

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

A CALL TO ACTION ON YOUTH
DRUG ALCOHOL ABUSE

HON. LEO C. ZEFERETTI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. ZEFERETTI. Mr. Speaker, I commend to my colleagues the report, "A Call to Action on Youth Drug/Alcohol Abuse," prepared for His Eminence Terence Cardinal Cooke, archbishop of New York, by the cardinal's commission on youth/drugs and alcohol, chaired by Mr. T. Vincent Learson.

The report addresses the issue of alcohol and drug abuse among our youth openly and straightforwardly and presents a positive program for the clergy and laity throughout the church. The approach is comprehensive and should serve as a model for other religious groups. It is only through our institutions, principally our churches, that our youth and indeed our society in general will be turned away from alcohol and drugs.

Our committee was most pleased to have supported this effort, and we will continue to provide whatever assistance we can to the Archdiocese of New York in carrying out the program.

CARDINAL'S COMMISSION ON YOUTH/DRUGS
AND ALCOHOL COMMISSION REPORT

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

A. Nature of the Problem

The instability of today's family has given rise to a crisis of values—spiritual and human. Substance abuse is both a self-destructive product of this crisis and a contributing factor to its growth.

B. Extent of the Problem

Drug and alcohol abuse cuts across all economic and social lines. No community remains untouched by substance abuse; no family is protected from its reach. In the 1980's the rich, middle class and poor, the educated and uneducated, the urban, suburban and rural resident must confront the far-reaching effects of substance abuse and accept the fact that "it is happening here."

The extent of substance abuse and the growing availability of drugs are alarming. During the 1970's indicators showed 80,000 drug-related deaths and more than one million persons who were left emotionally and functionally crippled as a result of chronic drug abuse. A survey conducted by the New York State Division of Substance Abuse among students in grades 7 through 12 (1,800,000) found:

- more than 54% have used marijuana in their lifetime;
- about 16% have used PCP (Angel Dust);
- almost 9% have used cocaine or hallucinogens or narcotics;
- use of cocaine and inhalants has almost tripled since 1971.

In the 1980's, from increased production sources, levels of heroin supply will be 20 times that of the 1970's.

Alcohol research indicates that an estimated 19% of our youth report being intoxicated at least once a month, which represents a 10% increase in the last ten years. A major change has occurred in the drinking patterns of young females, bringing the number of young females who drink nearly equal to that of young males. (3)

During the last four years, there has been a 48% increase in the number of 15-year-olds who had their first drink before reaching the seventh grade. (4)

The Surgeon General's Report on Health Promotion & Disease Prevention 1979, observes that since 1900, the overall death rate for the American people has been declining steadily. In 1960 this decline reversed itself for young people aged 15 to 24 and has been rising sharply (11%) since, while it continues to decline for the adult (25 to 64) population. This was the first increase in mortality rated during this century and correlates directly with dramatic increase in the use of drugs and alcohol by this age group.

C. Causative Factors

Parents, adults and society share the responsibility for increased substance abuse among the young with mass media, the entertainment industry, and the sport establishment, all of which wield enormous influence among the young.

Widespread use of alcohol and prescription drugs among adults is accepted by society without comment. For many parents drug and alcohol use has become a fact of life. Many young people remain unaware of the true nature of adult substance abuse within the family because it is often concealed and not discussed.

Misinformation, misunderstanding and confusion have created an unwillingness within society to face the true scope and nature of substance abuse. This unwillingness has, in turn, made society indifferent to the issue of drug and alcohol abuse.

Adult use, society's lack of response and mass media's often glamorized reporting of drug use by contemporary sports and entertainment idols have created an atmosphere in which young people feel comfortable and easy in experimenting with drugs and alcohol.

According to the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, alcoholism is this nation's most neglected disease. In New York City alone there are 400,000 alcoholics and there are 10 million alcoholics nationwide. Surveys of young people show that 6.5 percent of American high school seniors are daily users of alcohol. At least one of every ten young people leaving high school uses marijuana daily and supports habits which cost \$75 a month.

A great number of young who experiment with drugs become frequent users and, ultimately, abusers. When a young person's addiction is discovered, parents often attempt to protect the family name by concealing their child's crisis. Since many abusers support their addiction by theft, parents frequently fund the habit to eliminate the need for burglary and subsequent arrest.

Communities too often respond to neighborhood drug problems by shifting the

burden of response to area law enforcement agencies. The reluctance of a community to face its own problem of substance abuse often means consigning its own children to the futile processes of criminal justice. In New York State, this type of community reaction has filled jail cells with the addicted (to the levels of 63 percent) and has extracted enormous costs in wasted lives and dollars.

The annual cost to New York State for each inmate addict carries a \$36,000 price tag. In addition to the jail costs of \$26,000 there is an annual per inmate cost of \$10,000 for police/courts/probation services/parole. Hospital beds for the detoxification or psychiatric treatment cost \$93,000 per patient per year. Outpatient Methadone maintenance costs \$3,000 per addict per year for life. Drug-free ambulatory treatment costs are \$2,000 per addict and drug-free residential care costs \$8,000 per addict per year. (5)(6)

Drug trafficking ranks among the world's largest and most sophisticated businesses. Countries have boasted that income from drug production and exportation has served to resolve their balance of payments. In the United States drug trafficking is a \$50-60 billion a year industry which supports a vast subterranean economy. Federal estimates report that \$8 billion will have been spent on illegal drug purchases by the end of the year 1980 in the New York Metropolitan area. A large percentage of that money will come from addicts who maintain their habits through burglary. (2)

In terms of alcohol, young people do not have to turn to the streets to obtain it. Family liquor cabinets provide a ready supply, if liquor is not on hand in one home, it is in another and often this home has working parents which minimizes the opportunity for parental supervision. No money need be spent and no law broken in order for a young person to have a readily available supply of alcohol.

Beer, wine, and liquor do not carry the same stigma as do drugs in American society. Few adults think of alcohol as a drug and therefore pay less attention to seeing that family supplies are kept under control. Parents who are normally careful to keep prescription drugs inaccessible to youngsters often fail to take the same care with their liquor supply. One of every six high school seniors gets drunk once a week and one-half of all preteen are frequently relieved that "it's beer instead of drugs, gin instead of heroin."

Even if young people should find difficulty in obtaining liquor in the home lack of enforcement of local age limits and the ability to obtain illegal proof of age make the purchase of alcohol far less difficult than other forms of drugs. Additionally, a group of teenagers can usually find a friend of legal age to obtain sufficient liquor or beer to make abuse possible.

The trend of some liquor companies to develop and market milk-based alcoholic products and sweet fruit wines is further encouragement to young people who may find the strong product unpleasant, yet readily seek out and enjoy the new products apparently aimed at the taste preference of the young.

● This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by the Member on the floor.

The Commission calls upon all New Yorkers to join in a campaign to end the paralysis in the public will to act effectively by facing the real issues of drug and alcohol abuse. The tradition of the New York community to join forces to seek solutions to pressing social problems needs to be reaffirmed in dealing with youthful substance abuse. It is essential that there be a shift in public attitude and perception in relationship to the cause and extent of substance abuse and its wide-reaching ramifications.

As a united, concerned community, we must work to change laws and court procedures which aid rather than eliminate drug sales on our streets and in our parks; to reduce the backlog of 1,148 cases in the Special Narcotics Prosecutor's Office; to remove thousands of young people from the endless cycle of drugs by expanding rehabilitation centers and addressing neighborhood resistance to the establishment of these facilities within their community; to alter the widespread concealment and silence surrounding family alcohol abuse which is at the center of chronic alcoholism. (7)

The Commission also calls upon local law enforcement agencies to pay stricter adherence to legal age limits placed on sale of alcoholic products. It recommends that the liquor industry police itself in the development of products which have primary appeal to the young.

D. Contributing Factors

At the close of the 1970's, federal leadership in attacking the problem of substance abuse seemed to collapse at all levels despite the nationwide drug crisis among youth. A threatened \$40 million funding cutback in treatment programs as well as a dramatic reduction of international enforcement networks were symptomatic of the federal government's unwillingness to place sufficiently high priority on the welfare of the nation's richest resource—its youth.

In the 1970's, \$161 million was spent by the federal government in the 50 states on programs of drug and alcohol prevention. While New York State alone allocated \$176 million annually during the same period and currently spends \$62 million.

Government leadership also continued its ambivalence toward drug abuse by continually shifting its response to the problem from the area of criminal justice to the realm of medical science and back again. Medical societies were slow to address the problems surrounding the overprescription of mind-altering and mood-changing drugs. The Departments of State and Justice directed only limited efforts toward the cessation of the lethal flow of drugs into the country. Citizens, who were uninformed and therefore indifferent, failed to press legislatures, courts and law enforcement officials to attack forcefully the open sale of drugs in parks, school yards and other open areas.

The use of cocaine, especially among major sports and entertainment figures idolized by youth, grew alarmingly. The use was at times concealed, while at other times apparently condoned by officials and promoters of the figures involved, as a means of protecting their financial success.

This Commission is alarmed by the climate created by lack of leadership at these levels and calls for a strong effort in developing prevention programs which help the individual before treatment is necessary. In the Commission's view these programs must involve both the social sciences and the healing professions as they strive to maintain the total human person in a fully functional capacity.

While all crime involves persons, most addict crimes are planned to acquire property to sell so that they may support a habit. Recognizing that, the Commission recommends sound programs of restitution, rather than incarceration, after completion of treatment. This is seen as a long overdue approach to the criminal aspects of drug abuse. At the same time, increased efforts on the part of the United States Departments of State and Justice, both through the United Nations and international enforcement networks, are needed to halt the international drug traffic into the United States. The Committee on Standards of area medical societies must address themselves to the problems created by overprescription of mind-altering and mood-changing drugs. Efforts to educate citizens and encourage them to demand a reevaluation of current attitudes toward the open sales of controlled substances must be initiated.

The Commission recommends that the federal government imitate the positive and diversified response of the State of New York to the twin problem of drug and alcohol abuse.

The Commission welcomes the move away from the decriminalization of marijuana in the light of increasing biomedical data which show its essential toxicity to the human system. Its members are impressed by the evidence of psychological damage in terms of irreversible immaturity, restricted attention span, memory loss, prolongation of adolescence and regression to almost infantile expectation of instant gratification caused by marijuana.

Marijuana is not a "safe" substance. It interferes with lung function and produces bronchial irritation in habitual users. There is also evidence that marijuana can affect the network of glands and hormones which are involved in such functions as growth energy levels and reproduction.

The Commission recognizes the vital role of relevant research into the field of drug and alcohol abuse as well as into the complex set of interacting causes of substance abuse. At the same time, it cautions that all research efforts must be measured by the impact that they have on the prevention of abuse and the healthful development of the young lives involved.

E. Blueprint for Action

The Commission notes with candor that the Church has not given a sufficiently high priority to the problem of youthful substance abuse when addressing social concern. Under the leadership of Cardinal Cooke, the Archdiocese of New York is now prepared to assume special responsibility for the well-being of the young, and particularly, the "shadow children" whose lives and families experience the pain of drug and alcohol addiction.

The Commission is confident that Catholic leadership on the national level, and especially the United States Catholic Conference, will study this new understanding of the Archdiocese of New York in this critical area. Perhaps a Special Action Office on Youth Substance Abuse to develop effective programs might be established on a national level.

The Commission recognizes some encouraging responses from both state and national leaders to the dilemma of drug and alcohol abuse. It applauds the coming together of treatment and prevention leadership at annual training conferences such as the New York State Drug Abuse Conference and the National Alcohol and Drug Coalition. It pays particular tribute to the Na-

tional Federation of Parents for Drug Free Youth, Inc. a nationwide grassroots movement of parents. It also commends the prevention impact provided by "Channel 1," an industry/community model, and "The Winners," a proposed mass media campaign aimed at combating substance abuse. Finally, the Commission recognizes the successful prevention and intervention efforts of the Archdiocesan Drug Abuse Prevention Program in the elementary and secondary schools of the Archdiocese. It recommends the expansion of the Program's services to every school in the Archdiocesan system.

The Commission considers that only when treatment, prevention and enforcement are addressed jointly by an aroused community leadership, backed by ample governmental support, will substance abuse be overcome. Had this joint approach been operative in the early 1970's we would be looking at a brighter situation today.

The field of drug and alcohol prevention during the 1970's emphasized information. The fact that the information provided was often misleading or false severely damaged the credibility of the field with youth. Moreover, preoccupation with scare tactics and horror stories of drug use only served to make practitioners of prevention seem naive. Consequently, the informational approach as a primary means of drug prevention was eventually viewed as ineffective and possibly counter-productive.

More promising approaches to drug and alcohol prevention, developed in the latter part of the decade, emphasize decision-making, values clarification, peer support, and confrontation. Moreover, they look at the youth developmentally and examine his/her drug and alcohol use within that context. These approaches have shown encouraging results and deserve to be recognized and implemented, beginning with early years of elementary school.

Early intervention is designed to work with adolescents whose drug and alcohol use does not fall within the parameters associated with developmental issues but who are still functioning in the school, community or the family. Other maladaptive behaviors such as truancy, chronic absenteeism, academic failure and vandalism are common in this population. Early intervention services work intensively with the youngster to alleviate the dependence on these self-defeating behaviors and to develop more functional ones.

The Commission calls upon government at all levels, from the local community to the federal government, to establish and to fund prevention and treatment programs that focus on the individual.

The Commission places special emphasis on the role of the New York City community in the efforts to combat substance abuse. New York City is the nation's largest urban center as well as the nation's gateway port. It is open to an influx of drugs in many forms from many areas at a high and constant rate. An effective coordinated response to the crisis of youthful substance abuse in New York will have nationwide impact. Allocations of federal funds to prevention, treatment and enforcement programs must take into account the unique problem of addiction present in New York and must recognize that an effective program of prevention in New York presents a nationwide effort at eliminating the problem.

The Commission charges the "influencers" of youth—mass media, the entertainment industry, the sports establish-

ment—with a special responsibility in reversing the indifference about substance abuse which they, in part, helped to create. A campaign planned along the lines of the successful anti-smoking campaign would be a major contribution to the effort.

In creating programs that respond to drug and alcohol abuse, the Commission stresses the need to incorporate motivated and trained peers (i.e., youth to youth, adult to adult). They can be found among the thousands of once hopeless young people who have successfully recovered control of their own lives through family-format programs of treatment. Negative peer pressure is a major factor in the growth of youthful addiction. Involving the ex-addict in programs for the young is an excellent way to counteract the negative peer influences. This peer involvement, however, must extend beyond the young people, to parents being helped by parents, educators by educators, and so on.

Any effort to attack substance abuse must recognize the need to end prevailing discrimination against ex-addicts which isolates them from a community and bars them from employment. If we are to encourage youthful substance abusers to follow the lead of ex-addicts, we must show them that there is no stigma attached to overthrowing their addiction, only to continuing it.

It is particularly important that the corporate sector of the New York community respond to the needs of ex-addicts in creating job opportunities for them. Only when leading members of the business community establish a positive hiring pattern will discrimination against ex-addicts in the job market be ended.

The Commission invites the private sector, especially corporate and foundation leadership, as well as government, to join it in fielding a comprehensive attack on New York's addiction problem by providing the needed funds.

SUMMARY OF COMMISSION ACTION RECOMMENDATIONS

Preface

In developing a blueprint for action which would address the problem of substance abuse in the 1980's, the Commission paid particular attention to movements which had a major impact on deeply-rooted American social problems.

Of particular significance was the Civil Rights Movements of the 1960's which focused national attention on the problem of racial inequality in the United States. Begun by small, diverse groups working independently, the movement spread when the original groups were expanded and multiplied by hundreds of new groups in an historic effort to improve the quality of life for significant numbers of Americans.

The Commission's intent is to recommend the development of a plan of action within the Archdiocese of New York that in turn could reach out to other groups throughout the nation who experience the same concerns and are seeking the same solutions. We believe that the Church in New York has both opportunity and a responsibility to be in the vanguard of this new crusade.

Our major recommendations are as follows:

A. The Cardinal Archbishop

The Commission recommended that the Cardinal make a dramatic personal statement from the pulpit of St. Patrick's Cathedral on substance abuse. His Eminence did this on November 30, 1980, in a statement

which launched a campaign and urged all religious and lay people of the Archdiocese to join the battle in addressing this serious social problem particularly as it affects our youth. This statement was distributed to the 407 parishes of the ten counties of the Archdiocese and was the foundation of the homily at all Masses that day.

B. Special Advisory Task Force

The Commission recommends that a Special Advisory Task Force on Youth be established to monitor the continuing phenomenon of drug and alcohol abuse among youth, as well as to encourage the full implementation of the Archdiocesan Action Program. The Cardinal would invite an ecumenical advisory group, representing the major elements of business, law, medicine, education and religious life in the New York community to serve.

C. The Church in New York—Mobilization for Action

The Catholic Church of New York with its 407 parish units as well as its 349 schools across 10 counties of the State represents an immeasurable resource for the purpose of making an impact upon the problem of drug and alcohol abuse among youth.

1. Archdiocesan Pastoral Council and Senate of Clergy

The Pastoral Council and Senate represent crucial first steps in the plan. A full day of orientation designed to confront basic questions should be scheduled in 1981. The issues to be presented are: the nature of the drug/alcohol problem, the extent of the problem, the means by which the problem becomes abuse, the reasons for concern, the plan of action for this group.

It is foreseen that a program of this kind will be the first step and will assist priests in organizing groups within the parish and preparing material for use at parish and school levels.

2. Special Action Office: D.A.R.E. (Drug, Alcohol, Rehabilitation, Education)

a. The Cardinal has established this office within the Department of Education under the Director, Father Terence Attridge. The Office is serving as a center of the Archdiocesan programs which address the areas of drug and alcohol abuse among young people.

b. A series of day-long Training Workshops for parish and school personnel will be scheduled for purposes of basic orientation as to the nature of, scope of, and response to the problem.

c. A select cadre of specially-prepared priests, religious and laity in each Vicariate will be identified and will undergo intensive training for purposes of assisting the parishes and schools of the Archdiocese in substance abuse programming at the local level.

d. The ultimate goal of the Special Action Office as well as the training programs for priests, religious and laity is the formation of peer-teams-youth for youth, adults for adults.

SUMMARY

The Commission acknowledges that these recommendations represent only a beginning and that, as the programs become effective, a tremendous spirit of hope will be released throughout the Archdiocese. The Commission also senses that parents and young people will welcome the guidance of the religious and concerned laity and that what will be begun here will find echoes throughout the nation.●

PROF. PAUL WEST, AUTHOR,
RECEIVES AWARD

HON. WILLIAM F. CLINGER, JR.

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. CLINGER. Mr. Speaker, today the Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania will present the Hazlett Memorial Award for Excellence in the Arts to Paul West, professor of English and comparative literature at the Pennsylvania State University. I can think of no one who more richly deserves this high award than Professor West.

Paul West's literary accomplishments are admired throughout the English-speaking world for the depth and breadth of their excellence. He has published 20 books in several different genres over the past 18 years. Among these are numerous works of literary criticism, including books on Byron, Robert Penn Warren, and the modern novel as well as essays and reviews for periodical publications.

Professor West is perhaps best known, however, as the author of eight major novels, from "Alley Jaggers" in 1966 to his most recent, "The Very Rich Hours of Count von Stauffenberg," published last year. He is also a noted poet, the author of "The Spellbound Horses" and "The Snow Leopard." His nonfiction works include "I, Said the Sparrow," a book of memoirs, and "Words for a Deaf Daughter."

At Penn State, Professor West is a highly esteemed teacher of creative writing and comparative literature. At home in the world of science as well as that of literature, his interest in astronomy brought him an invitation from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration to attend a space launch. The Hazlett Award for Excellence in the Arts is only the latest of the many honors that he has earned. Penn State and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania are proud of Paul West.●

VIETNAM: WHO WILL SPEAK
OUT NOW FOR HUMAN RIGHTS?

HON. JACK KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, last weekend some 25,000 demonstrators, protesting a wide variety of causes, marched on the Pentagon, promoting more than one commentator to draw parallels with anti-Vietnam marches in years gone by.

Doan Van Toai spend a good deal of time on America's campuses in the

late 1960's and early 1970's, speaking on behalf of the Vietcong, championing their cause. And when it was over, and America pulled out, Doan Van Toai went home.

But Doan Van Toai was not a Communist. In a Communist controlled Vietnam, Doan Van Toai was put in a concentration camp. There he stayed nearly 4 years, giving him ample time to reflect upon what had happened in his country, and his own role in bringing those changes about.

Now he has returned to the United States, bringing a far different message about what Vietnam is today. Again, he is appealing to the liberals in the American political spectrum looking to them to denounce the brutality and repression that has been visited upon his country by the Communist aggressors. He wonders why they are silent in the face of such a massive violation of human rights.

What Doan Van Toai has to say needs to be heard. For in understanding what Vietnam has become, we begin to understand what America was fighting to prevent. The following article by Mr. Toai appeared in the Wall Street Journal.

VIETNAM: REFUGEES AND SILENCE
(By Doan Van Toai)

Six years ago this month, the United States ended its 20-year involvement in Vietnam by withdrawing its troops. Thus one might have assumed that the friends Vietnam seemed to have made throughout the world in those years would now be celebrating the sixth triumphant anniversary of their victory.

But this past February, while Hanoi was celebrating poor, humble Vietnam's sixth year of unification, the people continued to vote against the regime by fleeing the country.

The Sixth National Assembly of the Vietnamese Communists has recently approved a new constitution, which is only a copy of the Soviet constitution. They will create a new organ, the State Council, and its chairman will probably be Mr. Le Duan, who is now secretary general of the party. The new assembly is scheduled to be voted on this weekend, and it will form the new government. This will present the best opportunity for Le Duan and Le Duc Tho to strengthen their powers and tighten their ties with the Soviets.

Hoang Van Hoang, a close associate of Ho Chi Minh's and a former member of the party politburo who escaped to China in 1978, says that "Vietnam was so totally dependent on the Soviet Union that it had to do whatever Moscow asked." These words have been affirmed by Soviet leader Brezhnev, who has said, "Vietnam is now a solid outpost of our socialist camp."

STALIN IS REVERED

Vietnam regards Stalin as a figure of reverence. His writings are widely sold and his portrait appears in public places and in classrooms throughout the country. A poem by To Huu, a member of the politburo, is taught in high schools: "Vietnam has Uncle Ho, the world has Stalin/When Vietnam has peace, the world will have liberty."

It is all so different from the first days of victory six years ago, when the Vietnamese

Communist leaders proudly declared, "We defeated the French colonialists, the Japanese invaders and then the American imperialists. We will successfully build our new country. We shall accomplish all obligations, overcome all difficulties and defeat all new enemies."

Le Duan, successor to Ho Chi Minh as party leader, also stated before the first meeting of the first Unified Assembly in June 1976: "We shall build our country ten times bigger and ten times more beautiful." He is partially truthful: He occupied Laos, invaded Cambodia and attacked Thailand.

Vietnam is not more beautiful. It is one of the 20 poorest countries in the world. It has 1.6 million soldiers in its active army, the fifth largest army in the world. On March 13, the government promulgated an order to draft into the army all able-bodied youths reaching 18 years of age for "the cause of building the country and defending the socialist fatherland."

Poverty in Vietnam today is as bad as it has ever been. The food shortages are the worst since 1945, when a famine killed two million people.

The country's first five-year plan predicted the production of 21 million tons of rice each year, but this country of 55 million people harvested only 10 million tons in 1980, two million less than in 1979. Rations of rice given to the cadres have fallen off. Some boat people who left Vietnam recently told me mockingly, "No one died of hunger in Saigon, but some have died of hunger in Ho Chi Minh City."

Vietnamese officials cite bad weather, bureaucratic muddling and corrupt officials as the reasons for the growing shortage of food. But the root cause of this problem is their own actions: depending on the Soviet Union, acting the role of Cuba in Southeast Asia, invading Cambodia and imposing Marxist-Leninist ideology over the whole country.

Vietnam's former revolutionaries have today come to be regarded by Western public opinion as invaders in their region. But the Northern Vietnamese Communists have been invaders for a long time. In the spring of 1975, the Northern Vietnamese Communist army conquered South Vietnam in a classic invasion with Soviet tanks, planes and weapons. They not only eliminated the South Vietnamese government but brutally eliminated the National Liberation Front, or Viet Cong, who had been called by the Communists and their Western supporters "the sole genuine representative organ of the South Vietnamese people."

One should recall that in the 1960s, many of the anti-war activists did not believe that any of this could possibly come to pass. Tom Hayden, husband of Jane Fonda, after returning from Hanoi in 1966, released a statement repeating the words of Pham Van Dong, prime minister of North Vietnam, that "the presence of the North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam is a sheer fabrication of the U.S. government." And Tom Hayden instructed the American leftists with his comment, "We think that this denial has not previously been made in such absolute terms by the highest government authorities."

May the author pose a question to Tom Hayden: Don't the highest government authorities of the Communists know how to lie and to deceive the West? Le Duc Tho, the man who negotiated with Dr. Kissinger on the Paris peace agreement, deceived the West in his Paris news conference of May 1972 by saying, "Since I have returned to

Paris, this is the fifth time we have declared clearly that the DRG government (Hanoi) and the PRG (Viet Cong) have never wished to force a Communist government on South Vietnam."

Le Duc Tho is now one of the most powerful leaders of the Vietnamese Communist Party. He has three brothers who are all members of the central committee of the party and hold important positions. One brother is secretary general of the trade union, another is mayor of Ho Chi Minh City and chief of security forces in South Vietnam and the last brother is a three-star general and minister of transportation.

In democratic countries, citizens use their votes to express their opposition to or their support for their government. In bogus democratic countries like South Korea, Chile, South Africa or South Vietnam before the Communists took over, the people often employed illegal demonstrations or strikes to protest against their dictatorial governments. But today there are only two ways for the Vietnamese to vote against the current regime: either be expelled to the New Economic Zones in the far jungle and be imprisoned in the giant gulag throughout the country, or risk their lives fleeing the country.

A VIET CONG FEELS SORRY

Truong Nhu Tang recently formed in Paris a front called the National Salvation Council to gather all Vietnamese to fight the current Communist regime in Vietnam. Truong Nhu Tang, one of the founders of the National Liberation Front (Viet Cong) and a former justice minister of the provisional revolutionary government, fled the country in a tiny boat in 1979. Truong Nhu Tang says he feels sorrow about his past naïveté and wishes to continue to fight for the independence and freedom of his compatriots.

Despite overwhelming evidence of the brutality of the Communist dictatorship in Vietnam, those who told us that such a dictatorship is what the Vietnamese people wanted are curiously silent. Some of the anti-war authors wrote many books and articles saying during the war years that the Viet Cong were really independent from the Hanoi Communists and that Hanoi did not want to impose Communism on South Vietnam.

I am not angry with these people about their past anti-war activity if they did it for the interests of the people and not for a small group of Vietnamese Communists. But do they feel sorrow today that the Communists deceived them? Why do they keep silent about the present tragedies in Indochina? This amnesia is criminal. Their silence damages the reputation of the left.

American linguist Noam Chomsky said categorically that there has been no bloodbath in Vietnam. But there are many ways to kill people without shedding a drop of blood. There is technically no bloodbath in Vietnam, but who can say how many silent deaths have occurred on the high seas? How many have died hidden in the Vietnamese gulag?

While former anti-war activist still protest war by America, they keep silent about Soviet invasions. While they raise their voices to denounce South Korea and El Salvador, they keep silent about the tragedies in Vietnam, where the people must support the insupportable and suffer the insufferable. ●

NEW FUNDS FOR STATE WILDLIFE CONSERVATION PROGRAMS

HON. EDWIN B. FORSYTHE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. FORSYTHE. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation to amend the Federal Aid in Wildlife Restoration Act of 1937, commonly known as the Pittman-Robertson Act. Since 1937 this act has provided funds to the States for wildlife conservation programs. My bill will provide critically needed new revenues by establishing an 11-percent Federal excise tax on the sales of component parts of handloaded ammunition. The Pittman-Robertson Act is presently funded by an 11-percent manufacturers' excise tax on archery equipment, sporting firearms and factory-made ammunition, and a 10-percent excise tax on handguns. My bill would add additional items of sporting equipment to those already being taxed for wildlife restoration and hunter education purposes.

The revenues derived from this new tax on component parts of ammunition will be distributed among the States on a formula basis to provide 75 percent of the funding for State wildlife restoration and hunter education programs. In addition, this legislation will broaden the Pittman-Robertson program by authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to apportion funds so as to allow Puerto Rico, Guam, the Virgin Islands, and American Samoa to participate in these programs. It also directs the Secretary to conduct a continuing study regarding the use of the funds provided for hunter education programs. After 5 years, the Secretary is to make recommendations to Congress as to whether such funds should continue to be provided to the States for this purpose and, if so, whether revisions in the program's administration or operation are necessary.

The Pittman-Robertson program has benefited all Americans who enjoy open space and its accompanying wildlife resources. This important program has, for example, enabled State agencies to purchase over 3.6 million acres of wildlife habitat. In addition, Pittman-Robertson funds have assisted States in carrying out their wildlife management programs on over 37.6 million acres of land and in supporting critically important wildlife-related research. State hunter education programs have also been of significant benefit by teaching students hunter ethics, outdoor sportsmanship, wildlife stewardship, and the safe use of firearms.

In order to continue with these essential wildlife restoration and hunter

education programs, States will require additional funds—a need which will only increase as State wildlife agencies confront the pressures of inflation, increased populations of hunters and other wildlife enthusiasts, and the continued loss and deterioration of wildlife habitat throughout the United States. It is clear that action is required now to maintain the quality of our outdoor experience as the acreage of open space decreases and the number of users continues to increase. With additional Pittman-Robertson funds, State agencies will be able to respond to these pressures by conserving this Nation's wildlife and its habitat for use by present and future generations of Americans.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to introduce this legislation and am looking forward to receiving comments on the bill during hearings before the Subcommittee on Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation and the Environment later this spring. ●

ENERGY ITEMS IN THE BUDGET COMMITTEE RESOLUTION

HON. NICK JOE RAHALL II

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to express my full support for the energy items contained in the budget resolution presented by the House Budget Committee.

While the committee's overall numbers in this area are actually less than the administration's, it has made significant shifts in funding priorities which I feel reflect in a more realistic manner the energy research and technological needs of this Nation.

The administration believes that Government spending in the area of energy should be limited to providing assistance to research, technologies, and projects with a higher risk but potentially higher payoff in the future. From looking at the administration's budget request, it appears nuclear programs fit this criteria. However, the administration also believes funding for research and projects dealing with fossil fuels—such as the development of synthetic fuels—should be left to the private sector. Evidently, the administration feels that the private sector can accommodate funding levels for synthetic fuel demonstration plants and new technologies for burning coal in an environmentally sound manner.

I would like to expand on this issue to portray a certain amount of hypocrisy in the administration's energy budget requests. While the administration says it does not favor any one energy source over another, its budget says otherwise. Funding for nuclear

fission programs and the gaseous centrifuge uranium enrichment plant in Portsmouth, Ohio, is increased while at the same time, funding for synthetic fuel demonstration projects such as the SRC I and II plants and for other fossil energy research programs is decreased.

I must question the administration's thinking in this matter. Why does President Reagan believe the private sector can fund, say, the SRC II demonstration plant, but not the GCEP? Why does the President believe nuclear fission programs have a higher payoff—and thus, demand Government funding—while fossil programs do not?

In my mind, this says only one thing. The administration does indeed favor one energy source over another. Its priority appears to be nuclear power, and regardless of public opinion, it intends to force this technology on the American people by cutting funding levels for alternative energy programs.

Mr. Speaker, adequate funding levels for fossil energy programs offer the Nation both short- and long-term benefits. In the short term, direct coal burning with environmental safeguards. Over the long term, synthetic fuels derived from coal, oil shale, and tar sands. I hope there is no need for me to remind the Congress of the vast abundance and availability of these fuels in this Nation. Furthermore, I believe there is no need for me to expound on the cost effectiveness of these energy forms. Synthetic fuel and technological advances in pollution control for coal burning are programs that offer sure-fire results for the American people. These programs also fit the administration's description of high-risk but high payoff technologies. They are deserving of Government funding—along with a measure of private input—simply because they offer more benefits and produce more varied fuels than nuclear ever can; even if this Nation can solve many of the grave problems associated with nuclear generation and waste disposal.

I see no reason to repudiate energy policy as it relates to coal, synthetic fuel, and other alternatives to oil. The energy budget prepared by the House Budget Committee holds these values and provides for a more rounded and equitable approach to funding energy programs.

Overall, it asks for less than the administration in this area. The administration's proposal for energy programs asks for \$8.9 billion in authority and \$9.5 billion in outlays in fiscal year 1982 compared to the \$6.3 billion in authority and \$6.86 billion in outlays in the Budget Committee resolution. Nonetheless, the Budget Committee resolution restores \$200 million in budget authority and \$100 million in

outlays for the Department of Energy's synthetic fuel activities. Funding of this level will insure continued progress in the synthetic fuel demonstration plant projects. I must also note that while the administration proposes to transfer funds on a reduced level from DOE to the Synthetic Fuels Corporation for certain demonstration projects, the authorizing legislation for the Corporation does not allow it to fund demonstration projects. In other words, the true intent of the administration is to terminate Government funding for these projects entirely.

This would have grave consequences. If the private sector is unable to finance these demonstration projects the value of this research would be lost to the Nation. Experience gained by these projects could lower the cost of subsequent synthetic fuel plants and speed their development which will only help the Nation meet its energy goals in a more expeditious fashion. This, Mr. Speaker, is the business of both the private sector and the Federal Government.

And what are these energy goals? Foremost, I believe, is reducing this Nation's continued dependence on foreign oil. This must be our priority. It is a concept forged by both Republican and Democratic administrations and Members of Congress since the early 1970's. Government spending in the area of synthetic fuels, solar and conservation—retained in the Budget Committee's resolution—will save oil. It will save oil now, and over the long term. However, I seriously doubt whether spending for nuclear programs will save oil now. We need long-term research to provide for future needs, but in the same sense, we must also provide energy security for the rest of this century. In this aspect, I believe the administration's priorities are misdirected.

Along this line, I would also urge proper funding for another program geared to wean this Nation off imported oil. That, specifically, is the program to convert electric utilities from oil to coal and other alternative energy sources. The administration proposes to eliminate funding for the fuels conversion office in the Economic Regulatory Administration which is part of DOE. In short, this proposal could seriously undermine the Nation's ability to cope with a serious fuel shortage, leave the public much more dependent on foreign oil and ultimately lead to even higher electric rates. The fuels conversion office enforces certain provisions of the Powerplant and Industrial Fuel Use Act of 1978. The elimination of this office will limit the ability of electric utilities to overcome regulatory obstacles in switching from oil to coal as a boiler fuel. Although many plants would voluntarily convert to coal because of its

lower price, under a provision of the Clean Air Act a voluntary conversion does not get the same treatment as a mandatory conversion order under the Fuel Use Act. Utilities mandated to convert receive delayed compliance from new source performance standards while voluntary conversion do not. Thus, the elimination of this office would preempt the issuance of mandatory conversion orders and lead to continued excessive use of foreign oil by electric utilities. While the argument can be made that these utilities can switch to natural gas, this fuel is far more expensive than coal. Furthermore, I am not yet convinced there is indeed such an abundance of readily obtainable gas reserves as to allow a sudden and dramatic increase of this fuel in utility boilers. If the gas industry's estimates are wrong, this Nation may face the prospect of paying a bill for imported gas as high as that of imported oil.

While the Budget Committee resolution does not address this point on a line-by-line basis, I have been assured that committee is not opposed to continued funding in fiscal year 1982 for the fuels conversion office. Likewise, I believe the same holds true for the authorizing committee. For this reason, I would urge the Appropriations Committee to give serious consideration when the time comes to an adequate level of funding for coal conversion.

Mr. Speaker, because of my belief that the Budget Committee resolution preserves the intent of the American people and provides a more equitable distribution of funds I urge full House adoption of this budget.●

JUST COMPENSATION FOR DAMAGES INCURRED WHILE ASSISTING THE COAST GUARD

HON. DON YOUNG

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, on August 19, 1976, Mr. Stephen C. Ruks incurred substantial damage to his airplane while performing a search and rescue mission near Cordova, Alaska. Mr. Ruks undertook this rescue because the Coast Guard requested assistance in picking up survivors of an aircraft accident. To date, Mr. Ruks has been unsuccessful in obtaining just compensation for the loss he incurred.

Mr. Ruks is a member of the Civil Air Patrol in Alaska. It was because of this status that he was called upon specifically to rescue the two persons on board the beached aircraft. Coast Guard aircraft would have not been available for 2½ hours. This request came from the Coast Guard's search

and rescue coordinator at Kodiak, Alaska, via the FAA Flight Service Station at Cordova.

The Coast Guard investigation reveals that Mr. Ruks was cautioned regarding the soft beach which might have posed problems on landing. However, no communication was received by Mr. Ruks to terminate the rescue. Prior to the incident, Mr. Ruks had made 12 beach landings in the area of the mishap and, using his judgment as a member of the Civil Air Patrol, believed the conditions suitable for landing. Mr. Ruks made a low pass of the rescue site prior to landing. On a second pass, Mr. Ruks landed his plane, rolled approximately 200 feet before hitting soft sand which caused the plane to flip. No personal injuries resulted but he sustained \$9,700 worth of damage to his plane.

Mr. Ruks filed a claim with the Coast Guard for the damage. He was advised, however, that the Coast Guard considered him a volunteer and that the damage to his plane had not occurred due to Coast Guard negligence. Therefore, they had no legal basis under the Federal Tort Claims Act of the Military Claims Act to compensate him. They have advised him, however, that the Coast Guard would not oppose legislation to compensate him for his loss.

I find this unacceptable that the Coast Guard could specifically request assistance and then walk away from the responsibility to accept what results from their bequest. Members of the Civil Air Patrol simply cannot be asked to perform rescue missions for the Government under these conditions. They perform too valuable a service for the public and the Government to be treated in this manner.

I have long held the view that additional search and rescue coverage by the Coast Guard is needed in the Cordova-Prince William Sound area. This case is just another example of what is required. In fact this year in the Coast Guard's budget, additional money has been included to address just this problem. In the meantime, the Coast Guard must rely on people such as Mr. Ruks to insure that adequate search and rescue services are provided.

For these reasons I am introducing this bill to make certain that just compensation can be given in Mr. Ruks' case.●

YOUTH HIKES ACROSS AMERICA

HON. VIC FAZIO

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. FAZIO. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pleasure that I rise today to pay tribute to a young man from my district who has certainly earned the re-

spect and admiration of all of those who know him or know of his accomplishments. His name is Robert L. Burns. He is 14 years of age and the youngest member of a group that is completing a cross country hike that began on April 12 of last year.

Robert is a determined and self-disciplined young man. He is a Boy Scout and has continued his studies during the 4,000-mile hike through tutoring and independent study. Moreover, his physical stamina is incredible, hiking 7 to 10 miles per day while carrying a 40 to 50 pound pack, which is twice the weight recommended for a person weighing only 108 pounds, as he does.

HikaNation, spearheaded by the American Hiking Society, was organized to call attention to the urgent need for more foot trails throughout our Nation, a goal that I have consistently supported and fought for since coming to the Congress.

On May 13, Robert and his hiking companions will arrive in Washington and will be welcomed on the West Front of the Capitol between 12 noon and 1 p.m. These individuals have accomplished an historic task and I am certain that many of my colleagues will want to be on hand to welcome and congratulate them.

In addition, Mr. Speaker, I would like to request that the following articles be inserted into the official RECORD. One of particular interest was written by Charlotte Pruitt for the Vallejo Independent Press and gives some further insight into the strengths of this exceptional young man, Robert Burns.

[From the Vallejo Independent Press]

YOUTH HIKES ACROSS UNITED STATES

(By Charlotte Pruitt)

A Benicia youth who never back-packed before is making a name for himself in hiking circles.

Fourteen-year-old Robert Burns is the youngest hiker taking part in the historic Pacific to the Atlantic "HikaNation" currently under way by the American Hiking Society.

The continuous coast-to-coast journey of 4,000 miles began April 12 in San Francisco when 7,000 hikers became the only organized group to walk across the Oakland Bay Bridge since it opened in 1936. Two lanes of the big bridge were closed off to make room for the huge foot parade which kicked off the cross-country trek.

Its purpose? To dramatize the need for more foot trails in the United States.

Robert took part in the two-day opener which was headed by a group of backpackers who plan to go the whole distance to Washington, D.C. Some 60 hikers are going part way and 43 will make the complete transcontinental hike. Enthusiasts for the cause join the route along the way and go as far as they want.

The young Benician, son of Mrs. Karen (Wold) Moore who teaches at Mary Farmer Elementary School, rejoined the group in mid-July and hiked through most of September, covering 600-plus miles through Utah and Colorado.

After a brief visit with his family in Benicia Robert left Friday by bus to Lajunta,

Colo., where he rejoined the core group which is now making its way towards the Central Plains. They plan to end up in the Nation's capitol some time between April and June of 1981 where they will meet with government officials.

The hikers, who average 7 to 10 miles a day, should be in Illinois on New Year's Day. A faster pace is planned through sprawling Kansas.

In Utah, Robert made the trip to Dark Canyon where very few hikers use the trails abandoned by the Indians over 100 years ago. Possessing a staid personality, he tells of straight down drops of 2,000 feet or more which failed to sway him from his goal.

Most of the trip takes place on trails, jeep roads and little-used secondary roads. The group also travels along some state and county roads as well as on private property when permission is given. They camp out on the side of the road, on government land and at times on private property. No stops are made at campgrounds which charge a fee for using the facility.

Robert, who will enter Benicia High School next year, will be given some school credits for his learning experience on the transcontinental hike which will include a certain amount of tutoring but mostly independent study.

His interest was drawn to the HikaNation through an article in Sunset Magazine. It would be easy to mistake Robert's passionless appraisal of his participation in the first-of-its-kind hike if you failed to perceive his inner strength and determination.

Robert carries his own gear, cooks his own meals and makes all the needed repair on his clothing and equipment. His pack sometimes weighs over 50 pounds but he tires to keep it down since it is only supposed to be 20 to 25 percent of your body weight. The young Benician weighs 108 pounds.

Setting their own pace, some of the hikers take side trips and then meet up again with the main group at prearranged places. There are support vehicles with food and other supplies which rendezvous with the group at certain intervals. All the hikers carry two-day emergency rations.

Elevations ranged from 8,000 to 12,000 feet when they crossed the Rocky Mountains.

In order to be part of the main group of hikers, Robert did odd jobs to earn the \$150 he used to purchase good boots (\$90), a stove and plenty of socks. His family made sure he had the proper clothing to begin his odyssey. Part of the family involvement was the preparation of dehydrated food for his trip.

Some of his assignments for school credit are collecting plants, taking photographs, keeping a journal about craft projects he sees, budgeting for food and clothing, cooking, and keeping a daily log of his unique adventure.

Trail coordinator Monty Montgomery discouraged most young people from taking part because they did not have enough self-discipline for the pilgrimage.

While most hikers participate only a day or two, the core group includes a 17 and 18-year old, a couple with backpacks their year-old daughter and several people over 60. One of the support vans is being driven by Glenn Seaborg of the Lawrence Radiation Lab, a Nobel Peace Prize winner.

Robert, who is looking forward to Alpine and ice climbing in future years, makes arrows and arrowheads and has an avid interest in unexplored Indian ruins. He is studying edible plants during the long hike.

Antique buffs, his family has been on numerous trips in California and Nevada to dig artifacts. Family members include stepfather Charles Moore, sister Laura and grandmother Mrs. Gladys Wold, a member of the Benicia school board.

"Robert earned his own money to go on the hike. He dedicated himself to doing it and is making some very levelheaded and mature decisions. I'm just as proud as can be about his participation in this great experience," his mother said.

Spearheaded by American Hiking Society President Jim Kerr, HikaNation also is sponsored by the Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service of the U.S. Department of the Interior, Postum instant grain cereal beverage and Backpacker Magazine. There are numerous supporting organizations including the Boy Scouts and the Sierra Club.

In addition to wanting to announce clearly the need for hiking trails, the American Hiking Society wants to dramatize the value of walking, hiking and backpacking as low-energy forms of recreation.

Robert Burns is helping make this important statement.

[From the Benicia Herald, July 11, 1980]

BENICIA YOUTH BEGINS JOURNEY TO UTAH

Robert Burns is off to Brice Canyon, Utah, this weekend to join some 60 hikers participating in a cross country hike.

To illustrate the need for hiking trails in the United States, the hike was initiated from San Francisco's Golden Gate Park in April, with Washington, D.C., the final destination. The trip is scheduled to take fourteen months.

Thirteen year old Burns was one of the hikers who spanned the Golden Gate Bridge on the first leg of the journey into Tilden Park. Now with the school semester safely behind him, equipped with a store of dehydrated food and hiking gear, he will join the hikers in Utah.

His mother, Karen Moore, and sister, Laura, will drive back to rendezvous with him and the travelers by next Friday. Burns will hike through to Durango, Colorado, an estimated thirty to forty-five day hike. From there the seasoned hiker will catch a bus for home.

A resident of Benicia for ten years, Burns began hiking as a Scout three years ago. "It's fun," he described. His pack will contain beef jerky, fruit rolls, and trail mixes prepared by his mother. He will carry two water containers. "And I might get another one," he said.

A portion of the trail Burns will share with the other hikers passes through a large canyon. They will be in almost total darkness for four or five days, and they must carry all of their own water, Burns described.

The HikaNation is jointly sponsored by the American Hiking Society and the United States Department of the Interior, through the Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service. From coast-to-coast the entire trip is over 4,000 miles.

The event has been in the formal planning stages for a year prior to the April starting date. The adventure is estimated to cost each hiker \$5 per day or between \$2,000 and \$3,000 for the entire trip.

Hikers are predicted to go through two sleeping bags, two tents and one pair of hiking boots, twice re-soled, during the fourteen month excursion. Hikers are welcome

to join the party at any stage in the procession eastwards or to drop out at any time.●

IN CELEBRATION OF CINCO DE MAYO

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● **Mr. ROYBAL.** Mr. Speaker, today is Cinco de Mayo, the 5th of May, a holiday celebrated by our great neighbors to the south in Mexico, and by many persons of Mexican descent in communities throughout the United States. This date celebrates the Battle of Puebla in 1862, when a small, patriotic force of Mexican soldiers, under the leadership of General Ignacio Zaragoza, defeated the much larger and better equipped French forces of Napoleon III. In fact, the French Army at that time was considered one of the mightiest in the world. The defeat of this French Army at Puebla stands as a landmark in the history of Mexico and symbolizes the victory of a proud and independent human spirit over foreign invasion. This spirit made it possible for the Mexican people to eventually expel Emperor Maximilian and the French from Mexico in 1867 and molded a sense of national pride that still exists today.

While we honor the heroic actions of the Mexican Army at the Battle of Puebla, it is well to also reflect on the vast contributions Mexican Americans have made to this country. The culture of Mexico—her art, music, dance, food—have greatly enhanced the richness of American life. Mexican immigrants began settling this country long before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock. Many areas in the Southwest United States can point to over 200 years of Hispanic culture and history. Mexican Americans have played a prominent role in every war the United States has fought, and their many acts of bravery are a matter of record. There are countless other examples of Mexican contributions to American society. The growing American recognition of these contributions will, I hope, lead to much closer relations between our two great countries.

The expressed desire of President Reagan to strengthen relations between the United States and Mexico is a very encouraging sign. I have long encouraged the development of strong ties with Mexico, and have introduced legislation to investigate the possibility of forging an economic and energy alliance between the United States, Mexico, and Canada. I believe such an alliance would greatly strengthen each country individually as well as the relationship among the three countries.

Once again, I would like to extend my sincere best wishes to the Republic of Mexico and to all Americans of

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Mexican descent during this 118th anniversary of Cinco de Mayo. I invite you all to join in saluting the heroic actions of the Mexican Army at the Battle of Puebla in 1862, and in celebrating the proud spirit of the Mexican people.●

GOLD STAR MOTHERS

HON. DANIEL B. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● **Mr. DANIEL B. CRANE.** Mr. Speaker, while honoring the memories of those courageous Americans who served their country so nobly by making the supreme sacrifice, we should equally honor those brave women who must endure the continuing pain of having lost a son in the defense of America. Gold Star Mothers deserve a special place of honor in the annals of American History.

Judy Ragel, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Orville Schukar of Vandalia, Ill., has so eloquently expressed the feeling that all Americans have for the Gold Star Mothers that I wanted to share two of her poems with you.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure that all of our colleagues join with me in commending Judy for not only her literary talents, but also for the feeling of patriotism that is so well expressed in both of these excellent poems.

The poems follow:

I WAS THERE, GOLD STAR MOTHERS

I've been with them all from land to land,
From underground tunnels to the whitest sands.
I've been with your loved ones from shore to shore,
For whom your Gold Star is now proudly worn.

World War I to Germany we went,
Too many rules had already been bent.
They were all brave, from land, sea and sky,
These soldiers united, not afraid to die.
I was there, in World War II,
Oh how they fought for me and you.
No one had ever assaulted our land,
So with a bomb we dealt with Japan.

To Korea, so many were sent,
Hey, they loved their country, so they gladly went.
The battles were fierce, how our boys bled,
They protected me always, many lay dead.
Then Vietnam, what a horrible sight,
Killer land mines were set late at night.
Yes, I watched them die bravely and bold,
For this was the land they thought they must hold.

By now you have guessed, Old Glory, that's me,
And thanks to your loved ones, I'm still flying free.
I've been with them all, their songs I still hear,
"We are Americans and we love our land dear".

They always fought hard, their jokes were a pleasure,
Yes, Gold Star Mothers, they were your treasures.

May 5, 1981

God be with all you Mothers, so special you are,
You deserve so much more than just a Gold Star.

MY GOLD STAR MOTHER

This is the story my Mother has told,
How she received her Star of Gold,
Her son, a paratrooper, went off to war.
To hold him, to thank him, she can no more.

Your country needs you, said Uncle Sam,
To go and fight in Vietnam.
And so her oldest son, named Ron,
Went off to face the Viet Cong.

No one will ever take up my slack,
This Communist aggression must be held back.

These were his words, so brave and bold,
He turned her Star from Blue to Gold.
Six miserable months, slowly passed by,
Then the telegram, and the question why.
My mother sat, in a mass of tears,
For now she acknowledged her most dreaded fear.

The words came slowly as my Mother read,
We're very sorry, your son is dead.
He served his country brave and gladly,
And now he'll be missed, oh so badly.

So on the day he was laid to rest,
She knew once again he had given his best.
For it was God's will, that he must die,
And not for his Mother to question why.

Everyday, she still suffers the pain,
But knows her son did not die in vain.
For many young men died in that place,
And now are with God, by His heavenly grace.

With these beautiful memories, she now lives,

Of a son so brave and willing to give.
His life, his ambitions, for freedom and peace,
In a hope that someday, the fighting will cease.

So now, Gold Star Mother, walk proud and walk tall,
For it was your loved one who gave us his all.

Not the cowards and draft dodgers, who reap of this land,
No, they were not there, to lend him a hand.

Salute Old Glory, sing the Anthem out loud,

Your young son will hear you, and know you're so proud.

There are many Gold Star Mothers, this one is mine,
He was my precious brother, so courageous and kind.

In honor of my Gold Star Mother, Kathryn Schukar.●

CALL TO CONSCIENCE VIGIL, 1981—THE JACOB SOSNA FAMILY

HON. JOE MOAKLEY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● **Mr. MOAKLEY.** Mr. Speaker, I come before you today to express my sadness regarding the great tragedy and injustice that is taking place in the Soviet Union. I am referring to the ongoing policy that refuses to allow

certain Soviet Jews from emigrating from the Soviet Union, particularly the Jacob Sosna family.

A year ago I came before the Congress to speak on behalf of the Sosna family, who were among those in the Soviet Union who had been waiting for emigration visas for over 7 years. They are still waiting.

In July 1974, Jacob Sosna, along with his wife Rimma, son Boris, 85-year-old mother, and disabled uncle, all applied for emigration visas. Boris was the only member of the family to receive a visa and was then forced to travel to Israel by himself. After losing their jobs as a telephone communications engineer and a factory technician, Rimma and Jacob were both told they would have to wait until 1985 for their visas. The reason for the refusals was Rimma's supposed knowledge of state secrets through her job, a charge which was later withdrawn by Rimma Sosna's former employer, but to no avail for the Sosnas. Since that time, they have received 11 refusals. They have also been subjected to continual harassment by Soviet officials. They were forced to move from their home by unsympathetic neighbors who did not wish to be associated with the Sosnas or their efforts to leave the Soviet Union. Rimma Sosna was recently warned by the Government not to join any women's groups.

I am greatly disturbed at the Soviet Union's continued, clear violation of basic human rights. All that this family asks is to be reunited with their son in Israel, the same request as hundreds more Jews in the Soviet Union. Because of this wish, the Soviet Government has stripped away the already limited rights of these people merely for seeking what they had been promised in the Helsinki agreement—visas, emigration, family reunion, and a simple life in peace. Soviet Union President Brezhnev has said that he would like to normalize relations with the United States. I believe this process of normalization should begin with the Soviet Union recognizing and granting these basic human rights to the Sosnas and to the many other Soviet Jews like them.●

THE PEOPLE RESPOND—X

HON. ROBERT GARCIA

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. GARCIA. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a statement which exemplifies the concern people are feeling over the proposed budget cuts. President Reagan's economic plan would not affect every segment of this society equally; minorities and the poor would have to shoulder the greater suffering

while businesses and the rich would be favored disproportionately. As part of my continuing crusade against the inequities in the proposed economic plan, I am inserting today's statement to show that there are still citizens who are concerned over the impact of this plan.

THE BRONX COMMITTEE TO STOP THE BUDGET CUTS

OFFICERS

Chairperson: Carmen E. Arroyo

Secretary: Luis Perez

Treasurer: Jesse Hamilton

MEMBERS

South Bronx Community Corp.
Mobicentrics, Inc.
South Bronx Action Group.
National Assoc. For Hispanic Civil Rights.
Bronx Venture Corp.
South Bronx Overall Economic Development Corp.
Living Center For Older People.
United Tremont Trades.
Community Planning Board No. 1.
Simpson Street Development Association.
Bronx N.A.P.R.A.
Hostos Community College Students.
Workers of District No. 7.
Mott Haven Health Center.
George Ramirez Housing Corp.
Puertorriquenas en Accion Politica.
Coalition for Peoples Alternatives.
Amelia Betanzos Concerned Citizens of New York.
Community Planning Board No. 2.
United Bronx Parents.
Cypress Community Center.
United Organizations of the Bronx.
Argus Community.
Hunts Point Multi-Service.
Area Policy Board No 1.
S.B.B.C.
Tremont Community Council.
Workers Lincoln Hospital.
Bronx Park Senior Citizens.
Youth Employment Program.
Bronx Black United Front.
Puerto Rican Day Parade.
Bronxchester Community Center.

BRONX COMMITTEE TO STOP BUDGET CUTS

Announcement: Congressional Hearing.
Date and time: April 27th, 1981 at 10 A.M.
Location: Charlotte Street, Bronx, N.Y.
Participants: Congressman Robert Garcia, Congressman Jonathan Bingham, Congressman Mario Biaggi, Representatives of more than thirty (30) Human Services organizations, and Residents of the Bronx, Community.

Purpose: To have the South Bronx as the promoter of the National Alternate Democratic Budget. To allow agency representatives and community residents (1) to express specific concerns to the Congressmen regarding adverse effects of the Administrations proposed Budget Cuts on the Bronx Community; (2) to receive additional information and clarifications from the Congressmen and other participants; and (3) to devise a common response to fight specific Budget Cuts in the Congress.

Background: Budget Cuts announced by the Reagan Administration are projected to have a substantial negative effect on the quality of life in the Bronx, further eroding the social and economic base of a community already ravaged by the combined effects of years of reduced job opportunities, deteriorating housing, and reduced social services.

AGENDA

1. Prayer by Brother Patrick Lochrane.
2. Opening remarks by the Chairperson, Carmen E. Arroyo, The Bronx Committee to Stop the Budget Cuts.
3. Introductions:

Officers

Carmen E. Arroyo, Chairperson, Luis Perez, Secretary, Jesse Hamilton, Treasurer.

Committees

Public Relations Committee, Chairman Gaspar Garcia.
Security Committee, Chairmen Brother Patrick Lochrane and Bob Munoz.
Physical Facilities Committee, Chairman Ruben Rios.
Fundraising Committee, Chairman Monserrate Flores.
Position Paper Committee, Chairperson Elaine Garcia.
Legal Committee, Chairman Ruben Franco.
Organizations represented in the Bronx Committee to Stop the Budget Cuts.

Congressmen

Robert Garcia, Jonathan Bingham, and Mario Biaggi.

4. Introduction of Jim Wright, majority leader of the House of Representatives by Congressman Mario Biaggi.

5. Testimonies of Elected Public Officials: Bronx Borough President Stanley Simon, State Senator Joseph Galiber, Assemblywoman Gloria Davis, Assemblyman Jose Serrano, Armando Montano, Jr. for Assemblyman Armando Montano, Councilman Gilberto Gerena-Valentin, Councilman Wendell Foster, Herman Badillo, and Father Gigante from SEBCO.

6. Calendar of Community Speakers.

7. Closing of Congressional Hearing.

NOTE.—All statements will be recorded in their entirety for congressional records.

CALENDAR OF SPEAKERS FOR CONGRESSIONAL HEARING OF APRIL 27, 1981

10:30—John Gustason, Asst. Dir., N.Y.S. Division of Substance Abuse.

10:33—Braham Horowitz, Project Return.

10:36—Peter Negroni, Superintendent, District 12.

10:39—Nilda Torresola, Deputy Superintendent, District 7.

10:42—Yvette Gourevitch, School District 7.

10:45—Gloria Skerritt, President of Presidents Council.

10:48—Franz Lanoir, P.A. President of P.S. 69.

10:51—Mary Donovan, P.A. President of P.S. 36.

10:54—Jean Pipolo, P.A. President of P.S. 48.

10:57—Myrtle Fuller, Concerned Resident & Parent.

11:00—Neola Wood, Concerned Resident & Parent.

11:03—Michael Kadish, Principal, P.S. 75.

11:06—Laura Cecilia, P.A. President of P.S. 75.

11:09—Joan DePesa, for Superintendent of District 8.

11:12—Roland Patterson, Superintendent, District 9.

11:15—Jose Gonzalez, Community School Board Member.

11:18—Rev. Kenneth Folkes, Bronx Shepherds.

11:21—Pat McDonald, East Bronx Corporation on Aging.

11:24—Verline Mclean, St. John Vianney & Seward Associates.

11:27—Fred Silverman, Chairman, Bronx Lebanon Hospital.
 11:30—Millie Mendez Garcia, Dean of Students, Hostos Community College.
 11:33—Malcolm Smith, Chairman, City Wide Coalition of Area Policy Boards.
 11:36—Cedric McClester, Pro Mesa.
 11:39—Harry DiRienzo, Banana Kelly.
 11:42—Mario Tolisano, SEBCO.
 11:45—Verilyn Hamilton, Chairperson, Community Planning Board #3.
 11:48—Marie D'Amelio.
 11:51—Carmen Jirau, New York Foundling Hospital.
 11:54—Vilma Vega, Concerned Resident & Parent.
 11:57—Maria DeJesus, Concerned Resident & Parent.
 12:00—Regina Ford, Concerned Resident & Parent.
 12:03—Xavier Rodriguez, Bathgate Coalition.
 12:06—Danny Perez, Community Planning Board #3.
 12:09—Catherine Jones.
 12:12—Charles Henderson, East-West Concourse Neighborhood Housing Corporation.
 12:15—Esther Hazel, Executive Director, Kelly Street Block Association.
 12:18—Geraldine Miller, Bronx NOW & Bronx Household Technicians.
 12:21—Pete Espada, Chairman, Area Policy Board #9.
 12:24—Anthony Rodriguez, Chairman, Area Policy Board #3 & Concerned Resident.
 12:27—Jerome Greene, Chairman, Area Policy Board #4.
 12:30—Gerald Lopez, Chairman, Area Policy Board #6.
 12:33—Sandra Williams, SBCC.
 12:36—Herman Hewitt, Bronx Heights Neighborhood Community Corporation.
 12:39—Carlos Foster, CARAFOR Neighborhood Service & Development Corporation.
 12:42—Don Gibbs, Bronx Director of N.Y. Urban League.
 12:45—Ismael Betancourt, Latin Belly & Betancourt Food Systems.
 12:48—Richard Rivera, Bronx Legal Services.
 12:51—Mark Estrada, Clemente-Robison Center.
 12:54—Steve Warren, Project Return Foundation.
 12:57—David Boyd, NYCARD.
 1:00—Cary Goodman, Director, Sports for the People.
 1:03—Tony Carrasquillo, Youth Projects.
 1:06—Bobby Munoz, Director, National Association for Hispanic Civil Rights.
 1:09—Nancy Sutula, Young People's Lobby for Jobs.
 1:12—Pedro Flores.
 1:15—Joseph Spak, Argus Community.
 1:18—Rev. Timothy Birkett, TAP CAPP.
 1:21—Albert Goodman, 163rd St. Improvement Council.
 1:24—Sister Thomas, Chairperson, Community Planning Board #2.
 1:27—Marshall England, Department of Labor.
 1:30—Nydia Diaz, Casa Boricua.
 1:33—Luis Perez, Chairman, Area Policy Board #1.
 1:36—Betty Medina, SBCC.
 1:39—Brother Patrick Lochrane, Tremont Community Council.
 1:42—Montserrat Flores, Chairman, Advisory Board, Lincoln Hospital.
 1:45—Carmen E. Arroyo, Executive Director, SBCC.

NOTE.—Time slots for additional speakers registered at the hearing.●

A TRIBUTE TO DR. ROSARIO P. SAN FILIPPO

HON. LEO C. ZEFERETTI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. ZEFERETTI. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues the outstanding career of a most remarkable surgeon, Dr. Rosario P. San Filippo, director of surgery emeritus of the Lutheran Medical Center, Brooklyn, N.Y.

Dr. San Filippo was born in Sciacca, Sicily, in 1899 and he immigrated to the United States in 1906. He received his undergraduate education at Columbia University and received his M.D. degree in 1923 from the Long Island College of Medicine.

He then served a rotating internship at the Norwegian Hospital of Brooklyn from 1923 to 1924 and has been associated with this institution ever since, the Norwegian Hospital was later to become the Lutheran Medical Center. In 1935, he was elected a fellow in the American College of Surgeons and has been a respected member ever since. In addition to the surgical service at the Norwegian Hospital, Dr. San Filippo was able to devote considerable time and effort to the Coney Island Hospital from 1929 to 1965. He was appointed as consultant in surgery in 1965 and delivered high-quality care to the patients at this hospital on a purely voluntary basis for all these years.

Dr. San Filippo worked diligently through the years and was appointed director of surgery of the Lutheran Medical Center in 1952. He held this position with distinction until mandatory retirement in 1965. During those years, he established a huge and varied experience in clinical surgery. In addition, he was a superb teacher and was one of the most important factors in helping to establish the Lutheran Medical Center as a major community hospital center. He continued to actively participate until his retirement in 1975.

Since his retirement he has only given up his surgery, not his love and enthusiasm for the profession which has absorbed his entire adult life. Dr. San Filippo gives a popular lecture series for medical students in basic surgical problems which are attended faithfully and continues to be an active part of the Department of Surgery. He is presently chairman of the Committee on Delineation of Surgical Privileges and has established a system for assuring quality control in surgery that will be a model for every hospital in the borough.

Mr. Speaker, Dr. Rosario P. San Filippo has had a truly remarkable career in the field of medicine. He has provided the highest quality health

care to all his patients and is truly a credit to his profession. I believe that we, in Brooklyn and throughout New York City, have been extremely fortunate that this outstanding surgeon chose to practice in our community.●

CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN FINANCING ACT OF 1981

HON. MATTHEW F. McHUGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. McHUGH. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of myself and 20 of our colleagues, I am today introducing legislation that would provide for partial public financing of congressional primary and general elections beginning in 1982.

Although we recognize that the current climate in Washington is not favorable to the enactment of this legislation during the 97th Congress, we also remain convinced of the need for such legislation, and thus offer this bill to remind the House that the issue it addresses will not be resolved by our refusal to act.

There are several points that we believe need to be reemphasized with respect to this issue:

First, public financing works, and it works for both primary and general elections as has been demonstrated by the 1976 and 1980 Presidential campaigns;

Second, one of the unintended consequences of its success has been to substantially increase the flow of special interest contributions into House and Senate election campaigns; and

Third, as the expenses associated with running for Congress increase, and all of us know that they will increase, the influence of those special interests will also grow, and the confidence of the American people in our election process will continue to erode.

In short, there is a compelling need to extend this reform, at least in part, to congressional primaries and general elections. Our bill would do so.

At the conclusion of my remarks, Mr. Speaker, I will insert into the RECORD a factsheet that explains the provisions of our proposal in further detail. At this point, however, I would like to briefly summarize its principle feature as they relate to House campaigns:

For candidates who accept public financing, it establishes a spending limitation of \$175,000 for 1982 House primaries and \$175,000 for 1982 House general elections, with these ceilings tied to the Consumer Price Index thereafter;

Allows 1 to 1 Treasury matching, up to 50 percent of the \$175,000 general limitations, for contributions of \$100 or less from State residents after an

initial qualifying amount of \$7,500 is met, the qualifying amount need be raised only once;

Candidates are allowed to raise and spend up to an additional 20 percent of the spending limitations for fundraising in both primary and general elections, and to accept and spend up to \$10,000 from national or State party organizations in the general election only, but these funds cannot be publicly matched;

Spending limitations are waived for candidates whose opponents do not accept public funds and exceed the expenditure limitations, and such candidates remain eligible for public financing up to the limitations contained in the law;

Minor party and independent candidates are eligible for Treasury matching; and

Funded through the \$1 checkoff with provision made for proportionate reductions if sufficient funds are not available.

As I said, Mr. Speaker, we believe that the legislation that we are introducing today represents a thoughtful approach to an issue that troubles many Americans, an issue that will not disappear simply because the Congress chooses to ignore it.

The factsheet follows:

CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN FINANCING ACT OF 1981

I. INTRODUCTION

A. This measure is designed to build upon existing legislation which provides for public financing of Presidential elections. It establishes a matching system that would provide for partial public financing of House and Senate primary and general elections. Limitations would be placed on spending by congressional candidates who choose to accept public financing, and small private contributions would be matched by Treasury payments on a 1 for 1 basis up to stipulated levels after an initial qualifying amount was raised. The financing of both primary and general elections is modeled after the public financing provisions contained in present law for Presidential primary elections. Funding for congressional matching payments would come from the existing \$1 checkoff, and the program would be administered by the Federal Election Commission.

II. CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURE LIMITATIONS AND TREASURY MATCHING

A. House of Representatives.—A general spending limitation of \$175,000 per campaign is established for primary and general elections in 1982. This general limitation on campaign spending for candidates who accept public financing is tied to the Consumer Price Index and would be adjusted upward on an annual basis thereafter. Candidates who except public funds would be able to exceed this \$175,000 general limitations in three ways:

(1) A candidate would be allowed to raise and spend up to an additional 20% of this general limitation (\$35,000 in a 1982 primary and \$35,000 in a 1982 general election) to cover actual fundraising expenses. These funds would not be eligible for Treasury matching.

(2) A candidate would be allowed to accept and spend up to \$10,000 in additional funds from a national or state party organization in the general election only. These funds would not be eligible for Treasury matching.

(3) Expenditure limitations would be waived for a candidate who accepted public financing if (a) his opponent did not accept public financing and (b) his opponent exceeded the expenditure limitations contained in the bill. The candidate who accepted public financing would still be entitled to receive public funds, but only up to the levels stipulated in the bill.

To be eligible for Treasury matching, a candidate must raise \$7500 in private contributions of \$100 or less. After this threshold is reached, the qualifying amount (\$7500) and each additional contribution of \$100 or less would be matched by the Treasury on a 1 for 1 basis up to 50% of the general limitation.

Thus, using 1982 as an example, a candidate could spend up to \$210,000 on a primary race and up to \$220,000 on a general election race. However, the maximum allowable Treasury matching would be \$87,500 (50% of the general limitation) in the primary and \$87,500 (50% of the general limitation) in the general election.

B. Senate.—The bill maintains the principle that Senate primaries and general elections should be covered by extending the applications of the bill to that body. However, it does not establish specific spending limitations for Senate primaries and general elections. This issue is more appropriately resolved by members of the Senate.

C. Eligibility for matching payments.—The same requirements that apply to establishing eligibility for matching payments in primary elections apply to general elections. However, a candidate must raise the threshold qualifying amount only once. Consequently, if the qualifying amount is raised in the primary, contributions of \$100 or less for the general election would continue to be matched on a 1 for 1 basis up to the stipulated levels with no further requirements.

D. Third Party and Independent Candidates.—Candidates of minor parties and independent candidates would be eligible for matching payments from the Treasury in both primary and general elections to the extent that they meet the qualifying requirements. No distinctions are made between types of candidates or parties. Rather, the ability of a candidate to qualify for matching payments is based solely upon demonstrated support in raising threshold qualifying amounts and additional contributions of \$100 or less.

E. Payments.—No payments may be made to a candidate or his authorized committee until at least two candidates have qualified for the election ballot. However, once two candidates have qualified, retroactive payments would be allowed.

F. Applicability of Campaign Spending Limitations.—In accordance with the decision of the Supreme Court in *Buckley versus Valeo*, spending limits would apply only to candidates who accept public financing. However, as noted previously, if a candidate not receiving public funds exceeds the overall spending limits contained in this legislation, those limits are waived for his or her opponents receiving public funds. A candidate receiving public funds would still be eligible to receive matching payments from the Treasury, but only up to the levels stipulated in the bill. To enforce the waiver, candidates who exceed the spending limits

contained in this legislation would be required to report to the Federal Election Commission within 48 hours after they make expenditures, or commitments for expenditures, in excess of the overall spending limit. Failure to report would be a punishable offense. Except as previously noted, a candidate who accepts any public funds would be required to adhere to all spending limitations for primary and general elections.

III. FUNDING AND ADMINISTRATION

A. Funds for congressional public financing would come from the existing \$1 checkoff. Congressional primaries and general elections would receive fourth priority for checkoff funds after party conventions, the Presidential general election, and Presidential primaries. If the amount in the \$1 checkoff is not sufficient, the checkoff would have to be increased by law. However, if such an increase was not approved, the Secretary of the Treasury would be authorized, after determining that the funds available either are not or may not be sufficient to pay the full amount of entitlements to all candidates eligible to receive payments, to reduce the amount to which each candidate is entitled proportionately. However, in no case would a candidate who had already received public funds be required to repay any amount to the Treasury as a result of such a reduction.

B. Public financing of congressional elections would be implemented by the Federal Election Commission. In order to be eligible for public funds, candidates would have to agree to abide by applicable spending and contribution limits, file required reports, and open their books for audit as required by the FEC.

IV. ESTIMATED COST TO THE TREASURY

A. The estimated cost to the Treasury of this legislation for House primaries and general elections in 1982 is \$120.9 million. Cost estimation of public financing is difficult. This estimate is based upon a number of assumptions that probably overstate the cost of this legislation to the Treasury. It was derived by applying the provisions of the bill to 1980 House primary and general elections using the following assumptions:

(1) House Primary Elections.—There were approximately 1087 viable primary candidates in 1980. A viable primary candidate was defined as one who received 20% or more of the vote in a primary election, including candidates who were unopposed or who were nominated by convention. The figure of 1087 viable primary candidates was derived from primary results reported by Congressional Quarterly and include viable third party and independent candidates. It was further assumed that viable primary candidates would average 75% of the public financing limitation for House primaries (\$65,625). Multiplying the number of viable candidates (1087) by \$65,625 yielded an estimated cost of \$71,334,375.

(2) House General Elections.—There were approximately 755 viable general election candidates in 1980. A viable general election candidate was defined as one who received 20% or more of the vote in a general election, but does not include candidates who were unopposed. The figure of 755 viable general election candidates was derived from election results reported by Congressional Quarterly and includes viable third party and independent candidates. It was further assumed that viable general election candidates would average 75% of the public financing limitation for House general elec-

tions (\$65,625). Multiplying the number of viable candidates (755) by \$65,625 yielded an estimated cost to the Treasury of \$49,546,875.

B. As mentioned previously, these figures probably overstate the likely cost to the Treasury in 1982.

V. OTHER PROVISIONS

A. Cash contributions.—Cash contributions are eligible for matching if they are properly certified and if adequate records are kept showing the date and amount of each cash contribution, and the full name and mailing address of the contributor.

B. Eligible contributions.—Only contributions from residents of the State in which the House or Senate election is held are eligible for matching.

C. Timing.—Contributions received after January 1 of the year preceding the year of the election are eligible for matching, but matching payments may not begin before January 1 of the election year. Contributions received after the date of the election may not be matched. Once a candidate raises the required threshold in small contributions, and two candidates have qualified for the election ballot, the Federal Election Commission has 10 days to certify the candidate's eligibility for matching payments. The Secretary of the Treasury then has another 10 days to make the payments for which the candidate is eligible.

D. Primary and General Elections treated separately.—The \$100 limit on contributions that may be matched applies separately to primary and general elections. Thus, a single contributor may make a matchable \$100 contribution for the primary and another matchable \$100 contribution for the general election. However, separate accounts must be kept for the primary and general elections for this purpose.

E. Repayments to the Treasury.—If a candidate does not use all of the funds raised privately and the Treasury matching payments in the primary, unused funds may be carried over and used in the general election (although the overall spending limitation for the general election may not be breached). A proportionate share of any funds that remain after the general election must be returned to the Treasury. The FEC is required to conduct a detailed post-audit and obtain repayments when necessary.

F. Criminal penalties.—There are criminal penalties for exceeding the spending limits, and for the unlawful use of payments, false statements made to the FEC, kickbacks and illegal payments.

G. Effective date.—The provisions of the bill apply to elections held after January 1, 1982.●

JOHN NORTHROP, FOUNDER OF NORTHROP CORP., DIES

HON. TONY COELHO

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. COELHO. Mr. Speaker, on February 18, John Knudsen Northrop, founder of Northrop Corp., and one of the world's most noted aircraft designers, passed away at the age of 85.

John Northrop is recognized as one of the world's most creative and prolific aircraft designers. He actually designed a total of 48 aircraft and, in the

process, pioneered aeronautical concepts that have been carried into the jet age.

Mr. Northrop's design genius is explored by the Smithsonian Institution's National Air and Space Museum here in Washington, D.C. The exhibit refers to Mr. Northrop as "a pioneer aircraft designer and an industrialist who made a powerful impact on the evolution of civil and military aviation in the United States."

The Northrop innovation went beyond aircraft design; he was also a pioneer in industrial relations concepts. He maintained an open door management policy where any worker was free to come into his office to discuss ideas, grievances, or personal problems.

Mr. Northrop's versatile mind was applied not only to aircraft design and management policy but to humanitarian causes as well. During World War II, many wounded veterans were suffering the trauma of recovery at Birmingham Rehabilitation Hospital near Los Angeles. Recognizing this, Mr. Northrop arranged a system whereby the injured veterans could perform many jobs on the hospital grounds while being paid the same rate as plant workers.

During his long career, John Northrop was honored repeatedly for his innovative designs and for overall contributions to aviation. In 1940, Donald Douglas remarked that "Every major airplane in the skies today has some of Jack Northrop in it." Mr. Northrop perhaps best summarized his own career in a 1977 interview: "I lived and worked in what I have termed a golden age of aviation."●

ONE IN EVERY TWO REFUGEES IS AFRICAN

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues, an article written in the Christian Science Monitor, dated April 8, 1981, describing the conditions and plight of the refugees in Africa. Outside assistance is desperately needed in order to enable these people the basic necessities of life. There is a serious problem in Africa today which must be recognized by people throughout the world.

ONE IN EVERY TWO REFUGEES IS AFRICAN (By Poul Hartling)

A few weeks ago I was in the Sudan, an African country which in recent years has had to confront massive refugee influxes from a number of its neighbors. When I was there, Ugandans were crossing the White Nile into southern Sudan in canoes. They were in desperate condition, especially the emaciated children. A government official

told me, "You see we have our boat people too."

The tragedy of the boat people in Southeast Asia dramatized a major problem of our time: the mass exodus of refugees, victims of events beyond their control, fleeing their homes to seek asylum in another country. The Sudanese official was trying to tell me that his country and his continent have a serious refugee problem as well, about which the world should know. The world has taken notice. On April 9 and 10 the International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa (ICARA) will be held in Geneva. The goal is not only to focus public attention on the problem of African refugees but also to mobilize assistance for a continent which suffers the world's largest refugee problem.

With 12 percent of the world's population, Africa has almost 50 percent of the world's refugees, which means that one in every two refugees in the world today is an African.

The burden of Africa's five million refugees is not equally spread over this vast continent. The Sudan alone has accepted over the last years from neighboring countries as many refugees as those who have landed on the shores of Southeast Asia. In Somalia, which had a population of four million, the authorities report more than 1.5 million refugees in camps in the country.

For the United States it would be as though in a few months the entire populations of the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland showed up on the East Coast bringing with them only the clothes on their backs and half of them sick. The dislocation, even with America's great resources, would be enormous, priorities would have to be reordered, and resources allocated for economic growth and social welfare would have to be directed to the refugees to assure their survival.

What makes the refugee problem in Africa particularly difficult is the fact that 80 percent of the refugees are in the least developed countries of the world. Caught in the vicious circle of poverty, these nations are struggling to give their own people a decent standard of living. Development prospects have been dimmed by such outside factors as mounting energy costs, food deficits, severe drought, debt repayment burdens, and world recession. It is not difficult to imagine the impact on such fragile economies of tens of thousands of hungry and sick refugees.

Tribute must be paid to those countries that have acted so generously, a generosity rooted in traditional African hospitality. As the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, my first concern is that the refugee who is seeking asylum because of a well-founded fear of persecution is not turned back at the border. Unless this basic right is respected by the states of the world, any assistance to refugees is meaningless.

There still are too many cases around the world where refugees are not accepted but sent back to an uncertain fate. African governments have not only generally met their responsibilities to asylum seekers, but they have recognized that the solution to the problem of African refugees is in Africa. They have not asked that their refugees be settled on another continent. The problem is that their hospitality is being offered from an empty table. Help from outside is crucial.

The conference in Geneva will look beyond immediate emergency needs toward durable solutions. In the context of the third world, outside assistance is sorely

needed to enable refugees to become productive citizens integrated into society. In Africa's rural setting the inputs required are relatively modest: seeds, agricultural tools, sufficient food to see farmers through a first harvest, and infrastructure support such as roads, water supply, hospitals, schools. ICARA will seek to obtain international assistance for projects aimed at strengthening the ability of asylum countries to carry the extra burden placed on their services and facilities.

There is an understandable tendency to despair today over the course of international affairs, especially with increased conflicts and economic difficulties, yet the sense of international solidarity as expressed through humanitarian aid has grown impressively. Aid to Kampuchea, for example, helped a people to survive, and the financial and diplomatic support given to my organization, UNHCR, has risen manyfold over the years. Not only does this humanitarian aid save hundreds of thousands of human lives, but by dampening a source of potential conflict it is a powerful force for peace and stability. My experience has been that efforts to help refugees have not been in vain. The refugees of yesterday are not the refugees of today.

A few days after becoming high commissioner in January 1978, I made my first trip to see and talk with refugees. I chose southern Africa, where the major refugee problem at that time resulted from the bitter conflict in what was then called Rhodesia. Tens of thousands of Zimbabweans had fled their war-torn country to crowd into the refugee camps in neighboring states. We saw them in Mozambique where the rural settlements still showed the vestiges of air and ground attacks, we saw them in desolate barracks in Botswana, and we saw many children, especially at the Victory Camp outside of Lusaka, where hundreds of girls welcomed us with enthusiastic singing.

A year ago when I was in Zimbabwe for independence celebrations, a government minister shook my hand and reminded me that the last time we had met was in a refugee camp. His compatriots have now returned and, whether minister or farmer, have gotten down to the job of building their country, a hard job but infinitely more rewarding than waiting in a refugee camp in a foreign land.

Africa's five million refugees must be given the means first to survive, and then to rebuild their lives in dignity.●

LEONARD H. BROWN, JR., RETIRES FROM ARLINGTON COUNTY POLICE DEPARTMENT

HON. FRANK R. WOLF

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, the record of a recently retired police officer in the 10th Congressional District reflects favorably on law enforcement professionals in the Arlington County Police Department and all across the country. In his 26 years of service, Det. Leonard H. Brown, Jr., of the Arlington County Police Department earned the respect of law enforcement officers and many citizens with whom he worked. He distinguished himself

in the investigation of robbery and homicide cases. His excellent detective work earned him the well-deserved title of master detective.

Detective Brown's outstanding work is indicative of that performed by the Arlington County Police Department. The police force has an outstanding reputation throughout the community it serves and the entire Metropolitan Washington area.

The cooperation that the Arlington Police Department receives from the office of the district attorney should also be noted. Under the leadership of District Attorney Henry Hudson, the office cooperates with and supports law enforcement agencies to fulfill the goals of the criminal justice system and serve to protect the people of the community.●

JEWISH HERITAGE WEEK

HON. DENNIS E. ECKART

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. ECKART. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to be able to salute today the accomplishments made by one of our Nation's truly dynamic groups, the Jewish American community. I am proud that my colleagues have chosen to designate "Jewish Heritage Week," through which all Americans can be made aware of the activities and attainments of the Jewish people.

We are all aware that the history of the Jewish people has been, at times, a tragic and painful one. Yet that history has left them with a tradition of courage and hope. No matter what the circumstances, the Jewish people have always strived for excellence and have always looked toward the future with unwavering hope. I salute that spirit.

Today in America and throughout the world, Jews are leaders in all walks of life. Neither discrimination nor anti-Semitism has, in the long run, stopped them from becoming outstanding members of sectors as diverse as the arts, business, and government.

Long the victims of discrimination, Jews have turned their suffering yesterday into compassion today, struggling to bring civil rights and equal opportunity to all. I am grateful for the Jewish commitment to justice.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to join in celebrating Jewish Heritage Week.●

"SS POET"

HON. CLAUDE SCHNEIDER

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mrs. SCHNEIDER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to submit for the consideration of my colleagues a letter sent to

the staff of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee by a constituent of mine, Ms. Deborah Peterson. Ms. Peterson's fiancé, Mark Henthorne, was a third assistant engineer on the SS *Poet*, the U.S. cargo ship that disappeared en route from Philadelphia to Port Said, Egypt. Ms. Peterson's letter is a thoughtful attempt to shed some light on the circumstances surrounding this tragedy.

Meanwhile, the disappearance of the SS *Poet* remains a mystery. I bring it to the attention of my colleagues today because I think we have a responsibility to try to insure that it does not happen again.

The letter follows:

MARCH 6, 1981.

MR. GENE GLEASON,
Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. GLEASON: In regard to our telephone conversation of March 3, 1981, I am writing to you to hopefully aid you in your investigation of the SS *Poet*, which sailed from Philadelphia on October 24, 1980 and was last seen passing Cape Henlopen on that same day.

I was the fiancée of Mark Henthorne, 24, Third Assistant Engineer. Mark graduated from Maine Maritime Academy in 1978 and joined MEBA (Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association). He sailed on many ships, some including the SS *Overseas Alaska* and the SS *Panama*. He had gained much experience from sailing on different ships. He liked the SS *Poet* very much and felt that even though the ship was 36 years old, it was seaworthy.

He had previously sailed on the *Poet* from May 27 to August 13, 1980, for three runs to Santa Domingo from New Orleans. On his last run, the ship docked in Corpus Christi, where it rode out a major hurricane. There were no problems.

In fact, Mark told me the ship was in such good condition that it had been considered changing over from steam engines to diesel engines. I believe that when Mark left for his vacation in August, the ship had undergone an inspection and had passed. During Mark's vacation from August 13 to October 17, the ship had sailed to Egypt.

On October 14, 1980, the Hawaiian Eugenia Corporation called Mark and told him the ship would be docking early October 17 in Philadelphia and that he would be needed as soon as possible. Apparently, they wanted Mark for port relief while they loaded. They stressed the urgency that he be in Philadelphia as soon as the ship docked. This is not a normal practice. Usually, whenever a ship comes into port, a crew of port relief engineers stand watch until the ship is ready to sail. Then the permanent crew comes on board and takes over command.

Mark arrived in Philadelphia on October 19 in the early afternoon. I am not sure if he stood watch that day. I spoke to him Monday evening, October 20, and he told me of going out to eat and to a movie with Mike Canfield, the First Assistant Engineer, the evening before. I spoke again with him on Tuesday evening, October 21. He said the ship was being loaded and did not understand why they had needed him so soon since the loading would take three to four days. I don't know exactly when they began loading.

Thursday night, October 23 from 9:23 pm to 11:40 pm, we had our last phone conversation. The ship was fully loaded and scheduled to sail at 1:00 am, October 24, from the Port of Philadelphia. It was then that he mentioned the ship was very low in the water, and he would not be surprised if they had to unload some of the grain so that they could get out of port. I think he thought they might scrape bottom. This he said nonchalantly. Mark was always very cautious and exact—a perfectionist. If he had thought something was really wrong, he would not have sailed.

On Friday morning, November 7, Mark's mother, Marjorie Henthorne, received a telegram from the MEBA union instructing her to call Washington headquarters immediately regarding the SS *Poet*. The outcome of that phone call was that the ship had not been heard from since passing Cape Henlopen on October 24, when they had dropped off the river pilot, Gary Harper.

On November 3 when the ship did not pass through the Straits of Gibraltar as scheduled, Hawaiian Eugenia Corporation alerted other ships in the area to be on the lookout. It was not until November 8 that the Coast Guard initiated its fruitless ten-day air search. Recently I read an article in the January issue of *The American Marine Engineer* written by the President of the MEBA union, Jess M. Calhoun. In it he criticized the efforts of the Coast Guard, and he stated that he was writing a letter of "righteous indignation" to Ronald Reagan, who was then the President, elect. I enclose a copy of this article.

On November 19 and 20, Mrs. Henthorne and I attended the first two days of Coast Guard inquiry hearings in Philadelphia. The river pilot who guided the SS *Poet* from Philadelphia to Cape Henlopen testified that the ship handled sluggishly. That pilot further stated that he had warned one of the ship's officers of the ship's sluggish behavior.

Another river pilot, who had guided the SS *Poet* as far as the Philadelphia port, testified that he would not have allowed the ship to sail had it performed in the manner described by the first pilot. There is a question in my mind as to who is responsible when a ship that does not appear seaworthy is allowed to leave powered. I don't feel the question was answered satisfactorily during the November 19th and 20th hearings.

The Tidewater Grain Company officials were very close-mouthed also. Why hadn't they insisted on prying open the last hold when it wouldn't open freely? There are so many hundreds of questions. I hope your investigation will answer some of them.

I was extremely disappointed when news of a possible hijacking was dismissed so readily without a thorough investigation. I was at the time in contact with Mr. Steven DeToy of Congresswoman Claudine Schneider's office. Mr. DeToy made several calls to the FBI, CIA, and DEA. Neither the FBI nor the CIA was handling this incident, and the DEA has acted as a responding agent only. Since the tip has been anonymous, no further investigation was made. It was dropped almost as suddenly as it has been brought out.

A memorial service for Mark was held on Saturday, February 7, 1981, and Mark's mother, Marjorie, died shortly thereafter, on February 24. The tragedy had been too much for her to bear.

At this time, I do not know what more I can say or do to help you. I am sure you must have all the newspaper articles pub-

lished on the SS *Poet*, but if not, I will be glad to send you copies of every article I have. I wish I knew more about the ship. Perhaps some direct questions might bring about something important. In any event, I want to be of any and all help I can.

Very sincerely yours,

DEBORAH PETERSON.●

OFFICIAL NOTICE FROM DON B. FINCH

HON. LARRY McDONALD

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. McDONALD. Mr. Speaker, as we continue to work on the budget, I think it is appropriate to consider how complicated Government has come to make all our lives. Mr. Don B. Finch of 1318 Apple Tree Court, Frederick, Md., has summed it all up in one page. His statement follows:

APRIL 15, 1981.

OFFICIAL NOTICE FROM DON B. FINCH

I wish to inform you that the present condition of my bank account makes it impossible for me to afford to mail out Christmas cards in the future. I am mailing this notice at this time with a B stamp. I hope it is delivered before the C stamp comes out, as I cannot afford the increase. My shattered financial condition is due to the federal laws, state laws, county laws, city laws, mother in laws, and outlaws. Through these laws, I am compelled to pay a business tax, amusement tax, federal gas tax, state gas tax, federal income tax, state income tax, county "piggy back" income tax, state sales tax, city sales tax, county sales tax, state property tax, county property tax, city property tax, excise tax, luxury tax, and a social security tax. Even my brain is taxed. I am required to get a business license, driving license, car license, fishing license, and a hunting license, not to mention a marriage license and a dog license.

I am also required to contribute to every society and organization which the genius of man is capable of bringing to life; the red cross, the blue cross, the black cross and the double cross, and a new one called the society for the prevention of cruelty to the IRS tax collectors. I must carry insurance for life, hospitalization, liability, burglary, fire, accident, earthquake, tornado, flood, unemployment, and old age (if I make it that far). I am inspected, expected, suspected, summoned, fined, condemned, commanded, and compelled until I provide an inexhaustible supply of money for every known need of the human race. If I refuse to donate to something or other, I am boycotted, talked about, lied about, held up, held down, robbed, or Congress passes a bill that makes me pay for it anyway, until I am almost ruined. I could not have made it till now, except that the wolf that comes to the door had pups and after killing them and selling the hides, I am able to send this out. I understand that the law is after me now for hunting out of season.

Faithfully yours,

DON B. FINCH.●

INVOLUNTARY HOUSING DISPLACEMENT REACHING EPIDEMIC PROPORTIONS

HON. PARREN J. MITCHELL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. MITCHELL of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, on April 7, I introduced the Involuntary Displacement Act. Its purpose is to commit the Federal Government to the goal of eliminating the displacement of families from their neighborhoods, and, wherever possible, provide the assurance of alternative housing in locations desirable to persons suffering from the gentrification effect.

As I stated in my March 4 "Dear Colleague" letter, the forcible displacement of individuals, families, and whole neighborhoods is taking place at a violent rate all across America. These displaced persons are often unable to relocate in areas near their work, families, and friends. Estimates of involuntary displacement range as high as 1 million households annually.

Concerned businesses and civic organizations have organized to combat this insidious condition. My bill seeks to assist citizens—many of whom are elderly, low- and moderate-income persons—in preventing the uprooting of whole neighborhoods. I urge my colleagues to join me in this effort.

I submit to the RECORD a number of recent newspaper articles which illustrate the dire need for a national displacement policy. The articles follow:

[From the New York Times, Feb. 2, 1981]

REDEVELOPMENT STIRS FEARS IN A CHICAGO COMMUNITY

(By Nathaniel Sheppard, Jr.)

CHICAGO, January 27.—Fearing for their lives in a West Side public housing project, Sally Wells and her family moved in 1972 to what they hoped would be a better life in a more promising part of the city. They moved to Uptown.

Now the family is embattled once more, caught up in a bitter fight between the haves and the have-nots of Uptown over who will control redevelopment in the community of 80,000 people.

The dispute is one of a number of heated conflicts that have developed in cities, including New Orleans, St. Louis, Dallas and Washington, as middle-class professionals have shown a growing desire to buy and rehabilitate relatively inexpensive inner-city housing.

In Uptown, a bustling, racially mixed and mostly poor 20-square-block area five miles north of the downtown section and a few blocks from Lake Michigan, the fever to redevelop has led to skyrocketing property values and rents.

For the Wells family and other poorer residents, white and black alike, this has meant fears of being pushed out of the neighborhood by higher prices.

But among the well-to-do, whose ranks are overwhelmingly white, the redevelopment efforts have fanned fears that the neighbor-

hood will become even poorer because of subsidized housing and lose the racial and economic mix that helps make Uptown unusual among Chicago neighborhoods. Acting on this fear, a group of affluent residents has gone to court to seek a moratorium on the creation of subsidized housing.

At its core, Uptown consists mostly of run-down housing punctuated with new low-rise subsidized housing projects. But along its boundaries the more affluent live in the expensive condominium and rehabilitation projects that have fueled the controversy. The population is about 50 percent white and includes Asians, Hispanic Americans, American Indians, Mexicans, Appalachian whites, blacks, Jews and others.

The Wells family lives in a three-story building, one of 15 bought by the Uptown Federal Savings and Loan Association as part of an \$11 million rehabilitation effort. Officials of the neighborhood savings institution said they would seek Federal funds to overhaul the apartments and, with Federal rent subsidies, make most of them available for the poor.

PROPOSAL IS CRITICIZED

The proposal has been criticized by the poor and the affluent alike. The poor contend the project as an example of the subterfuge that they say developers are using to force them out and make way for the affluent. The affluent say the project is an example of reckless redevelopment that threatens to bring more poor people into the area and spur an exodus of the middle class.

"This community has meant a decent place to live for me and my family," Mrs. Wells said, sitting in the spartan living room of her second-floor walk-up on Sunnyside Avenue, flanked by plastic furniture and a mantel lined with pictures of her five children. Her husband can walk to work, she said, and she is one stop away on the elevated train from her part-time job.

"But the main thing is that we don't feel closed-in like we did in the housing project," she said.

RENT INCREASES CAUSE WORRIES

"But now the rents are being raised everywhere in the neighborhood," Mrs. Wells said, "and poor people are being forced to move out." The only place for us to go will be back into housing projects where we will have to fear for our lives.

"The bank is trying to get us out so they can turn these apartments into condominiums for the rich," she charged, echoing a sentiment frequently heard among the poor. "They say the apartments will be for the poor, but after a few years they will find a way to get the poor out."

Many of the buildings along the block of Sunnyside Avenue where the Wells family lives have been emptied and boarded up in preparation for renovation. But a few remain occupied as a result of court action by the Heart of Uptown Coalition, which does not believe the interests of the poor are being well-served by redevelopment. The coalition has gone to court to force developers to set a portion of the rehabilitated housing aside for the poor. This kind of effort has in turn prompted concern among the more affluent residents of the area.

"The kind of development going on now will destroy the neighborhood," said Ronald Hedlund, an architect with the Chicago Building Department who lives near the western boundary of Uptown.

COLLEGE CONSTRUCTION CAUSES RIFT

Mr. Hedlund, who has lived in the neighborhood about two years, became interested

in Uptown while working on Harry S. Truman Community College. It was the construction of the college in 1970, over vehement community protests, and the resulting displacement of 1,200 poor families that led to a rift between the rich and poor.

"By any standard of measure Uptown is over-concentrated with subsidized housing," Mr. Hedlund said. "A conservative estimate would be that one in five homes in the community is subsidized. If we get any more, it will destroy the kind of integration that we now have."

Mr. Hedlund is a member of the Chicago Uptown Commission, an organization that represents the interests of businesses and the affluent and says it enjoys wide community support. The commission supports an effort to obtain a court-ordered moratorium on subsidized housing in the community.

"There is some condo activity on the eastern fringes of the community and a small amount on the western part that will push some poor people out," Mr. Hedlund said, "but these are insignificant compared to the subsidized housing that is being built here."

VOICE IN DEVELOPMENT SOUGHT

Before Truman College was built, Uptown's ethnic groups fought bitterly among themselves over housing. But the displacement of so many families by the college led the poor to join together and fight for a voice in subsequent development. In 1975, a group of tenants in two large apartment complexes filed a class-action lawsuit that accused the city, the Federal Department of Housing and Urban Development and local developers of conspiring to remove poor people from the community and replace them with upper-income whites.

The suit delayed for five years the construction of Pensacola Place, a project that was to provide luxury apartments and exclusive shops in the eastern end of the community.

The developer reached an out-of-court settlement with the plaintiffs last year in which he agreed to include 50 units of subsidized housing for the poor, replace the exclusive shops with a grocery and drugstore and pledged to hire construction workers and sales people from the Uptown area.

SUITS OVER SUBSIDIZED HOUSING

The suit was continued against the Federal department and the Chicago Housing Authority. Organizations representing the poor are trying to block future development unless they can obtain a commitment for at least 600 more units of subsidized housing that would be interspersed with the thousands of condominium and high-rise luxury apartment units.

Another organization, Save Uptown Neighborhoods, has filed a countersuit calling for a moratorium on subsidized housing in the community.

"What we would like to stabilize the community and preserve the mix we now have," said Marsha Johnson, an attorney for the organization who lives in the eastern section of the community.

"Some of the proposed projects," she said, "threaten the delicate balance we have. Uptown Federal, for example, says that after it has renovated the apartments in its project it will charge rents ranging from \$400 to \$800." The bank, she said, wants to set aside 80 percent of the apartments for the poor people who will receive rent subsidies, while the other 20 percent will be rented at full market value.

"The poor will pay 25 percent of the rent and the Federal Government will pay the

rest," she said. "I ask you, where will they find fair-market tenants willing to pay \$800 for their apartment while the others are subsidized."

"What will happen," she asserted, "is that whites will move out and the area will become all poor."

This contention was disputed by other residents, who said the dispute was based on economics rather than race.

"I have never felt comfortable anywhere else," said Sharon Agnew, a 27-year-old mother of two who has lived in the neighborhood for 20 years. "The people who live here now don't want to go anywhere else. They just want decent, affordable places to live in. It is the people with money who are trying to destroy us. They are behind all the arsons that make it impossible to find apartments you can afford. They want to turn it into a neighborhood for the rich and the collegiate."

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 13, 1980]

WHERE WILL THE CITY'S POOR GO?

(By Patrick H. Hare)

Frank Smith is black, a city planner, a neighborhood leader and, as of last January, a member of the D.C. Board of Education. In 1975, he brought a lawsuit to try to stop displacement in his Washington neighborhood, Adams-Morgan. The lawsuit received national attention. It helped 10 tenant households become homeowners rather than be evicted.

"Adams-Morgan is gone as we now know it," says Smith today. "Nothing short of a miracle would save it." "Gone" means gone to the young professionals, mainly affluent, young whites, gone to sandblasted brick and stripped floors and a Sesame Street City.

Smith's voice has a flat honesty. His head shakes slowly as he talks about the problem of convincing institutions like the Department of Housing and Urban Development of what's happening. He suggests with soft humor, "Maybe someone should graph the increase in the number of pages in the in-flight magazines that sell city living to the trendsetters." He adds, "The urban poor are having the housing pulled out from underneath them."

Many experts apparently share Smith's view of what's happening, but keep a politic silence about the costs to be paid by the poor, presumably believing they are unavoidable. James Rouse, the dean of American developers, is recognized as something of an idealist in an unidealistic profession. A year ago, at an American Planning Association convention, he gave an almost official laying on of hands to the likelihood of continually increased demand for urban housing. He did not talk about where the poor would go.

Joe Giloley, of the National Association of Neighborhoods, supervises 50 VISTA volunteers working on displacement in nearly as many cities. He expects "widespread displacement." Carla Cohen, a HUD expert on displacement, says that "displacement on a large scale is a possibility." Both admit that they have no clear idea of where the poor will go if displacement pushes them out of many inner-city neighborhoods. A recent HUD report to Congress on displacement never mentions the issue.

The major question in the minds of people like Cohen and Giloley is: will the poor go to the suburbs? A second question is: How will they find room there? Will so few middle-class people want to live in the sub-

urbs that prices will drop and the poor will suddenly be able to afford to live there?

It is hard to project how much of a change there will be in demand for either urban or suburban housing. It depends on too many other things: for example, on whether, in a tight market, the growing number of affluent, single-person households decide to double up, making more housing available, or on whether they decide to buy and underoccupy big houses as tax-deductible investments—in effect hoarding the available housing stock. It depends on how heavily the media hype the city. It depends on how many middle-class women choose careers over kids, trading in the family station wagon for eating out and mass transit and maybe even for a maid. It depends on the price and availability of gas.

The Real Estate Research Corporation says that in the '80s "the bulk of U.S. population growth will occur in the suburbs." Perhaps the safest conclusion that can be drawn is that, as the baby boom turns into a house-hunting boom, there will be a strong demand for housing in both cities and suburbs. The media always tend to focus attention on groups like the "urban pioneers" who adopt a new life style. That focus often makes people forget the mainstream. It is important to remember that when the smoke cleared, there was still Middle America after Woodstock. It is unlikely that people will abandon the pace and security of the suburbs in numbers large enough to deflate suburban housing markets so that the poor can afford to move there. Most of them will have to stay in the city.

Staying in the city means doubling up and overcrowding, the classic response of the poor to the blow of higher rents. This process was predicted by William Alonso, director of Harvard's Center for Population Studies in 1975: "Over the past 20 years the housing of the poor and the working poor has improved primarily because they have fallen heir to what used to be called 'the grey areas.' The softening of middle-class demand for this housing stock lowered its relative price and permitted a sharp decline in overcrowding for low-income people. Whatever the troubles of cities, this has been a fortunate outcome. But the danger appears imminent that the housing stock available to working and welfare poor will now be sharply diminished, squeezed between abandonment at one end and the childless multi-worker household at the other. The consequence would be higher prices and more crowding for those of lower incomes."

But staying in the city is not the only alternative. Poor neighborhoods can spread into the suburbs, making them affordable by driving off other households that insist on security and order and can afford to pay for it. The process is simple. A concentration of poor people is too often a concentration of people who have been too frustrated and too starved for dignity to provide or accept much neighborhood peer pressure. Lack of that pressure makes it difficult to establish or enforce standards of behavior that provide security and order. Most people who can afford to move away. Using lack of security and order as a spearhead, progressive deterioration may force its way into the suburbs. It may spread from an adjacent city neighborhood, or it may spread from a small rundown sector within a suburb that deteriorates further because of increased overcrowding as people are pushed there from the city.

Tom Gale, housing director of the National Urban League, is one of the few people

concerned about displacement who has any reasonably hard data on where the poor are going. He points to "some low-income black households who have been forced out of downtown Oklahoma City and are now living in trailer parks on the outskirts." Gale also says that "the Urban League's local offices are beginning to receive reports of black families who sold their homes for what they thought were good prices, moved in with relatives while they shopped around, and now find they don't have enough money to get another home. This is happening in cities like Knoxville, Tenn., Jacksonville, Fla., and Inglewood, Calif."

Gale's information, as well as the increased interest in city living among the middle class and the historical response of the poor to a tighter housing market, indicate that Carl Holman of the National Urban Coalition is right in predicting that "there will almost certainly be an increase in overcrowding, and a concentration of the poor into smaller areas of cities, often away from the downtown." There may also be some expansion of the slums into the suburbs. Together, the possibilities sound like a movie on the housing goals of the '60s run in reverse.●

POLICE CANINE TEAMS

HON. FRANK R. WOLF

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues the important work of police canine teams, a vital element in our country's law enforcement system. The teams tackle dangerous assignments ranging from searching for alarms and tracking down suspects to searching for lost children or elderly people who have wandered away. Often, the teams are called under the most desperate circumstances where others fear to tread.

The U.S. Police Canine Association is an organization which explains, improves, and promotes the work of Federal, State, county, or municipal law enforcement officers who are canine handlers, trainers, or administrators. During the past year, there were many examples of outstanding bravery and service performed by these teams. Region 3 of the USPCA has recognized several teams for their exceptional action: The top team was that of Officer Fred Lewis and K-9 Blitz of Washington, D.C. Patrol teams honored were Officer W. L. Neel and K-9 Bruno of Prince George's County, Officer Michael G. Crabill and K-9 Doobie of Alexandria, Officer C. H. Schweitzer and K-9 Bear 4 of Washington, D.C., and Officer Michael A. Smith and K-9 Rex of Spotsylvania. The detection team of Officer Harry Armbruster and K-9 Sabbath of Washington, D.C., were also recognized for their outstanding service.●

THE PRESIDENT'S IMPACT AID PROPOSAL

HON. WILLIAM F. GOODLING

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to compliment the administration for proposing far-reaching changes for school assistance in federally affected areas as authorized under Public Law 81-874, the impact aid legislation. Although I do not agree with every aspect of the administration's bill and have in fact introduced my own version for a revised impact aid program—H.R. 3291 on April 28, 1981—I endorse the administration's underlying premise: that Federal support is justifiable only in those circumstances in which the Federal presence imposes a substantial financial burden. As Secretary of Education T. H. Bell noted, the assumption of this administration is that the Federal impact entitlements under existing law far overstate the need.

Many Members of Congress feel that the time is ripe to consider alternatives to the present system. By introducing this legislation, I hope that this proposal as well as my bill—H.R. 3291—will be considered fairly and on the merits of the issue.

For the benefit of the Members, I am providing a section-by-section analysis of the administration's bill.

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS

Section 2. Section 2 of the bill would eliminate payments to school districts for children whose parents either live or work on Federal property or are in the uniformed services. Section 2 would limit payments for children who reside on Federal property with a parent who works on Federal property or who is on active duty in the uniformed services to those school districts in which the number of these children is equal to or greater than 20 per cent of total attendance. Section 2 would also eliminate phase-out entitlements to school districts losing a substantial number of children due to a decrease or cessation of Federal activities.

Section 3. Section 3 of the bill would repeal section 4(d) of the Act, which provides an adjustment for certain decreases in Federal activities. Section 3 would also repeal sections 4(a), (b), and (c) of the Act, which authorize assistance for sudden and substantial increases in attendance resulting from activities carried on by the Federal government.

Section 4. Section 4 of the bill would amend the tier structure established by section 5(c) of the Act to require the Secretary to pay 100 per cent of entitlements under section 2 and 90 per cent of entitlements under section 3(a), except in the case of children who live in low-rent housing. Payments for children in low-rent housing would be limited to 20 per cent of entitlement. Section 4 would also amend section 5(b)(2) to limit preliminary payments to 75 per cent of the amount an agency is estimated to be entitled to for the current year.

Section 5. Section 5 of the bill would eliminate certain hold harmless provisions which were designed to offset the effect of decreased military activities that occurred in 1974 and 1975 and to phase in the reforms made by P.L. 93-380 in 1974.

Section 6. Section 6 of the bill would change the threshold eligibility for major disaster assistance to \$10,000 or 5 per cent of the district's operating expenditures during the fiscal year preceding the one in which the disaster occurred, whichever is less.

A bill to make certain amendments to the Act of September 30, 1950 (Public Law 874, 81st Congress) and Public Law 93-380.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Impact Aid Amendments of 1981".

Sec. 2. Section 3 of the Act of September 30, 1950 (Public Law 874, Eighty-first Congress) (hereafter referred to as "the Act") is amended—

(a) by repealing subsection (b),
(b) by amending subsection (c) to read as follows:

"(3)(c) No local educational agency shall be entitled to receive a payment for any fiscal year with respect to a number of children determined under subsection (a) unless the number of children so determined constitutes at least 20 per centum of the total number of children who were in average daily attendance at the schools of such agency and for whom such agency, during such fiscal year, provided free public education."

(c) by amending subsection (d)(1) to read as follows:

"(3)(d)(1) Except as is provided in paragraph (2), the amount to which a local educational agency shall be entitled under this section for any fiscal year shall be an amount equal to 100 per centum of the local contribution rate multiplied by the number of children determined for such fiscal year with respect to such agency."

(d) in subsection (d)(2)(B) by striking out "either subsection (a) or subsection (b), or both" wherever it appears and inserting instead the words "subsection (a)",

(e) in subsection (d)(2)(C) by striking out the words "or (b)(3)", and

(f) by repealing subsection (e).

Sec. 3. Section 4 of the Act is repealed.

Sec. 4. Section 5 of the Act is amended—
(a) in subsections (a) and (b) by striking out the words "2, 3, or 4" and inserting instead the following: "2 or 3",

(b) in subsection (b)(2) by striking out "such agency received during such preceding fiscal year" and inserting instead the following: "it is estimated such agency will receive in the current fiscal year",

(c) by amending subsection (c) to read as follows:

"(c) If the sums appropriated for any fiscal year for making payments on the basis of entitlements established under section 2 or 3 for that year are not sufficient to pay in full the total amounts which the Secretary estimates all local educational agencies are entitled to receive under such sections for such year, the Secretary shall first allocate to each local educational agency which is entitled to a payment under section 2 an amount equal to 100 per centum of the amount to which it is entitled as computed under that section for such fiscal year and he shall further allocate to each local educational agency which is entitled to a payment under section 3(a) an amount equal to

90 per centum of the amount to which it is entitled as computed under section 3(d) for such fiscal year, except that he shall allocate to each local educational agency which is entitled to a payment for children, who while in attendance at such agency, resided on Federal property which is described in clause (c) of section 403(1), an amount equal to 20 per centum of the amount to which it is entitled as computed under section 3(d) for such fiscal year.", and

(d) by repealing subsection (e).

Sec. 5. Paragraphs (B) and (C) of the second paragraph of section 305(b)(2) of Public Law 93-380 are repealed.

Sec. 6. Section 7(a)(3) of the Act is amended by striking out "\$1,000 or one-half of 1 per centum" and inserting instead "\$10,000 or 5 per centum".

REMEMBERING THE HOLOCAUST

HON. JIM DUNN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 30, 1981

● **Mr. DUNN.** Mr. Speaker, Congress designated April 30 as a National Day Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust. All Americans should take this opportunity to remember this atrocity. We must never forget the terrible consequences of bigotry and hatred and continually rededicate ourselves to the principles of equality and justice for all.

Thirty-six years ago, the holocaust, a crime without equal in human history, was exposed to all mankind. Words could hardly convey the shock and horror the world felt on seeing the victims—both the living and the dead—of the Nazi program of genocide. A correspondent who accompanied a British detachment as it entered Belsen on April 15, 1945, opened his dispatch with the following words:

It is my duty to describe something beyond the imagination of mankind.

During the weeks and months that followed, the full extent of the atrocities perpetrated at Dachau, Belsen, Buchenwald, Auschwitz, Treblinka, and other Nazi death camps was revealed.

The systematic, state-sponsored extermination of 6 million Jews and the murders of millions of others left deep moral scars on all humankind, scars which should never be forgotten. Yet there are ominous signs that the memory of the Holocaust is beginning to fade in the minds of many Americans. A particularly ominous sign is the sharp increase in anti-Semitic episodes reported around the Nation during 1980. Among the incidents were assaults against Jews and vandalism against Jewish institutions, houses of worship, cemeteries, and private property. There were 21 such incidents reported in my own State of Michigan in 1980, the fifth largest total nationwide.

American leaders, both Jewish and non-Jewish, have attributed this dis-

turbing increase in anti-Semitic incidents to a growing ignorance about the Holocaust. The new atmosphere is symbolized by groups which contend that the Nazi gas chambers never existed.

Clearly, there is a need to remind ourselves of those crimes against humanity which are the holocaust. We must study the record of the Holocaust and learn its lesson so that we may combat those who wish to deny its reality and insure that the world will never again permit such evil to occur.●

AUTO IMPORT QUOTAS: THE FORGOTTEN ISSUE OF INEFFICIENCY

HON. JOHN LeBOUTILLIER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● **Mr. LeBOUTILLIER.** Mr. Speaker, the present debate in the Cabinet room and in the country over the possibility of slapping import quotas on Japanese automobiles that are manufactured for export to the United States lacks consideration of the fact that American autoworkers are earning wages that are 60 percent higher than the average American manufacturing laborer. I sympathize with the problem of unemployment in the auto industry, and I am a strong proponent of a revitalized American automotive capacity. However, the historical record shows quite clearly that protectionism does not work. Protectionism would, the Hartford Courant opined in an April 4, 1981, editorial, amount to "a reward for inefficiency."

In a time of generalized inflation and lagging automobile sales, import quotas would have the effect of forcing up the price of automobiles by partially drying up foreign supplies, and thereby reducing competition. The final arbiter of how strong the auto-worker's feelings are about wanting to enhance his industry, is shown by his union's lack of cooperation. As the United Auto Workers recently stated, workers at both Ford and General Motors will not discuss proposals that their workers take the same reductions recently accepted by Chrysler's workers.

I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues a recent editorial that appeared in the Monday, March 23, 1981, edition of the New York Daily News as a way of adding to the discussion of this issue. I believe that the Daily News' sentiments accurately reflect the feelings of the voters of Queens and Nassau Counties, N.Y., as well as some other areas of our country.

[From the Daily News, March 23, 1981]

ROBBING QUEENS TO PAY DETROIT

What kind of sense does it make to ask the ordinary working stiff in Queens or Brooklyn to tighten his belt so that a bunch of overpaid people out in Detroit can go on living in a style that he can't afford?

None that we can see. But that's exactly what the auto industry, the United Auto Workers and some of the members of President Reagan's cabinet want to see happen.

These folks are pressuring the President to limit imports of Japanese autos into the U.S. The "moderates" among them say they'll be content with quotas voluntarily adopted by the Japanese themselves. The toughies want Washington to slap on legal quotas.

The fact is that if Reagan does agree to quotas, it won't matter a hoot whether they're voluntary or legally enforced. Either way, as soon as the competition from Japan eases up, Detroit will raise the prices on American-made cars as sure as God made little apples. And that will mean more money out of your pocket and ours.

Maybe we could live with that—except for one thing. UAW officials have just announced that they won't even discuss the proposal that auto workers at Ford and General Motors should take the same wage cuts recently accepted by Chrysler workers.

In other words, no matter that millions of Americans have decided that Japanese cars offer better value than American ones and that, as a result, the U.S. auto industry has been going to hell in a handbasket. As the pampered workers at General Motors and Ford see it, that's no reason why they shouldn't go right on pulling down wages 60% higher than the average American manufacturing worker.

As far as we're concerned, that tears it. Our strong recommendation to President Reagan is to reject any kind of quota at all on Japanese imports.

The auto industry plays a vital role in the U.S. economy and we're as anxious as anyone else to see it get healthy again. But if the men who make American cars won't do anything to help save the companies that feed them, there's no reason in the world that the rest of us should make sacrifices to do so. ●

EXPORT CREDIT WAR

HON. DON BONKER

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. BONKER. Mr. Speaker, yesterday in these pages I drew attention to what I believe is the false economy and unfortunate timing of the administration's proposed cuts in the Export-Import Bank's lending authority. It comes at a time when all the major industrial countries—the members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)—have been increasing or have planned to increase the official government credit they offer, at highly subsidized interest rates, to finance their exports.

The multilateral trade negotiations, concluded in 1979, increased the opportunities for U.S. exporters abroad

by clarifying the rules of the game which define and limit unfair trade competition. One major area of competition, however, remained outside the coverage of the Tokyo Round trade agreements. The United States did not attempt to include officially subsidized export credits under the subsidies code, because it was assumed the issue was being handled within the OECD export credit "arrangement."

This arrangement has proved to be little more than a gentleman's agreement, and one that is not very gentlemanly at that. It has done little to restrain subsidies in export financing by our trade competitors. It has not effectively covered the most predatory of all export credit practices—"mixed credits"—which are a device through which foreign aid and export credits are mixed to offer rates even lower than the minimum set in the arrangement.

As is usually the case, the United States has handicapped itself, for our law does not permit the practice of mixed credits. Yet it is an increasingly popular package among OECD exporters, particularly the French. For 3 years the U.S. Government has been trying to negotiate a new, more sensible international arrangement on official supported export credits. For 3 years our good faith efforts have been rebuffed.

The existing arrangement sets a floor on interest rates and a limit on loan maturities. The minimum rate is set at 7.75 percent, which in today's market is absurdly low. The December conference of the OECD on official export credits broke up with no progress whatsoever being made; the conferees were at a stalemate.

Negotiations broke down during a search for the best method for establishing internationally accepted guidelines for the extension and notification of credit terms for exports. The United States, Canada, Japan, and a number of European countries favored a system which would reflect a more realistic view of the changes that have occurred in the international credit market. France, however, was unwilling to cooperate with the rest of the European Community, and refused even to raise the minimum rate to a reasonable 8.55 percent. As the EEC is bound by the Treaty of Rome to speak with one voice, no agreement was reached due to the veto exercised by the French.

This volatile issue is expected to be addressed once again at the next OECD conference in May. Yet the United States goes into this "credit war" emptyhanded. The administration is sending the wrong signals at the wrong time by slashing the budget for the Eximbank. Our negotiators will lack the needed leverage to deal with this growing problem of export credit subsidies.

My colleague, the Honorable STEPHEN NEAL of North Carolina, has introduced two measures designed to show our overseas competitors that the United States is serious about this question. House Concurrent Resolution 95 expresses the sense of Congress that the President should secure an agreement to significantly reduce the extent of export subsidies now granted by members of the OECD. The Eximbank would establish as its first and dominant priority the use of its available resources to counter and offset these subsidies. H.R. 3229 establishes a separate \$1 billion fund within the Eximbank to offset foreign credit subsidies. The fund would not come into play unless the Secretary of the Treasury determined that no satisfactory progress had been made in reforming the OECD credit arrangement by September 1, 1982. Once satisfactory progress has been achieved, the fund would cease to exist. This fund is to be used as a bargaining asset for negotiating purposes.

I want to remind members of the Export task force that a meeting has been scheduled for Wednesday, May 6, in room H310 at 4 p.m. to discuss this entire issue of export financing and the international credit war. Included in the discussion will be an examination of these bills as a proposed alternative to dealing with the export credit subsidy problem. I urge all task force members to attend this important meeting. ●

INFANT FORMULA CODE

HON. ROBERT J. LAGOMARSINO

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. LAGOMARSINO. Mr. Speaker, the World Health Organization will be deciding this month on a proposed international code for marketing of infant formula and other breast-milk substitutes.

There have been several reports in the press recently about this code and the controversy over marketing of infant formula. Taking a different view of the issue is Mr. Kenneth Olson, who argues that not only is this code an attack of multinational corporations, but also a threat to free speech and the independent mass media.

Mr. Olson is a public affairs consultant in Washington and a former adviser to the U.S. Agency for International Development and White House Conference on International Cooperation. His views on the infant formula marketing code follow:

Another threat to free speech principles emanating from the Third World stimulated hardly a murmur when the American Society of Newspaper Editors met in Washing-

ton April 21-24. This was somewhat surprising, as the threat comes hard on the heels of UNESCO's recent attempts to establish a "New Information Order" regulating media and international news gathering.

The latest press problem originated in the World Health Organization's search for ways to regulate the infant formula industry. WHO has drafted a Draconian code to restrict advertising and promotion of infant formula on the controversial premise that formula marketing discourages the breastfeeding of babies.

"Ostensibly, the WHO code in question applies only to the infant food industry. But specific provisions of the code represent a clear threat to independent mass media that depend on consumer advertising to stay in business," according to Editor & Publisher, a U.S. news trade journal.

Article 5 of the proposed code states "there shall be no advertising or other forms of promotion to the general public of products within the scope of this code."

Such a ban covers enormous commercial terrain. The Grocery Manufacturers of America, an association representing much of the U.S. food industry, is fighting the WHO code because its definitions of "infant food" are so broad that virtually any food that a baby could eat—orange juice, animal milks, cereals, fruits, vegetables, or meats, whether intended for infants or not—would be covered, in its view.

Not only is the code's wording elastic; its provisions are authoritarian enough to prohibit almost all forms of product promotion, including public relations campaigns and health and nutritional programs.

Proponents argue that the code will come before the World Health Assembly in Geneva on May 4 for adoption only as a recommendation. Opponents, however, reply that the code's language requires strict and mandatory compliance by national governments and corporations.

The proposed code arises from a decade-long controversy over the proper use of infant formulas to feed babies in Third World countries and over a thesis that formula marketing cause decline in breastfeeding. The disputants agree breastfeeding is most desirable. Widespread adoption of national codes and self-policing by manufacturers seem to have brought unduly aggressive marketing under control, but the issue has been ripe for broader politicization.

Many U.N. officials and some Third World national leaders have been watching carefully for opportunities to promote the goals of the "New International Economic Order" (NIEO) ever since the U.N. General Assembly passed a resolution in 1974 calling for a bold "affirmative action" for developing nations.

The NIEO declaration lists 20 principles of international economic policy, mostly toward redistribution of wealth from the developed countries to those now developing. Preferential treatment—such as massive financial and technological assistance—is to be accorded the Third World by developed nations (although the obligations of Third World countries such as the oil states have been less than clear).

The need to regulate and supervise multinational corporations variously viewed as the powers behind Western thrones—or at least as their handmaidens—is a key principle of the NIEO.

This is where the infant formula industry—including firms such as Bristol-Myers, American Home Products, and Abbott Laboratories of the U.S., and Nestle of Switzerland—is a convenient target.

The volatility of the infant nutrition issue in a hungry world offers a perfect political issue. Alarming infant mortality rates in the Third World have coexisted with a decline in breastfeeding and admittedly aggressive formula marketing (which have been stopped, the companies say), which points to a simple but emotional conclusion—that formula companies are killing millions of babies, which some antagonists have charged.

The U.N.'s search for issues to promote the NIEO and the availability of multinational corporations marketing sensitive products promise almost a sure adoption of the code by the Third World majority at the forthcoming World Health Assembly.

The code may not promote infant health and nutrition, which is a heretofore unconsidered point.

Adoption of the code will be another political rallying point for Third World politicians—as were UNESCO's "New Information Order" and the U.N. Law of the Sea Conference's proposals on mining.

The Reagan administration has tried to delay U.N. adoption of the code regulating the sea; presumably, it will also fight UNESCO's efforts to muzzle the press.

What the Administration decides to do on the infant formula code will be a further indicator of the motive-force behind its Third World policy—a sense of guilt or a sense of justice. ●

MRS. SARESS ELLERBE GREGG— WOMAN OF THE YEAR

HON. JOHN L. NAPIER

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. NAPIER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take the opportunity to call to the attention of my colleagues an honor recently bestowed on an outstanding citizen. Mrs. Saress Ellerbe Gregg was named the recipient of the 1981 Woman of the Year Award as presented by the Junior Charity League of Bennettsville, S.C.

Mrs. Gregg is known throughout the area as a tireless servant of the community and its people. She has been a member of numerous service and historical organizations, such as the Marlboro County United Fund Board, the Bennettsville High School Nurses Fund, the Junior Charity League, the South Carolina Historical Society, and the Colonial Dames of the 17th Century. For the past 40 years she has played an integral part in the Girl Scouts of America program in the Bennettsville area. She was given the Thanks Badge for unusual outstanding service and also a certificate of appreciation for her service on the area board of directors. Mrs. Gregg was instrumental in bringing about the construction of the area's only Girl Scout camp, Camp Sandy Ridge. In addition, she has also worked in the Boy Scouts of America program for 28 years and is a recipient of the Silver Fawn Award.

In the past, Mrs. Gregg has devoted her time and efforts to the benefit of

others. She has been particularly dedicated to the molding of young people. She has given them strength and guidance at a very important time in their lives.

As a member of Saint Paul's Episcopal Church, she has served as leader of the Episcopal Young Churchmen, member of the Vestry, president of the Episcopal Churchwomen, and Sunday school teacher.

Her record of service, dedication and hard work to the community deserves recognition. She has served in the past as a model of selfless service to others and continues to do so. I ask that you join with me in extending congratulations to Saress Ellerbe Gregg on receiving this award. I know of no citizen who is more devoted to her family, her community, and her country than Mrs. Saress Gregg. She is a devoted wife and mother and a genuine lady in every sense of the word. ●

THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PROPRIETARY ASSOCIATION

HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to my colleague's attention a speech that I had the pleasure of hearing by George E. Davy, chairman of the Proprietary Association, on the occasion of that organization's 100th anniversary. Mr. Davy's presentation eloquently outlines the history of self-medication from the elixirs developed during the Industrial Revolution to the present \$5 billion business that serves 70 million Americans daily. In his account, Mr. Davy describes how the self-medication industry has grown over the past 100 years due to the influences of science, technology, and medical progress of the Nation.

Mr. Davy concludes that with the growth of the self-medication industry comes the growth of a more effective—and affordable—health care system in this or any other nation. His view of the future of this industry is a positive one:

We of the self-medication industry in the United States look forward to a future in which we will play an even more beneficial and more significant role.

Mr. Davy, who is executive vice president of Miles Laboratories, Inc., made his remarks at the March 24 Newcomen Society dinner honoring the Proprietary Association on its 100th anniversary.

Mr. Davy's speech follows:

STATEMENT BY GEORGE E. DAVY, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT, MILES LABORATORIES, INC., CHAIRMAN, THE PROPRIETARY ASSOCIATION

Since November 26, 1881, The Proprietary Association has represented those companies in the United States who make and market products for self-medication. We have been an organized and identifiable industry in this country for 100 years.

The practice of self-medication which is the basis for our industry is much older than that. It is as old as the first hunter who smeared his wounds with mud or the first fire builder who licked his fingers to ease the pain of his—or her discovery.

Medicines for self-treatment were among the earliest developments of the industrial revolution. Thomas Newcomen himself may have nursed an illness with an English remedy, perhaps the Reverend Daffy's Elixir Salutis or "Angelical Pills against all Vapours, Hysterick and Melancholly Fits." The ingredients of these remedies seem amusing, even bizarre to our contemporary eyes. Yet it is well to remember that these same ingredients were usually identical to the primitive medicines then available to physicians.

English remedies were sold in America both before and after the Revolution. But domestic manufacturing did not truly begin until after the War of 1812, and an industry emerged only after steel rails and copper wires began to knit our nation together. We begin our story in 1881.

Late in the year, a small group of concerned businessmen met in New York to discuss the problems faced by their infant industry.

Seeking strength through unity, they formed the Proprietary Medicine Manufacturers and Dealers Association. The first president was Charles N. Crittenton, a merchant-manufacturer who later founded the Florence Crittenton homes for unwed mothers. The treasurer was Frederick A. Humphreys, a homeopathic physician who began making botanical medicines for consumer use.

The first task facing them was the repeal of an old Civil War revenue tax on proprietary medicines. The new Association appealed to Congress, and the tax eventually was repealed.

In 1882, its first annual meeting—in Long Branch, New Jersey—drew 84 companies. A century later, four of these founders remain as members.

They are Dr. Humphreys company, now Humphreys Pharmacal; The Centaur Company, later to be joined with Sterling Drug; the Carter Medicine Co., now Carter-Wallace, founded by Dr. Samuel Carter, the Association's first corresponding secretary; and the Lydia E. Pinkham Medicine Company, now merged with Cooper Laboratories.

Yes, there really was a Lydia Pinkham, a spirited Quaker lady of Lynn, Massachusetts, who began making a home remedy for female relatives and friends: A mixture of five botanicals suspended in alcohol. But in selling her Vegetable Compound, Lydia Pinkham hoped to do more than remedy female illness. She was one of the first and most devoted advocates of women's rights—proclaiming that "only a woman understands a woman's ills."

Not very scientific perhaps, but then there wasn't much science in Lydia Pinkham's day. Standard therapy included bloodletting, purging and blistering—along with home remedies concocted from various herbs. The great attraction of this "green"

medicine—and it was often called—was its safety. . . . It did not always help, but it almost never harmed.

Proprietary medicines flourished in this setting. In 1880, proprietary shipments were valued at nearly \$15 million.

What fueled this growth? Certainly there was consumer support and product satisfaction; expanding population and rising prosperity—not to mention frustration with formal medicine and a rising spirit of self-reliance. But there was another reason—advertising—a tool brilliantly used by proprietary manufacturers. They were the first to seek out a national market—going straight to consumers with products and with information that touched the individual's closest personal interests.

Most proprietary advertising was in newspapers. The names and claims of hundreds of remedies attracted the public eye from Niagara Falls to the Grand Canyon. Trading cards passed hands. And Almanacs were distributed by the millions. Each was at once a calendar, a reference book, and a source of entertainment.

During PA's first decade, the Metropolitan Opera House opened to a glittering audience of newfound wealth. . . . The Washington Monument was completed, and the Brooklyn Bridge was dedicated. . . . and soon featured in a Lydia Pinkham advertisement.

The 1880's brought new challenges to The Proprietary Association. In state after state across the nation bills were introduced to regulate and restrict the distribution of proprietary medicines. And the Association came to a growing conviction—a conviction still held today—that there should be a uniform and overriding Federal Law to regulate the marketing of medicines for self-care.

In 1892, Mahlon B. Kline, partner in the Philadelphia house of Smith, Kline and French, helped draft a law that would impose the standards of the U.S. Pharmacopoeia on medicine ingredients. Like dozens of food or drug bills drawn between 1897 and 1906, it failed to pass the Congress. In 1897 The Proprietary Association joined both federal and state officials, along with pharmacy groups and scientific societies, in drafting a model food and drug act.

Nine years later, in 1906, President Teddy Roosevelt supported still another bill—this one designed to prohibit the manufacture and distribution of adulterated foods and drugs. The Senate responded; the House held back. But the bill was supported by a powerful coalition of women's groups and by a constant barrage of stories in popular periodicals. Then came "The Jungle," Upton Sinclair's expose novel about the Chicago stockyards. It shocked the nation. Six months later the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 sailed through Congress.

A chemist, Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, was given responsibility for making the new law work. He did his job so well that he is remembered today as the "father" of the modern Food and Drug Administration.

Questioned in 1906 by reporters, PA President Frank Cheney said: "the general effect of the law will be good. People will reason, and reason correctly, that preparations which come up to the requirements of a Congressional enactment must be all right. . . . People will have more confidence. . . . and the business will ultimately be more prosperous."

Industry responded to the 1906 law with greater self-regulation. The PA adopted a Code of Standards for Membership that eliminated narcotics and alcohol in medi-

cines or held them to what were then considered safe levels.

Meanwhile, Joseph Lister in England, Louis Pasteur in France and Robert Koch in Germany were developing the germ theory of disease. Chemists in Germany created aspirin and acetaminophen—the most widely used analgesics of today.

World War I came and went and with peace came a new era of American progress. The economy boomed and the stock market soared. Frank Blair, president of the PA from 1924 to 1937 found the proprietary industry had achieved new stature. "Many of us remember," he said "the days when this business was laughed at. Today it is a most substantial, firmly established constantly growing industry." Indeed, industry shipments were by then a quarter of a billion dollars.

Then it happened: "Black Tuesday!" The prosperity of the Twenties ended on October 29, 1929, and the Great Depression began. By 1933, the nation was desperate. But millions took heart as Franklin D. Roosevelt declared, " . . . the only thing we have to fear is fear itself. . . ." In the first hundred days of the New Deal, 15 major bills were passed by Congress to speed recovery. The regulated society had begun.

One bill that did not pass was a measure to overhaul the 1906 Pure Food and Drug Act. The Tugwell bill proposed sweeping new powers for the FDA.

Although opposing the Tugwell bill, The Proprietary Association revamped its voluntary regulatory procedures and adopted a strengthened advertising code. Dr. Frederick Cullen, a former FDA official, was appointed to advise members on advertising and labeling.

In Congress, the Tugwell bill was in trouble. Its Senate sponsor, Dr. Royal Copeland of New York, asked the Proprietary Association for help in redrafting the measure. Key man in these deliberations was the new general counsel of the PA, a wise and courtly North Carolinian, James F. Hoge. The 1938 Pure Food and Drug Act was redrafted and passed by Congress. It still stands as a monument to regulatory law. It was, for example, the first statute to distinguish between prescription and nonprescription medicines in the United States.

For many Americans, the Thirties were cruel years, but clustered around the radio they could escape despair. The proprietary industry was one of the first to perceive the enormous appeal of radio. There was the National Barn Dance—the grand-daddy of Blue Grass and the Bayer Album of Familiar Music.

But radio could shock as well as soothe. Most Americans heard about Pearl Harbor by radio.

Fifteen-million Americans went into uniform as World War II forged the nation into an arsenal of democracy, turning out an endless stream of ships, planes, bombs and bullets.

With victory, in 1945, came a postwar domestic life that centered around television—making us eyewitnesses to history.

The TV commercial quickly became an important communications tool for American industry—including the self-medication industry. Consumers found some of the commercials more interesting than the programming.

TV advertising also became a new subject for debate by sociologists as well as regulators. But TV advertising was then—and still is—one way that the makers of nonprescrip-

tion medicines communicate with Americans—a useful way that Americans learn about and compare self-medication.

For the proprietary industry, the Fifties and Sixties were decades of continued growth. New products flowed from the pharmaceutical revolution—the “golden age” of medical research.

In 1951 a sharp new distinction was drawn in the law between prescription and nonprescription medicines. The Durham-Humphrey Amendment to the Food and Drug Act made clear that medicines must be generally available to the consumer without prescription if they are safe and effective, and if understandable directions can be written. To us, this means that nonprescription medicines are intended to be the rule, prescription drugs the alternative.

1962 brought the Kefauver-Harris amendments—requiring for the first time that new drugs must be shown effective before marketing. The new law also set strict rules of good manufacturing practice. The aim was quality control on the manufacturing process, and the PA soon began an annual series of seminars to improve industry compliance. These seminars continue to this day—with valuable FDA participation.

During the Sixties the PA and its members stepped up to growing responsibilities for public education in the practice of self-medication. In 1966 we joined with the makers of prescription drugs in founding the Council of Family Health—a non-profit corporation dedicated to educating the public on the safe and proper use of medicines. In 1980 alone the Council's “Read the Label” message attracted more than six million dollars worth of commercial broadcast time and reached more than 30 million newspaper and magazine readers.

In 1970 PA helped organize the World Federation of Proprietary Medicine Manufacturers, a global voice for responsible self-medication and an eloquent advocate for the nonprescription medicines industry. In 1977 the World Health Organization recognized the 27-member Federation among the world's non-government delegations to that body.

Self-regulation by industry continued to grow in scope and practice. Long before the government demanded “safety closures,” the industry voluntarily developed protective packaging for children's aspirin and limited the strength and number of tablets in any one container.

The program reduced the need for government regulation and helped reduce accidental fatalities among children under five by more than 86% in twelve years.

The Association's 22-point Code of Advertising Practices—combined with that of the National Association of Broadcasters—emerged as an increasingly strong and workable self-policing system.

The most important activity of all as the 1970s began was industry's commitment to the government's exhaustive new evaluation of nonprescription medicines.

Launched in 1972, the Food and Drug Administration's over-the-counter Review continues to have far-ranging consequences for all over-the-counter medicines. Companies have submitted more than 18,000 volumes of scientific information to panels studying the labeling and ingredients of nonprescription medicines. Products are being reformulated and labels amended long before regulations evolving from the Review become final. All of us as consumers are reaping the benefits in new and improved products, new

and better labeling, and in renewed assurances that the nonprescription medicines we buy are more safe and more effective than ever before.

The OTC Review has been called a quiet revolution in the way we self-medicate in this country. And this revolution comes in the midst of what has been called the self-care surge. Millions of Americans are showing as much interest in how we feel as in how we look. We seek a sense of “wellness” and vigor to go with increased life expectancy.

No longer are Americans content with the famous complaint: “If I'd known I was going to live this long, I'd have taken better care of myself.”

People today have discovered self-medication as a basic component of health care—a way to participate more fully in health matters—a way not just to save time and money but to have a voice in the medical decisions that touch our personal health and happiness.

This was confirmed beyond debate at a March, 1980 Symposium sponsored here in Washington by The Proprietary Association. Speakers from government and academia, from pharmacy, from industry, from private medical practice and from the consumer leadership were unanimous in the judgment that self-medication has entered a “new era” of contribution to this nation's health care system.

Clearly, the twin tides of science and social change are lifting self-medication to new levels of sophistication in meeting the demands of this “new era.” Companies are committing millions of dollars to learn more, to discover new products, and to improve established medications according to the standards of modern science. And PA and its members are no less dedicated to working aggressively with government to identify and to act on those established prescription medicines which can best and safely serve more people through nonprescription availability.

As an industry, we have in the past 100 years grown from home remedies to hydrocortisone; we have grown with science, with technology and with the social and medical progress of the nation.

We have grown to be a five billion dollar business whose products are used daily by 70 million Americans while costing only three cents of each health care dollar we spend.

A century ago, the industry organized around the narrow issue of a single tax. We have come far since then—in the improvement of our products, and in the strength of our commitment to even safer and more effective medicines.

We see our function today as larger than simply improving the research, production and marketing of medicines for self-care. We believe that we are helping to provide a better health care system at reasonable cost for more Americans—and for all peoples.

In today's society, responsible self-medication is an essential part of any effective—any affordable—health care system in this or any other nation.

We of the self-medication industry in the United States look forward to a future in which we will play an even more beneficial and more significant role. ●

GREYHOUND CHAIRMAN POINTS THE WAY TO ECONOMIC RECOVERY

HON. ELDON RUDD

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. RUDD. Mr. Speaker, we are in the midst of a debate over spending policies which will affect every citizen of this great Nation. The American people have made it perfectly clear that they want our fiscal house put in order.

My good friend, Jerry Troutman, chairman of the board of the Greyhound Corp., has written a letter recently which states succinctly and eloquently the reasons we cannot afford to ignore the mandate of the people. I respect Jerry, not only for the great job he does in inspiring productivity and promoting free enterprise, but also for his dedication and concern for the welfare of our country. I would like to share his insightful letter with my colleagues:

HON. ELDON RUDD,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE RUDD: I am pleased to send you this advance copy of our 1980 annual report and to advise that last year, Greyhound's profitable operations allowed us to provide over 4,158 jobs for the people of Arizona, at a 1980 payroll of over \$67.8 million. Equally important, those are real jobs . . . jobs which produce goods and services and which expanded the tax base.

Since our first advance mailing of annual reports in 1975, Greyhound's earnings have gone from \$80 million to last year's \$118 million. I take tremendous pride in that growth as evidence of a fine company meeting consumer needs. That profit growth serves still another purpose, however. It creates and maintains a “quality of life” for employees, shareholders, suppliers and the communities in which we operate. In short, “doing well” is the only way we can also be sure of “doing good!” . . . whether that good be scholarships and community health care, or job training and day care centers.

In the 1980 presidential election, the American people set aside their political persuasions and spoke as a nation of disquieted individuals . . . people suffering profound anxiety as they watched the nation's economy, and their own dreams and hopes, fraying badly. And they sensed, I believe, that this was no ordinary crisis, but a matter of survival for the governmental structure that has served us so well these 200 years.

Already, however, there are signs that some officials are more interested in clinging to tattered partisan rivalries than in giving our new economic remedies a chance to succeed. And this is tragic. Considering all we have been through in recent years; considering the price we have already paid, and the even greater turmoil that lies ahead if we relapse into our old economic format, we cannot afford to be a nation divided.

I urge you to put aside political considerations and put your considerable influence behind supporting the President and Congress in their efforts to reassert economic

stability in the U.S. There will be inevitable pain for some because we've allowed the economy to deteriorate so badly that the remedies will hurt. But that's where we in the private sector can help . . . through job creation, improved productivity, a broadened tax base. Again . . . the concept of "doing good" if allowed to "do well!"

I solicit your support for business and industry and for your own constituents whose well-being is unalterably tied to the health and well-being of the economy.

Very sincerely yours,

GERALD H. TRAUTMAN,
Chairman of the Board.●

MARTIN LUTHER KING'S PRACTICE OF NONVIOLENCE

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, last April 4—the 13th anniversary of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s assassination—thousands of citizens in 35 towns and cities across the Nation sat down together to talk about Martin Luther King's legacy, and the relevance of his politics for the present day. In Los Angeles seven seminars were held at local colleges. In Baltimore, an estimated 3,000 persons gathered at a community teach-in. In Chicago, community leaders, clergy, political leaders, and citizens participated in two teach-ins. And in Providence, R.I., a broad array of local organizations sponsored an all-day meeting honoring Dr. King.

One common thread that ran through all of the events was a deep concern about the rising tide of violence in the United States. In this concern the meetings focused on Martin Luther King's concept and practice of nonviolence. To the end of his life King was convinced that mass nonviolent action was a highly effective method for fostering social change. In his last years he reached the conclusion, however, that nonviolent action needed to be supplemented by the building of permanent organizations or units of power, such as political parties, labor unions, and community organizations.

The world we live in today can profit by a rediscovery of King's practice of nonviolent action and the intellectual and social origins of his concept. For the present era is marked by an alarming increase in individual and collective violence, on the one hand, and individual powerlessness and social disorganization, on the other. The two are closely related.

Dr. Hanes Walton, professor of social science at Savannah State College, wrote a book, "The Political Philosophy of Martin Luther King, Jr." (1971), which traces the development of King's conviction in nonviolent action and offers a clear analysis of its role in his political thought and prac-

tice. I want to share with my colleagues the following excerpts from Dr. Walton's book:

OF INFLUENCES AND THE INFLUENTIAL

In his youth King became acutely aware of the economic and racial injustice, of the evil, within society, and felt compelled to seek a means of rectifying these conditions. He stated that he had grown up abhorring segregation and the oppressive, barbarous, and brutal acts it engendered. "I have passed spots where Negroes had been savagely lynched and had watched the Ku Klux Klan on its rides at night. I had seen police brutality with my own eyes and watched Negroes receive the most tragic injustices in the courts." Such incidences as well as the continuing harshness of the segregation system led King to begin a serious intellectual quest for a way to eliminate the results if not the source of racism in American society.

Although, owing to his family's economic comfort, King himself escaped much of the harshness of racial injustice, he could not remove from his mind the economic insecurity of his playmates and the "tragic poverty" which engulfed the Auburn Avenue Ghetto in Atlanta, Georgia, where he grew up. Working, as a teenager, he became even more conscious of the oppressive nature of segregation. Employed in a plant that hired both blacks and whites, he saw the "economic injustices firsthand, and realized that the poor white was exploited just as much as the Negro." Successive childhood experiences made him deeply conscious of the varieties of injustice in our society, and, as he pondered the possibilities of a career, concern with the condition of black people and their suffering was paramount. Until he was certain of the kind of occupation which would do the most good for his people, he could not commit himself to any.

During his college years he came into contact with Thoreau's Essay on Civil Disobedience and was fascinated by the possibility of refusing to cooperate with an evil system. "I was so deeply moved that I reread the work several times. This was my first intellectual contact with the theory of nonviolence and resistance." Later, in the seminary, he was to spend time studying the great social philosophers: Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau, Hobbes, Bentham, Mill, and Locke. Naturally, he learned a great deal from these, but it was Walter Rauschenbush's Christianity and the Social Crisis that provided theological basis for his own social concern. In his view, Rauschenbush's significance was in his insistence upon the gospel being attuned to the "whole man"—his body and his soul—his material as well as his spiritual wellbeing. In reading Rauschenbush, King realized that in order for Christianity to be relevant to man—be he black or white—it had to deal with not only the spiritual realm but with man's everyday socioeconomic environment. Any religion that did not concern itself with both realms of human existence was a religion of little merit and out of touch with reality.

While taking his theological degree at Crozier Theological Seminary, King was still dubious about the power of love to solve social problems. "The 'turn the other cheek' philosophy and the 'love your enemies' philosophy are only valid, I felt, when individuals are in conflict with other individuals; when racial groups and nations are in conflict, a more realistic approach is necessary." Then one Sunday afternoon, King traveled to Philadelphia to hear a sermon by Dr. Mordecai Johnson. Dr. John-

son spoke on the life and teaching of Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhi's message had an immediate and profound impact upon King and it was in reading the work of Gandhi that he lost his skepticism of the power of love and began to appreciate its usefulness and potency in the area of social reform.

It was the Gandhian concept of Satyagraha (satya is truth which equals love, and graha is force: satyagraha thus means truth-force or love-force) that had the strongest influence upon King, although, at this point, he had no clear notion as to how it might effectively be applied. King felt that Gandhi was "the first person in history to lift the love ethic of Jesus above mere interaction between individuals." The Gandhian technique of love and nonviolence gave him a potent instrument for social and collective transformation which blacks could be taught to use in their struggle against oppression and injustice.

It was this method, according to King, which gave him the intellectual and moral satisfaction that he had missed in the "utilitarianism of Bentham and Mill, the revolutionary methods of Marx and Lenin, the social contract theory of Hobbes, the 'back to nature' optimism of Rousseau, and the superman philosophy of Nietzsche." Cognizant now of a meaningful method, King yet was missing the kind of event in which it could be appropriately used. When, in 1955, the Montgomery bus boycott was organized and King, then twenty-six years old, accepted the responsibility of leadership, he was prepared to present to the people a fully articulated rationale and guidance following the ideal of Christ's Sermon on the Mount, and a technique which would become known as the Gandhian method.

The next major influence on the development of King's social and political thought was Reinhold Niebuhr. Niebuhr, King felt, had presented incisive insights into human behavior, especially the behavior of groups and nations; more than any other theologian, he understood the complexities of human motives as well as the relationship between morality and power. "His theology," King said, "is a persistent reminder of the reality of sin on every level of man's existence. . . . Moreover, Niebuhr helped me to recognize the complexity of man's social involvement and the growing reality of collective evil." . . .

By 1954, King's formal training had ended and he had merged these relatively divergent intellectual forces into a positive social philosophy. "One of the main tenets of this philosophy was the conviction that nonviolent resistance was one of the most potent weapons available to oppressed people in their quest for social justice." From Jesus, Thoreau and Gandhi had come the philosophical roots for King's theory of nonviolent social change; from Christ's Sermon on the Mount, with its emphasis on humility, self-criticism, forgiveness, and the renunciation of material gain, came the initial inspiration for a nonviolent approach; Thoreau's example had taught the rightfulness of civil disobedience; and Gandhi showed that there was a method for mass nonviolent resistance to the state. . . .

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL BASIS

All political theories rest on certain psychological assumptions regarding the nature of man from which his behavior can then be interpreted and understood. King's view of human nature was indissolubly linked with his metaphysical and moral principles, accounting not only for man's apparent be-

havior, but his spiritual or "true" self as well. He was concerned as much with what man is capable of becoming, and how he might transform his nature, as with his present state.

For a time, in his early development, King admitted having wholly accepted the concept of human nature advanced by liberalism, which held that men were innately good and naturally endowed with considerable powers of reason. Until, when he began to question some of the theories associated with liberal theology, a basic change in outlook occurred: "The more I observe the tragedies of history and man's shameful inclination to choose the low road, the more I can see the depths and strength of sin. Therefore, I realize that liberalism had been all too sentimental concerning human nature and that it leaned toward a false idealism." Liberalism failed also to see that human reason is frequently a captive of human emotion and, instead of guiding man's behavior, commonly ends up trying to justify it.

Both liberal theology and neo-orthodox views represented but a partial truth for King. While the former inclined toward an overly optimistic attitude regarding man's inherent goodness, the latter saw him only in terms of his actual fallen state. An adequate understanding of man would be one that would synthesize the truth of both views. King saw human nature to contain a mixture of good and evil; yet, when the individual enters into collective life, it is the evil that becomes more pronounced and tends to prevail.

King, influenced by Niebuhr, felt that as a member of a group man sometimes behaves worse than when alone. With a sense of security and power which the numerical strength of his companions may give him, man loses his sense of responsibility, yields to the emotional appeal of the group and participates in activities and modes of behavior he would normally avoid. Thus the individual can be more amenable to reason and more alive to moral considerations than a group. Because the emphasis in group behavior tends to shift from inner purity to external conformity, a nonviolent group may not be as nonviolent, truthful, and loving as a nonviolent individual. He had great faith, however, in the power of goodness to evoke a positive response in both groups and unregenerate individuals. Great moral leaders, such as Jesus and Gandhi could appeal to and bring forth the good in human beings, just as a Hitler could appeal to every potential for evil in them. Human nature, in other words, is susceptible to change; evil can be converted into good; the worst segregationist has the possibility of becoming an integrationist. Even the most brutal of men cannot, according to King, entirely disown the spiritual element within themselves.

Through his own example and leadership, King showed that the development of conscious nonviolence is neither impossible nor impracticable, though it is a difficult ideal requiring constant effort and vigilance. He stressed the need of faith in nonviolence, adequate discipline, and self-purification if it was to succeed in influencing others. As a technique, nonviolence would entail suffering, but suffering King believed to be a part of human nature and essential for spiritual growth. It was through suffering that the self-purification needed to develop one's human nature in a positive manner was achieved. And, since spiritual freedom means the capacity to love all, it also means

to suffer all. To rise to the highest reaches of the ideal of suffering love is to rise to the highest potential of one's human nature. How exalted the ability to endure suffering had become in King's philosophy can be seen when he declared in a speech given after the Montgomery boycott:

"We will match your capacity [that of whites] to inflict suffering with our capacity to endure suffering. We will meet your physical force with soul force. . . . Do to us what you will and we will still love you. Bomb our homes and threaten our children; send your hooded perpetrators of violence into our communities and drag us out on some wayside road, beating us and leaving us half dead, and we will still love you. But we will soon wear you down by our capacity to suffer."

He further stated:

"The way of nonviolence means a willingness to suffer and sacrifice. It may mean going to jail. If such is the case the resistor must be willing to fill the jail houses of the South. It may even mean physical death. But if physical death is the price that a man must pay to free his children and his white brethren from a permanent death of the spirit, then nothing more could be more redemptive."

Unearned suffering is, therefore, redemptive, and to suffer in a creative way serves to transform the social situation. This emphasis upon the redemptive role of suffering stems from King's belief in a Christianity which teaches voluntary submission to sacrifice, privation, and the renunciation of external happiness.

THE RELATION OF MEANS TO ENDS

In King's philosophy the means are as important as the ends: in practice, they are inseparable. So too, lofty purposes must be attained by equally moral means. King strongly repudiated the notion that the ends can justify the means; the one is as good or as perverted as the other. Unjust means, ostensibly in the service of just ends, are frequently used to permit violence, fraud, untruth, opportunism, etc. Rather than helping us toward progress, foul means teach us to regard human beings as mere instruments, deaden our finer feelings, and result in oppression and cruelty. This he saw in communism, which holds that the ends justifies the means. Although communist theory postulates the transformation to a classless society, it permits any method—no matter how cruel or unjust—to achieve this praiseworthy end. In fact, the individual under communism finds himself utterly subjugated to the state, because the state—not man—is what is most valued. King, however, asserts that the state is made for man and not vice-versa. Wherever the state is allowed to become an end in itself, any act, no matter how vile, is nonetheless given sanction.

According to King, man, because he is a child of God, is an end in himself. To use man in the manner the communists would use him is to deprive him of his freedom and relegate him to the status of a thing. Treated as a mere means, man loses sight of his relationship with God, his spiritual qualities, and becomes a non-person. Inherent in the philosophy of nonviolent direct action is the belief that the ends are preexistent in the means: a community of love and brotherhood could only come into being through the fully moral behavior of many individuals.

Violence, on the other hand, King viewed as both immoral and impractical since it could achieve but temporary successes at

best. Violence can never secure a state of permanent peace since it continues to generate new and more complicated problems than the ones it aims to solve. It generates a legacy of negative feeling that perpetuates conflict rather than reconciliation. As a method of achieving racial justice, violence clings to the old law of an eye for an eye, until all parties are blind and eventually destroyed. Because it humiliates and annihilates the opponent, rather than attempting to convert or understand him, violence is immoral. Thriving on hate, it destroys true community and confines the members of society to a monologue of bitterness from those who survive its reaches and brutality to those who use it to destroy.

There are, according to King, three ways in which to deal with the problem of oppression. People can fight it using violent means issuing in a perpetual state of fear and destruction; they can acquiesce, or they can choose the means of nonviolent direct action. Acquiescence to the conditions of oppression is also, King felt, immoral and, in the long run, impractical. By resigning oneself, by adjusting to the forces of oppression, one is implicitly cooperating with the evil within the environment. The refusal to take action means a passive acceptance of segregation and injustice, which is tantamount to saying that the oppressor is morally right. Inaction then, while often the easier way, is not the moral way but the way of the coward. Its impracticality lies in its allowing an evil system to continue, possibly "hoping for the best," while all that can come of such conditions is more of the same.

Clearly then, in King's view, only the way of nonviolent direct action can help oppressed people in their quest for freedom, for only it combines and reconciles the tendencies toward violence and acquiescence "while avoiding the extremes and immoralities of both." The nonviolent resister accepts—like the person who acquiesces—that physical force should not be used against an opponent and combines with it the violent person's reaction that evil must not go unresisted. By the use of nonviolent techniques no group or individual need either submit to oppression or retaliate violently. Logically, therefore, the only moral and practical means to end oppression, and the only systematic way of reacting that can lead to lasting peace and progress, is nonviolent resistance and direct action. This basically ethical outlook forms the backbone of King's political philosophy, just as his ethical principles formed the basis for his metaphysics. To him, the moral discipline of the individual was the most important means of social reconstruction and it is the cornerstone of his entire philosophy. ●

IN SUPPORT OF THE LEGAL SERVICES CORPORATION

HON. ARLEN ERDAHL

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. ERDAHL. Mr. Speaker, the Legal Services Corporation has provided for countless Americans one of these fundamental rights upon which our Nation was founded; and equal access to justice. With the growing complexity of our legal system, the

Legal Services Corporation has served as a means to safeguard this fundamental right for many low-income people. It is important that in a society such as ours, which relies so heavily on the law, that we make provision for legal services to those less fortunate. Access to the legal system is access to justice.

I would like to submit to the RECORD a recent resolution approved by the board of governors of the Minnesota State Bar Association. I feel that this resolution clearly outlines the need for continued congressional support of the Legal Services Corporation. I hope my colleagues will join me in supporting this important facet of America's legal system.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION OF THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS,
MINNESOTA STATE BAR ASSOCIATION

Whereas equal justice under law is a fundamental concept of a free society, and accessibility to legal representation for all people is essential to effectuate that principle; and

Whereas there is a continuing need for low-income residents of Minnesota to receive legal advice and representation in civil matters for which they cannot afford private counsel; and

Whereas the National Legal Services Corporation pursuant to P.L. 93-355 as amended by P.L. 95-222 provides funding to legal services programs in Minnesota in order that they may provide such services to low-income Minnesotans; and

Whereas the Congress has found, at P.L. 93-355 Section 1001(5), that "to preserve its strength, the legal services program must be kept free from the influence or use by it of political pressures"; and

Whereas the American Bar Association and the Minnesota State Bar Association support the funding of the National Legal Services Corporation and oppose restrictions on the free exercise of independent professional judgment of legal services lawyers in representing low-income persons; and

Whereas, the Reagan administration has announced that it will seek the abolition of the Legal Services Corporation, and an end to budget appropriations for legal services programs, in legislation in the United States Congress: Now therefore be it

Resolved, That the Board of Governors of the Minnesota State Bar Association recommends that:

1. The Congress of the United States pass legislation reauthorizing the Legal Services Corporation without restriction on the free exercise of independent professional judgment of legal services lawyers in their representation of low-income persons, and without restriction on the ability of legal services lawyers to pursue on behalf of their clients the same full range of legal remedies that an attorney in private practice would be able to seek on behalf of more affluent clients.

2. The Congress oppose any change to the current form of organization of legal services, or to the current method of funding legal services programs, which would subject programs to control by persons or governmental entities whose interests might be or become in conflict with independent, effective representation of clients by legal services attorneys.

3. The Congress appropriate a sufficient level of funding to the National Legal Services Corporation to enable it to continue the same level of service which it now provides.

4. This resolution be forwarded to the Senators and Representatives from Minnesota. ●

SEC ON TRIAL INSTEAD OF THE
HUNTS?

HON. LARRY McDONALD

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. McDONALD. Mr. Speaker, a great deal of unfavorable publicity was given the Hunt family incident to the announcement that the SEC was looking into the Hunt family financial affairs in connection with the sudden fall of silver prices last spring. Now it suddenly became apparent that the SEC has exceeded its powers in this case and the SEC is now on the witness stand to explain why it did not follow the laws of the United States as regards the Privacy Act of 1978 and why the subpoenas sent to the Hunts were not the same subpoenas sent to their banks? In this connection, I would like to insert two items, one from the Washington Post of April 28, 1981 and the second from The Wall Street Journal of April 30, 1981 for the edification of my colleagues who may still doubt that our regulatory agencies need to be reined in. The items follow:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Apr. 30, 1981]

EXPERTS SAY DECISION IN HUNT CASE COULD
LIMIT SCOPE OF SEC'S POWER

(By George Getschow)

DALLAS.—For the past year, members of the Hunt family have been backed against the wall by at least five federal investigations into their role in the crash of silver prices last spring. Now the Hunts are striking back, with a vengeance.

Federal Judge Robert Porter is expected to rule early next week on a request by six members of the Hunt family for a preliminary injunction against the Securities and Exchange Commission, which has been aggressively investigating their affairs.

The three best-known Hunts, brothers Nelson Bunker, W. Herbert and Lamar, along with three relatives, have charged the SEC with violation of a new federal law designed to protect the right of individuals to privacy in their business dealings.

PRECEDENT-SETTING CASE?

The fiercely private Hunts are the first individuals to challenge the hard-charging agency under the law, so the case is being watched with interest by business and government people who think it could set precedents for future investigations—by the SEC and other agencies.

The law in question, the Financial Right to Privacy Act, was enacted by Congress in 1978, but didn't apply to the SEC until last November; the agency argued that the act would interfere with its investigations; and won a two-year exemption. The law requires prior notice to anyone whose bank records

are being sought by a federal agency. The notion was to balance the needs of enforcement agencies and the rights of citizens to financial privacy.

The Hunts charged that the SEC exceeded the limits, carrying out an "unwarranted invasion of privacy." They charged in testimony last week that the SEC illegally sent subpoenas to their banks that were far broader in scope than subpoenas sent to the Hunts as individuals.

The Hunts also charged that they weren't notified about the SEC's request for "update letters" from the banks after the subpoenas had been issued. These "fraudulent" and "doctored" documents, according to the charges, were sent to the banks to obtain confidential business records unrelated to Hunt silver transactions.

OVERDOING IT?

The SEC has acknowledged in court that it "acted improperly" in its investigation. "Mistakes in judgment," the agency says, were made by young lawyers trying to comply with new and complex legislation. The SEC says there was no deliberate infringement of the act, and asserts the mistakes have been corrected. "No relief is warranted," it maintains. (The agency previously agreed to withdraw subpoenas issued to three banks in quest of Hunt records.)

Neither side expects Judge Porter to totally block the SEC investigation. But he could impose meaningful limits on the agency's investigative latitude in this case. More significantly, legal experts say, an unfavorable opinion by the judge—who during the trial chided the SEC for its handling of the investigation—probably would be cited in any later challenges to the agency's enforcement actions.

"If the Hunts win, this case will have far-reaching ramifications, because it opens up a brand-new front for attacking the SEC's authority to conduct investigations," says Richard Phillips, a Washington lawyer who has defended clients in several SEC actions. "All of us who practice securities law are watching this case with a great deal of interest."

If the Hunts obtained a permanent injunction against the SEC—and it was upheld on appeal—it would be the first such setback for the agency. This, say observers of the case, would damage the agency's reputation and likely stimulate other legal challenges.

"The SEC was sloppy in issuing subpoenas in this case," says Arthur Mathews, a former SEC enforcement attorney now in private practice. "And that's going to make it easier for others to resist SEC subpoena requests and recover court costs." (Under the new law, federal agencies can be sued for violations in issuing subpoenas and are liable for legal fees and costs.)

Some believe the SEC may be forced to narrow its enforcement efforts. "I think you'll see them pulling in their horns somewhat," says a former SEC staff member. "When you're fighting fires, you can't be building houses." An SEC insider worries that the agency may be losing ground in its "turf war" with another agency investigating the Hunt silver case, the Commodity Futures Trading Commission.

The stakes also are high for the Hunts. They argue that the "ridiculously broad" SEC investigation, seeking records of their employees and people doing business with them, could place them at a "competitive disadvantage" because potential business

partners would be frightened away, fearful that their own records would be scrutinized. "It presents a very serious problem for us," Nelson Bunker Hunt said during his testimony.

But the Hunts may have more in mind than limiting the SEC investigation. Lawyers point out that if they succeed in discrediting the SEC's enforcement efforts, that increases their bargaining position if the SEC later seeks an out-of-court settlement. Also, staining the SEC's reputation for conscientiousness could discourage anyone who has possible adverse information about the Hunts from taking it to the agency.

Some people believe the Hunts are interested most in finding out just what the SEC knows about them. "By putting SEC staffers on the stand, the Hunts' lawyers were able to ferret out confidential information that the SEC had on them, and that could prove useful in fighting future SEC probes," says a securities lawyer here who is familiar with the investigation.

And the Hunts are said to see some poetic justice in making the SEC sit in the dock. "The Hunts have a lot of hostility toward the SEC," says a Hunt watcher, "and now that they've got them on the defensive, they're going to do everything they can to make them look bad."

EMBARRASSING MOMENTS

That may explain why Hunt attorneys have marched three of the SEC's top enforcement attorneys—Kenneth Lay, Theodore Levine and Gail Vance—to the witness stand, repeatedly wringing confessions of wrongdoing from them and extracting details of their reprimands from superiors.

The three have vowed that their "mistakes" never would recur. Nonetheless, they still could face possible disciplinary action from the U.S. Office of Personnel Management plus separate civil action by the Hunts if the judge decides their mistakes were deliberate. This is why SEC attorneys have taken the unusual step of hiring personal counsel for themselves.

So the SEC is worried about the Hunt case—but not convinced that a permanent injunction against the agency is a foregone conclusion. "The judge can't grant a permanent injunction unless the Hunts can prove that the abuses that occurred in the past will occur in the future," says an SEC insider. "And how do you ever prove something like that?"

Many securities lawyers who have tangled with the SEC hope the Hunts win some kind of court-ordered restraint against the agency. They say it would produce many benefits. "It would force enforcement agencies to be more efficient in the information they go after," says Milton Freeman, a Washington defense lawyer and former SEC staffer. "So you'd get less enthusiastic hip-shooting and more accurate marksmanship."

The Hunts agree. "We also feel that someone has to raise a question about the duplication, the expense and the time involved in these governmental inquiries," a Hunt aide declared in filing the suit against the SEC.

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 28, 1981]
SEC CONCEDES FAULTS IN PROBE OF HUNT'S
SILVER

Securities and Exchange Commission officials have admitted in federal court in Dallas that they may have "misinterpreted" federal privacy laws in their investigation of silver trading by the Hunt family of Texas.

But the SEC lawyers insist they did not violate the Right to Financial Privacy Act and did nothing to warrant stopping their year-long probe of the Hunts.

The SEC officials, who usually are the ones asking questions in court, were on the witness stand in U.S. District Court in Dallas Friday and Saturday being questioned by the attorneys for the Hunts, who are trying to limit the SEC probe.

Federal Judge Robert Porter has temporarily stopped the SEC investigation of the Hunts' silver trading and after hearing more testimony this week is to decide whether to impose restrictions of the SEC.

Earlier last week, William Herbert Hunt testified that there were "substantial and material" differences between SEC subpoenas that were served on several of the Hunt's banks and the copies of the subpoenas that were sent to the Hunts.

Under the recently enacted Financial Privacy Act, citizens are supposed to be notified of any efforts by federal investigators to obtain their bank records.

While acknowledging they may not have complied with the privacy law in the past, SEC lawyers told Judge Porter there is no need for a court order protecting the Hunt's rights because there is no evidence the government will violate the law again.

The SEC has asked for more than 20,000 documents in the investigation.●

CINCO DE MAYO

HON. GEORGE E. DANIELSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. DANIELSON. Mr. Speaker, today I join our friends to the south of us in Mexico, Mexican-Americans, and others in our country who are celebrating Cinco de Mayo, which symbolizes the struggle against foreign domination.

It was 1862 when the mighty French Army invaded the little town of Puebla, Mexico. Gen. Ignacio Zaragoza commanded a small militia—vastly outnumbered in men and artillery. This brave group was determined to defend its homeland.

In the battle, the French lost 476 men while the Mexicans lost 83, with 132 wounded. That victory gave momentum to the Mexican troops, who continued their fight and eventually succeeded in driving the French from their country.

The gala festivities of Cinco de Mayo are celebrated each year as a reminder of the struggle by a heroic group of people, whose bravery in defending a commitment to freedom and justice will stand as a symbol for all freedom-loving people.

A number of organized activities have been planned in the communities throughout the 30th Congressional District to celebrate Cinco de Mayo. So today I share in celebration and pride with the citizens of Mexico and people of Mexican descent throughout the world.

In order to determine their own destinies, Mexico's struggle from foreign

domination and America's revolution for self-determination have ideologically bonded these two border countries. It is most appropriate that the similar experiences of two great nations should have a great influence upon the culture and heritage in the area I represent.●

VIRGINIA'S HOUSE OF DELEGATES: OLDEST LEGISLATIVE BODY IN THE AMERICAS

HON. THOMAS J. BILEY, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. BILEY. Mr. Speaker, Virginians are justly proud of the history of the Old Dominion and the part that it has played in the creation of the general government for the United States with delegated but limited powers under the U.S. Constitution. But few outside the Commonwealth realize that the House of Delegates of Virginia's General Assembly is the oldest legislative body in the Americas.

The history of that branch of the legislature traces back to Jamestown in 1619 when its first speaker was John Pory, a former member of the House of Commons of the British Parliament. It has been in continuous existence since that time, first as the House of Burgesses, which name was changed in 1776 at the time of the American Revolution to the house of delegates.

In 1972, the house of delegates installed plaques on its back wall listing all its speakers and clerks from 1776 to the present time. In an impressive ceremony on March 31, 1981, the house of delegates completed the installations with the unveiling of the plaques of speakers from 1619 through 1775.

Calling the house to order at 4 p.m. on March 31, Speaker Albert L. Philpott, in accordance with a house resolution for that historic occasion, appointed a committee of four members to escort the principal participants in the ceremony to the podium: Hon. Lewis A. McMurrin, Jr., a former member of the house of delegates and now a member of the board of trustees, Virginia Historical Society; Hon. James M. Thomson, former majority leader of the house; and Capt. Miles P. Duval, Jr., U.S. Navy, ret., a native Virginian and one of the Nation's leading authorities on Panama Canal history and interoceanic canal problems.

Vacating the Chair, Speaker Philpott turned over the chairmanship for the ceremony to Mr. McMurrin, who presided. In his introductory remarks, Chairman McMurrin gave some of the highlights in the history of both the House of Burgesses and house of delegates, pointing out that after 1619

until 1642, the Governors of the Colony of Virginia presided at sessions of the General Assembly without a regularly designated speaker.

Chairman McMurran was followed by former Delegate Thomson who summarized the story of the installation of the first set of plaques, 1776 to the present, and introduced the principal speaker, Captain Duval, giving a sketch of his career and extending full credit to him for his conception of the plan for the plaques and assistance in bringing about their installation. Mr. Speaker, it is appropriate here to record that Captain Duval was appointed as a midshipman in the U.S. Navy by former Representative Andrew Jackson Montague of the 3d Virginia Congressional District, one of my most distinguished predecessors. Also, it is appropriate to state that a list of all the speakers and other officers of the Virginia General Assembly may be found in the Virginia State library publication, "The General Assembly of Virginia, 1619-1978: A Bicentennial Register of Members." Copies of this volume may be found in the principal libraries of the United States.

In a notable address before the Virginia House of Delegates, Captain Duval described the U.S. Constitution as the "solar system of liberty", stressed the parts played by great Virginians in the formation of the United States, and quoted Gen. Douglas MacArthur as clearly stating the crucial issues involved in the current world crisis.

Mr. Speaker, since the previously indicated Virginia House of Delegates resolution and the address by Captain Duval should be of wide interest, especially to the legislatures of the Thirteen Original States, historians and genealogists, I ask unanimous consent for both to be printed at this point in the RECORD as follows:

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA, HOUSE
RESOLUTION No. 2

Whereas the House of Delegates has installed in the Chamber of the House of Delegates several marble plaques displaying the names and years of service of Speakers and clerks from 1776 to present; and

Whereas it is the desire of the House of Delegates that marble plaques displaying the names of the speakers of the House of Burgesses for the period 1619-1775 be now installed in the Chamber of the House of Delegates; and

Whereas the Honorable Lewis A. McMurran, Jr. and The Honorable James M. Thomson, former members of the House of Delegates, and Captain Miles P. Duval, Jr., United States Navy, Retired, who conceived the idea, each having been instrumental in completing the project and each having accepted invitations to be a part of a dedication ceremony, now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Delegates this date vacate the chair at 4:00 p.m. to be resumed at 4:30 p.m. for the purpose of a ceremony to unveil two marble plaques com-

memorating the House Speakers for the years 1619 to 1775.

ADDRESS BY CAPT. MILES P. DUVAL, JR. U.S. NAVY, RETIRED

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Virginia House of Delegates, distinguished guests, ladies and gentleman:

In his immortal address on April 19, 1951, before a joint meeting of the Congress of the United States, the late General of the Army Douglas MacArthur described that "Forum of Legislative Debate" as representing "Human Liberty in the Purest Form Yet Devised." The foundations of experience and leadership indispensable for creating that agency, which are symbolized by the plaques adorning this hall, were largely laid by members of the Virginia House of Delegates and its predecessor, the House of Burgesses.

It was Patrick Henry who was the tongue for the American Revolution. It was the Declaration of Independence, prepared by Thomas Jefferson, that made the United States a nation. It was the U.S. Constitution, mainly the work of George Washington and James Madison, that provided a government of limited delegated powers to implement the objectives of that declaration. It was George Mason who was largely responsible for the Bill of Rights. And it was the work of James Monroe, after extensive consultations with his Cabinet, in the writing and promulgating of the Monroe Doctrine that set the course for the United States through the "Ocean of Time" then starting.

These four historic fundamentals are the principal signposts for the liberty and security of all the Americas, and in fact for the entire free world.

Since the time of our first grave constitutional crisis, 1775-83, great changes have taken place. Many of the signposts of liberty have fallen and the people of the United States have lost their way in fogs of confusion. The forces of terror and tyranny have taken over vast areas and populations of the world and now threaten our own country from within as well as from without.

The controlling motive of the great Virginians in the American Revolution was the preservation of liberty and to that end they were major leaders in the formulation and adoption of the Federal Constitution and its Bill of Rights to provide for the first time in history a system of government dedicated to the proposition that the people are sovereign. Moreover, all of them had served in this legislative body.

The U.S. Constitution with its checks and balances provides the solar system of liberty but over a period of years the sovereign States have become removed from their orbits with direful results, some of them involving calamitous concentrations of power in the Federal Government, which is the Sun in our constitutional system.

Now "strange voices" and "seductive murmurs" in various parts of the Nation deprecate our form of constitutional government as outmoded, urge the withering and eventual ending of State governments, and call for the adoption of some new "all embracing" means of government to replace our present system.

As to this, it is well to recall the warning of George Washington in his farewell address that if any changes in the distribution of constitutional powers are needed they should be effected by the process of amendment and not by "usurpation." This, he

stated, is the "customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed."

As summarized in the final legacy of General MacArthur in his Reminiscences, completed only four weeks before his death, "the fundamental and ultimate issue at stake is liberty, itself—liberty versus the creeping socialization in every domestic field. Freedom to live under the minimum of restraint! A least common denominator of mediocrity against the proven progress of pioneering individualism! The free enterprise system or the cult of conformity! The result will determine the future of civilization. It will be felt on every human life."

The challenges involved in the current titanic struggles to destroy freedom and seize control of industry, which are now far advanced, will offer opportunities for statesmanlike leadership by the Old Dominion comparable to that of the founding fathers.●

PERSONAL FINANCIAL
STATEMENT

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, each year at this time I make a voluntary disclosure of income, taxes, and liabilities.

For 1980 I paid a total of \$24,884.68 in taxes, including \$20,848.43 income taxes, and \$4,036.25 in property and sales taxes.

My chief source of income was \$60,662.50 salary as Congressman. Other income included: an annuity of \$1,338.15 and dividends of \$788.33 from the Teachers Insurance Annuity Association (TIAA); \$257.71 from the college retirement equities fund (CREF); gross rents of \$6,000 from my farm and \$3,700 from my townhouse both located in Harford County; \$200 from the Sunpapers for two articles; and \$12.80 in interest from savings.

Following my longstanding policy, no gifts from constituents or interest groups, however small or in whatever form, were accepted by me or my staff—not even flowers or fruit.

As of May 1, 1981, real property consisted of my home in Ruxton purchased in 1946 for \$32,000; a 122-acre farm in Harford County bought in 1965 for \$118,000; and a townhouse in Harford County bought in late 1979 for \$47,900. My farm and my Ruxton home are free of debt. My mortgage for the townhouse—Yorkridge Federal Savings and Loan Association—is \$38,094.

Contributions to the Federal retirement system for 1980 totaled \$6,470.08. In nearly 19 years as a Congressman, I have contributed a total of \$59,160.00 to this fund—which cannot be withdrawn in cash. Estimated capital value of my Teachers Insurance Annuity Association policies—not convertible into cash—was \$16,907.27.

Other assets as of January 1, 1980 include a 1980 Buick Regal valued at \$2,100; shares in the T. Rowe Price prime reserve money market account valued at \$2,000; home rugs and furnishings, my wife's jewelry—nearly all inherited, clothing, and a checking account sufficient to pay current bills.●

H. K. "HANK" TROBITZ RETIRES

HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, while in the Second Congressional District during the recent Easter recess, I was pleased to attend the retirement dinner for Mr. H. K. "Hank" Trobitz of Arcata, Calif. I was truly honored to participate in this farewell commendation ceremony together with Hank's coworkers and fellow north coast citizens. His employer, Simpson Timber Co., outlined his tremendous contributions to the timber industry in a press release dated February 2, 1981. Following is the text of that release, the chronology of the career of an outstanding individual and important member of our Redwood Empire community.

ARCATA, February 2, 1981.—Henry K. (Hank) Trobitz, Simpson Timber Company California Resources manager and distinguished leader among national, state and Redwood Region forestry circles, retired last Friday after 32 years of service.

Tall in stature as well as accomplishments and affectionately known as the "silver fox" among its associates, Trobitz' credentials read like the "Who's Who" of forestry and community activities.

Trobitz has been the chief architect in piecing together Simpson's California land base. Starting with the purchase of an original 23,000 acres near Klamath in 1948, he engineered a series of acquisitions and mergers resulting in the current "ranch" of 300,000 acres, including some of the most productive forest lands in America.

He is a recognized leader in fields of intensive forest management, for Simpson and industry generally, designed to grow better trees faster to meet America's fiber needs. Simpson's highly sophisticated, containerized nursery near Korb is a permanent monument to Trobitz' dedication to reforestation.

He is a two-term member of the State Board of Forestry whose current appointment expires in 1982, along with his appointment to the California Licensed Foresters Association. He recently retired as a veteran member of the Board of Managers of the California Forest Protective Association and was a two-time president of that organization.

One of California's first Registered Professional Foresters, Trobitz is a member of the Society of American Foresters and is past chairman of that group's Northern California Section. His work on behalf of the U.S. Forest Service's Pacific Southwest Forest & Range Experiment Station in Berkeley earned him special recognition.

He is a member of the American Forestry Association and has served on or with the

State Solid Waste Management and Resource Recovery Council, the North Coast Timber Association and McIntire-Stennis Cooperative Forestry Research Advisory Board, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Trobitz has served or is serving on the Humboldt Bay Harbor Commission, St. Joseph Hospital Board of Trustees and Advisory Board, Humboldt State University Advisory Board, and Board of Redwoods United Workshop.

Following graduation from the University of California School of Forestry in Berkeley in 1938, Trobitz worked for the U.S. Forest Service until 1942 when he joined the U.S. Air Force as a navigator. After discharge in 1946 he did graduate work at Berkeley and joined Simpson in Shelton, Washington, in 1948.

He moved to California in 1950 as Simpson's Chief Forester at Klamath and moved through a series of promotions until being named California Resources Manager in 1972. During his stint at Klamath he was credited with a lead role in helping the community recover from the floods of 1953 and 1955.

Trobitz and his wife, Mary, will continue to reside at Glendale. They have three children, Mary Shepherd of Menlo Park; Dr. H. David Trobitz, D.V.M., of Arcata, and Cynthia Trobitz-Thomas of Glendale.●

POW IN VIETNAM NAMED; WHY ARE POW SIGHTINGS CLASSIFIED?

HON. DANIEL B. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. DANIEL B. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, the world is waking up to the plight of our men still held captive by the Communist Vietnamese almost 10 years after the end of the war.

I was particularly pleased to see the recent ABC-TV documentary on this subject, as well as increased newspaper and radio coverage.

The evidence, is so clear, so persuasive, that I am shocked at the refusal of our own Government to actively pursue the freedom of these heroes. And why is the information about these prisoners classified? Certainly not to keep it secret from the Vietnamese; they know who they have. Is it to keep the facts from the families of the POW's in order to insulate the Government from lawsuits? This is certainly the implication of remarks allegedly made by a Deputy to the Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency to former Army Intelligence Col. Earl Hopper: "We have classified the information so we do not become entangled in litigation."

In other words, the families that have refused to believe the Government's claim that their loved ones are all dead have themselves become the enemy.

Barbara Hollingsworth, who has done such an outstanding job of uncovering the truth, has written two ar-

ticles on this subject, published in the Maine Paper of March 23 and 30, 1981.

The articles follow:

[From the Maine Paper, Mar. 23 and 30, 1981]

AMERICANS STILL CAPTIVE IN VIETNAM?

DEFENSE DEPARTMENT "SECRET" INFORMATION REVEALS ALL PRISONERS HAVE NOT COME HOME
(By Barbara Hollingsworth)

WASHINGTON.—After the Paris Peace Accords were signed on January 27, 1973, the United States withdrew its troops from Vietnam. Left behind were approximately 2,500 servicemen and civilians missing and still unaccounted for. Although U.S. military action ended, the war between North and South Vietnam raged on until 1975.

In 1976, the "Final Report" of the House Select Committee on Missing Persons in Southeast Asia (the Montgomery Committee) declared after a 15-month investigation that "no Americans are still being held alive as prisoners in Indochina, or elsewhere as a result of the war in Indochina."

However, a committee minority report recommended the United States "should not consider that all POW-MIAs are dead until the United States has received as full and exhaustive an accounting as is possible."

The minority recommendation went unheeded. Without receiving any additional accounting from the Vietnamese on the missing men, status reviews began in 1977. As a result, all but 12 of the POW-MIAs are now officially considered "presumed dead" by U.S. authorities.

To the National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia, the government's presumptive findings of death did not answer the ultimate question: What happened to the missing men?

The status reviews had not produced any new evidence of death. Rather, as a Defense Department spokesman told TMP, lack of evidence they were alive was used as proof during the reviews that they were dead.

In other words, the government's official position put the burden of proof on the families of the missing men. Unless they could offer proof their loved ones were still alive, the government would assume they had perished.

So the league began advertising in Vietnamese-language newspapers throughout the world, soliciting information from the sea of refugees fleeing the communist yoke, many of whom braved shark-infested waters and pirate attacks in their desperate search for freedom.

An extraordinary thing happened.

Hundreds of refugee reports detailing the presence of American prisoners held by the Vietnamese after 1973 began pouring in, and continue today. These live-sighting reports were made classified secrets by the Defense Department in August, 1979, but TMP has obtained copies of three of them, which are being published for the first time.

The accounts are reproduced here in their entirety, with only minor changes, such as the deletion of extensive military technical terms. TMP has also withheld the names and addresses of the witnesses.

The first account contains the vivid recollections of a former police official who escaped to France in early 1980. Because of his own confinement, he paid particular attention to the details of prison life. This account was translated from the Vietnamese:

Nov. 19, 1980, Macon, France.

My family and I have been resettled in France for about eight months. I just read in the newspaper the ad for the National League of Families seeking information . . .

I want to give it to you because of my deep concern for those men and at the urge of my conscience . . . I served as a police sergeant in Pleiku under the former regime.

After the Communist takeover, I was arrested and detained at the Pleiku reeducation center. From 5-12-75 to 7-15-75, they ordered other prisoners and myself to dismantle barbed wire and other fortifications around the old police station. While working on those tasks, I saw two American prisoners.

Every day, at about 8 to 8:30 a.m., they let the two Americans out to go to the toilet. I know they were Americans because I had previously worked with the Americans at the Danang training center for the police-men.

The two Americans still wore military garbs; their hair and beard grew long but they were not too thin (perhaps they have been captured not too long before.) During the three months and three days I was weeding and cleaning at the police station, I saw them nearly every day. I'm sorry that I do not know their names, because we have always been escorted out by two security guards, their guns on the ready; I was afraid if I looked too attentively at the Americans, I would be subject to interrogations.

On July 16, 1975, I was transferred from the reeducation center . . . I do not have any idea about where they have moved those two Americans . . . Perhaps the league can trace their identities and help them reunify with their families.

(Signed)

The following account was written in English. The writer was a former commander of an air base and said he received a "victory medal [bronze star] from the President Johnson" in 1968. He was among the boat people whose bitterness over harsh communist rule underscores his story:

Oct. 28, 1979, Bourges, France.

There were two times I saw myself the Americans POW, who were still in Vietnam. The October 25th, 1978, I saw 25 and the November 2nd, 1978, I saw 28 American POW. They were in prison about 150 kilometers in the northwest from Saigon city, and in the valley with five small thatched houses enveloped by the forests. They dressed the old, striped and black clothes. Some POW don't wear the coat; perhaps it was very hot. They worked with the hard labour. First time, they carried the precious wood and they digged [sic] the earth for agriculture in the last time.

I try to make relation with them or give them a sign but I cannot. They were take care of serious by two instructors and five soldiers with weapons. The POW were thinness and very tired.

I may show on the military map of the South Vietnam the place which they are in prison.

However, if possible, I shall [be] a witness before the [U.N.] Assembly and before the public opinion in the world to prove the inhumanity of the Vietnamese Communists who treat with the POW. It is contrary of the International Law.

The Vietnam Communists overwhelmed with hard labour the POW in the region forest and unhealthy water. The Vietnamese Communists would like to keep the POW with the purpose:—to take revenge,—

to exchange (they take easy) with the government of U.S.A. . . .

(Signed)

Le Thi Anh, 52, is a Vietnamese writer and lecturer who lives just outside Washington in suburban Maryland. Since 1978 she has assisted the league in obtaining accounts of live sightings of Americans. Her credentials are ideal for the task.

Having come to the United States in 1964 through a UN-sponsored writers program, Anh, a Buddhist pacifist, became heavily involved in the "peace movement." She was a confidante of many of the top anti-Vietnam war leaders as well as many North Vietnamese, Viet Cong, and South Vietnamese dissidents.

Her break with that element came when she realized, after the 1975 Communist victory, that the U.S. "anti-war" element was not anti-war at all, but strongly in favor of a Communist Victory and U.S. defeat. Today she publishes Vietnam News, a newsletter of events and trends in Vietnam, and has established a network of contacts within the anti-communist Vietnamese resistance movement.

Anh first became involved with the league when a Vietnamese refugee came to her when she was teaching and told her about American POWs he had seen in Vietnam. She forwarded the information to the league, thinking it would end her involvement in the matter. But the league asked her to do one more thing. Because of her fluency in Vietnamese, would she place the ad in the newspaper?

Le Thi Anh agreed, expecting "five or six replies."

Instead, she was inundated. She soon became the clearinghouse for the refugee reports. Some of them were so disturbing, "I couldn't sleep at night," she told TMP.

The letters came from all over the world, from refugees of every age and occupation. She even received unsigned letters from former Viet Cong who had seen American captives but were afraid to let their own identities be known. Along with the sighting reports have come threats from the Communists, who do not like what she is doing.

Dutifully, the sighting reports were turned over to the State Department and Defense Department. The government had demanded proof Americans were still alive—the families were providing that proof. Armed with this new information, surely the government would do something to recover the men.

Not quite. Frank Sieverts, President Carter's deputy assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs, and State Department coordinator for POW-MIA matters, became angry with Le Thi Anh and told her she was only creating "false hopes" in the families. The government attacked the credibility of the refugees, dismissing their accounts because it claimed they were after money or made up information to get into the country.

However, some of the reports came from refugees who were already in the United States had nothing more to gain from telling their stories. Further, while the league's ad offers a reward for information on the missing servicemen, not one of the hundreds of destitute refugees has ever asked for it.

Le Thi Anh continues to receive live-sighting reports from around the world. Her value in this work is such that she has even assisted in debriefing former high-ranking North Vietnamese who have defected, yet whose "official" corroboration lends added weight to the refugee sightings.

One of the most extraordinary reports is this one, received barely two months ago from a former South Vietnamese member of an elite combat force who now lives in the southern United States. Besides providing explicit details on locations, military units, dates, etc., which characterize a well-trained military man, this account describes in detail and identifies by name a U.S. serviceman who was being held in Vietnam. It also says that Soviet soldiers may have had a combat role in the war:

"Before 1975, I was a second lieutenant in the Reconnaissance Branch . . . I belonged to the Tactical Shock Troops assigned the task of searching, attacking and destroying food caches, arms caches and documents of two Viet Cong units . . .

"One of the tasks assigned to our unit was to provide support to Division 22 . . . which were standing face to face with the Viet Cong Division 320, the North Vietnamese F 10 and commandos and artillery—all aimed at Pleiku during the month of June 1974 . . . You can imagine how tough was the battle against the Communists. . .

"Along the front running from Tan Canh to Dac-To to Kontum . . . there was a paratrooper brigade defending that front with the replacement [sic] and support from a U.S. Cavalry unit . . . But these were under so much pressure from the Viet Cong that the Vietnamese paratrooper brigade was totally defeated . . . it had to retreat together with Regiment 41's independent infantry unit to the base in Kontum.

"Only up until 1974, has my paratrooper unit and I got the opportunity to set foot again to the Tan Canh, Dac To areas . . . to 'destroy the enemy's work camps.' I met a group of four white men, they were in two working teams, they were tall with blonde or brown hair. They were carrying logs to build bridges for the Viet Cong . . . At that time we did not pay special attention to the white men working on the bridge-building site, mistaking them for the Russians . . . I had met personnel from the Russian Engineering Corps bulldozing earth . . . I also saw Russian men manning tanks attacking the base 801 in Le Thanh.

"Time went by . . . the Communists transferred me to a prison camp K6. I commuted to do forced labor in K8 . . . distant three hours by bullock . . . That prison camp of Tan Canh existed since 1970. There were about 200 prisoners. In that camp, I saw American POWs who were kept separate, more than 1 kilometer away from the Vietnamese POWs. Those U.S. POWs were transported to K8 to labor in building bridges, clearing jungle together with us prisoners from the 'puppet Saigon Regime' as they called us. . .

"During that time Major Chau and I communicated with the Americans in English, using Alpha, Beta, Delta . . . We have learned that Major Johnson was the leader of that group of American POWs.

"Major Johnson had served on the cavalry brigade assigned to the defense of Dac To and Tan Canh. The headquarters of his brigade was located in Qui Nhon and Major Johnson was listed as missing in action since 1971. He has served in Thuong Duc earlier. There were two sergeants and a first lieutenant in the group of American POWs. The relationship and conversations did not last, because Major Chau [who apparently spoke English.] was executed. I was sent to prison camp in Binh Dinh. Up to the end of 1977, I got permission to go home for a visit with family; I went into hiding and escaped from Vietnam in 1978.

"I still remember Major Johnson's face quite well. He was thin, short for an American, he had a long face, a bald forehead, brown eyes, long eyebrows, his nose is a little flattened between the eyes, a dimple in the middle of his chin, teeth distant from one another. I used to be ordered by the Communist guards to bring maniocsweet potatoes to the 'American pirates'; they had their hands and legs tied up when they were not working, when they were resting. Major Chau told me the Americans belonged to the cavalry brigade stationed in Quang Nam. He was on his way from Quang Nam to Qui Nhon when he was reported as missing in Tan Canh. The two sergeants and the first lieutenant were captured during the Mo Duc and Thuong Duc battles.

"The exact date I saw him for the last time was during February 1975. At that time I came back from K6 to K8 to take my rice ration and proceed by foot to Binh Dinh. There I was assigned the task of transporting ammunition for the Viet Cong to attack Qui Nhon. At that time Major Johnson was still building roads in K8, so were the first lieutenant and the two sergeants.

"In July 1975, my friend Lt. Trung came back from K8. I asked him about the Americans and he said they were still there, all of them.

"The information I give here is accurate. If the Americans do not find their people, it is their fault, they were not thorough in providing security, not thorough in their search. We sympathize with them, we understand them, they had an opportunity to help the Republic of Vietnam defeat communism, but to our deep regrets, both them and us are crying in sorrow. Will they be able to find their people now? As for my comrades-in-arms, each of us follows the fate befallen us. We still have to carry on the fight for a very long time, a most heroic and desperate fight. It is that when the Americans were searching for their lost ones, we are searching for what should have been, what must be?"

PENTAGON ACCUSED OF BADGERING VIETS WHO'VE SEEN AMERICANS

WASHINGTON.—What has become of the 2,553 American servicemen and 43 civilians reported prisoners of war or missing in action in Southeast Asia?

Despite 310 first-hand, live sightings by refugees who claim they saw Americans still held prisoner in violation of the Paris Peace Accords, the official Pentagon and State Department position is a terse two lines:

"There are increasing reports that Americans may be held against their will in Indochina. The U.S. government has thus far been unable to substantiate this information and priority effort will continue to be assigned to investigate these reports."

What exactly does the government mean by "substantiate?" That question was posed by TMP to Lt. Col. Jerry Grohowski, the Pentagon's official spokesman.

He replied: "You ultimately have to go back to where [the sighting] happened and spot somebody at the same place."

However, since numerous refugee reports indicate the Vietnamese often move prisoners, such a demand seems almost impossible to meet.

Grohowski complained the Pentagon never received any names of Americans alleged to still be held captive by the Viets.

He was startled to learn TMP had published such information (TMP, March 24). "Well that's the exception," he said. "We usually just get 'Caucasian.'"

Colonel Earl Hopper, a former executive director of the National League of Families and a former intelligence officer himself, told TMP:

"We're in awfully bad shape in the intelligence department if after all these years we still do not know for sure if an American is alive [in Southeast Asia] and be able to confirm or positively deny it. It's not a lack of evidence—it's a lack of desire."

Indeed, there is evidence Pentagon and State Department officials—perhaps fearful of jeopardizing their careers—have tried to squelch information on the POWs-MIAs by threatening and intimidating the witnesses who claimed to have seen them.

"Up until the very recent past, the Defense Intelligence Agency has persisted in its strenuous efforts to discredit witnesses, and not make use of them even though they volunteered to help," Dermot Foley, former League of Families counsel whose brother is missing in action, told TMP.

Knowledgeable sources told TMP it is widely believed in refugee circles the U.S. government does not really want any information about the missing GIs, as this information would be an embarrassment to the United States.

While the Pentagon claims it is working diligently to substantiate the information it already has, those in contact with refugees tell a vastly different story.

After the League learned in court that it was U.S. government policy not to interview the Indochinese refugees, the government started putting up signs in refugee camps asking for information about the missing Americans. One man in a camp wrote to the League wanting to help, but told them the government might be more successful if the signs were not so tiny and written in Vietnamese rather than English.

Further, after the League had turned over new evidence to the DIA, follow-ups showed the DIA had not bothered to interview many of the witnesses.

But perhaps the most telling evidence of the government's attempts to keep the issue under wraps was its treatment of Ngo Phi Hung, the "first good eyewitness" of Americans held captive in Indochina.

On August 9, 1978, Hung told the House Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs he had seen 49 living POWs in Vietnam as late as April 1977. The ranks were decimated during the two years Hung kept track of the prisoners—two POWs died and one committed suicide. Hung even procured a list of their names, which was stolen by pirates along with his other possessions during his escape from Vietnam in February 1978.

Hopper told TMP the DIA debriefed Hung and then attempted to discredit his character, going so far as to fabricate a report to prove Hung's descriptions of the terrain in the areas he saw the POWs were inaccurate.

However, former POW Michael Bengel stated Hung's knowledge of the area was indeed accurate, Hopper said.

A few days before Hung's appearance before the subcommittee, Hopper recounted, DIA agents appeared at Hung's home in San Diego and used "intimidation and threats" in an apparent effort to frighten him into silence.

The DIA agents came to his house and scared the living [daylights] out of him and his family," Hopper said. "They told him: 'We're from military intelligence. You have to come with us.' They took him to a hotel in downtown San Diego and made him turn

over his notebook." In the notebook, Hung had been trying to reconstruct the list of names stolen by the pirates.

When he heard of the DIA visit, Hopper added, he immediately flew to San Diego and stayed with the terrorized refugee until they both flew to Washington for the hearing.

Foley, who was Hung's attorney at the time, confirmed the incident. "DIA tried to terrorize him, even though they knew I had been retained and we had exchanged written correspondence that they would not interfere with him" without counsel present, he said.

In another incident, Foley said he found a witness who said he saw 12 live Americans since November 1980. Foley said the witness "volunteered to put his life on the line" and obtain more information about the American prisoners.

DIA was notified. Shortly thereafter, the witness was arrested by local police in the United States, beaten up in jail, and told he would not be released unless he promised to get off the case. When the promise was made, several charges were dropped, and he fled the country.

Before leaving he phoned Foley and told him he was instructed, as "part of the deal," to tell Foley he had lied about the POWs. "But I didn't lie—I really told you the truth," Foley recounted him saying.

When asked about the alleged intimidation of witnesses by the DIA, Grohowski replied, "That's totally false." But no one with the DIA would permit himself to be questioned by TMP about these and similar serious allegations.

President Richard Nixon and his Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, assured the country no Americans were left behind in Indochina. This denial has been continued for eight years, through three administrations. Democrat and Republican. While many think the Reagan administration will take a renewed interest in finding the missing men, Foley is skeptical.

"The people in the Pentagon and State Department are the same people who botched it up royally in the Nixon-Ford years," he said. "They're still there. I have not seen any effort to clean house. No one is asking the key question. The record of the DIA and the government as a whole is a 100 percent failure, and nobody is asking why."

Maj. Gen. John K. Singlaub, a leader of the POW-MIA activists, said the problem will never be solved through humanitarian appeals to the Vietnamese:

"We run the danger of placing Vietnam in a position where it concludes it's better off to make its previous statements come true. The great fear I have is that they will simply murder the POWs if there are amateurish negotiations or excessive public emotion. It's going to require great skill, whatever is done."

Singlaub said the options range from paying ransom, like the French, to putting pressure on Hanoi from a third source. He added the United States could also trade off diplomatic recognition in return for the men.

Another possibility is that Vietnam may require some face-saving device, perhaps by classifying all the prisoners as defectors who stayed on in Vietnam of their own accord.

Rep. Robert Dornan, R-Cal., whose best friend is missing in action, told TMP the handling of the issue is the "most persistent case of [cover-up] I have ever seen."

More than 100 of the live sightings have been "absolutely confirmed," he said, since they related to Pfc. Robert Garwood or to Arlo Gay, a commercial fisherman who was captured and released by the Communists in 1976—after they had denied his existence to a visiting U.S. Congressional delegation.

"In over 100 cases, we know for a fact that all the people who said they saw Americans were telling the truth," Dornan said. "Why can't we assume the rest of the sightings have the same percentage of reliability?"

In short, evidence too strong to dismiss points to the existence of U.S. soldiers and civilians still being held throughout Indochina.

Unless the U.S. government makes up its mind to do what is necessary to get them out—in spite of Pentagon and State Department intransigence by its career bureaucrats—Hanoi will never let them go.

Whether these POWs and MIAs become the second generation of "forgotten men" from a U.S. war in Asia rests squarely with one man—Ronald Reagan. ●

F-15 ENHANCEMENT PACKAGE FOR SAUDI ARABIA

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues a memorandum prepared in March 1981 by the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), on the F-15 enhancement package for Saudi Arabia. Comments on that memorandum which I requested from the Department of State will appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD tomorrow.

It should be noted that this memorandum was prepared prior to public discussion regarding the possible sale of early warning AWACS aircraft or tanker aircraft to Saudi Arabia. None of these F-15 or AWACS proposals have yet been notified to the Congress on either an informal or formal basis. The AIPAC memorandum follows:

OFFENSIVE WEAPONS FOR SAUDI ARABIA

The Reagan Administration's sale to Saudi Arabia of AIM-9L air-to-air missiles and Fuel and Sensor Tactical (FAST) packs will dramatically increase the firepower and range of the 62 F-15s purchased by Saudi Arabia in 1978. An offensive capability for these aircraft—already the most advanced fighter-bomber in the world is contradictory to the very purpose for which they are being provided. This sale is wrong. It is contrary to the best interests of the United States, Saudi Arabia and Israel.

This sale will not enhance the security of Saudi Arabia, which is threatened by internal instability, nor is there any possibility that it will enable Saudi Arabia to defeat a Soviet thrust. This sale, in fact, will increase instability within Saudi Arabia and the region.

The sale will not strengthen the Arab-Israeli peace process, since Saudi Arabia has been, and continues to be, a leading opponent of the Camp David Accords.

The sale will not lead to old price moderation or increased Saudi production. If any-

thing, the sale will appear to be appeasement in the face of Saudi threats to cut oil production.

The sale will only encourage Saudi Arabia to demand additional offensive equipment, specifically multiple ejection bomb racks, KC-135 jet tankers, and AWACS (Airborne Warning and Control System) aircraft.

Finally, the sale will violate specific U.S. commitments. In 1978, when the original F-15 sale was proposed, the Executive branch gave written assurances to Congress and promised the Israeli Government that these offensive systems would not be sold to Saudi Arabia.

THE NEW EQUIPMENT

The addition of FAST packs and AIM-9Ls will significantly enhance the offensive capability of the Saudi air force.

The FAST pack is a conformal fuel and equipment pod attached on each side of the aircraft. An F-15 so equipped has a combat radius of more than 1,000 miles, compared with about 450 miles for an F-15 without the pods. The FAST packs will permit Saudi aircraft to operate out of any base in Saudi Arabia against any target in Israel. The added fuel capacity also brings Egypt, Iraq and Iran within the aircraft's combat range.

The addition of FAST packs to an F-15 does not interfere with the use of the weapon stations. Each pod can carry two AIM-7 Sparrow air-to-air missiles or 4,400 pounds of air-to-ground ordnance. The pods actually provide a slight improvement in aerodynamic performance of the F-15 and enable the plane to carry a heavier bomb load to distant targets. Part of the available volume of the FAST packs can be used for either sensors, cameras, electronic countermeasures (ECM), laser designators, etc.

The AIM-9L is the most advanced version of the Sidewinder air-to-air missile. It features all-aspect attack (meaning that it need not be fired from behind the target aircraft), improved homing and guidance, increased maneuverability, resistance to jamming and a more lethal warhead. It is a state-of-the-art weapon which is only now being deployed on America's own F-15s and F-16s.

THREAT ANALYSIS

There is no threat facing Saudi Arabia which justifies the sale.

The Soviet forces in Afghanistan are more than 1,000 miles from Saudi Arabia's eastern coast. Soviet expansionism unsettles the region, but it is Iran and Pakistan that are directly threatened, not Saudi Arabia. Credibility is strained in imagining Saudi Arabia using the enhanced range of its F-15s to strike at Soviet military targets in western Afghanistan.

Were there a Soviet attack on Saudi Arabia's oilfields, an enhanced ordnance capacity on 62 Saudi F-15s would not be effective in defending Saudi targets against a much more powerful Soviet attack. Only the United States could do this. Any attack on Saudi Arabia by the USSR would be a direct challenge to the West, and there is no conceivable situation in which the United States would leave the defense of the Arabian Peninsula to Saudi Arabia alone.

The same political and logistical arguments would militate against any suggestion of a Soviet thrust from Ethiopia.

South Yemen is deterred—as it has always been—by the obstacles of desert and distance. Saudi Arabia's purchases of 110 F-5Es, American M-60 and French AMX-30 main battle tanks, Maverick air-to-ground guided missiles, TOW antitank missiles and

the 62 F-15s in their interceptor mode were all designed to assure an effective Saudi defense against South Yemen. With all these systems now in place or soon to be delivered, Saudi Arabia requires nothing more to protect itself from a weak, and probably imaginary, threat from South Yemen.

There is little likelihood of an invasion of Saudi Arabia from Iraq. Currently, Saudi Arabia is assisting Iraq in its war with Iran both diplomatically and militarily. There have been recent reports of Iraqi-bound arms being delivered via Saudi ports. American equipment supplied to Saudi Arabia, particularly artillery, may have also been transferred to Iraq in violation of American arms transfer provisions.

Iranian threats to Saudi Arabia have been blunted by the Iraq-Iran war and by the stationing of American AWACS in Saudi Arabia. But Saudi Arabia, equipped with F-15s in the offensive mode, may be perceived by Iran to be a strategic threat. Thus, the new equipment will further destabilize the volatile region.

The combination of U.S. arms largesse to Saudi Arabia and assurances of additional weaponry to Israel to meet the new threat recalls an earlier American Middle East policy—John Foster Dulles' unsuccessful and discredited attempt to achieve an arms balance in the region. But Israel cannot afford an arms "balance"—neither economically nor militarily. Israel's military survival has always required a qualitative edge over its Arab neighbors. Today, the Arabs' quantitative advantage is growing while Israel's qualitative edge has been dangerously eroded.

SAUDI INSTABILITY

Saudi Arabia is much less stable today than it was three years ago. The takeover of the Grand Mosque last year provides ample evidence that: there is popular resentment against the concentration of power in the hands of the Saudi royal family; that skewed budgetary priorities and pervasive corruption are arousing domestic discontent; that the tribal National Guard and Saudi army are unreliable and potential rivals; and that the primary threat to the Saudi regime comes from its own feudal policies and from conspiracies based in rival Arab states. F-15s are of no value in meeting internal upheavals.

The United States must not repeat the errors made in Iran by selling too much advanced weaponry to an unstable client faced with internal discontent rather than external threats. With legitimate defense needs already met, the proposed sale become a symbol, not of Saudi Arabia's importance to the United States, but of its ability to get whatever it wants from our country. Arms sales of similar magnitude did nothing to save the Shah and may in fact have contributed to his downfall. Should a similar fate befall the Saudi monarch—which cannot be discounted—the United States would face the dismal prospect of having the secrets of its most advanced weapons compromised and having the weapons turned against their supplier.

PROMOTING MIDDLE EAST PEACE

In 1978 it was argued that the sale of F-15s to Saudi Arabia would promote Saudi moderation and involvement in the peace process, and assure continuing Saudi support for the peace efforts of President Sadat. Although at the time there was no sure way of testing this contention, events have since proven that this argument was groundless.

Saudi Arabia's policy toward peace with Israel since the signing of the Camp David Accords has been anything but "moderate" or "supportive." Saudi leaders have urged a Jihad against Israel. Saudi Arabia led the Arab League condemnation of the peace treaty. It has withheld economic support from Egypt and in fact broke diplomatic relations with Egypt and joined with Iraq at the Baghdad conferences in organizing the Arab political and economic boycott of Egypt. It provides hundreds of millions of dollars to support the rejectionist front. It adamantly refused American entreaties to join the negotiations. It redoubled its financial and diplomatic support for the terrorist Palestine Liberation Organization. It condemned the opening of normal relations between Egypt and Israel, the exchange of ambassadors, and the opening of the Suez Canal to all Israel ships.

To sell Saudi Arabia additional offensive equipment for its F-15s would be rewarding intransigence rather than encouraging moderation.

An overall assessment of Saudi Arabia's defense posture will reveal that the kingdom cannot defend itself over a broad front. The land mass is simply too large, and the population base available for the armed forces is much too small. Saudi Arabia is incapable of fielding forces now for the tanks and aircraft it has already obtained. The nation is reported to be considering a national conscription—a step that would introduce potentially disloyal and radical elements into its armed forces. The Saudi interest in obtaining several hundred German-made Leopard tanks and several squadrons of European-made Tornado fighter-bombers raises the question of whether the desert kingdom is considering bringing in outside forces—such as Pakistanis—to man its weapons. The dangers such a move would present to regional and internal stability and the security of advanced American weaponry cannot be underestimated. The vast Saudi buildup raises the obvious question of whether Saudi Arabia is stockpiling weapons for future transfer to a third country.

THE REAL THREAT

There is, however, another explanation for Saudi Arabia's buildup of sophisticated offensive weapon systems. The Riyadh regime could move against much weaker opponents or against targets close to its border in coordination with larger armies and outside forces.

This last scenario illustrates that the one nation which would be threatened by Saudi augmentation of its F-15s would be Israel. Several times, including last month at the Taif Summit, Saudi leaders called for Jihad (holy war) against the Jewish state. In the past 32 years, Saudi forces have been engaged four times—three of them against Israel.

The F-15s Saudi Arabia will soon obtain will seriously impair the security of an Israel withdrawing behind less secure defense lines in the Negev Desert. But F-15s equipped with AIM-9Ls and FAST packs will severely undermine Israel's air superiority and will enable Saudi Arabia to hit any Israeli target with greater force from bases located much deeper within Saudi Arabia.

On a one-to-one basis, Israel is capable of meeting any Saudi threat. But Saudi Arabia would never engage Israel by itself. As in 1973, it would be part of a coordinated pan-Arab attack. It would be a strained and embattled Israel, engaged along a broad eastern front, which would have to try to

defend against pinpoint strikes by heavily armed, long-range Saudi F-15s. Israel's knowledge of this eventuality is likely to increase the chance of preemptive strikes against Saudi Arabia. This, in turn, would make it more difficult for the Saudis to resist full-scale involvement in future Arab aggression against Israel.

NEW AMERICAN POLICIES

The Saudi sale has been explained as part of a new American policy to confront Soviet encroachment in the Middle East. The best way to confront Soviet designs in the Persian Gulf, however, is not by opening the flood gates of arms sales. U.S. bases, facilities, and a naval presence are the best deterrent to Soviet adventurism. Yet, Saudi Arabia has rejected American base arrangements in the Arabian peninsula.

OIL PRICE MODERATION

U.S. acquiescence in the face of Saudi demands has not in the past, and will not in the future, lead to moderation in oil policy.

The Saudi record on oil price rises and withholding of oil supply requires scrutiny. While Saudi Arabia has charged a bit less than other OPEC oil producers, the difference has generally been minor. Saudi Arabia went along with, and in some cases instigated, the rocketing escalation of OPEC oil prices after the Iranian revolution which has more than doubled the price of crude oil. Many analysts believe that Saudi Arabia took its independent line on OPEC pricing in order to protect its waning influence within OPEC, and not to aid the American consumer.

Because of a current world surplus of oil, caused in part by the continued and unexpected exports from Iraq and Iran, Saudi Arabia is reported to be considering production cut-backs to prop up the current oil prices. Under such market conditions, Saudi Arabia could assist in a roll-back of OPEC's posted prices in order to alleviate inflationary and recessionary pressures in the United States and the West. No such effort is contemplated or expected.

The sale of the add-on equipment for the F-15s will not increase the reliability of Saudi oil supplies. After the F-15 sale, Saudi Arabia threatened to cut back on production if the Carter Administration continued to build up a strategic petroleum reserve as mandated by Congress. It is clear that whatever weapons we sell Saudi Arabia, the kingdom does not want the United States to have the ability to weather another oil embargo and be able to resist new oil blackmail.

THE VALUE OF COMMITMENTS

An important issue in the sale of new equipment for the F-15s is the reliability of commitments made by the U.S. Government. In 1978, the Executive branch justified the F-15 sale as wholly defensive in nature, and assured the Congress that it would not sell the Saudis multiple ejection bomb racks, FAST packs, AIM-9Ls, KC-135 tankers or E-2C or E-3A AWACS command/radar planes. To sell any of these specific weapon systems to Saudi Arabia now would present a serious credibility problem for our Government. Future Administration commitments to the Congress would be suspect. Both our allies and our adversaries could not ignore the unreliability of American assurances.

Israel is being asked to rely on American security and aid guarantees to cement its treaty with Egypt and to risk some form of settlement for the West Bank. Israel would be much less willing to take risks for peace

with its unresponsive, radical Arab neighbors on the eastern front if U.S. assurances were suspect.

The worst argument in favor of the new sale is that the Saudis regard it as a test of their relationship with the United States. The original F-15 sale (like so many Saudi demands before and after) was described in the same way. Our country satisfied the Saudi request, but for the United States, the relationship did not improve. From the American perspective, Saudi support for the Camp David Accords was a test of the relationship. So was true restraint on oil prices. So was support for an American military presence in the Persian Gulf in the wake of the Afghanistan crisis. The Saudis satisfied none of these tests.

Acceding now to the Saudi demand for F-15 offensive add-on equipment will be a test of Saudi Arabia's ability to force the United States into devaluing its own solemn commitments and into working against the national interest of the United States.

CONCLUSIONS

The proposed sale of offensive equipment for Saudi Arabia's F-15s is neither in the short- nor long-term interests of the United States.

From a military standpoint, the extra capability for the aircraft will paradoxically lessen, rather than enhance, the security of the Riyadh regime. The sale will transform Saudi Arabia into a confrontation state and military target for the Israeli air force.

Politically, the Riyadh regime, by emphasizing weaponry as symbols of power, may meet a fate similar to the Iranian Pahlevi regime.

By acquiescing to this latest "litmus test," the United States looks weak internationally. There have been no signs of Saudi Arabia fulfilling its obligations of an American-Saudi "special relationship."

The sale of advanced missiles and FAST packs to Saudi Arabia fails to serve the interests of the United States, Saudi Arabia, Israel, and Middle East peace. ●

CONGRESSIONAL EMPLOYEE HONORED

HON. DOUGLAS K. BEREUTER

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I have a very pleasant reason to make a statement for the RECORD. This past weekend a member of my congressional staff, Mrs. Ramona Deitemeyer, was honored by the alumni association of the University of Nebraska at Lincoln. She received a Distinguished Service Award, which is given to those members of the alumni association who have established a record of distinguished service to their local alumni club, to the University of Nebraska, their community, State, and Nation.

Ramona has been a caseworker in my office since I became a Member of Congress in 1979. Actually, she brought considerable experience to my office since she performed the same function for my predecessor, now-Governor, Charles Thone. The First Dis-

trict of Nebraska knows and appreciates Ramona Deitemeyer.

Ramona graduated from the University of Nebraska in 1941. She was named Mrs. Nebraska and Mrs. America in 1955. That same year she received a National 4-H Alumni Award. In 1957 she served as hostess of the Lincoln, Nebr., TV station KOLN's "Right Around Home" program.

Family, home, and concern for others are how we know Ramona. On behalf of my staff and the First District of Nebraska, I wish to simply say congratulations to Ramona Deitemeyer. We know that she will continue participating in all of the activities that contributed to her receiving the Distinguished Service Award. Finally, we thank her in behalf of all Nebraskans for her contributions to Nebraska and the University of Nebraska, and especially for the concerned, effective assistance she has rendered to thousands of Nebraskans.●

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE UNITED NATIONS—PART 1

HON. LARRY McDONALD

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. McDONALD. Mr. Speaker, in view of the current deliberations at the United Nations, I would draw the attention of my colleagues to a paper, "South Africa: Bases and Consequences of United Nations Actions," written by Carmel J. Schulz, a student at the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University.

The excellent, dispassionate, well documented paper by Miss Schulz clearly presents the unfortunate role that the United Nations has taken in South Africa, and demonstrates how the General Assembly of that body "has betrayed the 'central task of the U.N.—the preservation of international peace and security.'"

The article follows:

SOUTH AFRICA—BASES AND CONSEQUENCES OF UNITED NATIONS ACTIONS INTRODUCTION

The United Nations has spent a great deal of time and money on the "question of apartheid" and the actions of the "racist regime" in South Africa. Members of the United Nations who support this violation of state sovereignty and thus of Article 2, paragraph 7 of the United Nations Charter emphasize Article 1, paragraph 3 and Articles 55 and 56 which deal with human rights and equality. They also point to the qualification in Article 2, paragraph 7 which states that the principle of non-interference in states' domestic affairs "shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII," but in order to act on this qualification a "threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression" must exist. In 1954, therefore, the General Assembly obligingly declared that "apartheid constitutes a grave threat to the peace-

ful relations between ethnic groups in the world" thereby opening the way to adding the weight of apartheid as a "threat to international peace and security" to apartheid as a "crime against humanity."

Besides it being highly hypocritical for most members of the UN to condemn South Africa for her human rights violations, some members of the UN have exploited and perverted the UN Charter in order to achieve their own ends of isolating and undermining the government of the Republic of South Africa. Instead of serving as an international forum in which all sides of a question can be discussed and an equitable solution worked out without resorting to force, the United Nations has consistently served as a forum in which revolutionary groups such as the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and the African National Congress (ANC) present their version of the situation while South Africa and the internal parties are discounted, ignored, or, which is usually the case, not represented at all. In addition, the UN General Assembly has betrayed the "central task of the United Nations—the preservation of international peace and security" by openly and vigorously encouraging and supporting violence and terrorism.

The purpose of this paper is to give a background on South Africa and then to examine UN actions regarding South Africa in light of this information in order to determine their legitimacy and effectiveness.

SOUTH AFRICA: BACKGROUND

The current South African government is caught in a dilemma: although the need for reforms is evident to almost everyone, different groups have different ideas about the method, extent, and pace of reform. Terrorist groups are seeking reform through revolution and a total change in the basis of society, some recalcitrant white groups want no change whatsoever, and the UN is demanding complete and immediate reform. All of this complicates and endangers the government's present evolutionary reforms that are meant to provide for a stable solution to the country's problems. Unfortunately, the impatience of some groups and the immovability of others may make losers of everyone.

Contrary to popular belief, the major black ethnic groups are not native to South Africa. The Kaffirs, now called Bantus, migrated to northeastern South Africa at about the same time the first Dutch settlers arrived at the Cape. When the expansion of the groups brought them into contact with each other, white settlers had been in South Africa for a hundred and twenty-seven years, since 1652. The only true "natives" of South Africa are the Bushmen and Hottentots who were treated better by the white settlers than by the Kaffirs who slaughtered, plundered, and lay waste, then moved on. In any case, the Bushmen and Hottentots were not numerous and have been largely absorbed into the general population. The Afrikaners maintain the firm and justified conviction that South Africa is as much their heritage as the Bantus'. Their historical ties and rights to South Africa are as strong as the Bantus'.

Another popular belief that must be corrected in order to better understand South Africa concerns the supposed homogeneity and harmony of the "Whites" and the "Blacks." There are at least five distinct "white" ethnic groups and nine major African tribes, in addition to the Indians who are divided into five groups and the Coloreds who are divided into eight groups.

Therefore, conflict exists not only between "colors", but also between the English and Afrikaners who both look down on the Portuguese, between the various black tribes who are "mutually mistrustful, mutually antagonistic," and within the Indian and Colored groupings.

A third point which needs to be made clear is that the vast majority of black South Africans are not "civilized", or, to be more specific, they do not conform to industrialized, eastern or western, ideas of civilization. The problem in South Africa is analogous not to the black/white conflicts in the United States but rather to the American Indian/white problem and Indian reservations. Two major differences are that American Indians are definitely "native" Americans while the majority Blacks are not "native" South African and disease and white immigration made American Indians a minority while the black African population has grown steadily and immigration of Whites has been much slower giving the Blacks a substantial majority. Between American Blacks and South African Blacks the major difference is that American Blacks do not know a heritage or tradition separate from white "civilization" while most South African Blacks have definite tribal, cultural ties with unique languages and customs. To expect these people to forsake their traditions, their way of life and of thinking is unrealistic, and if forced, a sudden transition would most likely be destructive both materially and personally.

"Separate development" was the Nationalist Party's answer to the South African situation. Although in many cases it may have been used to ensure "white supremacy", many of the White South Africans really believed, and continue to believe, that it is the best way to protect the cultural integrity of all the various ethnic groups in South Africa. These people will admit that there are inadequacies but add that it is "equally true that the South African government has committed itself to the elimination of negative forms of discrimination."

The bad aspects of South Africa's solution of apartheid are widely known and regretted. But in many respects Black South Africans are much better off than Blacks in other African states. For instance, complete medical care including operations costs each Black 25¢. The standard of living is higher for Blacks in South Africa which attracts the immigration of Blacks from South Africa's neighbors. More Blacks in South Africa own cars than all Blacks in the rest of Sub-Saharan Africa. The outlays for education per black child is much less than per white child, but the situation is improving; providing education opportunities for millions of people who have no tradition of acquiring formal education is not an overnight project.

The government of South Africa is also speeding up the independence of Black homelands while incorporating Indians and Coloreds into the white society. This is "grand apartheid." It proposes the creation of a "constellation of southern African states" associated in "a confederation of independent states." This union would be modeled after the European Economic Community where there is free movement between states and socio-economic equality, but political rights, such as voting, are guaranteed only within the country of which the voter is a national.

With this in mind, the South African government has instituted a decentralization program and has devoted increasing funds

to the development of the home lands. In 1975/76, about 2.4 percent of South Africa's gross national product was appropriated for development. Homeland governments controlled about 60 percent of total expenditure. The Bantu Investment Corporation and the Xhosa Development Corporation through concerted efforts have made "sufficient progress with the training, financing and establishment of Black entrepreneurs that trading is today predominately in the hands of the citizens of the various homelands." The South African Bantu Trust's functions are construction work, provision of basic infrastructure, the consolidation of land, and financing of overhead expenditure.

Leaders of the "liberation" groups in southern Africa reject the idea that the South African government is doing anything but consolidating its own position. They claim that whites are exploiting the land and labor of "natives" while subjecting non-whites to domination and suppression by the use of apartheid as instituted by numerous legislative acts especially the Group Areas Act, Population Registration Act, and Suppression of Communism Act, all passed in 1950-1951. Therefore, they contend the white population is actually robbing the black population of its just reward for its labor while exploiting and depleting resources that rightfully belong to the "native" Africans. When the Africanists led by Robert Sobukwe broke away from the African National Congress in 1958, they formulated a doctrine based on a nonracial future society in which people of all colors would be "Africans". This was, however, more of a public relations move to placate "friends overseas" than an actual attitude of the Africanists who privately preferred the slogan "drive the white man into the sea."

While a Black, however, may hate all whites as oppressors because of their policy of exploitation and discrimination, he may also have alienated himself from tribal life and cultural ties, but most people need to belong to a group. This void is often filled by adopting Marxist-Leninist ideology and trying to adapt this European based way of thinking to a situation that bears very little if any resemblance to the situations from which Marx and Lenin derived their theories. What results is a group of alienated people who espouse Marxism-Leninism in order to destroy the system that refuses to treat them as equals. They, in their turn, treat those Africans who maintain their tribal ties and culture as inferior beings who must be led and enlightened. In many ways, these people merely wish to replace the current ruling group with a ruling group comprised of themselves. Consider a letter from Steve Biko to Senator Dick Clark in which Biko stated that "America should cease showing any tolerance to Bantustan leaders . . . any form of official or semi-official recognition to them is [a] gross insult to the people of [South Africa]. Instead, "American official visitors to [South Africa] should insist on seeing *authentic* black leadership as represented by the people mentioned above." (Italics added.) The "people mentioned above" is a list of six people of whom Biko was one. In other words, anyone who did not or does not agree with Biko's and his allies' program of change should be ignored as "puppets" of the "racist South African regime."

This attitude is prevalent in Namibia/South West Africa as well as in South Africa, and it has been carried to the point

of murdering tribal chiefs who cooperate with the South African government in its efforts at progress and change. This serves the double purpose of intimidating the population and of weakening tribalism the strength of which has been an obstacle to the success of groups with a reputation of anti-chieftanship such as SWAPO and the ANC.●

GUARANTEED INCOME: INCENTIVE FOR LAZINESS

HON. LARRY J. HOPKINS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. HOPKINS. Mr. Speaker, one of the major forces which built our country into the greatest Nation on Earth was the American people's willingness to work hard for a living.

Unfortunately, the growth of the welfare system has made it more profitable for many Americans to sit back and let the rest of the country support them. Welfare programs without strong work requirements have reduced the work ethic which built this Nation, and have made a Government benefit program an incentive for laziness.

Here, as printed in the Washington Post, are the results of an extensive study confirming these facts. I hope all my colleagues may read it and realize the necessity of major welfare reform.

GUARANTEED INCOME VERSUS WORKER INITIATIVE

(By Spencer Rich)

In the past dozen years, the U.S. government has financed four major experiments with the guaranteed-income concept for poor people, the Labor Department reports, and the results were always the same: people who got the guaranteed income worked less than those who didn't. Some worked a lot less and some only a bit less, but all worked less.

The findings, summarized in the latest issue of the Labor Department's Monthly Labor Review by Prof. Robert A. Moffitt of Rutgers University, appear to support Reagan administration arguments that unless welfare programs include a strong work requirement, many recipients will reduce their work effort and not make a maximum attempt to get off welfare into a full-time job.

The administration is backing an extreme emphasis on work requirements as part of its proposals to change the \$13 billion federal-state welfare program for families with dependent children.

The four experiments, the only major ones undertaken in this country, were conducted over the past dozen years. One, involving 1,300 people, took place in New Jersey and Pennsylvania from 1968 to 1972; a second (800 people) in rural areas of North Carolina and Iowa from 1970 to 1972; a third (4,800 people) in Seattle and Denver from 1970 to 1978, and the fourth (1,800) in Gary, Ind., from 1971 to 1974.

Conditions varied from place to place, according to Moffitt. But basically, the participants—all low-income or impoverished—

were given a government welfare payment (or negative income tax payment, as the cash payment was sometimes called). On the average, according to Moffitt, the payment was equal to the poverty line (now \$8,410 for a family of four).

Recipients were told that they were not required to work. But if they did work, their welfare payment would be reduced by 50 cents for each dollar earned; in effect, they could keep the full welfare payment and half of anything earned.

The work behavior of recipients was then compared with a "control" group consisting of nonrecipients with similar social characteristics.

Here are the results as reported by Moffitt:

All four experiments produced "unequivocal evidence that hours of work are reduced by the negative income tax."

Husbands in intact families reduced their work effort by only a few hours a week on the average, anywhere from 1 to 8 percent, as compared with the control group. Moffitt concluded that while a guaranteed income, at the relatively low levels of support involved in the studies, reduced the work ethic somewhat for husbands, the negative income tax "does not appear to have a pervasive effect." He said the 1 percent to 8 percent reduction was largely the product of a handful of men ceasing work altogether, most others had minor or no reduction of hours.

For wives in these families, the reduction of work effort varied but on the whole was much greater. One group (black women in the New Jersey-Pennsylvania experiment) reduced hours only 2.2 percent, but in other places reduction of wives' hours ranged from 14.6 percent (Seattle-Denver) to 20 percent (Iowa white wives) to 30 percent (North Carolina black wives and New Jersey-Pennsylvania white wives) to 55 percent (Spanish-speaking wives in New Jersey-Pennsylvania). (Moffitt thinks the 55 percent figure is so high it may be a fluke.)

Female heads of families also reduced their work effort—about 11.9 percent in Seattle-Denver and possibly as much as 27.8 percent in Gary (Moffitt thinks the latter raw figure is too high and has recalculated it to 9 percent).

All told, says Moffitt, the studies show conclusively that a guaranteed income without any work requirement, even at the low levels of support involved in these four experiments, causes people to work less.●

CINCO DE MAYO

HON. JOHN G. FARY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. FARY. Mr. Speaker, each year Cinco De Mayo, the 5th of May, is a holiday celebrated by our neighbors to the south and by many communities here in the United States. It commemorates the day in 1862 when a small force of Mexican soldiers defeated a much larger and better-equipped French troop. During this siege, which is remembered as the Battle of Puebla, Gen. Ignacio Zaragoza led his troops in a defeat of the forces of Napoleon III. This proved to be a victory of con-

siderable import as the French forces were thought at that time to be the mightiest in the world. The defeat of the French at Puebla stands as a landmark in the history of Mexico and symbolizes the victory of a proud and independent human spirit over foreign invasion.

Cinco De Mayo is celebrated in much the same spirit as the Fourth of July is celebrated here in the United States. We give recognition to the many brave acts that were committed in the name of freedom. It is appropriate at this time to consider how the benefits of liberty have spread to all the citizens of this land including the Mexican Americans.

This bravery exhibited by Mexican soldiers on El Cinco De Mayo has never been forgotten in Mexico or in the United States. That bravery is evident in the contributions made by Mexican Americans in our own Armed Forces. During World War II, more Mexican Americans earned the Congressional Medal of Honor and other decorations for bravery than any other single ethnic group.

Let me say that this decade is one of opportunity and bright promise for Americans of Mexican descent. It is evident by their gains already made in the fields of business, education, and government. Another reason for high hopes in the 1980's is the growing unity between the Mexican-American community and other hispanic groups.

I am proud to say that in my own Fifth Congressional District, I have a large population of Mexican-Americans. To these people, Cinco De Mayo symbolizes the love of freedom that lives today. Please join me and my Mexican American friends in paying tribute to the courage of those who fought and died on El Cinco De Mayo.●

PROFITS OVERESTIMATED

HON. THOMAS E. PETRI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. PETRI. Mr. Speaker, in recent years, there has been considerable public debate concerning the level of business profits. In some quarters, business profits has become an on-scene phrase.

Last week, my hometown newspaper, the Fond du Lac Reporter, published an editorial that debunks the false claims that have been made about business profits. I call my colleagues attention to this editorial:

PROFITS OVERESTIMATED

When most Americans are asked to make a rough guess as to how much profit the average manufacturer makes on each dollar of sales the answer today generally is around 32 cents.

It wasn't long ago when many thought the profit per dollar was as high as 60 cents. There's a characteristic tendency, it seems, for many Americans to think that they are always getting ripped off.

The latest figures from the U.S. Department of Commerce show, however, that U.S. manufacturers average only 5.4 cents profit for each dollar in sales—or about one-sixth of what the public assumes.

Statistics demonstrate that industries which don't require a large investment per worker naturally can operate on a smaller profit margin per dollar than industries that require higher employee investments.

Department of Commerce statistics from 1978, for example, show that bakeries have an investment of about \$12,000 per job, and report a profit of 3.6 cents per dollar. Clothing apparel manufacturers invest \$14,000 per job, and operate with a profit of 4 cents per dollar earned.

How about the petroleum and refining companies? The agency reports that this is a high risk business, with the companies investing more than \$200,000 per job. In 1978 the industry earned 4.9 cents per dollar of sales—far below what was needed to make the enormous investments required to give the U.S. greater independence in the field of energy, and a major reason why they now have far more leeway.

The figures are interesting—but probably won't be believed by many who think they are constantly being ripped off. Their suspicions, based to a large extent on impressive profit totals that can be misleading, are easily understood. Yet the profits for most industries are far from what most of us imagine.

Another point to remember is that when profits are up, employment generally is up, creating a healthy economy. That's the way the free enterprise system works. And that's why there have been so many advocates in recent years saying there is need once again to encourage greater private investment—instead of penalizing investors with excessive taxation. In this era of ripoff fears, it's an idea not always easily accepted. But it's a proven fact that when business and industry are doing well so are most of the people.●

A TRIBUTE TO MR. DAVID D. BOHANNON

HON. TOM LANTOS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate a constituent of mine, Mr. David D. Bohannon, who today is receiving the "Humanitarian of the Year Award" given by the Easter Seal Society for Crippled Children and Adults of San Mateo County.

The society presents this annual award to an outstanding citizen who has given unstintingly of his or her time, talent, and concern to the advancement of opportunities for people in our community. He will be honored tonight at an outstanding evening of tribute for the benefit of the Easter Seal Society.

Mr. Bohannon comes from a pioneer family in every sense of the word. His

grandfather, Jeremiah, came across the plains in a wagon train to seek new horizons in California. His pioneer spirit has been evident through his illustrious career. He is well known in San Mateo County for his personal commitment, not only to local residents, but also to the creation of outstanding community planning and development within the county. Over the years Mr. Bohannon has received numerous awards, locally and nationally, for outstanding achievement for housing design and community development.

His charitable contributions are equally numerous. These include involvement with organizations which help the poor, the handicapped, youth in trouble or in need, as well as community activities to stimulate the arts, sciences, medicine, education, and preservation of the environment.

He has been married to his lovely wife, Ophelia, for 60 years. They have three children, nine grandchildren, and two great grandchildren. He is most proud of his family and his country. His community and country are proud of him, as well.

I am pleased to join the Easter Seal Society in recognition of the humanitarian works of Mr. Bohannon, and I am proud to bring his achievements to the attention of the House of Representatives.●

LETTER ON ARMS SALE TO SAUDI ARABIA

HON. CHARLES E. SCHUMER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. Speaker, the following letter to the editor appeared in the New York Times on Sunday, April 26, 1981. Written by Irvin Steinberg, National Commander of the Jewish War Veterans, the letter expresses ideas I share on the sale of arms to Saudia Arabia. For that reason, I have decided to enter it into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for all to see.

[From the New York Times, Apr. 26, 1981]

WHY DO THE SAUDIS DESERVE AMERICAN ARMS?

To the Editor:

As American veterans vitally concerned with U.S. defense and security, we of the Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A. are opposed to the proposed sale of our country's most sophisticated weaponry to Saudi Arabia, because it is against American interest.

When the Carter Administration approved the 1978 sale of 62 F-15's, we had a right to expect Saudi Arabia to moderate its oil policies in support of American concerns. Instead, in the last three years, the Saudis have guided OPEC oil prices up from \$12 a barrel to roughly \$30 a barrel, helping to fuel our inflationary economy. Recently,

the Saudis have threatened to cut back oil production if the U.S. builds up its strategic petroleum reserves as mandated by Congress. Can we allow such blackmail?

The Saudis claim they require this arms package, increasing the operational capabilities of the F-15's and providing advanced aerial intelligence—AWACS—for protection against external foes. But the Saudis do not have the capability to absorb this package nor the means to counter a Soviet attack without massive, direct assistance from the United States.

Rather than provide vital protection to the Saudis, we run the great risk of falling into an Iranian-type trap where our operational capabilities would be compromised. The greatest threat to the Saudis today is their internal instability and the constant threats to the tottering oligarchy. Providing large stocks of American weapons and training Saudi pilots could contribute to the social unrest as it did in the case of Iran. While training manuals for systems such as the F-14 and the Phoenix missile were compromised during the Iranian upheaval, we are now speaking of possibly jeopardizing our most sophisticated combat capabilities.

Many other arguments opposing this sale have been made, emphasizing the Saudis' failure to support American interests: their active work against the Camp David peace process; their boycott of Egypt; their \$400-million-a-year financing of terrorism through the P.L.O.; their condemnation of the American rescue attempt in Iran, and their opposition to American military bases on the Arabian Peninsula.

Positive support from the Saudis was implied when the 1978 sale was granted, but it never materialized. Also, under the terms of the first sale, the Carter Administration told the Saudis and Congress that no additional offensive equipment would be sold. The Saudis have now put us in a possibly humiliating position if we abrogate our public commitment, showing the world that an American policy can easily be broken.

Even these arguments pale before the dangers to American security if we place our sophisticated systems and operational capabilities in the hands of an unstable Government in a potentially explosive region. All of us who know what it means to fight for our country must be very concerned about America's placing itself in such danger.

IRVIN STEINBERG,

Natl. Comdr., Jewish War Veterans,

Washington, April 15, 1981.●

CINCO DE MAYO

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, Cinco de Mayo marks a crossroads in Mexican history. On that day, in the year 1862, the people of Mexico, outnumbered 3 to 1 by French invaders, repulsed the French Army with a zest for freedom that will memorialize the battle for all time. The people of Mexico, through the courage shown on one fateful day, set a standard of self-determination which continues to inspire people across the world in their struggles for liberation.

Today, in the United States, we stand at a spiritual crossroads that is not unlike the crossroads our Mexican brothers faced in 1862. They were confronted with the tyranny of French rule. We today are confronted with the tyranny of inflation. Now, as then, the odds against success seem overwhelming. Now, as then, the heart must be stirred before the battle can be won. Now, as then, a superhuman effort of self-sacrifice for the common goal is needed if we are to see victory. We must rise to the challenge with the bravery and tenacity our Mexican neighbors brought forth to preserve their nation.

Mr. Speaker, the spirit of Cinco de Mayo is as relevant to our survival as a nation as it was over a century ago in the battle of Guadalupe near Puebla. That spirit demands more of us than getting together with a friend and going to dinner. It calls on us to reflect upon the heroics of the Mexican nation, and to look into our own hearts to ask whether we can confront our challenges as heroically. It calls on us to roll up our sleeves and dig in, to tap the energy source that binds a people together in the face of adversity.

I thank God that we have days throughout the year like Cinco de Mayo to remind each of us of our limitless possibilities as a people; and I pray that the coming years will provide us with the resolve to conquer our oppressor that our Mexican brothers displayed that day. We must remember: the message of Cinco de Mayo is that, no matter how great the challenge, even one victory can change the course of history.●

THE CHURCH AND POLITICAL CHANGE IN EL SALVADOR

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, as we hear the news of continuing violence and repression in El Salvador, we feel a real sadness that the policy of the United States is still not clearly aimed at the kind of political solution which the conditions of El Salvador seem so clearly to require. Increasingly, the voices of the major religious faiths in this country have called for a discontinuance of the kind of support which seems based on the expectation that a military solution is possible. I have received many communications from my own district from various church groups voicing support for political solutions which recognize the need for increased equity for the poor in El Salvador.

I am grateful for these expressions, since they so often recognize that the

kinds of communal action and social organization that are being regarded as subversive in El Salvador—and as justification for attacks by the paramilitary groups—are rights long held sacred in this country. The right to associate freely, and by communal action to strive to obtain better economic and social conditions, is not just an American vision, but one that fits the dignity of man as seen by the major religions of the world. Because of the coincidence, or congruence, of opinion about the rights of mankind shared by political systems governed by concepts of individual rights and social equity, as expressed in the Constitution, and by the Judeo-Christian view of man, there is difficulty sorting out the proper spheres of action for political and religious leaders. When basic rights are guaranteed, it seems simpler to assign to religion its tasks of teaching the importance of the spiritual values and the ultimate goals of human existence. But when the basic values and fundamental necessities of being human are denied by a system, it will be difficult to separate the activities of politics and religion.

At the very least, we can hope that the infatuation of the administration leadership with military solutions will continue to be opposed by our religious leaders, and by the people. If the joining of political voices to religious voices continues in this matter, it is to the honor of both, for in this matter they pursue the same goals. In this light I would like to call attention to the following interview with Sister Melinda Roper, president of the Maryknoll Order, published in the Washington Post April 19, 1981.

"It's all right for our critics to get after us," she began, in what was to be a long and relaxed conversation in the company of two sisters and a visitor. "But then they will also have to get after the official Church in the United States. People keep trying to put us in a politically radical position. But the Gospel necessarily has political implications. Certain people will view the stance of the Church in this country on El Salvador as getting mixed up on politics. But I don't think that's the case at all. . . . Take Jesus. They had to make him a political enemy in order to kill him. To eliminate him, the Romans had to be convinced that he was an enemy of the state. You have that dynamic working throughout history. Look at any of the martyrs of the early church. They were killed not because of their belief in Jesus Christ. They were killed because that was turned around and interpreted as a political act against the state. From the perspective of the state, they were political enemies. From their own conviction, from their own motivation, they were not. I would say it's the same with us. We will get accused by the state and other people of meddling. We're not meddling. Feeding the hungry is a basic, rock-bottom Gospel value. But it is also a very crucial economic, political and international issue.

"When you get to the issue of feeding the hungry, unless it's an emergency crisis, usually handouts are not the way to go. When

you get to know the poor, understand and love them, you know—not just theoretically—that they have their own dignity and their own desire to live as responsible people. They don't want handouts. Then you begin to touch on why can't the poor produce enough food for their families, to have their own houses and land. And as soon as you touch that, you touch the structures of society and you touch political situations, the economic order, the whole thing. In that sense, yes, that's very much our realm of activity. And that will get interpreted in a thousand different ways." ●

U.S. NAVY TO BUY IMPORTED WARSHIPS?

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, many residents of the steelmaking 20th Congressional District of Pennsylvania were startled, to say the least, to learn recently that the U.S. Navy was considering buying submarines, and possibly other warships, from foreign shipbuilders.

The Navy, it seems, is dissatisfied with the progress being made in the construction of the Trident submarines at the Electric Boat shipyard in Groton, Conn. The project is said to be running 2 years behind schedule and the cost has increased from \$942 million to \$1.2 billion.

Both sides in the dispute are blaming each other for the delays and overruns but the Navy apparently has become so frustrated that it is, according to reports, " * * * prepared to look at offshore procurement, if necessary * * *" and is "engaged in a serious look at the capability, particularly submarines" of foreign shipyards.

I will not presume to judge who is right or who is wrong in the Trident dispute but, I confess, as a Navy veteran of World War II and an outspoken critic of certain, unrestricted imports, the prospect of having a foreign firm build this country's warships does not sit comfortably with me. In line with that thought, I would like to insert into the RECORD for the attention of my colleagues a column on the subject recently aired by one of Pittsburgh's leading commentators, Dave Kelly of WPXI-TV.

KELLY'S COMMENTARY

Here we are 40 years after Pearl Harbor and guess what?

Uncle Sam is thinking of having the Japanese build American submarines and other warships.

I guess maybe it makes sense.

After all, our former enemies are building a lot of our cars, supplying our steel and making our television sets, stereos, radios, and cameras.

Cap Weinberger, the new Defense secretary, sez Yankee shipyards are a mess and the few we have build lousy ships.

One instance is the new Trident submarine. The first one, the USS *Ohio*, is 2 years

behind schedule. Its cost has jumped from \$942 million to 1.2 billion dollars. In addition, they have found 3,000 defective welds on the sub. Defective welds on a submarine are like sewing a tight fitting suit with spider webs. They might as well add screen doors. But the Japanese building our warships.

How'd you like to have to explain that one to the one thousand sailors still entombed on the Arizona at the bottom of Pearl Harbor . . . Boy, I'm sure glad the Japanese aren't bent out of shape about losing World War II, we'd probably have to build our own ships. ●

THE MOST POWERFUL ALLY

HON. LARRY McDONALD

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. McDONALD. Mr. Speaker, recently in Europe there has been published a most interesting book on the current challenge to civilization by totalitarians. This volume, written by Stefan Troyanski, is currently available in six languages and should be read by anyone concerned with the Soviet/Warsaw Pact threat to the West. Many Western politicians in the past have shown indecisive leadership; "The Most Powerful Ally" gives direction to statesmen in these muddled times. For the benefit of my colleagues, a synopsis follows (translation from German):

I

Urgent problems are haunting our contemporaries: energy crisis, economic depression and the threat to the biological base of our living conditions on the planet. All this, however, blurs into insignificance when we consider the dilemmas we are facing: Are the peoples of the world moving towards subjugation by the Satanic power of Communism; are they threatened by nuclear holocaust or will the Communist world order disappear altogether?

II

Drugged by détente the West stood quietly by when the expansionist world revolution was started anew after a twenty-five year break in Southeast Asia, Africa, Central America and the Middle East.

In February 1981 the American administration repeated its warning that a Soviet attack on Western Europe would be answered as if it were an aggression against the United States itself. However, what action can the United States take if and when before long the governments of the Western European allies get into a hopeless situation, i.e. are exposed to a severe economic crisis or nuclear intimidation and subsequently decide in favor of a neutralist course of action? Given such a situation, it would be quite possible to see the free part of Western Europe slide into the influence sphere of Soviet hegemony.

To cut off Western Europe from Africa's energy resources and raw materials would suffice to bring about total chaos. With their ideologically deformed South Africa policies alone the Western powers are already heading toward disaster.

Furthermore, if the economic, industrial and technical potential of the free European nations should fall under Soviet power,

we would be faced with a very dangerous shift in the balance of power between East and West.

III

If current Western policies toward the East with their prevailing characteristics, i.e. unilateral détente, unilateral disarmament and unilateral economic support for the governing Communist parties, are continued, the free industrial nations will most likely suffer defeat before the end of this decade.

Washington has set out to change the course of East-West policies. However, world peace and the security of the West can only be maintained if the political essentials of the free world undergo complete reassessment.

IV

In reality détente is pure fiction. Détente is completely incompatible with the mere existence of Communism as an organized power. The prevailing principle of any communist policy is that of "international class struggle", having world domination as its final objective.

In real terms this means that the USSR, for instance, cannot implement any other foreign policies than those of expansion and aggression. By its mere existence the Marxist-Leninist world movement is producing a continuous and growing global tension.

In other words, the policy of détente is the most effective weapon of Soviet psychological warfare. For years the West has not been living in peace but has been involved in a total revolutionary war. The policy of détente has paralyzed the most important factor in times of war, i.e. the spirit of resistance of free men.

"Resulting from our policy of détente we will have achieved most of our objectives in Western Europe before 1985. Our position will be consolidated * * * And there will be a decisive shift in the East-West military balance so that by 1985 we will be in a position to have our way whenever this will be necessary." (Leonid Brezhnev, conference of Eastern European party leaders and heads of states, Prague, Feb. 1977.)

There is a saying that we have no alternative, but détente. This phrase demonstrates political foolishness. In reality this formula means: There is no alternative but illusion. However, we think, there is another choice: We must completely and comprehensively face up to the challenges of world communism on all levels of East-West relations with the exception of an all-out war. There is another choice other than détente: peace and security for all nations.

If the political leaders in the Western capitals do not decide to discard the principle of détente, they opt for the victory of world revolution.

V

Furthermore, Western survival is dependent on a complete reversal of their disarmament policy.

The following process in world politics is of utmost importance: There is a race going on between the two blocks as to armament technology and military build-up. The power which will first achieve decisive military superiority will be in a position to determine the future of all nations without having to wage a large war. The potential exists for the West with its larger industrial capacity and its sophisticated technology to win this race easily. However, there is every chance that the Free World, due to its erroneous policies towards the East, will lose

this race. It does not cross the minds of the West's political leaders to set as an objective the necessity to win the competition for military superiority. This competition was forced onto them by a relentless opponent. This competition was forced onto them by a relentless opponent. Another weakness is to be seen in the fact that they let themselves be misled by the following deceptive slogan of Communist propaganda: "Let us put an end to the arms race!"

The Soviets have one priority objective: Win the East-West arms race in order to be able to force the Western world to surrender without having to wage a war.

Any agreement on arms reduction is to be seen as an additional milestone on the path of Soviet imperialism towards surpassing the West in all military fields. Civilized people will adhere to moral standards of behavior. Therefore the governments of the free industrialized nations will keep all the provisions of signed disarmament agreements. The Soviets, however, are obliged to deceive the "international enemy of the working class". Experts, however, think that it is technically impossible to verify any agreed upon arms control measures.

VII

Socialist centrally managed economy is nothing else but a total military economy with the aid of which communist world victory is to be brought about even in the non-military and economic fields.

Any kind of economic cooperation between East and West, even if it concerns consumer goods exclusively, will ultimately benefit the Soviet military economy.

Western businessmen don't even let themselves be discouraged from supplying the Soviet Union with important military equipment and products, e.g. electronic equipment and computers which cannot be manufactured in the USSR but are absolutely essential for the Soviet Union's objective to surpass the Western world.

In those cases "cooperation" between East and West already exceeds the bounds of high treason.

The enormous volume of credits to Eastern countries is to be seen as a contribution to the revival of the sagging socialist planned economy. Furthermore, these credits relieve Eastern block states somewhat from their war production burden and provide them with investment goods of the highest technological sophistication. Simultaneously, Moscow is preparing for a destructive strike against Western economies at a suitable point in time. With that strike they will stop all energy supplies coming from the Eastern block. They will cut off all supply lifelines between the Free World and their energy and raw materials suppliers and will announce the freezing of all payment against credits granted to the East. When the lights go out in Western Europe the time has come for military blackmail. This will leave only one way out: neutralization of the free European states.

VII

Apart from reassessing the three essentials of policies towards the East two more handicaps paralyzing the Western foreign and defense policies have to be overcome:

Fear of the Soviet Union's alleged "forward strategy". This means, fear that the Soviet Union in case of being confronted with the immediate danger that their regime might collapse would—in a mood of desperation—precipitate the whole world into a nuclear holocaust.

The incompleteness of the Western triad in relation to their global strategy. This cre-

ates an enormous imbalance of forces between East and West at a time when the world's civil war moves towards its peak.

VIII

The manic fear of the imaginary danger that the Soviets might resort to a "forward strategy" dooms Western nations to inactivity, particularly on the decisive non-military front. People are trembling because they fear spontaneous actions coming from Moscow which might escalate into a nuclear world war. However, this shows ignorance as to the tactics and mentality of Soviet leaders. Those advocates of a deterministic view of the world consider the whole West as their property, which will fall to them sooner or later, not by chance, but naturally. They are, however, determined to get an undamaged property into their hands. They do not want to inherit a nuclear desert.

The first axiom of Soviet strategy postulates: No adventures! On their way into the final era of communism any risk must be avoided.

The leaders in the Kremlin will never trigger a nuclear war themselves. On the contrary, they will do everything in their might to prevent the outbreak of an all-out nuclear war. This indispensable determination is written into the platform of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union: "It is most important to prevent a thermonuclear war, to prevent even its outbreak."

The program of an ideology (which the Soviet Union is) serves neither propaganda nor disinformation purposes (for this they have special bodies) but serves as a code of binding directives for political practice. The resolution of the Communist Party's leadership to prevent at any cost an exchange of nuclear strikes between the two world powers is of unconditional validity, because this resolution is part of the party platform of a totalitarian regime and because it takes the objective conditions of the Eastern block into account.

The Soviet "nomenklatura" is more afraid of a nuclear war than are Western political leaders. The totalitarian power apparatus of the Soviet Union has been set up in a very complex way and therefore is very susceptible to disturbances. The Soviet system cannot survive the chaos following a missile attack. Since the final victory of communism is supposed to be defined by "higher laws" which act "independently of human willpower" the Kremlin is not allowed to let disasters interfere with this "lawful and natural development."

If the West were not paralyzed intellectually, psychologically and politically by its vision of the satellite nations emerging into freedom and triggering the Soviet Union into a "forward strategy", it would be easy to bring about an internal overthrow of the communist regime which has been long overdue.

IX

It has to be counted among the absurdities of current Western world policies that to this very day Western political leaders are not even aware of the fact that the triad of Western global strategy remains incomplete.

According to a generally recognized axiom the balance of military power between the two world powers is based on this triad: Conventional capabilities—tactical nuclear weapons—strategic intercontinental missiles.

However, it has not been taken into account that the planetary strategy should be controlled by the triad-principle as well.

The Soviets believe that the world victory of communism is guaranteed by the insurmountability of the following three power factors: The socialist camp, the "national liberation movements" in the third world and the communist parties in the "capitalist" states.

On the Western side this Soviet triad is opposed by a mere torso—NATO. The free world's very existence is dependent on the immediate design of their own global strategy triad. The West has to counter the "national liberation movements" which are directed by the Soviet general staff for the world revolution. The West must have its own strategic plan to counter the world revolution in the developing countries. The West must develop possibilities to counter-balance the psychological offensive and subversive activities within the free industrialized nations by pursuing political campaigns which reach deep into the Soviet block.

As soon as we could achieve synchronized passive and active resistance among the subdued peoples, the end of totalitarianism would not be far away.

The Polish August (1980) demonstrated for the first time what unexpected possibilities are open to workers and farmers.

X

The much too luxurious standard of living within hypercivilizations obviously disables the saturated people in the Western hemisphere to counter the most radical historical challenge we have ever had: the communist plan to force inhuman totalitarianism onto all nations of the earth.

There is, however, no alternative to respond to this challenge except surrender.

The community of enslaved nations are the most powerful factor that will very probably decide the outcome of an international civil war. The subdued nations will not only free themselves, by themselves, but will also save the West from decline, a decline which the West is doomed to by its wrongly programmed "Ostpolitik".

We are far from basing our strategy on a phantom. Enslaved people cannot be seen as a *deus ex machina*, but they must be counted among the strongest potential factors in our times. As soon as the powers of this multi-armed giant will combine, the days of the spiritually, politically and economically agonized dictatorships will be numbered.●

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

HON. W. J. (BILLY) TAUZIN

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. TAUZIN. Mr. Speaker, I want to express my support for the two questions upon which the House of Representatives voted today.

At the time these votes were taken, I was meeting with President Reagan to discuss the administration's economic proposals which the House is currently considering.

Due to the meeting, however, I was unable to cast my vote in favor of the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 238) recognizing and approving the constitution proposed for the Virgin Islands and providing for its consideration by the voters of the Virgin Islands. Likewise,

I was unable to cast my vote in favor of convening the Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union.

If circumstances had permitted my attendance in the House during these important votes, I would have cast a "yea" vote on both questions.●

LATTA AMENDMENT INAD-EQUATE FOR STRATEGIC PETROLEUM RESERVE

HON. GILLIS W. LONG

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, once again we find the Congress urged to play around with a critical feature of national security—the Strategic Petroleum Reserve (SPR).

Despite growing tensions in the Mideast, despite the clear lessons of the 1973 oil embargo, and despite the consistent record of the Congress in calling for increasing fill rates over the past 6 years, voices are still raised urging us to abandon a public commitment to emergency conservation in favor of taking our chances with private funding of the SPR.

As recently as last December, Congress reaffirmed its concern that the American people be protected from international blackmail in oil supplies by calling for a speedup in the fill rate to 300,000 barrels per day—up from the 100,000 barrels per day mandated by the Energy Security Act passed 6 months earlier.

Both Presidents Carter and Reagan endorsed the urgency of filling the reserve in their separate budget submissions for fiscal year 1982.

Such bipartisan agreement in both branches of Government is rare in today's politically charged climate.

Nevertheless, the Latta amendment would have us ignore this broad-based support for Federal action to increase our energy independence, and instead hang our hopes on uncertain private funding.

But how does the financial community react to these proposals?

In recent congressional testimony, witness after witness, from large brokerage houses to investment banking firms, confirmed that the least costly and simplest method of funding the SPR would be through on-budget, direct Treasury obligations. Warning flags were raised against the prospect of selling stock in the reserve oil into what are relatively speculative markets.

Mr. Speaker, there is nothing speculative about the vulnerability of the United States to severe disruptions in petroleum supplies from overseas. We cannot sell interests in something this serious to the country to private speculators.

There is nothing speculative about the effects of the 1973 oil embargo, or the curtailment of supplies during the Iran-Iraq war. We have seen, and the people have suffered, the very real impacts of these curtailments. Recent developments in Lebanon and fears for the stability of the Royal House in Saudi Arabia deny us the luxury of assuming we have seen the last of such cutoffs.

The case for Federal responsibility is clear and inescapable. The SPR is a public good in the classic economic sense.

There was nothing private about the gaslines and shortages which all of us were forced to cope with.

The reductions in oil allotments were felt by the armed services as well, causing a drastic change from normal operational tempo. The potential threat to our ability to move our warships and military airplanes, hence our national defense itself, was threatened.

In the 4 years since the first oil began pouring into the SPR, we have seen this critical tool of national energy security subordinated to budget and political considerations, which benefited us little while increasing our vulnerability to foreign regimes. We have repeatedly set goals for filling the reserve, and then tolerated actions pushing us further and further behind in meeting those goals. Present reserve holdings are only 135 million barrels—roughly a 30-day strategic supply—when we should have at least 6 months reserve. To be more secure, we should have a year's reserve supply.

We must also address, and do so promptly, the urgent need to step up the growth of the reserve's storage capacity. At the present rate of capacity expansion, we will fill the existing capacity in the first quarter of 1982.

Mr. Speaker, the Latta amendment's treatment of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve is sufficient reason, on national defense grounds, to oppose that amendment. We must continue, at whatever cost, to build up a margin of safety in our energy resources.

The time to act is now. World oil supplies are more readily available now than at any other time in recent memory. We should avail ourselves of the currently stable prices to add to the reserve before the cost again spirals upward. We cannot expect lower prices at any future point in time.

How can we call for increased sacrifices from our citizens and allies when we lack the will to follow through on a crucial self-help program which is already in place? We must not be diverted from this project. Our true friends will understand our desire to protect ourselves from oil extortion.

We must not be distracted from our goal by a speculative funding scheme which raises doubts in the financial community.

We must do what we set out to do—build the reserve with a minimum of risk, delay, and unavoidable cost.●

ST. PAUL OF THE CROSS CATHOLIC CHURCH CELEBRATES 25TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. WAYNE GRISHAM

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. GRISHAM. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to take this time to congratulate the clergymen and parishioners of the St. Paul of the Cross Catholic Church in La Mirada, Calif. on the occasion of their church's 25th anniversary.

On April 26, 1956, the St. Paul of the Cross Catholic Church held its first service under Pastor Owen Patrick Jinks. The church held its services in the Moose hall then, and it was not until 2 years later that a church building was built.

Since that time, the church has grown to include over 10,000 parishioners who make up the church's family of faith.

Under the guidance of Pastor Jinks and able assistants like my good friend Father Mike Baker, the St. Paul of the Cross Church has enriched the community of La Mirada through involvement in community programs and dedication to the principles of their faith. Further still, the church has brought to the community that rare combination of spirituality and active involvement that leaves a mark on all who are involved in its activities.

Words like love and brotherhood are used all too often these days by individuals who rarely practice those attributes. But through the activities and the faith of the clergy and parishioners of the St. Paul of the Cross Catholic Church, those attributes have come to life in the community of La Mirada. And for that, we as Americans owe them a debt of gratitude.●

A TRIBUTE TO VIETNAM VETERANS

HON. TOM LANTOS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, as we work to control the inflationary spiral which began during the Vietnam war, we must continue to remember and honor the Americans who served in that conflict.

The wounds inflicted on our fighting men in Vietnam were not only physical. As I speak to you today between 500,000 and 1 million Vietnam veterans still suffer psychological difficul-

ties, 480,000 veterans between the ages of 25 and 39 are unemployed, 41 percent of the combat veterans serving in Vietnam have had alcohol problems, and over 25 percent have been arrested after returning to the United States. Congress has designated April 26, 1981, as Vietnam Veteran's Recognition Day. But this is only a small first step.

We must address the special need of these veterans;

First, we must commit ourselves to assist veterans in locating decent jobs;

Second, we must insure the continuation of peer counseling in storefront outreach centers throughout the Nation;

Third, we must not shirk our responsibility for the consequences of agent orange and other problems unique to the Vietnam veteran;

Finally my friends, we must truly welcome them home.

I am proud to say that San Mateo County will continue its fine tradition of honoring Vietnam veterans. It is my pleasure to insert the following article printed in the Peninsula Times-Tribune of March 4, 1981, which outlines our plans for a special Fourth of July celebration honoring Vietnam veterans:

FOCUS ON VIET VETERANS AT JULY 4 FESTIVITIES

(By Steve Taylor)

REDWOOD CITY.—Vietnam War veterans will be the focus of attention during San Mateo County's Fourth of July activities this year.

The Board of Supervisors Tuesday named Independence Day as the time to honor soldiers who fought in America's last war. A similar declaration was adopted by the San Mateo City Council, and other councils are expected to follow suit.

Supervisor Jackie Speier, who proposed the declaration, said the public has virtually ignored Vietnam veterans. She contrasted their treatment to that of the American hostages who returned six weeks ago from Iran.

"There were no ticker-tape parades to celebrate, no bands, no speeches, no heroes' welcome to mark the end of this less-than-noble war. Our Vietnam veterans came home to the silent treatment—to no treatment," she said.

"Their sacrifice was no less valid. Their bravery no less inspiring, their pain no less real than that of any other veterans in our history," Speier added.

Many Vietnam veterans returned from war with nervous conditions, physical wounds and alcohol and drug problems. Almost six years since the fighting ended, many still suffer from such ailments, she said.

But services to deal with these problems are lacking in many cases. Other times, government refuses to help, Speier said.

From his wheelchair, disabled Vietnam veteran Vincent Rius told the board, "It's time for the country to get away from the embarrassment" of its experience in Vietnam.

County Veterans Service Officer James Jones said about 100,000 veterans live in the county. However, officials do not know how many served during the Vietnam conflict.

Jones proposed that a county-wide survey be conducted. Some volunteers, including Vietnam veterans, have already offered to help, he said.●

A RISING STAR—BOB DAWSON

HON. WILLIAM HILL BONER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. BONER of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, there is an old adage that you do not miss the water until the well runs dry. This adage could well be applied to the work of a former professional staff member of the House Public Works and Transportation Committee, Robert K. Dawson. Mr. Dawson was a member of the House Public Works Committee professional staff for the past 8 years where he has served as the committee's administrator. Last Friday, Bob left the service of the House of Representatives to assume the position of Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Army for Civil Works.

Although I have not followed each of the Reagan administration's appointments closely, I know that if this appointment is representative, the President has indeed captured one of the rising stars in our Nation. Because of the low key demeanor exhibited by Bob, few Members outside the committee leadership were aware of the full scope of his abilities or of the consistency of his achievements. The committee's administrator demonstrated a value which strong basic legal advocacy skills afforded any office in a parliamentary body, but he did so in an effective, yet unobtrusive manner, always recognizing the prerogatives of the elected constitutional officers. As the administrator of the House Committee on Public Works, Bob distinguished himself through his solid and professional service. Bob undertook, always at the direction of his chairman, the work-a-day executive responsibilities of conducting a successful congressional committee operation. In doing so, Bob exhibited the hallmark of any good attorney, the exercise of independent professional judgment on behalf of his client.

Mr. Speaker, Bob Dawson's assumption to the position of the Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Army for Civil Works is a mixed blessing; his selection and appointment to the position is a just recognition of the man's tremendous abilities; however, his vacating the position with the committee undoubtedly creates a tremendous void.

I congratulate him, and I look forward to working with him in his new position with the Department of the Army.●

RECOGNITION OF COMMUNITY SERVICE OF RODOLFO H. CASTRO

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, I wish to take a few minutes to recognize the community service of Rodolfo H. Castro of the San Bernardino County Community Services Department. This past Saturday, May 2, Mr. Castro was the recipient of the 1981 Distinguished Alumnus Award from the California State Polytechnic University School of Business Administration. This latest award was just another in a long series of awards given to Rodolfo Castro, who has certainly earned the recognition he has received.

It is particularly appropriate to make these remarks today on "Cinco de Mayo," when the heritage and achievements of Hispanic Americans is on everyone's mind.

At this time, I wish to insert excerpts from a newsstory which recently appeared about Rodolfo Castro in *El Chicano*.

The article follows:

[From the *El Chicano* Newspaper]

CASTRO NAMED DISTINGUISHED ALUMNUS

California State Polytechnic University, Pomona has announced the selection of Rodolfo H. Castro, Executive Director of the Community Services Department (CSD) of San Bernardino County, as the "1981 Distinguished Alumnus for the School of Business Administration."

Mr. Castro grew up in Banning, California and graduated from Banning Union High School in June, 1961. In 1967, Mr. Castro received an Associate Arts Degree in Business with honors from Riverside City College, Riverside, California, and was awarded permanent membership in Alpha Gamma Sigma (the statewide honor society for California Junior Colleges). Mr. Castro received a Bachelor of Science Degree from California State Polytechnic University in Business Administration with honors in 1970, and was selected for "Who's Who Among Students in American Colleges and Universities."

In June, 1973, Mr. Castro received a masters in Business Administration from Harvard University and he pursued advanced studies at Oxford University, Oxford, England.

Mr. Castro has been Executive Director of CSD since December, 1976 and the Department has achieved a national reputation for program innovation and cost effectiveness. CSD has received National Association of Counties (NACo) awards in 1978 (Energy); 1979 (Handicapped Access); and also in 1979 (Bon View Art Project). In 1980, CSD received two National Urban Institute Exemplary Awards for Creative Projects—Inland Area Urban League Bloak Model Project and Ballet Folklorico de San Bernardino. In 1980, President Carter awarded the Presidential Energy Efficiency Award to CSD for

the Southern California Edison Mobile Home Audit Project.

Mr. Castro was invited to the White House in February, 1980 to provide domestic policy input and was selected for "Who's Who in California." Mr. Castro was selected from a pool of 6,556 graduates and competed successfully with sixty finalists for the honor of Distinguished Alumnus. The formal awards ceremony will be held at the College on May 2, 1981.●

HOLOCAUST

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 30, 1981

● Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, it was less than 40 years ago that 8 million men, women and children were systematically slaughtered for no other reason than their religious heritage. The world must never forget this tragedy, so that mankind should never let it happen again.

Yet, hatred and bigotry continue against our Jewish brothers and sisters.

And in the Soviet Union Jewish families and individuals suffer the denial of permission to emigrate to Israel. Like their forefathers who suffered through the human tragedy of the holocaust, they too are innocent victims, held captive because of their religious belief. Like their forefathers, they too have suffered the agony of broken families, many confined to lives of isolation, interrogation, and harassment.

One case in point is Kim Fridman and his family—innocent victims of the Soviet Government's cruel and odious treatment toward its Jewish population. Prior to his first request to emigrate to Israel in 1973, Fridman was a respected radio electronics engineer. Since 1973, Fridman's numerous requests to emigrate have been denied because of the so-called secrets he acquired during his career in radio technology. Today, Fridman is confined to a Soviet prison on charges of "parasitism." Parasitism is a spiteful and degrading charge the Soviet Government has conveniently invented to punish those who do not have a job in the U.S.S.R.

Fridman, who lost his job because of

his efforts to leave the Soviet Union, has been excluded from any employment opportunities. If found guilty of parasitism, Fridman may spend 1 to 3 years in prison. Yet, the only crime that Fridman has committed is his desire to reunite with his wife and child who longingly await him in Israel.

As a nation which is supremely committed to equality and freedom for all people, we must speak out against the Soviet Union's treatment of its Jewish citizens—a situation which is in violation of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act's human rights provision.

In establishing the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, Congress has designated 1 week each year as "Days of Remembrance" for the victims of the holocaust. In addition to the profound lessons we have learned from the ugly and reprehensible period of western history, we must also continue our public and private efforts to secure the release of all Jews longing to be free.●

FUTURE OF FAMILY FARM

HON. STEVE GUNDERSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 5, 1981

● Mr. GUNDERSON. Mr. Speaker, the future of the family farm is in jeopardy. Simply stated, a new generation of farmers is not replacing those who are retiring.

According to the 1980 edition of Wisconsin Dairy Facts, the average age of the Wisconsin dairy farmer is 51.9 years. In fact, only 11.9 percent of Wisconsin dairy farmers are under 35 years old.

As startling as these figures are, the problem can only get worse as operating costs increase and interest rates remain high. As the following table prepared by R.A. Luening of the University of Wisconsin illustrates, even at an interest rate of 12 percent, the average dairy farmer with a herd of 40 cows with 50 percent equity or less in his farm will have a difficult cash flow problem.

CASH FLOW TAX ANALYSIS

	100 percent equity	75 percent equity	50 percent equity	25 percent equity	0 percent equity
Net cash operating income.....	\$40,000	\$40,000	\$40,000	\$40,000	\$40,000
Interest 12 percent \$280,000.....	—0	—8,400	—16,800	—25,200	—33,600
Net cash.....	40,000	31,600	23,200	14,800	6,400
Depreciation 40 cows (\$175 per cow).....	—7,000	—7,000	—7,000	—7,000	—7,000
Subtotal.....	33,000	24,600	16,200	7,800	—600
Total taxes ¹	8,466	4,761	1,660	105	0
Net cash.....	24,534	19,839	14,540	7,695	—600
Family living.....	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000
Total.....	12,534	7,839	2,540	—4,305	—12,600

¹ No tax management strategies employed. Had \$500—Investment Tax Credit. Married, file jointly, two children.

What can we do? As I noted on the floor of the House just yesterday, our No. 1 goal must be to control the inflation rate that causes operating costs to soar and interest rates to remain high. This can only be accomplished over a period of time.

However, the needs of the young family farmer demand immediate attention. These needs can best be met by increasing the amount of money available for FmHA operating loans and targeting 25 percent of that money for those farmers with limited resources.

The administration has recently recommended an increase in FmHA farm operating loans. The House Agriculture Committee has, in turn, renewed a congressional commitment to using 25 percent of these funds for limited resource loans. A continuation of these initiatives will renew the primary mission of the FmHA—to help young and beginning farmers.

This initial assistance is essential to getting capable young farmers into farming. Without the young farmer, our Nation will lose its agricultural future.●