetic Fuels Corporation by \$6 billion.

Because the Synthetic Fuels Corporation is not subject to annual authorizations and appropriations, we must use this vehicle to rescind funds if we are to ensure that they are not committed in the near future.

H.R. 935, legislation to abolish the Corporation, has been introduced by the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. SYNAR] and the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. WOLPE], and has been amended and reported by the Energy and Commerce Committee. It is expected to be considered soon by the Banking Committee.

Final enactment of this legislation by both Houses, however, is likely to be a lengthy effort, and the Corporation could commit billions of dollars to unnecessary projects before we can accomplish their abolition.

Given the existence of the strategic petroleum reserve and the current oil glut and falling prices, we are not likely to need Synfuels production in this century. We can improve our knowledge and get ready for their eventual commercial use with a much smaller effort, which H.R. 935 would establish in the Department of Energy.

Although the risk of another oil shock and its damage to our economy must not be ignored, the economic consequences of not cutting the Federal deficit are greater, more immediate, and more certain.

The amendment I seek to offer to the interior appropriations bill is quite simple. It would rescind about \$6 billion—all of the Corporation's uncommitted funds except for \$500 million for transfer later to the new DOE Program. The Corporation would be prohibited from using this \$500 million for any additional awards.

For the House to adopt this amendment, it will be necessary to defeat the rule for H.R. 3011 and I hope my colleagues will join me in voting to do so.

Mr. Speaker, I ask that the text of the proposed amendment be printed in the RECORD following my remarks.

Page 45, after line 18, insert the following new item:

**DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY**  
**ENERGY SECURITY RESERVE**  
**(Rescission)**

Except as otherwise provided in this item, all funds appropriated to the Energy Security Reserve are hereby rescinded. Funds so rescinded shall include all funds appropriated to the Energy Security Reserve by the Department of the Interior and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1980 (Public Law 96-126) and subsequently made available to carry out title I, part B, of the Energy Security Act by Public Laws 96-304 and 96-514, and shall be deposited in the general fund of the Treasury. This rescission shall not apply to—

(1) funds transferred from the Energy Security Reserve by this Act;

(2) \$500,000,000, which may not be used for payments with respect to projects or modules under the Energy Security Act; and

(3) such amounts as may be necessary to make payments for projects or modules for which obligations were entered into under title I of the Energy Security Act before the date of enactment of this Act. ●

**CONGRATULATIONS TO DEBORAH NICHOLS ON AN OUTSTANDING EFFORT**

**HON. MIKE LOWRY**

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. LOWRY of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues an outstanding essay written by Deborah Nichols of Burlington, WA, and to offer my congratulations to Deborah for being chosen as the national winner and recipient of a \$10,000 scholarship of a national essay contest by the U.S. League of Savings Institutions. The national essay contest, which was a part of the savings league's deficit-reduction campaign, attracted over 1,000 hard-working students from across our Nation.

I commend Deborah and the other contestants for an excellent effort to help us act upon the crucial issue of the Federal budget deficit. Deborah's essay strengthened my faith in our young people and their commitment toward our Nation. I share this essay with my colleagues in the hope that it will help each of us to better understand and to act upon our obligation to our younger citizens, upon whom rests the future of our Nation.

**YOU CAN SAVE YOUR COUNTRY: "DOUBLE DECKER DEFICIT DEDUCTION"**

Roaring flames swept across America. Trees crumbled to the ground, and animals fled their homes in despair. The powerful forces of nature seemed uncontrollable. Such was the scene of George Washington's startling vision. Various interpretations have attempted to reveal the true meaning of Washington's vision. Some people think that the fire signified the Civil War which pitted brother against brother. Other analogies point toward less obvious destructions, including harmful drugs and intolerable crime. Perhaps Washington's vision of fire sweeping America was a glimpse at the runaway deficit and its impact on the economy today and in the future. The growing deficit figure, which reached \$213 billion in 1985, instigated a serious reevaluation of our taxation allotments and our funding disbursements. We can blame the Executive Administration; we can blame Congress; we can blame wars, welfare, and the wealthy. Regardless of the cause, the deficit is a fact that meets each American face to face—on the job, at home, at the store, in the factory, and at the bank. Although the wild deficit paints a gloomy picture, hope and solutions abound. A moderate deficit can serve to benefit mankind by stimulating aggregate demand, production, and employment. On the other hand, a runaway deficit can become an uncontrollable fire that spreads inflation and/or high interest rates. W.R. Grace, a successful businessman and head of the Grace Commission, voiced the concern of the growing deficit when he stated,

"If federal deficits continue at their current rate, it's as if every baby born in 1985 will have a \$50,000 debt strapped to its back." Indeed, analyzing and activating reduction and reconstruction plans for the federal budget system will help control the runaway financial fire and, in turn, lighten the burden for young citizens.

The saga of deficit spending dates back to the phenomenal ideas and theories of a British economist in the middle 1930's named John Maynard Keynes. Keynesian economics provided a plausible solution for a world suffering from the Great Depression and for the United States where millions of people were unemployed and unable to buy food. "Around 1935, fully 25 percent of American workers were unemployed, and an additional large percentage were not working on a full-time basis." Keynes taught that increased government spending would put money into the hands of consumers, thereby increasing the demand for goods and services as well as providing employment. For the first time in the history of this country, the federal government adopted the role of caretaker and job-provider. Although the public-investment projects were ill-planned and inefficient, the work programs provided employment. An extreme case of such "make-work" plans was the mythical "dig holes and then refill them" project. Even though our nation shifted away from most wasteful public-works spending after the Great Depression, we allowed the "let the government provide" attitude to smolder.

Thirty years after Keynes' initial seed of deficit spending was planted, the United States faced the economic havoc of World War II, the Cold War, and the Korean War. GNP growth from 1953 to 1960 averaged out to barely 2.5 percent per year in the United States, while Western Germany, Japan, Italy, France, and Western Europe generally were achieving sustained real growth rates several times this amount. The enormous cost of the war-production effort was, for the most part, financed by U.S. government borrowing.

When John F. Kennedy stepped into the executive chair, he found conditions favorable for expansion and promised to open the New Frontier for America. Increased spending provided the stimulus. Meanwhile, the Federal Reserve was manipulating the monetary supply in an earnest effort to balance our payment deficit and maintain an acceptable dollar exchange rate. Before his assassination, President Kennedy persuasively advocated a deliberate deficit and a deliberate tax cut to stimulate economic growth.

The smoldering deficit continued to burn unapologetically as Lyndon B. Johnson entered the Presidential office. Johnson promoted poverty programs of the New Frontier and of his Great Society, consequently increasing government responsibilities. The national debt expanded. In 1965 came Johnson's fateful decision to accelerate the Vietnam War. Purposely disregarding economists' advice to raise taxes, President Johnson thrust the full burden of monetary contraction on the Federal Reserve.

Through the "money crunch" of 1966 and the "stagflation" of 1974, the United States government continued to sponsor benefits, subsidies, and pensions without sufficient funds to cover the costs of such programs. Each year, expenditures rose, partly because military appropriations were increased from \$146 billion in 1980 to \$265 billion in 1984 and partly because indexed

Social Security payments and soaring Medicare costs overrode reductions that had been gained by slashing away at welfare. The result was the phenomenal monster deficit of \$111 billion in fiscal 1982; a second, larger deficit of \$195 billion in fiscal 1983; and the probable \$213 billion deficit in fiscal 1985. This deficit must be extinguished or controlled if we are to avoid the scramble for funds that could send interest rates out of sight.

What is upsetting about these deficits, however, is not only their size, but their structural nature. As a result of a complex role confusion between the government and the people, entwined with a selfish, materialistic attitude, citizens of the United States have allowed the skyrocketing deficits to literally explode. Instead of working out problems on the individual or state level, we obligate the government to step in. Big Brother to the rescue! We are becoming a nation in distress, seeking world power and prestige through ridiculously high defense increases. In fact, defense costs the taxpayer an average \$2,175, nearly 30 percent of total government spending. Granted, defense contracts and military payments increase employment and protect the nation. These work programs, however, seem no different than the "dig a hole and refill it" projects of the Great Depression. Slowly, but surely, the trend of high deficit spending is internally decaying our nation by weakening economic stability to the point that defense spending becomes self-defeating. From \$2,000 hammers to triple-dipping recipients, we see that the range and magnitude of government spending is neither necessary nor tolerable. What good is a warehouse of missiles when quality education is neglected or when a huge deficit awaits posterity? Clearly, the response should not be accelerated deficit spending.

An analysis of the deficit spending structure illustrates the extremely contradictory values of our nation. With enough missiles to destroy the world several times, we have an all-time high defense budget of \$277.5 billion. Abortion, crime, and teenage suicides accelerate at phenomenal rates, while we build the missiles and bombs that will supposedly protect our country. As a guardian angel of our country and as a watchdog of the world, the federal government has confused the values, resources, and needs of the people themselves.

The spiraling deficit is entangling the people of this country in a dangerous trap. The fire is blazing, yet few persons seem to understand the impact of high deficits or agree upon any proposed corrections. A number of simple solutions include a limit on personal wealth, a nation-wide lottery, and end to Social Security and retirement programs, or bankruptcy. Obviously, simple solutions are neither practical nor saleable. A complex network of historical events, from Keynes to Reagan, have contributed to the egotistic attitude and opposing values that cause the deficit dissolution to seem impossible, both monetarily and socially. As a result, several decades will be required to bring the federal deficit under control.

My proposal to curb the federal deficits centers upon redefining the role of the federal government by distributing the burden of the debt to each state based on population according to the current census. This plan, called the Double Decker Deficit Deduction, returns all taxing power to the state where local interests, climates, and industries can best be served. Free from all programs, except the national defense, the

federal government would apportion the costs of national security and domestic protection to the states and would maintain an annual balanced defense budget. Double decker refers to taxation upon individuals to pay for the programs in their particular state, and taxation upon the states to pay their portion of national defense. The states respectively would have 85 years to reduce their share of the national debt and annual deficit to a level acceptable by the standards of their state. The more wealthy states may completely dissolve their deficits much sooner than expected. Existing programs may be cut entirely or reduced, but education would rank high on the budget priority. Of course every plan has its disadvantages, and the Double Decker Deficit Deduction would certainly anger the lobbying groups and individuals who depend upon the federal government to set food on their tables, buy artificial hearts, research fossils in Africa, abort unwanted babies, and provide retirement benefits. Burdening the states will bring the runaway deficit back home where the flames can be controlled. The alternative? The runaway federal deficits could sweep the nation, making Washington's vision of fire a reality. ●

**SOCIAL SECURITY MARKS ITS 50TH ANNIVERSARY: A PARTNERSHIP WITH TOMORROW**

**HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, 1930's President Franklin D. Roosevelt characterized the social condition of the third of this Nation's population as "ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished." In the 1980's there are still a number of poorly cared for people in this land, but hardly as many as there would be without the Social Security Administration and the many services it has provided for millions of Americans for 50 years.

Social Security was begun as a program to help prevent the kind of widespread economic insecurity of the elderly that occurred during the 1930's. That purpose lives on in the work that Social Security does now. When it became apparently necessary to provide for those who fall through the cracks of society because of youthful situation, unemployment, or medical need, Social Security became a family program, rather than one just for the aged, by providing benefits for certain dependents and survivors of insured workers.

With the formation of Medicare in the sixties, the Social Security Administration provided the medical assistance so many senior citizens needed to survive. Medicare is still vitally important to the livelihood of millions of senior Americans. Now, the medical and financial needs of many of our citizens are addressed and we will be able to address them with certainty for at least another three generations because of legislation that has in-

creased the old-age survivors and disability insurance fund.

Social Security has done a great deal, an immeasurable amount to address ill-nourishment, poor housing, and other indicators of poverty, old age, and family infirmity in this Nation. Social Security has served a priceless purpose in this Nation. Each time proposals are made to reduce the benefits of this program a thorough analysis shows that a multitude of Americans face the risk of impoverishment. We all must strengthen our resolve to insure that Social Security will be available as needed for another 50 years and beyond. I applaud the Social Security Administration and its successes on its 50th anniversary. ●

**CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK**

**HON. BILL EMERSON**

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, President Reagan has issued a proclamation declaring the week of July 21 through July 27, 1985, as the 27th annual observance of Captive Nations Week. In so doing, the President has kept an annual tradition of designating the third week of July as a time when we remember those in other countries who are held captive under the long, dark shadow of communism. The Soviet Union has been doing all in its power to cast that shadow as widely as it can, and as we all are painfully aware, they have met with success even in recent years.

In 1920, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Cossackia, Georgia, Udel-Ural, North Caucasia, and the Ukraine fell to Soviet domination. Others were not far behind: the Far Eastern Republic and Turkestan in 1922; Mongolia in 1924; Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania in 1940; Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia in 1946; Poland and Romania in 1947; Czechoslovakia and North Korea in 1948; Hungary and East Germany in 1949; Tibet in 1951; Cuba in 1960; Cambodia, South Vietnam, and Laos in 1975; and Afghanistan in 1980.

Even more horrendous than their brutal invasion of many of these countries is their treatment of the citizens of these new Soviet satellites. Recently, we have seen the oppression of the Polish labor union Solidarity, the attempted assassination of the Pope, a Cuban and Soviet presence in Grenada, and the tragic downing of a Korean commercial airliner. We need only to look to their activities in Central America and Southeast Asia to see that they have every intention of casting that shadow into other corners of the world.

This week, all Americans, and particularly Members of Congress, should

pause and reflect on how we can ensure that no more countries are added to the list of captive nations, and on the consequences of our failure to do so. As the strongest democracy in the world, we must set an example and work toward the day when all captive nations can take their rightful place among the free nations of the world.●

**CAN WE USE REASON ABOUT  
OUR USE OF ANIMALS?**

**HON. TOM LANTOS**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 23, 1985*

● Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, the ancient lawmaker, Seneca, in the first century B.C. said, "Man is a reasoning animal." And yet, some 20 centuries later, members of the official bureaucracy in our generally enlightened democracy too often fail to use reason.

A serious case in point is the recent victory won for animal welfare last week, when Secretary Margaret Heckler ordered the suspension of funding for the University of Pennsylvania brain-trauma experiments on primates. I was joined by several of my colleagues in the House in calling for a halt to this experimentation months ago. As more information became available to us, despite the reluctance to the National Institutes of Health to cooperate, our shock and horror over the blatant abuses in this laboratory increased. It was clear from the outset—to any reasoning person—that the use of public funds for this research was in violation of regulations governing research procedures using animals. Scientific procedures as well as ethical and humane concerns were blatantly compromised. And yet, the Department of Health and Human Services continued to defend and fund this research, and even to accept without hesitation a recommendation for continued funding for another 5 years. Where is the use of reason?

What finally forced the attention of the Secretary was a disconcerting demonstration by an activist animal welfare group that organized a sit-in in the offices of the National Institute of Neurological and Communicative Diseases and Stroke. The demonstration, coupled with inquiries and pressure from some of us in Congress, resulted in this long overdue action by HHS. The research at the University of Pennsylvania brain-trauma laboratory should have been stopped as soon as the violations were first made public almost a year ago.

In today's Washington Post, James J. Kilpatrick offers a balanced perspective on this sensitive issue. Kilpatrick does not mention that the report of the investigating committee, which

confirmed claims about the research, was released—as if by coincidence—after the takeover of NIH by the demonstrators and after stepped-up congressional pressure. He does, however, clearly expose the resistance to reason exhibited by responsible officials in the National Institutes of Health. Unfortunately, experiences of this kind merely encourage the future use of such displays of force, rather than reasoned persuasion. This should not happen in a democracy such as ours.

I am inserting in the RECORD Mr. Kilpatrick's article from the Post for the benefit of my colleagues.

**BRUTALITY AND LAUGHTER IN THE LAB**

Early in the morning of May 28, 1984, members of the Animal Liberation Front broke into the Head Injury Clinical Research Center at the University of Pennsylvania. They stole more than 60 hours of videotapes of animal experiments and launched a campaign to halt further federal grants to the center. Last week they could claim a well-won victory.

The story of the laboratory break-in created a small flurry last summer. Clinic officials and university spokesmen stoutly defended the research. Dr. James Wyngaarden, director of the National Institutes of Health, was quoted in Science magazine in June 1984. The center, he said, "is considered one of the best laboratories in the world." Last week he appeared to have suspended that judgment.

The animal lovers who stole the videotapes edited the 60 hours down to a 30-minute shocker. Under the auspices of PETA (People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals), the 30-minute film was selectively circulated. I watched it a few days ago, and though I am no anti-vivisectionist, I found it appalling. Half a dozen members of Congress viewed it. They wrote to Margaret Heckler, secretary of Health and Human Services, demanding that the experiments be halted. The government at long last began to pay attention.

The story goes back about 13 years, to the time that medical doctors at the University of Pennsylvania got their first federal grant for head-injury research. One series of experiments involved enclosing a test animal's head in a hard plastic helmet, positioning the head in a machine that delivers a piston blow of up to 1,000 g's, and then chipping off the helmet with hammer and screwdriver. The brain-damaged primate is then subjected to various experiments, some of them involving recent memory, and finally the animal is killed and its brain tissues and fluids analyzed.

If the research were done carefully and humanely, perhaps a case could be made for it. Whiplash injuries are serious injuries. Brain concussion is no trivial matter. But PETA spokesmen charged that the research was not being done ethically. They contended, for one thing, that the anesthetic used in the experiments, Sernalyn (phencyclidine hydrochloride, or PCP), was inadequate to prevent the animals from suffering serious pain. They charged that lab assistants were violating rules having to do with sterile procedures. The hammer blows to remove the protective helmets, they said, affected whatever findings might be disclosed by later dissection.

The stolen film shows animals with various levels of brain damage. It depicts researchers as having a really fun time. One

lab assistant flops a dazed baboon around a table. He waves the rag-doll arms and jokes about the trainer "who taught him how to do those tricks." Ho, ho, ho. Over in a corner is baboon B-10, who gazes at the camera in misery. "As you can see, B-10 is alive . . . B-10 wishes his counterpart well. B-10 is watching and hoping for a good result." The mockery provokes a big laugh. Other researchers try to make an animal shake hands. This is hilarious. "He says, 'You're going to rescue me from this, aren't you?'"

Well, it was high time for someone to rescue these baboons from the hands of their tormentors. Under pressure from PETA and the shocked congressmen, Wyngaarden, who originally had stonewalled, a month ago named a committee to investigate. Last Wednesday the committee filed its preliminary report. There has been "material failure to comply with public health policy for the care and use of laboratory animals." The committee was especially critical of anesthetic procedures. There had been inadequate "supervision and training" of lab personnel.

Heckler did not wait upon a final report. She telephoned Wyngaarden Thursday morning to say she was suspending the federal grants at once. If the outraged House members have anything to say about it—and they do—the funding will be halted for good.

Fine with me. After 13 years and \$13 million, what's to be gained by bashing in the brains of more baboons? According to PETA, published papers have been mostly of mild academic interest, though the researchers' analysis of brain fluids may have proved useful in treating some human head injuries. The whole unhappy business smacks of grantsmanship at its most avaricious. Get the grant, and never mind the poor baboons.●

**JOHNNIE, WE REMEMBER**

**HON. RICHARD A. GEPHARDT**

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 23, 1985*

● Mr. GEPHARDT. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, June 5, 1985, the St. Louis Metropolitan Police Department lost one of its finest. Patrolman Johnnie Corbin, 41 years of age, an 18-year veteran with the police department, met an untimely death.

Officer Corbin was a former member of the mobile reserve, a police unit that knew how to deal with trouble. Johnnie was a member of the St. Louis Hostage Negotiating Team, an elite unit of officers trained to react in hostage situations.

Johnnie was a survivor. In 1974, Corbin was awarded a meritorious service award, the department's second highest award, for his role in a shootout with three desperadoes. One bandit was killed and two others wounded when Corbin and other officers interrupted a hold-up in my district. Johnnie knew what danger was.

Johnnie was a survivor. The ex-Marine Corps sergeant underwent open heart surgery in 1983, and after a

short recuperation returned to police duty. Johnnie wasn't very different from the thousands of other peace officers in this country—men who do a very important job for our country and their community, men we citizens often take for granted.

On Wednesday, June 5, 1985, Officer Johnnie Corbin, was doing his job. Johnnie didn't die in a hail of gunfire. Johnnie wasn't freeing a hostage from the terrorists. Johnnie was giving out parking tickets. He was assigned to traffic safety, and he was doing his job. Fifteen minutes before his death, Corbin gave a motorist a \$4 ticket for a parking violation. The motorist in a rage ran Johnnie down as he sat on his tri-car. That wasn't enough, his assailant proceeded to kick Officer Corbin in the head—just for doing his job.

Mr. Speaker, we in America, read about or see on television daily, the sensational efforts put forth by our police officers. And in those brief moments, we think, "Thank God they were there to help." But how often do we just take for granted the job they do? The pay is not always good, the hours are sometimes bad, and their lives are always on the line.

To the anonymous citizen, who apprehended the assailant with Officer Corbin's own gun, and to all the Johnnies in law enforcement, thanks for the job you do. We do remember. To Johnnie's family, friends, and fellow officers, our deepest sympathy. And you Johnnie, we remember. ●

**SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES:  
LUNGREN S.O.**

**HON. ROBERT K. DORNAN**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1985

● Mr. DORNAN of California. Mr. Speaker, this special order is of great interest to me, because I am convinced that one of the most consistent and significant efforts the Soviet Union makes in its public affairs at home or abroad, is trying to make the world see things that aren't there, or not to see things that are. The Soviet Government does this in order to gain the maximum advantage available by making this country and others, including its own citizens, misdirect attention and energy, or sleep, blissfully unaware of what is being done to them.

Their work of misdirection ranges from placement of black propaganda articles in friendly foreign publications to timing the activities of their military and defense construction so as to be quiescent and invisible as U.S. intelligence satellites pass overhead.

Since the pictures of the world we make in our minds are the models on

which we base our plans of action, it is critical that we be aware of the Soviet proclivity for lying. They instinctively lie, preferring the protection of misdirection to the advantages of truth. And, when the truth comes out, they do their best to raise doubts as to the accuracy of the true reports.

So important is the Soviet propensity for misdirection, deceit, and deception, that they actually have a chief directorate for strategic deception, headed by General N.V. Ogarkov. This department guides and controls all military censorship in the Soviet Union, which means all publications in science, technology, economics, or anything which might have military implications. Viktor Suvorov, in his revealing and insightful study "Inside the Soviet Army," tells us that "Everything in this huge country must be done in such a way that the enemy always has a false impression of what is going on." He goes on to say that some things are hidden, others are exaggerated "out of all recognition." Further, Suvorov tells us, Soviet military intelligence and the directorate have recruited mercenary hack journalists abroad, who disseminate Soviet-inspired false information.

Within the first directorate of the KGB, the active measures service carries out parallel operations, with attention to far more than simply disinformation and forgeries. It is worth noting that since World War II the Soviets have upgraded that office from a disinformation office to an active measures office to its present status as a full-fledged service. That service has six departments, and is charged with supporting foreign active measures conducted by the Politburo. Deception is a key element in the Soviet strategy of world domination.

One way to look at the Soviet art of lying is to remember that they have small lies, and big lies. The small lie is the slight distortion, the statistical exaggeration or shell game, which exaggerates progress or success, or minimizes failure. A significant example of this was General Ogarkov's promotion of the belief that they were capable of producing a successful antiballistic missile. Now, the Soviets did have some excellent surface-to-air missiles in their armory at that time, and they were capable of destroying some ballistic missiles. They were by no means able to destroy an incoming American Minuteman missile. But, by displaying an otherwise unidentified huge missile during a Moscow parade, building a building in plain sight of Moscow, and broadcasting some computer signals from it, they gave the impression that they had something going. They even faked up some films showing an antiballistic missile in action. The result was that this country came to the bargaining table with the Soviets and relinquished our right to develop a

weapons system which would have given us an advantage, because the Soviets really didn't have the capacity to produce such missiles. The tipoff to this should have been General Ogarkov's presence at the Geneva bargaining table.

Another side of this is the absence of news in the Soviet media about natural disasters or even plane crashes, despite the fact that many Soviet citizens are directly affected by such events.

The other kind of Soviet lie is the big lie, a lie told when no Soviet would dare tell the truth, but silence is impossible. The record is replete with such examples. Soviet troops are in Afghanistan because the Western Powers are running an operation against the Afghan Government. The Government of Czechoslovakia invited Soviet troops into that country in 1968. The United States caused the cold war. Flight KAL 007 was shot down because it was engaged in a spy mission. I could go on, but the point is clear.

The problem this presents for U.S. policymakers, and lawmakers, is that we spend so much time sorting out what we can believe and what we cannot. Our intelligence services gather data, and provide reports. At the same time the Soviets hide some things completely—like their recent real missile production—and put out misleading stories on more public developments, seeking to undercut public faith in official U.S. reports.

The Soviets are fond of besmirching the United States reputation by circulating what used to be called black propaganda through news organs around the world. One of Ogarkov's puppet journalists writes a story which might appear in the Bombay Blitz, for instance, accusing an American Embassy official of spying or other misbehavior. The story is then picked up by Pravda or Izvestia, and then reported in a Western newspaper, by which time some people accept it as true. It is hard enough to keep track of normal political polemics as practiced in this country by rivals and opponents, let alone the complications of international news deliberately slanted and distorted to blind the American public to what our adversaries are about.

A case in point was the cleverly arranged demise of the enhanced radiation weapon, or neutron bomb. The Soviets spent about \$100 million to shape the public debate to their purposes, successfully. In the NATO Review for April 1983, Larry Eagleburger reported that "the U.S.S.R. was able to distort the public debate on the topic and direct attention from the massive Soviet military buildup and the clear threat to European security posed by Warsaw Pact convention-



al forces—the threat which enhanced-radiation weapons can so effectively counter.” The unfortunate part was that responsible and informed American journalists fell into the Soviet trap. To this day, some people believe the neutron bomb was rejected because it was immoral, “that it killed people instead of destroying property,” rather than because the Soviets cleverly torpedoed it. Other writers have described Soviet capabilities and practices in the area of active measures. I call attention to John Barron’s masterful study, “The KGB Today,” which details the operations of that Soviet secret intelligence/counterintelligence agency. Arnaud Deborchgrave’s excellent series in the Washington Times detailed the network of organizations which manipulate American public and official opinion, especially with regard to Central America.

There are many examples we could cite, and I am sure the wide range of institutional and organizational connections in the peace and antinuclear movements in Western Europe and the United States fit nicely into the active measures strategy. Tens of thousands of well-meaning, idealistic citizens of the United States and of Western European democracies are deftly herded into the streets to serve Moscow’s aims—the delaying of deployment of a defensive weapons system to counter the Soviet threat.

We must be on our guard, and we must recognize the Soviet design and intention as the Soviet Union practices “active measures,” which is to confuse and mislead us that they can gain fatal advantage over this Nation. ●

NATIONAL POW/MIA  
RECOGNITION DAY

HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, this has been a year for remembering. We celebrated the 40 anniversary of the victory of the Allies ending World War II, and we remembered those who gave their lives in that war, and those who suffered the horror of the Holocaust. We looked back 10 years ago to the fall of Saigon, and we remembered why we were in that war, the honor of those who served, the tragedy of Vietnam today.

Today we observe another day of national remembering. July 19, 1985 is National POW/MIA Recognition Day. As President Reagan said in his proclamation of this day, “we recognize the special debt all Americans owe to our fellow citizens who gave up their freedom in the service of our country; we owe no less to their families.”

The families and loved ones of the 2,500 Americans unaccounted for in

Vietnam, who have held on to their faith and their determination never to let any of us forget, are truly American heroes. No greater courage nor love has any man or woman than they who refuse to surrender hope. Their extraordinary sacrifice, and extraordinary spirit, command our admiration and demand our unrelenting commitment to be adamant in our insistence that Hanoi provide a full accounting of our missing countrymen.

That national commitment is more than a promise; it is a solemn responsibility that we owe not only to those 2,500 and their families, but to the future generations who will serve their country, that they may be secure in the knowledge of our unfailing support for them in combat and commitment to their safe return home.

We know that the Governments of Vietnam and Laos have information which could resolve the status of a large number of American POW/MIA's. The refusal of the Communist Governments of Vietnam and Laos to provide this information, despite repeated official demarches and poignant personal humanitarian pleas, highlights as much as anything why it was right for those who love freedom and human decency to fight against the Communist forces of North Vietnam. And that fight is not over, not in Indochina, where the democratic resistance continues, and not here, where the families of our POW/MIA's unceasingly continue to speak out, to never give up, to never forget.

That fight is noble, as President Reagan has said; indeed it is the noblest of fights because its goal is the noblest of goals, which is to make it possible to believe that one day all mankind will be free of the horror of totalitarian fanaticism, free to grow and reach our full potential.

For several weeks this summer, America held its breath while Americans were held hostage in Beirut. The families of our POW/MIA's have been holding their breath for a dozen or more years. If they had tied yellow ribbons to their doors and mailboxes, those ribbons would long ago have become tattered and torn. But their ribbons aren't tied to their mailboxes, they're tied to their hearts. They will never fade, not until our missing are accounted for, our countrymen brought home.

In western New York, our community continues to remember, thanks to the courage and relentless determination of people like Barbara Rausch, and Sue Czajkowski, and Ellen Cooper, and Mafalda DiTommaso and Christine Waz, and many others. On July 6 and 7, under the chairmanship of Donna Lee Glair, Missing-In-Action ceremonies were held at the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial and the Buffalo Naval and Serviceman's Park. I was very sorry that I was unable to attend

in person, but my thoughts and prayers were with these dedicated friends as always but especially as they met together this year to dedicate a new display case that contains special MIA/POW bracelets in honor of our missing men.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to include for the RECORD an article that appeared in the Buffalo News of June 23, 1985 by Bob Curran concerning this very special event, and the extraordinarily special people responsible for these ceremonies of remembrance.

Bob is a great friend of all the families mentioned and I'm proud of the great work he has done to keep this issue at the forefront of our attention.

THE MISSING ARE STILL REMEMBERED

Courage is to feel

The deadly daggers of relentless steel  
And keep on living.—Douglas Malloch

The above words appear at the beginning of a column of mine that was published October 10, 1970.

In the body of the story I told about how Mrs. Robert Rausch of Hamburg was informed by visiting Air Force officers that her husband was missing in action in Southeast Asia.

It was the first of many stories I would write about the men missing in action in Southeast Asia and it came front and center a month or so ago when I received a letter from Donna Lee Glair, chairman of the Missing-In-Action ceremonies that will be held at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial and the Buffalo Naval & Servicemen's Park on July 6th and 7th.

In the letter Mrs. Glair asked if I would represent the Rausch family at the ceremony and place Robert Rausch's bracelet in the special case that from July 7th on will be on display at the Naval Park.

Right after notifying Mrs. Glair that I was honored by the invitation and would be there, I began thinking about an Independence Day column for July 7th.

Then I found myself thinking, “Who qualifies more for a Neighborhoods column than this band of people whom you have spent more time with than you have with neighbors.”

Yes, there, have been memorable days.

There is no way I could forget the day Mrs. Barbara Rausch and Major Robert Rackley, the officer the Air Force had assigned to her case, asked me to meet them at the Statler Hilton.

At the meeting, Barbara told me that she was convinced—as were Air Force officials—that her husband had died on the day he crashed. She and Bob Rackley had fallen in love and planned to marry. They wanted me to break the news in a column because I understood the situation.

That was done and the Rackleys now live down South.

There were other unforgettable days. Like the Christmas Day when I spent some time with Mrs. Mafalda DiTommaso, who has not celebrated a holiday since her son, Robert, was shot down in 1966.

Like the time I traveled to Rochester to attend an Army-Navy Union meeting with Sue Czajkowski and her mother, the late Lee Dyczkowski, whose Air Force son, Robert, was shot down on April 23, 1966.

Then there were the tree plantings. And as I typed that last sentence I thought of the day some of Sgt. Jimmy Rozo's friends

played a special song at a tree planting in his honor in Tonawanda.

And there was the day we all marched to the White House with the families of people from other places who were missing in action in Southeast Asia.

Certainly I will never forget the lady who when asked by a TV reporter if she was refusing to concede her son was dead because of the fact that she would lose benefits, gave a strong and teary reply.

It was: "He came to me naked and with nothing and I will take him back the same way. All I want from the government is an accounting."

These days I am wearing an MIA/POW bracelet with the name of Robert DiTommaso on it. On the third finger of my left hand is a red ring with the name of Jimmy Roza on it. And I wince when people say, "I didn't know people were still wearing those bracelets."

Yes, there are people wearing the bracelets and the rings and each veterans organization has a national committee on national and local levels that are dedicated to the cause.

As I watched reports on the hostage situation in Lebanon on TV the other night, I found myself thinking about some of the men whom many of us consider to be hostages.

Yes, the officials in Hanoi have been parcelling out the bodies of dead men just as terrorists parcel out live hostages. And often I recall Captain Dick Stratton, who came home after six and a half years as a prisoner of the Viet Cong and made a statement about the matter. He said: "If the Viet Cong would collaborate with an American inspection team, we could have an accounting within a month."

The name of Dick Stratton reminds me that I did not mention earlier that I spent many hours with his sister, Mrs. Ellen Cooper of Snyder. Ellen kept working with the other families of MIA/POW families after her brother was returned.

On the day of the march to the White House I met the father of a man who had also returned from prison camp. Others told me that the father is still one of the most active members of the National League of Families of Men Missing in Action in Southeast Asia.

The July 6th ceremony will start at 10 a.m. at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial near the Naval Park.

Bracelets with the names of 23 men from this area will be placed in a special case. After the formal ceremonies have ended, members of the Vietnam Veterans of America will keep a vigil over the case until 10:45 on Sunday, July 7th.

At 11 A.M. on July 7th, the bracelets will be moved to the park and placed in the care of Commander Richard Beck, U.S.N., (retired), Director of the Park. On Thursday, Susan Czajkowski was saying: "The case will be in Commander Beck's care until the last man whose name is on a bracelet is returned to the United States."

Of course I am looking forward to seeing all of MIA/POW people mentioned above and Christine Waz, Jimmy Roza's sister, whom I didn't mention on July 6th. Chris was one of my main contacts for years.

And I hope that I will see some strange faces at the ceremonies. Faces that belong to other Americans who realize that the families of the men missing in action have never stopped feeling "the deadly daggers of relentless steel" as they kept on living and hoping.●

## CONGRESSIONAL CALL TO CONSCIENCE

HON. BILL EMERSON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, today I join many of my colleagues in the congressional call to conscience which, I am pleased to say, has become an annual occurrence in which we as Members of Congress can express our dismay and outrage at the human rights violations taking place every day against Jews in the Soviet Union. Despite our past protests and the world outcry against the treatment of these oppressed people, the situation in the Soviet Union has worsened during the past year. The emigration rate for Soviet Jews in 1984 was the worst in more than a decade, and anti-Semitic activity by the Soviet Government has increased.

At a time when relations between our Government and that of the Soviet Union are improving and a new leader has taken power there, it is important to continue pressuring the Soviets to observe the Helsinki accords and guarantee individual rights to freedom of religion, cultural practices, and emigration. All of these things that we take for granted in our own country are only dreams for millions of Jews in the Soviet Union. We must not allow ourselves to become complacent and forget others in the world who have the misfortune to live under a government that has no respect for basic human rights. Today, we all call upon the leadership of the Soviet Union to do what is right and decent and end its oppression of Soviet Jews.●

## NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY: ONLY THE LATEST IN A LITANY OF QUESTIONABLE ACTIVITIES

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, from its very inception, the National Endowment for Democracy has been riddled with scandal and impropriety. Whether it be interfering in other countries' elections, such as Panama, supporting ideologically affiliated political organizations and political parties abroad, acting as a pseudo foreign policy arm of the U.S. Government without a clear congressional mandate to do so, or violating congressional mandate by the way in which it distributes funds, NED has been a highly unjustified and duplicitous waste of the taxpayers' money.

Most recently, investigative reporters for the San Francisco Examiner, Phil Bronstein and David Johnston, have uncovered NED's activities in the Philippines. I enter into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD their news story which appeared in Sunday's edition of that paper. The article follows:

[From the San Francisco Examiner, July 21, 1985]

### U.S. FUNDING ANTI-LEFT FIGHT IN PHILIPPINES

(By Phil Bronstein and David Johnston)

At least \$3 million from a U.S. fund designed to "foster democracy" around the world through development programs is quietly being spent to fight the communist insurgency in the Philippines and to cultivate political leaders there.

The money is part of a multimillion-dollar congressional appropriation to the AFL-CIO and other organizations. But details on how the funds are spent are a closely guarded secret provoking irritation both in Congress and in Manila.

The funds sent to the Philippines are intended to assist workers and farmers. Although such programs are under way, critics say the money also has become a vehicle for the United States to intervene in Philippine Affairs while bypassing the government of President Ferdinand Marcos.

The programs are paid from tax money via the private, Washington-based National Endowment for Democracy. The endowment channels the money to the Philippines through the Asian American Free Labor Institute, an arm of the AFL-CIO.

Local labor leaders in several Philippine provinces have won union elections with help from the fund; the money also assists several radio stations and publications.

A prominent Philippine opposition leader, former Sen. Jose Diokno, said the program is "worse than just a matter of intervening in our internal affairs. It is breeding further discontent."

Members of Congress and U.S. Embassy personnel in Manila have had difficulty learning details about the fund. One embassy official who made persistent inquiries was said to have been threatened with the loss of his job.

Program coordinators in the Philippines acknowledge that combatting the growing communist movement is a major objective, but insist the funds are appropriately spent to support the free trade union movement and create self-sufficiency programs for farmers and the rural poor.

The National Endowment for Democracy has critics in Congress, although its funding for the coming fiscal year was approved last week in the House. The Senate will debate the appropriation within the next few weeks.

NED is "clearly one of the most mischievous and unjustified expenditures of public funds that we've seen in some time," Rep. John Conyers, D-Mich., wrote in a letter to his House colleagues last week. Conyers tried unsuccessfully Wednesday to kill NED funding.

Conyers, who was unaware of the program's effort in the Philippines, said in his letter that NED money may be funding the AFL-CIO's political objectives in Central America and Africa.

He wrote that the law creating NED "should really be known as the Taxpayer Funding for Foreign Elections Act."

Last year, the NED-funded Free Labor Institute in Panama was found to have donated \$20,000 to a candidate in that country's presidential election. Congress has since passed an amendment prohibiting political use of NED money.

The U.S. Information Agency liaison for NED, Cathy Super, said last week that she was unfamiliar with the programs in the Philippines and said the endowment resisted providing reports. NED's annual report to Congress does not specify the group's expenditures.

NED President Carl Gershman said there is no secrecy involved in the program. "We're operating in a fishbowl," he said.

NED was created in 1983 after President Reagan called for private sector efforts to strengthen democratic institutions around the world. Originally, NED funds—\$18 million last year—were divided among groups set up by the AFL-CIO, the U.S. Chambers of Commerce and the Republican and Democratic national committees. Congress dropped funding for the party committees last year.

The AFL-CIO is getting the largest chunk of funding—\$11.5 million—which it gives to its Free Trade Union Institute. The institute has created programs in politically unsettled areas. In Southeast Asia, the vehicle is the Asian American Free Labor Institute.

Although the institute covers all of Southeast Asia, the Philippines project "is far and away larger than anything else we've got going," said Charles Gray, the institute's executive director in Washington.

The Asian American Free Labor Institute has been active in the Philippines for 15 years, using money from the AFL-CIO and the U.S. Information Agency. But its funding for Philippine operations increased from \$250,000 to \$1 million in 1984 with the injection of the NED allocations. An additional \$2 million was allocated last year, bringing the total to \$3 million.

The program, with its base in the urban Filipino labor movement, has used the NED money to expand to all areas of the country in an attempt to undermine leftist gains in religious organizations, universities and among the rural poor.

The NED money had dramatic effects, said the institute's administrator in the Philippines, Bud Phillips, coming after the 1983 assassination of opposition leader Benigno Aquino had destabilized the country.

"If people hadn't had immediate assistance then," Phillips said, "the success of the political left in the (Philippine) trade unions would have been phenomenal. Nationally and internationally it would have been a Waterloo. Our help saved the free trade union movement here."

With only one administrator and a small staff in Manila, the institute depends on Filipino labor leaders to dole out the money to various programs. That creates political allies in a country where the average annual income is only \$790.

"Some of the regional (labor leaders receiving institute money) are becoming powerful politically," Phillips said. "Imagine if you have \$100,000 to give out to families in 500 chunks: Your stock goes way up, faster than the stock of any of the militant labor groups."

Institute money is distributed via one of the country's largest trade union groups, the Trade Union Council of the Philippines.

One U.S. official who has raised concerns about the effect and scope of the institute's activities is Joseph Lee, the U.S. Embassy's labor attaché. Lee refused comment, but a

source familiar with his efforts detailed Lee's unsuccessful attempts to get information about the institute's Philippine projects.

The source quoted Lee as saying that since the money came from U.S. taxpayers, "We have a certain obligation to see that they're used properly."

"All of a sudden it disappears into a private organization and becomes a secret," the source said. "Some of the programs are made to sound clandestine."

After Lee began to ask about the size and nature of the institute's programs, he was told by State Department officials to "lay off, it's none of your business," the source said.

AFL-CIO executives in Washington complained to Ambassador Steven Bosworth about Lee, according to the source, and threatened to have Lee removed from his job.

One of those blocking Lee's inquiries in Washington, according to several sources, was Irving Brown, the politically powerful head of the AFL-CIO's international section and an ardent anti-communist.

Brown, who visited the Philippines last year, has long been involved in AFL-CIO activities in international trouble spots, including Asia and Latin America. Some former Central Intelligence Agency agents, including Phillip Agee, have linked Brown to CIA activities.

The institute's director in Thailand was expelled late last year when the Thai government accused him of being a spy.

The institute's program in the Philippines "follows the pattern of Latin America where AFL-CIO money was used for CIA purposes," Philippine opposition leader Diokno said. "For instance, they opened up an institute here supposedly to teach labor relations. But they teach community organizing and indoctrination, not labor tactics."

Still, over the last 15 years the institute has begun programs that even critics such as Lee endorse. They include low-interest loans, employment training, health care and farm projects.

Although some institute officials are unhappy even with the country's traditional opposition—They are the same kind of people already in power," said executive director Gray—the main enemy remains the communists, and not just those in the labor movement.

"The leftist elements (in the church) can potentially make real problems," Gray said, "and we're trying to counter that kind of thing."

The institute also has problems in Congress. Opponents are likely to renew their efforts to cut out NED financing when the appropriation request for the next two years comes before the Senate.

With board members like Henry Kissinger and Walter Mondale, NED will have powerful supporters.

But a congressional coalition of liberal Democrats and conservative Republicans has been building up steam against the endowment. The liberals are concerned about foreign meddling. The conservatives, including Rep. Han! Brown, R-Colo., worry about the money.

"Here we are cutting domestic programs right and left and at the same time putting millions in private hands to run around the world doing God knows what," said Brown's legislative assistant, Jerry Martin.●

H.R. 1555

HON. ROBERT J. LAGOMARSINO

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. LAGOMARSINO. Mr. Speaker, during the debate on H.R. 1555, the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985, I was pleased to join the gentleman from New York, [Mr. GARCIA], in a short colloquy on the economic and political situation in Ecuador.

Much to my surprise and disappointment, I discovered several typographical errors in my remarks which appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following day. The printed text of my remarks incorrectly leaves the impression that Ecuador has not acted in a responsible manner with respect to its economic troubles. Such is not the case. The government of President Febres-Cordero has done a remarkable job to revive the economy and reduce the country's foreign debt. My remarks also indicated that Ecuador has a human rights problem. This is absolutely false. The U.S. State Department reports that Ecuador "has vigorously upheld the principles of representative rule." Further, they report "••• there were no substantiated cases of human rights violations in 1984."

It is regrettable that these errors occurred in the transcript of my remarks.

Mr. Speaker, at this point in the RECORD, I would like to insert a copy of my letter to Ecuador's Ambassador to the United States, Mario Ribadeneira.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, DC, July 23, 1985.  
His Excellency MARIO RIBADENEIRA,  
Ambassador of Ecuador to the United States, 2535 15th Street, NW., Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR: I was honored to join in the debate during the House's consideration of the foreign assistance legislation regarding the economic and political situation in your country.

Your President is to be congratulated for setting a bold new direction in terms of economic and social policy.

It was with deep regret, therefore, that I discovered several errors in my printed remarks which appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following day. These errors could be construed in a way which reflects negatively upon your country. Such was not my intention. I have only the highest praise for your President's economic program and the government's record in the area of human rights. The facts support one inescapable conclusion: Ecuador is on the way to becoming a success story in Latin America.

With kind personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

ROBERT J. LAGOMARSINO,  
Member of Congress.●

TO DESIGNATE NOVEMBER 18, 1985 AS EUGENE ORMANDY APPRECIATION DAY

### HON. LAWRENCE COUGHLIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 23, 1985

● Mr. COUGHLIN. Mr. Speaker, today I am pleased to join with my distinguished colleague in the Senate, the Honorable JOHN HEINZ of Pennsylvania, to introduce a joint resolution designating November 18, 1985, as "National Eugene Ormandy Appreciation Day."

November 18 marks the anniversary of the birth of the Hungarian-born conductor who brilliantly led the Philadelphia Orchestra for over four decades. During his tenure as music director and conductor laureate, Mr. Ormandy developed and presented the unique and innovative "Philadelphia Sound" that soon gained international acclaim. He served the city of Philadelphia and his adopted country as a good will ambassador as he and his orchestra embarked on numerous tours of cultural diplomacy to such places as the Soviet Union, Europe, South America, and China.

For decades Ormandy was a source of pride for Philadelphians as he honored and dignified the city with his leadership of the brilliant orchestra. Mr. Ormandy set a high set of standards and both he and his musicians lived up to them. By the time he stepped down—or stepped back, as he put it—Ormandy had personally hand-picked every member of the orchestra.

Though he has recently passed away, Eugene Ormandy's legend lives on in his orchestra and in the hearts of Philadelphians and Americans alike. I hope my colleagues in the House will join me in declaring a national day of appreciation in honor of this great man.●

### SOVIET DISINFORMATION— THREAT TO AN OPEN SOCIETY

SPEECH OF

### HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1985

● Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, our colleague, Congressman DAN LUNGREN, is to be commended for his special order on Soviet disinformation and its effects on our society. I am pleased to be able to participate with Mr. LUNGREN and others in this special order, because I consider this to be a matter of great importance. If we fail to recognize the presence of disinformation, or fail to work to counteract it, we are leaving ourselves open to a dangerous and destructive influence. I believe it

is essential to understand just what disinformation is if we are to be successful in our efforts to defend against it.

### WHO CONTROLS THE DISINFORMATION NETWORK

Like all major foreign policy decisions, the ultimate approval for all use of disinformation rests with the highest level of the Soviet hierarchy, the Politburo and the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The actual implementation of these decisions is carried out by a special branch of the KGB known as Service A. Service A works in close coordination with two clandestine elements of the Soviet party bureaucracy known as the International Department and the International Information Department. The fact that these two powerful party components participate so directly in Soviet disinformation activities indicates the level of importance that the Kremlin attaches to this type of operation.

Other elements of the Soviet structure are also regular and essential participants in disinformation measures. Magazines, news agencies such as TASS and Novosti, radio stations, television networks, and even the Soviet airline Aeroflot are all called upon as need arises. In the field, any KGB officer or intelligence asset can be used in the implementation of disinformation. What's more, official and quasi-official Soviet representatives abroad often perform disinformation functions in addition to their overt or official functions. These representatives include embassy staffers, specialized Soviet missions abroad—trade, scientific, and cultural—and Soviet residents abroad—correspondents, scholars, students, and so forth.

The International Information Department is little more than the Soviet foreign propaganda machine. Its primary function is to supervise the Soviet propaganda organs such as New Times and Radio Moscow that support disinformation campaigns abroad. The IID also commonly disseminates misleading or blatantly false reports—as in the Nigerian case mentioned above—that were originally released to local news organizations by the KGB or a KGB asset, such as an agent of influence. The purpose behind such an activity is to lend credence to claims made by Soviet leaders of widespread support throughout the world for Soviet policies. False stories receive extensive coverage and are described as having originated in independent and supposedly unbiased foreign newspapers.

The International Department, on the other hand, is the Soviet liaison with foreign Communist parties and Communist front organizations. Its mission is to convince foreign Communist parties to accept and support the

official Soviet line on any number of issues that the Kremlin has chosen as priorities. Front organizations are instructed to undertake propaganda actions or political activities in support of disinformation campaigns. Some of the more well known of these front organizations are the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, the World Peace Council, and the World Federation of Trade Unions. The Soviets funnel funds to these and other front groups, and in some cases even provide administrative assistance and direct leadership.

The World Peace Council, based in Helsinki, is the largest of the Soviet front organizations, and until 1979 its financial and administrative activities were directed by Aleksandr Lebedev, a Soviet official. With affiliates in more than 130 countries, the WPC is an important instrument of Soviet foreign policy, and its directives come directly from the Kremlin. It is actively engaged in generating opposition to NATO and NATO policies in Western Europe and the United States. In fact, for the past 30 years WPC positions on virtually every important international issue have coincided exactly with those of the Soviet Union. Even the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956 and of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and the more recent invasion of Afghanistan have received the complete approval of the WPC.

### TYPICAL DISINFORMATION TECHNIQUES

In addition to financing and directing front organizations such as the WPC, the Soviets use any number of disinformation techniques. Below is a list of some of the more common techniques used today:

Press placements.—Soviet disinformation specialists often make placements in the foreign media and either falsely attribute it using a fake or non-Soviet author or do not attribute it at all. The main function of such placements is to influence local opinion and provide grist for the Soviet propaganda mill.

Forgeries.—Soviet forgeries may actually contain some truth or they may be real documents that have been altered in some way. According to a House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence report published in 1982, since 1975-76 the number of forged documents "known to have surfaced in foreign countries has increased from about three to four to a current count of more than twice that number per year. In some cases a Soviet role in manufacturing these documents may be uncovered by content and forensic analysis of the document, the method of surfacing the relative level of sophistication of the forgery, or its quick replay by the Soviet media."

"Friendship Societies."—Soviet friendship and cultural societies are well organized in many countries. They present themselves as nonpolitical groups designed merely to improve cultural and economic understanding and cooperation between countries. In fact, these groups are political tools that are manipulated and directed by the International Department. They allow the Soviets to reach people who might normally be reluc-

tant to involve themselves directly with local communist parties or groups that are openly pro-Soviet.

Clandestine radio stations.—The Soviets at present maintain two clandestine radio stations: National Voice of Iran (NVOI) and Radio Ba Yi. NVOI calls itself an independent station representing certain unidentified progressive elements of Iranians. Its broadcasts, as a rule, are virulently anti-U.S. and pro-Tudeh (the Soviet controlled Iranian communist party). It is actually located in Soviet Azerbaijan, although it has never revealed its exact location. Radio Ba Yi poses as a Chinese station representing Chinese political dissidents, particularly among the Chinese military. It, too, supports major Soviet foreign policy goals.

Political influence operations. Of all areas of Soviet disinformation activities, this is potentially the most difficult to trace and to deal with. The problem is that many such operations fall in what could be termed a "gray area" between an actual disinformation operation and a legitimate exchange of ideas. But according to the House Select Committee on Intelligence report, the purpose is always the same: "to insinuate the official voice of the Soviet Union into foreign governmental, political, journalistic, business, labor, artistic, and academic circles in a nonattributable or at least seemingly unofficial manner." Typically, the foreigner or agent of influence involved in the operation is not a recruited agent in the strictest sense of the word. In fact, he may be aiding the Soviet cause unwittingly.

While the above list is far from exhaustive, it gives at least an idea of the extent of Soviet disinformation activities.

#### THE EFFECT OF DISINFORMATION IN OPEN SOCIETIES

It is extremely difficult to measure the effect of disinformation on an open society such as ours. But few people would dispute the fact that Soviet disinformation does have a negative impact on open political systems. Former Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Lawrence Eagleburger described the effect as "corrosive." He stated that:

The confusions produced by media manipulations, forgeries, calculated rumors, falsely attributed radio broadcasts, and the activities of agents of influence may, over time, weaken public confidence in political institutions and processes.

But the effects are even more tangible and immediate than the above statement would indicate. Take, for example, the Soviet involvement in the debate surrounding the "neutron bomb." Conservative estimates place the amount of money spent by the Soviets in that campaign at better than \$100 million. But in the eyes of the Soviets, that money was very well spent.

They were able to distort the public debate on the issue and divert Western attention from the huge Soviet military buildup in Eastern Europe. Had the public debate focused on the threat posed by Warsaw Pact conventional forces it is very likely that the neutron bomb would have been deployed, since enhanced radiation weapons can effectively counter the threat posed by conventional forces. Little wonder that this campaign is regarded by the Soviets as one of their most successful ever.

The strong opposition voiced in the debate regarding the deployment of Pershing II's and ground launched cruise missiles in Europe and the "nuclear freeze" movement are two additional examples of classic Soviet disinformation techniques. This is not meant to imply that those who support a nuclear freeze or oppose the Euromissiles are Soviet agents or "dupes." It does mean, however, that the thrust of Soviet disinformation on these issues has been to magnify and channel the sincere concerns of non-Communist critics of the official policies of Western governments. Through front organizations the Soviets have funneled huge sums of money to many freeze or antinuclear groups, thus making them unwitting allies of the Soviets. Legitimate concerns are lost in the confusion and uproar so adroitly encouraged by the Soviets.

What is disturbing in all this is the fact that the Soviets are able to participate in the West's public debate on the implementation of defense measures needed to counter the threat posed by the Soviets themselves. And herein lies the problem: our system allows for freedom of expression and open debate whereas the Soviet system does not. In fact, the Soviets actually bombard their own people on a daily basis with an unending stream of propaganda.

Obviously, Soviet disinformation in the United States and other advanced states has had to be more subtle than in most Third World countries. As stated above, the ideas promoted in disinformation campaigns, as dangerous as they might be, often fall into a gray area somewhere between blatant disinformation and the legitimate and healthy interplay so fundamental to a democratic system. The question is, How should we react when allies of a totalitarian system or agents of that system attempt to use the freedoms guaranteed by our system to influence

our public debate? The issue becomes all the more important when the subjects being debated are so vital to our national security.

#### HOW TO COUNTERACT SOVIET DISINFORMATION

The quickest, most effective way of ensuring that the Soviets will be unable to participate further in the legitimate exchange of ideas in this country would be to merely limit the freedom of expression itself. But this is obviously not the answer. We cannot allow our freedom to be restricted because of Soviet intervention. Actually, the contrary is true; what is needed is increased investigation, more information, and more publication of the truth. Persistent and determined efforts to expose in as accurate a way as possible all Soviet uses of disinformation will make citizens of this and other Western countries aware of the nature of the threat.

Some experts have described the Soviet use of disinformation as analogous to an infection: it thrives in the darkness but can be quickly cured if exposed to sunlight. Surely Soviet disinformation is very similar. As it becomes more and more embarrassing and costly in terms of international public opinion to employ such deceptive and hostile techniques, their use will gradually dwindle. We must resolutely expose disinformation operations and protect ourselves from them by removing from our society the foreign instruments responsible for them.

As Under Secretary Eagleburger has stated:

The soundest response to the Soviet use of (disinformation) is to keep our balance. It is as unwise to ignore the threat as it is to become obsessed with the myth of a super Soviet conspiracy manipulating our essential political processes.

For now, at least, it appears that the Soviets are committed to the use of disinformation as an instrument of their foreign policy. The massive bureaucracy that has been created and the quantity of funds spent tend to indicate that this problem will be with us for some time to come. Logic would dictate, then, that the West must do all that it can to keep its citizens as fully informed as possible of the deceptive practices to which they are likely to be exposed. Only in this way can the threat posed by Soviet "dezinformatsia" be effectively countered and contained.●