

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

THE COPTS IN EGYPT

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, the American Coptic Association in a February 1987 press release raised a series of concerns about the situation confronting Egyptians of the Coptic faith.

In an April 24 letter to the Department of State, I asked for detailed comments on the assertions of the American Coptic Association regarding problems facing Coptic Christians in Egypt. The State Department reply of May 7 indicates that some problems do exist for Coptic Christians but that the situation has improved for the Copts and several of the restrictions imposed on many religious groups, Muslim and Christian, are designed to avoid sectarian incidents which have caused periodic problems for the Egyptian Government.

Attached are a press release by the American Coptic Association, my letter to the Department of State and the Department of State's reply.

[Press Release, the American Coptic Association, Feb. 4, 1987]

THE PRESENT SITUATION OF THE CHRISTIANS IN EGYPT

The American Coptic Association (ACA) appreciates your efforts in releasing the Christians in Egypt who were imprisoned for their faith and the Coptic religious leaders who were imprisoned by President Sadat. However, the Coptic People in Egypt are facing religious suppression.

(1) The official weekly magazine of the Coptic Patriarchate "El-Keraza" (The Sermon) has been banned from publications since 1981, even after the Administrative Court decided that it was illegal to ban it. The Egyptian government permitted the publication of 200 copies each month as compared to more than 300,000 a week before its banning.

(2) Since 1980 not one presidential permit has been granted to the Coptic Orthodox Church for new church construction. The Egyptian government has not given permits to build churches in the newly constructed towns and cities of Egypt. It is creating pure Islamic communities and attempting to create a mini apartheid society in the long run.

(3) The Egyptian government is still illegally confiscating the Coptic Church Trust land and hands them over to the Ministry of Islamic Affairs. The reason for seizing the Coptic Church Trust land was that the Coptic benefactor stated that part of the annual income from the land may be used to help the poor people whether they are Christians or Muslims. The lands were seized because Muslims were included. Most of the Coptic Trust Land has been in the hands of the Coptic Church for more than fifty years.

(4) The Christians are exposed to terrorism by the Muslim fundamentalists without protection by the Egyptian officials.

In addition, the Christian Egyptians who account for 20% of the population are deprived of leadership positions. No Christian is an appointed governor, or his associates, University president, college dean, ambassador, police commissioner, or a governmental company manager.

The Egyptian government is the recipient of substantial economic and military aid from the U.S.A. The ACA requests that you use your influence so that the Egyptian government will remove its restrictions on building churches remove its ban on publishing the "El-Keraza" (Sermon) Coptic magazine, returns the Coptic Trust Land to the Coptic Church.

We appeal to individuals and organizations to contact President Hosni Mubarak, Cairo, Egypt to express concern for the human rights of the ethno-religious Coptic People. Also, please contact President Reagan, the White House, Washington, D.C. 20500; your two senators, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510; and your Congressman, the House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515. Or the officials of your country.

[Press Release, the American Coptic Association, Mar. 20, 1987]

RECENT ATROCITIES AGAINST THE CHRISTIANS IN EGYPT BY THE MUSLIM FUNDAMENTALISTS

During the months of January and February 1987 the Christian Egyptians had been exposed to terrorism and intimidation; which culminated at the end of February by burning their churches, houses, and shops by Muslim Fundamentalists in the absence of police protection. During the last week of February for seven days the Muslim Fundamentalists were demonstrating against the Christians in cities of Beni-Sweif, Beba Malawi, Minya, Assuit, Tahta, Tema, Sohag, Kena, Luxor, Essna, and Aswan. These cities are in Upper Egypt where there is a high concentration of Christians (between 30-40%). In all of the cities many Christian shops were destroyed and/or burned down. Many churches were burned in Beni-Sweif and Sohag. In Sohag the Muslim fundamentalists surrounded the bishop's residence and cathedral to burn and murder the diocese bishop.

The hostility toward the Christians was created by the state-controlled T.V., radio, and newspapers which characterized them as infidels and that their Bible was falsified. The Moslem sheikhs are exhorting the Muslims to carry out holy war against the infidels (Jews and Christians) who are the enemies of Islam and Allah. According to the Koran "It was not you who slew them, but Allah (The Spoils, 8:17); "Fight (kill) them, God torment them on your hand." (9:14).

Similar to previous atrocities, the police force stayed indifferent to murdering of the Christians; burning of their churches, houses, and shops; and the criminals were not brought to justice. On June 17, 18, and 19, 1981, the Muslim fundamentalists murdered 100 Christians; and destroyed five churches, and the Christian houses and shops in the Al-Zawya Al-Hamra, in Cairo

while the police force was watching. The Egyptian government promised compensation for the affected Christians but it reneged on its promise and the criminals were set free. Also, the Egyptian government does not give permits for the Christians to build new churches or to repair old ones while the Muslim fundamentalists burn their churches and shops, which are the major source of their livelihood. Meanwhile the Egyptian government has given secret instructions to its agencies and the state-controlled companies, and the foreign companies not to hire Christians.

We request that organizations and individuals contact the Egyptian Ambassador, 2310 Decatur Place N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009 and ask the Egyptian government to respect the human of the Christians, provide adequate police protection for them, bring the criminals to justice, to eliminate discrimination against the Christians in employment and compensate the Christians who were affected; and to contact President Reagan, the White House, Washington, D.C. 20500 and to express his concern to the Egyptian government.

THE COPTIC CONFERENCE, APRIL 1987

A Coptic Conference was held on April 5, 1987 in the headquarter of the American Coptic Association, 582 Bergen Ave., Jersey City, New Jersey, and discussed the recent atrocities against the Coptic People (the Christian Egyptians) in Egypt. Representatives of the Coptic Americans from the states of New Jersey and New York attended the meeting. The participants agreed unanimously in the following:

(1) Condemning the burning of churches and the attacks on the Christians by the Muslim fundamentalists and the oil-rich Muslim governments which support them militarily and financially especially Libya and Saudi Arabia;

(2) Asking the Egyptian government to rebuild the destroyed churches and Christian properties, and to pay compensation for those who are affected;

(3) Prosecuting the criminals immediately and firing the Egyptian officials who ordered the withdrawal of the Central police force after its deployment and leaving the Christians and their properties without protections for more than three days;

(4) Eliminating all the restrictions on building new churches or repairing old ones. Since President Mubarak took office in 1981, no presidential permits have been granted to the Coptic Orthodox Church;

(5) Returning all the Coptic Church Trust lands which were seized illegally by the Egyptian government and were given to the Ministry of Islamic Affairs;

(6) Lifting the ban on the publication of the Coptic Church official weekly magazine "El-Keraza" (Sermon) which has been banned since September 1981;

(7) Stopping the psychological warfare which has been carried out by the state-controlled Egyptian mass media against Christianity and the Christians;

(8) Elimination of all kinds of discrimination in hiring and promoting the Copts in the government and business. The absence of the Christians from leadership positions

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

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.

and the political and social scenes is a noticeable phenomenon;

(9) Eliminating the Department of Coptic Affairs in the Ministry of the Interior (Police) which has been harassing the Coptic Church leaders and the laymen who are involved in religious activities.

We ask world leaders and organizations to express their concern for the human rights of the ethno-religious Coptic People in Egypt, and ask the Egyptian government to respect their human rights according to the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Washington, DC, April 24, 1987.

HON. GEORGE P. SHULTZ,
Secretary, Department of State, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: The American Coptic Association has been in contact with the Subcommittee on Europe and Middle East concerning the religious suppression of Christians and the Coptic Church in Egypt.

The American Coptic Association makes the following assertions:

The official weekly magazine of the Coptic Patriarchate "El-Keraza" (The Sermon) has been banned from publication since 1981, even after the Administrative Court decided that it was illegal to ban it;

Since 1980 not one presidential permit has been granted to the Coptic Orthodox Church for new church construction;

The Egyptian Government is still illegally confiscating Coptic Church Trust Land and handing it over to the Ministry of Islamic Affairs;

Christians are exposed to terrorism by Muslim fundamentalists without protection by Egyptian officials; and

No Christian is an appointed governor, university president, college dean, ambassador, police commissioner or governmental company manager.

I would appreciate if you could comment on each of these allegations. To the extent that they are accurate, I would like to know what the United States has said to the government of Egypt about these charges and what changes the United States is seeking.

I look forward to your early reply.

With best regards,
Sincerely yours,

LEE H. HAMILTON,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Europe
and the Middle East.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, DC, May 7, 1987.

HON. LEE HAMILTON,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Europe and the
Middle East, House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I am responding to your letter of April 24 regarding the assertions made by the American Coptic Association relating to the situation of Coptic Christians in Egypt.

In general, preserving communal peace and promoting religious tolerance are matters of importance to the Egyptian government, a signatory to international covenants on human rights. When necessary, the government has taken measures to protect Christians from problems posed by extremist Islamic groups. Pope Shenouda and other Egyptian Coptic leaders have complimented the government's attentiveness to Christian concerns.

Several of the issues raised by the American Coptic Association need to be placed in proper context. The ban in effect relating to

Al-Kiraza is based on emergency law provisions which may override certain court rulings. Distribution of this Coptic publication is limited to its use as an internal church document. A Muslim Brotherhood publication is similarly restrained.

Securing permission for new churches in Egypt can be a complex process, but permits are given. Most presidential permits issued to the Coptic Orthodox Church since 1980 have been for church renovation or the construction of church-owned institutions like a hospital. Some building permits for new Coptic churches have also been granted, including recent permission to establish an Orthodox Coptic Church in Shargliyya province.

The question of government appropriation of religious endowments relates to a long-standing dispute over measures imposed by President Nasser two decades ago. These measures, which remain in effect, apply to trust properties administered by both churches and mosques.

The Egyptian government frequently has demonstrated, both by words and deeds, its considerable concern for the welfare of Christians in Egypt. The government's swift, effective efforts to staunch several sectarian incidents earlier this year, including speeches and visits to troubled areas by President Mubarak, exemplify the high-priority assigned this concern. Coptic officials in Egypt indicated both public and private satisfaction with the government's response.

Christians hold many important positions in the Egyptian government, though they are not proportionally represented in leadership posts. For example, two cabinet ministers, including the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, are Copts and at least two Copts have the rank of Ambassador at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

We follow closely the concerns and problems of religious minorities throughout the world and regularly convey to Egyptian authorities the U.S. government's strong interest in preserving religious liberties. Our Embassy in Cairo and our Consulate General in Alexandria maintain contacts with a wide-range of Egyptians, including Coptic Christians. Christians in Egypt, engaged in constant dialogue with Egyptian authorities about their concerns, have generally been uninterested in and resisted outside intervention on their behalf.

With best wishes,
Sincerely,

J. EDWARD FOX,
Assistant Secretary, Legislative
and Intergovernmental Affairs.

SKELTON ADDRESSES PARK
COLLEGE GRADUATES

HON. IKE SKELTON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, this past Sunday I had the honor to address the Park College graduates in Parkville, MO. Park College has a long and distinguished record in the field of education and its graduates have made a great contribution to our State of Missouri and to our country through the years. My address to the graduates follows:

A man I greatly admire, Harry S. Truman, once defined leadership as the ability to get someone to do something they didn't want

to do, and like it. That is a little bit like the task of a graduation speaker. A difficult task no doubt, but nonetheless I will proceed. In my role today, it is incumbent on me to give you some words of wisdom as you go forth and "commence" life after college. If, by chance, I succeed better than the graduation speaker that I heard and actually give you some words that you remember or that help you later in life, so much the better.

I take heart from a saying that President Truman kept above his desk which was taken from an Old West tombstone. Without endorsing the grammar, the President's sign said, "He done his damndest", and in that vain, I will proceed with this address.

Today, I speak of America. This year being the Bicentennial of our United States Constitution gives us reason to reflect on our nation as a nation and on our people as a people. In 200 years of Constitutional government our America has grown from a sparsely populated nation on the frontier of civilization to become the most important nation on earth. We are unique in many respects. We were peopled by immigrants from many nations. We conquered a vast wilderness through the century-long westward movement from our eastern states to the west coast. In that westward movement, the American people developed an inner vision that molded the general American character into one with a high degree of optimism. This optimism ripened into an intense love of liberty and led to immense contributions in the fields of politics and science. There was nothing that America couldn't tackle. There was no endeavor at which America could not succeed.

American fighting men led the world toward peace by their heroic efforts in World War II. At the end of that conflict we were unchallenged in every field of endeavor. Being the good and decent people that we are, we not only rebuilt devastated allied countries, but we assisted our former enemies to become part of the community of nations once again. This is the America that historians will write about in centuries to come. This is the America of the Marshall Plan, which Winston Churchill called "the most unselfish act in history". Our country will be known as not just a conqueror but as a rebuilder. This is the heritage that we have today.

But things have gone awry somehow. Today we find ourselves with serious problems on two fronts. On the military front we have witnessed the buildup of Soviet military might over the past 25 years. Soviet power and influence now stretches to all parts of the globe, including our own hemisphere. Second is the economic threat, reflected by our own huge federal budget deficit and our unbelievably large international trade deficit. The continued Communist threat, and it is real, speaks for itself. As to our economic plight, political scientists and economists disagree on how we got here. But what is more important than assigning a definite reason for economic stagnation is how do we, as a nation, reverse this troublesome trend.

At the end of World War II we assumed a role in this world as the bastion of freedom and we have maintained this position in the years since. We were able to do so because we were both militarily and economically strong, and, if we are to continue, we must show strength in these two areas. However, in order for a nation to be strong, it cannot rely solely on its military arms. It must be strong economically as well. Assuming that

we will continue to maintain a strong national security, let's turn our attention to what we as a people can do to further our national economic well being. For years, we were the dominant player in the international market. Our exports far exceeded imports. "Made in America" was a label sought after in all parts of the world. Our position is now weakened considerably, and, last year we had a balance of trade deficit worldwide of \$170 billion. Unfair trade practices by other nations, tariffs and restrictions on American goods, and illegal dumping in our country of foreign items all have had serious impact on the trade problem.

The unfairness of other nations has become a focal point of our efforts in Congress to reverse the trend. But the best that we can do in Congress, that is, through legislation, would be to level the playing field. Legislative changes would not of themselves cause a reversal of this deficit trend. In other words, even if we were playing by the same rules, our success is not assured. We still need to play the game and play it to win.

Throughout our history, important periods have been named or labelled because of important events or attitudes which prevailed during that time. For example, the late 1700's was an Era of Revolution when the then new theories of freedom and democracy inspired the American colonists to cast off the shackles of the English monarchy. In the 1820's, there was an Era of Good Feelings. In more modern times, in the years after World War II, there was an Era of Economic Growth.

Today, I propose that we as a nation, and as individuals, begin an Era of Excellence.

How can we embark on this Era of Excellence? First, by changing our mindset—our attitude. No pessimistic general ever won a battle. No political candidate ever won an election without confidence. No successful person ever included the word "can't" in his or her vocabulary. Perhaps Theodore Roosevelt summed it up best when he said, "It is not the critic who counts, not the man who points out how the strong man stumbled, or where the doer of deeds could have done them better. The credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena; whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood; who strives valiantly; who errs and comes short again and again; who knows the great enthusiasm, the great devotion; who spends himself in a worthy cause; who, at the best, knows in the end the triumph of high achievement, and who, at the worst, if he fails, at least fails while daring greatly." This is true in international economics—we need the fervor and confidence that has historically marked America as a champion of nations. We need to "dare greatly" once again. This is the first step and it is the greatest step. American ingenuity will then find a way, as it has in the past.

Next is education. In the past we didn't have to work at world marketing. Other nations needed and wanted what came from America, and, in many cases, we were the only supplier. Now, those days are gone. Competition is the word in the world economy. And the key to being able to compete is education. We must work harder, but we must also work smarter.

We must study world markets. We must learn the culture and language of potential trading partners. Make no mistake about it, we are behind in this area. Compare our marketing in Japan to Japanese marketing here in our country. There are currently 10,000 Japanese sales representatives in the

United States who speak fluent English. There are no more than 500 American sales representatives in Japan who are fluent in Japanese.

Let me show you from personal experience how wide this "language gap" is. I had lunch recently with a Member of the Japanese Parliament, or Diet as they call it. He was in his mid-60's and had, during his career, been involved with the Japanese Foreign Trade Office. As we talked, I learned he was proficient in English, French, and Dutch. I kidded him by saying that with over one billion potential customers in China, I was surprised he didn't know Chinese. "I'm too old to learn a new language", he said, "but my children and grandchildren are all studying it." If we continue operating the same way we do now, when the time comes to do business in China, Japan will have 10,000 people who speak the language and we will have 500, maybe.

Someone told me as I was preparing this address that the best career advice I could give graduating seniors would be to become proficient in the language of an emerging nation.

So there you have my formula. For you math and science majors, it can be reduced to this: "Attitude + Education = Excellence."

In today's world economy, we can no longer rest on the successes of our past. Our commanding position has eroded. In just the last six years, we have gone from the largest creditor nation in the world to the largest debtor nation in the world. We no longer deal from a position of superior financial strength.

If we are to become Number One again, we can't just rely on military strength. Military strength alone is not enough. We can't wait for Congress to pass magic legislation. There is no such legislation. We can't even depend on only those people who are directly involved in business and the economy. This is a campaign for all Americans.

Attitude plus Education equals Excellence. Soon the 21st Century will be upon us. You who are graduating today will be in the middle of your careers at the turn of the century. Those years will belong to you and those of your generation. Whether future historians will refer to this period as an American Era of Excellence, or whether America will be a footnote in the story of the rise of other nations to the world's center stage, will depend on you and your fellow graduates.

Attitude plus Education equals Excellence. We cannot rest on our achievements of the past, but we can build on them. We have achieved much as a nation in 200 years we, have come so far. We can make the next 200 years as productive and rewarding. As the old song from the dark days of World War II said, "We Did It Before And We Can Do It Again."

As you lead our nation into the 21st Century, into the Era of Excellence, let the words of President Franklin D. Roosevelt be your guide. He was scheduled to deliver a radio address from Warm Springs, Georgia, on April 13, 1945. As we know, he died the day before, April 12. But, the President's address had been prepared and it contained this line: "The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith."

Thank you.

RETIREMENT INCREASES WORK LOAD FOR DALLAS' M.R. (BOB) SPEARS

HON. JOHN BRYANT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. BRYANT. Mr. Speaker, M.R. (Bob) Spears has logged more than 12,000 hours as a Red Cross volunteer and has helped build a self-sufficient 12-grade school that houses 100 students—and didn't even get started until he was 61.

The 81-year-old Spears is recipient of the Congressional Citizenship Award for March.

"I retired on March 1, 1966, and it didn't take my wife long to decide I was getting in a rut," Spears says of his "second life" as a volunteer.

His wife Lena had been a Red Cross volunteer and chased him out of the house 1 day less than a year into retirement to see a friend of hers at the Dallas Red Cross Chapter about volunteering.

"It turned out that Lena's friend was retiring that very day," Bob Spears recalls, "so the new man had me ride with a volunteer driver that day. That driver didn't show up the next day, so my training was over. I took the car and drove. Been here ever since."

That was the spring of 1967 and in the intervening years, Bob Spears took over the volunteer driver program that has grown to 62 drivers, 40 office workers and nine autos in five Dallas County locations. During the last fiscal year, Dallas Red Cross drivers logged 143,675 miles with 8,227 patients.

"Bob would spend 10-hour days transporting patients, 5 days a week," reports Miloty Wilson of the Dallas Red Cross Chapter, who nominated Spears for the award. "About 15 years ago he became chairman of our transportation program and devised all our methods of accepting patients, setting up the paperwork and streamlining the system of getting patients into and out of Parkland Hospital so that our drivers wouldn't spend hours waiting for patients, and we could have an efficient and effective ride program."

Bob Spears recalls his promotion to transportation chairman as a little more basic:

"I kept criticizing the way we were doing things and the staff man in charge told me that if I was so blamed smart, I could just run the thing. That didn't leave me any choice but to be successful. I was able to get stations to give me the time to go on radio and television live and recruit new drivers.

"I could see the good we were doing with the program—and the potential for even more good—so I stayed with it."

After retiring from Pontiac Motor Co., Bob and his wife bought some land between Granbury and Glenrose in Somervell County. The thoughts of a country place and a comfortable rut also gave way to more work—resulting in Happy Hill Farm Children's Home.

A young local pastor, the Reverend Edward Shipman, was asked by authorities to take in a few children who were runaways or had gotten into trouble with the law.

"Ed asked me what I thought about it," Bob Spears says. "We talked it over, started looking for some money and the school grew out of it. The Amon Carter Foundation helped get it going, and money came in from other foundations and individuals. We've never taken 1 cent of government money."

With Bob Spears and other volunteers helping the Reverend Shipman and his family, Happy Hill now houses, feeds, and teaches all of its students. The staff grows its own meat, eggs, and vegetables. Faculty, members live onsite and send their children to school with the other students.

And one of the student homes and the new \$500,000 combination dining facility-food processing center both bear the name of M.R. (Bob) Spears.

So much for the retirement rut.

FAREWELL REVEREND MARCHMAN, JR.

HON. BILL CHAPPELL, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. CHAPPELL. Mr. Speaker, on a recent Sunday, the Reverend Hal Marchman preached his last sermon as regular pastor of Central Baptist Church in Daytona Beach, FL. It was the climax to 28 years of faithful service as spiritual leader of that congregation. I use the word climax advisedly because no one who knows Hal believes he will retire in the traditional sense of the word.

The Reverend Marchman has been far more than a preacher during these 28 years. He was involved in all kinds of civic works and humanitarian projects. A recovered alcoholic himself, he founded a treatment center for alcoholics and drug abusers and counseled scores of addicts through difficult periods in their lives. He served 12 years with distinction on the Halifax Medical Center board of commissioners. He knocked on doors to raise money for a senior citizens housing complex and did a yeoman's job as president of the board of directors of the YMCA.

Hal Marchman practiced his faith wherever people gathered. One of those places in Daytona Beach is the International Speedway and as unofficial chaplain he is a familiar sight at the speedway, ministering to drivers and their families in moments of exultation or sorrow. One of the special joys of being a clergyman is performing marriages, and the Reverend Marchman has done that under all kinds of circumstances—underwater, on boats and in an airplane. He is never too busy to accompany a parent or relative on a mercy flight or to be at the bedside of a stricken person. With a quick smile and a warm heart, he has touched the hearts of everyone. If he knows of a need, he serves.

Mr. Speaker, history judges every generation on the manner in which it fulfills the duties of citizenship. I submit the name of the Reverend Hal Marchman as an outstanding example of his generation, as evidenced by his willingness to participate in any project that would benefit others. I congratulate him on his retirement and I am proud to call him my friend.

REUNITE THE DIVIDED SPOUSES

HON. SANDER M. LEVIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. LEVIN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I wish to submit for the RECORD a copy of Richard Cohen's article from the April 28, 1987, Washington Post.

In this article, Mr. Cohen simply and articulately describes the dual messages coming from the Soviet Union regarding the plight of divided spouses, and specifically, the plight of Keith Braun from Southfield MI, and his wife Svetlana, of Moscow.

Svetlana has already applied for and been denied an exit visa three times. Just recently she applied for the fourth time. Despite repeated veils of optimistic assurances from Soviet officials, and despite the fact that Svetlana's request falls within the new emigration laws, the Braun's have been thwarted at every turn.

Secretary Gorbachev is saying that he intends to oversee sweeping social and economic reforms in his country, including the release of prisoners of conscience. As Mr. Cohen writes in his article, "Svetlana's voice is not as powerful as Gorbachev's, but it too deserves a hearing."

DISSONANCE OF GLASNOST

In Moscow recently, the No. 2 man in the Soviet Union, Yegor Ligachev, met with a delegation from the U.S. House of Representatives. They talked about the reforms of Mikhail Gorbachev, and Ligachev was asked whether all this would last. What about the opposition? With that, Ligachev looked House Speaker Jim Wright in the eye and said, "We will see it through to the end. We have had to get rid of some of our high-ranking people. They will not be back."

This is the kind of talk the American delegation heard wherever it went. It was appraised of stunning arms control proposals that have yet to be formally announced. It was tipped to vast changes that are being considered. It was taken places few American politicians have ever been—Communist Party headquarters, for instance—and everywhere the Americans were serenaded with the sweet words of peace. When it comes to nuclear war, said one high-ranking Russian, "We all hold on to one rope."

Reports from Moscow come with a rush nowadays. The ice of the bleak post-Stalinist winter is breaking up, and the cracking sounds of liberalization can be heard in Washington. Congressmen exit from planes energized by visits to Moscow. A Soviet editor comes here talking of the poems he has published by long-banned writers. All over town the once-dour Russians are on the move—hitting the party circuit, smiling. In Russia, Secretary of State George Shultz is permitted to go on Soviet television and demand withdrawal from Afghanistan. A new sun has risen over the cold Russian steppe.

And yet I hear also from Keith Braun. He is a Detroit lawyer, and he calls from time to time to tell me about his wife, Svetlana. They met in 1983. Braun was a law student on Christmas vacation, visiting Moscow. He spied Svetlana near Red Square and simply picked her up. A chat, a long talk in a bar, a visit with her family . . . the boy from De-

troit, the girl from Moscow, were in love. He went home to America and then back to Moscow. They became engaged, and then they married. Three times Svetlana has applied to emigrate. Twice she was turned down. The last application hangs in bureaucratic limbo.

Congressmen excitedly talk of missiles. Soviet editors talk of the great literature that can now be published. The rush of reform, like love itself, is captivating. "Maybes" spill from the tongue: maybe there can be an arms agreement; maybe there can be an agreement on conventional forces too; maybe the enormous creative power of the people who have produced some of the world's great literature will once again be unleashed. The promise is so great it is almost frightening. Anticommunism, not secular humanism, is our national religion. Without it, we could lose our totemic handholds. The prospect of peace has become almost as disturbing as the threat of war.

Ultimately any agreement has to be based on trust—on a trust that cannot be verified by devices. But how can you have faith in a powerful nation that would stoop to keep husband from wife, that can shake hands with Shultz and then—that same week—keep Keith Braun waiting an hour while a call is put through to his wife in Moscow? Where is the humanity of a nation that would crush the human spirit, that cannot put Svetlana on a plane for Detroit?

It's harder to answer those questions now than it once was. The Soviet Union has surely changed. Dissidents are being freed from the camps. Andrei Sakharov, exiled to Gorki, returned to Moscow as a fan of Gorbachev. The ugly history of the Stalin period is being discussed. The filmmaker's camera, the poet's pen and the journalist's typewriter pulse with the promise of unprecedented options. But there was a glasnost era under Lenin and then one following Stalin. Those candles cast only a brief light before they were snuffed out. Maybe this time it will be different.

The dissonance is confusing. Surely something is happening in Russia—but what? Systems do not change overnight, that we know. The political prisoners released to such acclaim now complain about others still being held. The war in Afghanistan remains a crime. The promise of an arms control agreement dazzles, and almost daily it seems Moscow makes another proposal. But to Keith Braun, his wife remains just a crackling voice on the phone. Her voice is not as powerful as Gorbachev's, but it too deserves a hearing. In the end, she and not Gorbachev is how we will take the measure of the Soviet Union.

APPEAL FOR THE RELEASE OF CUBAN EDUCATOR

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, on August 19, 1981, Ariel Hidalgo Guillen was arrested by the Cuban Department of State Security. He was reportedly taken to a psychiatric hospital before being formally charged with incitement "against the social order, international solidarity of the Socialist State, by means of oral, written or any other kind of propaganda." He

was sentenced to 8 years imprisonment. For the first 14 months of his imprisonment, he was reportedly held in solitary confinement. He was then moved to an ordinary cell and his wife was allowed to visit him for 2 hours each month. In August 1984, the visits were reportedly cut to three a year.

Mr. Speaker, while there is very little information available, it is believed he may have been convicted because of an unpublished manuscript entitled "Cuba, the Marxist State and the 'New Class': a Dialectical Materialist Study." Mr. Hidalgo's crime consisted of writing a manuscript that criticized Cuba's ruling elite.

Amnesty International has called for Mr. Hidalgo's release. In addition, the New York State United Teachers, American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO has passed a resolution at their 1987 representative assembly protesting Mr. Hidalgo's imprisonment. The text of the resolution follows as well as a telegram that was sent to Fidel Castro pleading for Mr. Hidalgo's release.

Mr. Speaker, the case of Mr. Hidalgo illustrates the blatant lack of respect for human rights that pervades the Castro regime. It speaks volumes of the nature of communism in Cuba, and should serve as a reminder of the type of society that is likely to arise in places that seek to emulate it.

SPECIAL ORDER OF BUSINESS—APPEAL FOR RELEASE OF CUBAN EDUCATOR

Passed unanimously by delegates at the 1987 Representatives Assembly of the New York State United Teachers, AFT, AFL-CIO

Whereas, the American Federation of Teachers and the New York State United Teachers protested in 1986 the continued imprisonment of Cuban teacher Ariel Hidalgo;

Whereas, the American Federation of Teachers and the New York State United Teachers have received urgent pleas for international support to help free Ariel Hidalgo;

Whereas, Ariel Hidalgo recently ended a twenty-one day hunger strike which led to a serious deterioration in his health, including semi-paralysis of his left arm;

Whereas, Ariel Hidalgo is not only in dire need of specialized health care, but is also denied regular visitation rights;

Whereas, Ariel Hidalgo has been adopted as a prisoner of conscience by Amnesty International;

Whereas, historian Ariel Hidalgo was sentenced to eight years in prison for the mere act of having written a book on contemporary Cuban society;

Whereas, Ariel Hidalgo has been denied pencils, paper, and reading materials while in prison;

Whereas, an institution of higher learning, the University of Minnesota, has been host to a lecture by Ramon Sanchez-Parodi, the head of the Cuban government's interest Section in Washington, D.C.; therefore be it

Resolved, that the American Federation of Teachers and the New York State United Teachers issue an urgent appeal to His Excellency, Commander in Chief, President of the Republic of Cuba, Fidel Castro Ruz, to release Ariel Hidalgo from prison, to assure him adequate medical attention, and to allow him to join family members abroad; and

Resolved, that the American Federation of Teachers and the New York State United Teachers respectfully request that Dr. Kenneth Keller, President of the University of Minnesota, bring the case of Ariel Hidalgo to the attention of teachers and other members of the academic community in Minnesota, and to ask their help in bringing this pressing humanitarian effort to a successful conclusion.

Dr. FIDEL CASTRO RUZ,
*Presidente de la Republica,
Ciudad de la Habana (Cuba)*

The American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, representing over 680,000 public school teachers, university faculty, public employees and health care professionals, has been following the case of Professor Ariel Hidalgo Guillen, a Cuban educator imprisoned since 1981 for the simple act of writing a book critical of the Communist regime in Cuba.

The New York State United Teachers, our largest State affiliate, recently passed a resolution at their 1987 representative assembly protesting Mr. Hidalgo's continued imprisonment and calling for his immediate release from prison. On the national level, we have been keeping our members across the country informed and asking that they join in efforts to secure his release.

We believe that his continued imprisonment and the conditions of his confinement, including the denial of family visitations and proper medical attention, are contrary to even the most basic standards of human rights. In addition, his imprisonment and that of similarly confined political prisoners places your government in violation of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights endorsed by all World Nations.

As the representative of American educators and consistent with our commitment to academic freedom and democratic principles, we appeal to the Cuban government to release Hidalgo and all those likewise confined to Cuban prisons.

ALBERT SHANKER,
*President, American Federation
of Teachers, AFL-CIO.*

COLUMNIST REMINDS US OF DANGER IN CENTRAL AMERICA

HON. GERALD B.H. SOLOMON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to insert for the RECORD a column by Cal Thomas entitled "Arms Hearings Could Be a Boon" and printed in the May 10, 1987, Saratogian of Saratoga Springs, NY. Thomas reminds us that our obsession with disclosure of this entire episode should not blind us to the real issue: the Soviet menace to the security not only of Central America, but to the entire Western Hemisphere. Thomas points out that the Soviet Union has a timetable for conquest in Central America, a timetable that our abandonment of the Contras will do much to expedite:

ARMS HEARINGS COULD BE A BOON

Long-awaited Congressional hearings into the Iran-Contra matter began this week. Over the next several weeks we can expect a series of accusations, counteraccusations,

news leaks and general rhetoric as lawmakers work to determine exactly who did what and when they did it.

These are important hearings, and considering the Democratic domination of Congress, there is no way the administration will emerge from them undamaged. But although the administration is eager to put the entire affair behind it, it should not allow the hearings to deflect all public attention from the more important issue of Soviet involvement in Nicaragua and other Central American nations.

Although some believe these hearings may become the administration's Waterloo, others point out that they will provide an excellent forum for a major foreign-policy watershed—a turning point in the debate over U.S. response to the Soviet threat south of our border.

It is a case that has not been adequately made. Most people, when diagnosed with a terminal disease mobilize every medical and economic resource to fight it. Yet with Communism, a disease that has been fatal to millions of people, our congressional doctors continue to battle over the diagnosis instead of fighting the ailment.

Arriving just in time to focus on the diagnosis and the cure is a new book by Timothy Ashby, a policy analyst for Latin American affairs at the Heritage Foundation in Washington.

In the book entitled "The Bear in the Back Yard: Moscow's Caribbean Strategy," Ashby says that Moscow's ultimate objective is to create a security threat so close to American shores that Washington will be forced to withdraw U.S. military forces from other parts of the world.

According to Ashby, who lived for many years on the formerly Communist-dominated island of Grenada, "The Soviet Union is following a deliberate and increasingly sophisticated strategy in its penetration of the Caribbean region." He notes that the Soviet bloc now has close to 20,000 military and civilian advisers in the Caribbean and Central America.

"The Nicaraguan Communists and their Soviet and Cuban mentors have a timetable for conquering Central America," says one former Sandinista quoted by Ashby. Once they have solidified their control in Nicaragua, the next Communist target will be El Salvador, followed by Guatemala and Honduras. Mexico, the most important prize, is slated to be the last country to fall. Already, writes Ashby, "Soviet, Cuban and Nicaraguan intelligence officials have a large number of agents in the (Mexican) unions and political parties. . . . They have also paid off and blackmailed the Mexican security forces, which would thus be paralyzed in a crisis."

A recent Pentagon report further illuminates Moscow's involvement in Nicaragua. According to the report, released in January, arms shipments to Nicaragua from the Soviet Union, Cuba and East Germany reached an estimated 23,000 metric tons last year, a 23 percent increase over the previous high.

The United States is faced with a critical decision over Nicaragua. We can either pay the price now and do what is necessary to rid the region of the Communist menace, or we will be forced to pay an even greater price later. But we will pay.

As Ashby says in his book, "The United States still has time to counter the USSR's Caribbean strategy without the loss of a single U.S. life in battle. However, the time is limited. Once the proliferation of Soviet

influence reaches a certain point in the Western Hemisphere, no amount of economic or military aid will reverse it, and the United States will inevitably be forced, at great cost, to remove an intolerable threat to its national security."

The administration ought to use the hearings on Nicaragua policy to demonstrate to the public that some members of Congress are modern-day Neros who are fiddling while Central America burns. If Congress refuses to go on the offensive, the Russian bear will move from the back yard into the house.

USING ONE'S TALENTS

HON. IKE SKELTON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, May 3, 1987, I had the privilege of addressing the Congressional Award recipients from Missouri's Fourth District. Included were 9 silver award winners and 11 bronze award winners, and they are as follows:

SILVER AWARD WINNERS

Marcie Irene Buttgen—Independence.
Wendy Gay Davis—Centerview.
Brian Scott Lassiter—Blue Springs.
Julia Anne Madden—Blue Springs.
Dustin Ray McEwen—Odessa.
Elizabeth Ann Slama—Odessa.
Jennifer Blair Thomson—Blue Springs.
Stacey Linette Werth—Concordia.
William Patrick Wilson—Independence.

BRONZE AWARD WINNERS

Bryan Edward Bolding—Blue Springs.
Cathy Jo Brown—Odessa.
Michael Norman Coakley—Grain Valley.
Laura Elizabeth Croston—Independence.
Julie Ann Deardorff—Lexington.
Jason Warren Friend—Independence.
Laura Renee Garcia—Independence.
Mark Preston Landes—Blue Springs.
Paul Brian Hess—Lake Lotawana.
Cynthia Joy McGonigal—Odessa.
Charles Cooper Turner—Blue Springs.

I am pleased that the Congressional Award Program is a success in our district, and I compliment the chairman of the council, Dr. Gale Bartow, and the outstanding council members from throughout the district. Penny Miller, national director of the Congressional Award Program was also present at the ceremony.

My address was entitled "Using One's Talents," and I include it herewith for the record:

USING ONE'S TALENTS

I can't tell you how pleased I am to have the opportunity to be with you this afternoon. I would like to sincerely congratulate those of you who are being honored today. Your achievements are outstanding, and I commend you for them.

I look around at all of you—the hope of America's future—and I also see the loving families and friends who have come to share this special occasion with you. As your speaker, I find myself torn in two directions: On one hand, I want to give you some last-thing words of advice or some scholarly comments, but, on the other hand, as a member of Congress, I know what lengthy speeches can be like. Thus, my one and a half hour speech . . . will be delivered in less than 15 minutes.

Adults will always tell you how those special times of their youth "seem like yesterday", and I am no exception. For instance, I can clearly picture almost every moment of my high school graduation. My commencement speaker delivered profound words of wisdom, and I think it worthwhile to tell you everything that I remember from his speech to us, and I quote . . . end quote. Well, perhaps it wasn't so memorable after all!

Those of you being honored this afternoon face a challenging future. America's future depends on you. Your talents, dreams, and aspirations will lead our country in the next century. You will confront a changing, complex world that will continually test your mettle—asking you to prove your worth as a man or woman.

I truly hope each of you lives up to the full potential inside you. There is nothing more upsetting to me than to see a bright young person not use his or her God-given talents. Each of you has been blessed and it is up to you to nurture and develop your abilities. It doesn't matter what your interests and skills are, whether they're baseball, banking, or business. What does matter, is that you give it every effort.

Coming from Missouri, we have been blessed with a long and impressive list of people who have distinguished themselves in the fields of politics, national defense, sports and business by using all of their talents to the fullest. For the next few minutes I would like to share with you the story of a native Missourian who used all of his considerable talents and energies to really make an important contribution to our great nation:

My story begins during World War II, when airborne operations were literally a leap in the dark. The Army was still trying to get the hang of it, and a lot of things went wrong. Parachutes failed to open, planes got lost, soldiers were dropped into marshes, in the wrong country, or even into enemy hands.

It was in this atmosphere that General Maxwell Taylor thrived. In 1942 he was ordered to help form the now-famous 82nd Airborne Division, the first of its kind in the Army. Airborne was where the best and brightest served, and Maxwell Taylor was always at the top of his class. In fact, Taylor was so good, that in later years President Eisenhower wrote the risks Taylor assumed "were greater than I asked any other agent or emissary to undertake during the war—he carried weighty responsibilities and discharged them with unerring judgment, and every minute was in imminent danger of discovery and death."

Maxwell Davenport Taylor was born on August 26, 1901, in Keytesville, Missouri—and area I represented when I served in the Missouri State Senate. He received his appointment to the United States Military Academy after attending High School and Junior College in Kansas City.

General Taylor continued to excel in the years following World War II. Known throughout the service as a thinking man's Army officer—he was well educated and carried with him an independent point of view and strong convictions. Conventional wisdom thought his military career was complete after his assignment as Army chief of staff ended in 1959.

President Kennedy, however, was so impressed with the talents of this Missourian that the President brought Taylor back to service as his military representative and later as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of

Staff, our nation's highest ranking military officer. He then retired, for the second time, in 1964 after a full 42 years of dedicated, patriotic military service to the United States.

During these past few years, I had the distinct privilege to work with General Taylor on my legislation, signed into law last year, to reform and improve the operation and function of the Joint Chiefs and other important Defense agencies.

As I hope you see, General Taylor used all of his abilities and talents to serve our country for decades.

Two weeks ago, on April 19, Maxwell D. Taylor died, at the age of 85.

While the body of Maxwell Taylor might have passed away, his Missouri spirit, drive, determination—and yes, his talent—lives on. It lives on through each of you, right here in this room.

My remarks today are spoken with a great deal of home-state pride and with high expectations for the future. Along with military leaders like Maxwell Taylor, Missouri has also produced a number of outstanding statesmen. Champ Clark proved to be one of our best.

In the first years of this century the U.S. House of Representatives was run with a mighty iron fist by Speaker Joe Cannon of Illinois. Things got so bad that at one point Americans writing their Congressmen asking for a copy of the "Rules of the House" would receive a photo of Speaker Joe Cannon. In 1910, Representative Champ Clark of Missouri, as the Democratic floor leader, led a courageous uprising of House members against the Speaker. That next year, in 1911, his colleagues elected Clark Speaker of the House, a position he ably held until 1919.

What makes the career of Clark even more tantalizing, is that he just missed being elected President of the United States in 1912. The Democratic convention that summer was deadlocked. Candidates were picking up and then losing delegates; no one could muster the necessary support to capture the nomination. Champ Clark seemed to have the most support, but he just could not get over the top. Tension filled the air. Finally, on the 46th ballot, a Governor from New Jersey—a man named Woodrow Wilson—narrowly edged Missouri's Champ Clark.

Champ Clark and his family came to Bowling Green, Missouri in 1876. Before being elected to the Congress of the United States 13 times, Clark was a county newspaper editor, city attorney, county prosecuting attorney, and a Missouri state legislator. He dedicated his life to public service and used his talents and abilities to help others.

There is another side to Champ Clark, a side almost as important as his professional life. A side which showed the tremendous respect Clark earned from his friends and neighbors.

Clark's daughter was about to be married. Because of their many friends, they could not decide the best way to send out invitations. Champ Clark decided it would be best to place ads in local newspapers inviting their "friends" to come to the marriage of their daughter. On the day of the wedding—a day in which the weather refused to cooperate—literally over ten thousand of Clark's "close friends" showed up. To me, this is Missouri at its best.

Today, as a remembrance of his service to America, a portrait of Champ Clark hangs in the Speaker's lobby, next to the door of the House chamber in the U.S. Capitol.

I hope Maxwell Taylor and Champ Clark have shown you, that as Missourians, we have impressive footsteps to follow. It will be up to those of you being honored today to live up to the challenges needed to be met in the 21st century.

All of you must now look inside yourselves to see where you can best use your talents to help our nation.

Maxwell Taylor and Champ Clark did their part for America during their day. In the famous World War I poem *Flanders Fields* there is a phrase, "To you from failing hands we throw the torch. Be yours to hold it high." As the Maxwell Taylor's and Champ Clark's held the torch of America high in their times by the use of their talents, so can you.

Use what you have—use your talents for noble purposes. *Never* let it be said of you when your course is run: "The saddest words known to men are the words, 'it might have been.'"

Let your watchwords be, "To whom much is given, much is expected." So, as young, talented Missourians you can follow the same pole star that Maxwell Taylor and Champ Clark followed. And in so doing, you will not only bring honor to yourself, you will keep the torch of America shining bright.

Thank you and God bless you.

ST. MARK'S SENIOR WINS BRYANT CITIZENSHIP AWARD

HON. JOHN BRYANT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. BRYANT. Mr. Speaker, Sidney Bob Dietz II, a senior at St. Mark's School of Texas, is the recipient of the Congressional Citizenship Award for April.

Sid Dietz's understanding and quick action is rare for an adult, much less a 17-year-old high school student. A friend of Sid's called him late one night, threatening to commit suicide. Instead of waiting until the next day to try to cheer up his friend, Sid drove to the friend's house and took his friend to a hospital for help.

Subsequent examinations at Parkland Hospital proved the friend was suffering from suicidal tendencies and that young Dietz's quick and decisive action may have saved a life.

Dr. Frank Lane, a family friend who nominated Sid for the congressional award and who is a practicing psychiatrist, added, "That Sid persisted in demanding that his friend seek help and in taking his friend to qualified experts is unusual for most people. I have seen many cases where adults failed to take action, despite both direct and indirect indications that a person was contemplating suicide. Suicide is the second leading cause of death in adolescents."

The crisis unfolded late one recent evening when the friend called Sid and said the call was "just to thank him for being a friend and to say goodbye." Dr. Lane reported. That alerted Sid to potential danger and Sid subsequently phoned Dr. Lane to report the conversation. They agreed that the situation was potentially serious and Sid reacted by going to the friend's home and arguing that they

needed to go to Parkland, where all-night psychiatric consultation was available.

"Something like this is far more difficult than running into a burning house, yelling fire and helping people escape," Dr. Lane contends. "First, one's own denial of the seriousness must be overcome. Second, definitive action must be taken, often over the objection of the very person you are trying to help."

Both teenagers showed uncommon maturity at that point, Sid by reacting correctly and the friend by accepting Sid's arguments. And both became strong role models for others faced with similar circumstances, either as potential suicides or as friends who might be able to intervene.

Sid's logical response isn't unusual, according to the people who know the young man will enroll at University of California-Berkeley following his graduation this month from St. Mark's. The son of Dallas physicians, Dr. Gerald Dietz and Dr. Johanna Clevenger, he will major in physics.

But it won't all be labs and theories.

"I fly kites competitively," Sid reported, and then answered the logical question, "No, the aerodynamics of it isn't the thing that interests me—just the flight."

THE POOR AS VICTIMS OF CRIME

HON. HAMILTON FISH, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, crime and its costs to society are major concerns to all of us. The National Institute of Justice, within the Office of Justice Programs, Department of Justice, is at the center of research and development to increase knowledge about what works to control crime in America today. A recent article by the Institute's Director, James K. Stewart, points out that the poor are hurt the most by crime, and one of the most essential elements of any antipoverty program is a vigorous attack on crime in poor communities. Mr. Stewart tells us of a number of experiments around the country which shows that the spiral of commercial decline in a crime-ridden neighborhood can be stopped and that inner cities can be restored to economic health. I commend this article, reprinted from *Policy Review*, for your attention:

THE URBAN STRANGER—HOW CRIME CAUSES POVERTY IN THE INNER CITY

(By James K. Stewart)

The idea that poverty causes crime goes back at least as far as Aristotle. But in the American inner city, the relationship is exactly the reverse. Poverty doesn't cause crime. Crime causes poverty—or more precisely, crime makes it harder to break out of poverty. The vast majority of poor people are honest, law-abiding citizens whose opportunities for advancement are stunted by the drug dealers, muggers, thieves, rapists, and murderers who terrorize their neighborhoods. These predators are not Robin Hoods of some 1960s ideal; they are career criminals who are destroying the labor and hopes of the poor. The typical criminal does not rob from the rich to aid the poor; he steals from the helpless to help himself.

The most obvious way that criminals prey upon the poor is by robbing them of their property—and sometimes their lives. According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, the poorest suffer the highest victimization rates for burglary and violent crimes. Since poor people often cannot afford insurance, and since personal property accounts for almost all of their capital, the theft of a TV, furniture, car or cash can be devastating. The less direct costs of crime to the poor may be even more destructive. The traditional means by which poor people have advanced themselves—overtime, moonlighting, or education to improve future opportunities—can easily be obstructed by crime and fear. A secretary declines overtime opportunities if they extend into the evening because she fears being robbed between the taxi and her front door. A husband gives up night school rather than leave his wife and young children alone at home.

Crime also lowers property values in inner cities, making it harder for poor people to accumulate capital and borrow money. Renters, of course, may benefit from the decline in property values, but their gain is only temporary. If landlords have no incentive to keep up maintenance on their properties, both the quality and quantity of housing stock will deteriorate and renters will lose in the end.

A number of economic features ought to attract capital to revive inner cities. Most poor neighborhoods are located in or near the center of our cities and therefore should be prime locations for commerce. The inner city usually provides easy access to railroads, highways, water, and power, as well as to a ready labor supply.

But crime in these neighborhoods builds a hurdle to economic development that investors cannot leap. As one recent National Institute of Justice study reports, crime and the fear of crime can influence entrepreneurs' investment decisions more than high taxes or labor costs. Crime is one of the major reasons why businesses restrict operations, relocate, sell, or close down. The Bronx was once an industrial center for injection molders in the plastics industry; crime was one of two main pressures that drove the industry out.

A Buffalo business owner recently testified before Congress about a string of burglaries that had driven his father into early retirement. He said burglars stole "whatever they can get their hands on . . . Thanksgiving weekend they got us for about \$3,000 worth of chicken products . . . We have two separate alarm systems in our building and they are still getting it. We have fenced it in. We had guard dogs, two of them. They are cutting our fences at night and letting them out. It just never ends. This year alone we must have lost about \$20,000 worth of products."

For those who stay in business, a high crime rate sharply raises operating costs. These include higher labor costs (to compensate employees for the risk of working there); insurance, which may become prohibitively expensive or even unavailable, and security investments, such as improved lighting and fencing. A typical inner city business might pay about \$5,000 for a simple audible alarm system and \$10,000 per year for a private security guard's salary. These expenses jeopardize the survival of small businesses—the strongest engine of employment growth.

Businesses may leave the neighborhood. But because the poor have little or no mobility, there is no escape for them from

criminal predators or from the totalitarianism of crime. Criminal enterprises such as narcotics dealing, prostitution, and numbers choke off the growth of legal enterprises, while generating even greater numbers of related crimes in the community. And the street crime typical of poor neighborhoods—robbery, assault, larceny, burglary, drug dealing and use—has a profoundly debilitating effect on the economy.

Crime is the ultimate tax on enterprise. It must be reduced or eliminated before poor people can fully share in the American dream.

ERADICATING THE PARASITE

The best anti-poverty policy is a vigorous attack on crime in poor communities. Yellow fever was finally cured when attention was shifted from treating the dying patients to controlling the mosquito that carried the disease. Likewise, inner cities can be restored to economic health if we eradicate the parasite that infects them—crime.

A number of experiments around the country show that the spiral of commercial decline in a crime-ridden neighborhood can be stopped. The key is a dramatic reduction in crime.

In the early 1970's, a 40-block area in the East Brooklyn neighborhood of New York was home to about 200 businesses employing 3,000 people. But the area was deteriorating. By 1979, the number of businesses had fallen to 45, and they employed only 1,500 people. The overwhelming reason given by businesses for leaving the neighborhood was fear of crime.

This is a familiar story of decline. A similar one could be told of neighborhoods in virtually every major American city. But in East Brooklyn Industrial Park, there is a surprising sequel. Between 1980 and 1982, the number of burglaries in the 40-block area fell from 134 to 12, the number of street robberies from 208 to 62. Signs of commercial vitality appeared. Twenty new firms have moved into the area and at least 40 others have expressed interest. A new office building of 60,000 square feet is under construction and other buildings are being renovated.

These and other changes were the fruit of a project by a private development company to increase security in the neighborhood. Working in collaboration with the New York City Public Development Corporation and the police and fire departments, the Local Development Corporation of East New York tore down abandoned buildings, fenced properties, put burglar alarms, trained private security guards, patrolled the area, provided escort services for residents and businesses—and succeeded in persuading local businesses and residents to help pay for the project. The city contributed by repairing streets and putting in new lighting.

In Oakland, a security program was initiated in 1982 by a group of private developers. Clorox and IBM are among the major tenants of Bramalea Corporation properties who contribute about \$300,000 annually to provide for a police enhancement program of the 40-block downtown business district. The program also made a well publicized effort to curtail disorderly behavior in the neighborhood.

Property crimes, which dropped nine percent citywide from 1982 to 1983, fell by 20 percent in this central area. But more important than the drop in crime was the greater security people felt, indicated by the larger flow of orderly pedestrian traffic.

The improved security has been decisive in attracting and retaining businesses. IBM came into the neighborhood on the basis of the security program. One business owner noted, "if we didn't have the foot patrol and increased police presence downtown, I wouldn't be in business in Oakland."

Improved security is also the key to a remarkably successful urban project in Watts. The riots that destroyed parts of the Los Angeles community 20 years ago wiped out marginal businesses and appeared to have killed off new business growth.

The first commercial enterprise of any kind to be built since the riots was the Martin Luther King, Jr. Shopping Center, which opened in 1984. Estimated first year sales were more than three times the average revenues of first-year shopping centers. Though it was built in one of the most violent and crime-ridden areas of the city, no major acts of violence or vandalism have occurred there.

Built by Alexander Haagen Development, the shopping center is designed to be an oasis of security where customers can do their banking and shopping without fear. The entire facility is surrounded by a wrought-iron fence like the one surrounding the White House. Inside there is a control center with closed circuit TV monitors. Private security guards trained by the developer patrol 24 hours a day, and the center also has a Los Angeles Police field office.

The center has created jobs for local residents through its private security program as well as its stores. In the words of Grace Payne, executive director of a neighborhood job training and community counseling center, construction of the mall is "the greatest move that has been made for the people in this community to have jobs." Four smaller shopping centers have subsequently opened in the area.

REAL SOCIAL SECURITY

The programs in Brooklyn, Oakland, and Watts show that, if security is provided, businesses can take root in even the most hostile environment. Reducing crime and its disruptive effect on the community eliminates the largest and most devastating obstacle to development in many poor neighborhoods. And where businesses can develop, they encourage further growth and help create a community's cohesiveness and identity.

Crime is a hazard to everyone in our society, but it hurts the poor the most; the wealthy and the middle class can call upon private and community resources to cushion them from some of its dangers. The first step in any urban anti-poverty program must therefore begin with the reduction of crime. This means more vigorous protection of people and property in poor neighborhoods. America is beginning to take the steps necessary to fight terrorism overseas; the time has come to fight the even more threatening terrorism in our own cities.

U.S. INTERESTS

HON. WM. S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 11, 1987

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the defense authorization bill the House is currently considering, and the foreign affairs and intelligence authorizations we will soon consider, have a single, common objective—to ad-

vance the defense and foreign policy interests of the United States. Through the authorization and appropriations process, Congress and the President jointly determine what funding is needed to advance those interests. Members of the House should review the interests we seek to safeguard as they consider this important legislation.

President Reagan set forth our defense and foreign policy interests in the national security strategy of the United States issued in January 1987. The President set forth the five crucial U.S. interests and the major U.S. national security objectives which support those interests as follows:

U.S. INTERESTS

U.S. National Security Strategy reflects our national interests and presents a broad plan for achieving the national objectives that support those interests. The key national interests which our strategy seeks to assure and protect include:

1. The survival of the United States as a free and independent nation, with its fundamental values and institutions intact.
2. A healthy and growing U.S. economy.
3. The growth of freedom democratic institutions, and free market economies throughout the world, linked by a fair and open international trading system.
4. A stable and secure world, free of major threats to U.S. interests.
5. The health and vigor of U.S. alliance relationships.

MAJOR OBJECTIVES IN SUPPORT OF U.S. INTERESTS

U.S. national security objectives are statements of broad goals which support and advance national interests. As such, they are not intended to be applied mechanically or automatically, but constitute a general guide for policy development in specific situations which call for the coordinated use of national power. The principal objectives which support our national interests are:

1. To maintain the security of our nation and our allies. The United States, in cooperation with its allies, must seek to deter any aggression that could threaten that security, and, should deterrence fail, must be prepared to repel or defeat any military attack and end the conflict on terms favorable to the United States, its interests, and its allies.

Specifically:

To deter hostile attack of the United States, its citizens, military forces, or allies and to defeat attack if deterrence fails.

To maintain the strength and vitality of U.S. alliance relationships.

To deal effectively with threats to the security of the United States and its citizens short of armed conflict, including the threat of international terrorism.

To prevent the spread of nuclear weapons.

To reduce over the long term our reliance on nuclear weapons by strengthening our conventional forces, pursuing equitable and verifiable arms control agreements and developing technologies for strategic defense.

To assure unimpeded U.S. access to the oceans and space.

To prevent the domination of the Eurasian landmass by the USSR (or any other hostile power, or coalition of powers).

To force the Soviet Union to bear the brunt of its domestic economic shortcomings in order to discourage excessive Soviet military expenditures and global adventurism.

To foster closer relations with the People's Republic of China.

2. To respond to the challenges of the global economy. Economic interdependence has brought tremendous benefits to the United States, but also presents new policy problems which must be resolved. Since our resource dependence has grown, the potential vulnerability of our supply lines is an issue of concern. Although continuing U.S. economic growth is helping lift the world out of recession, economic slowdown continues in many countries. We must devote attention to critical global problems, which if unresolved or unattended, may affect U.S. interests in the future. Many of these problems such as Third World debt, the international narcotics trade, and growing protectionism are currently having an impact on U.S. interest.

Specifically:

To promote a strong, prosperous and competitive U.S. economy, in the context of a stable and growing world economy.

To ensure U.S. access to foreign markets, and to ensure the United States and its allies and friends access to foreign energy and mineral resources.

To promote a well-functioning international economic system with minimal distortions to trade and investment, stable currencies, and broadly agreed and respected rules for managing and resolving differences.

3. To defend and advance the cause of democracy, freedom, and human rights throughout the world. A foreign policy that ignored the fate of millions around the world to seek freedom would be a betrayal of our national heritage. Our own freedom, and that of our allies, could never be secure in a world where freedom was threatened everywhere else.

Specifically:

To promote the growth of national independence and free institutions throughout the world.

To encourage and support aid, trade, and investment programs that promote economic development and the growth of free and humane social and political orders in the Third World.

To encourage liberalizing tendencies within the Soviet Union and its client states.

4. To resolve peacefully disputed which affect U.S. interests in troubled regions of the world. Regional conflicts which involves allies or friends of the United States may threaten U.S. interests, and frequently carry the risk of escalation to a wider conflict. Conflicts, or attempts to subvert friendly governments, which are instigated or supported by the Soviets and their client states, represent a particularly serious threat to U.S. interests.

Specifically:

To maintain stable global and regional military balances vis-a-vis the USSR and states aligned with it.

To aid threatened states in resisting Soviet or Soviet-sponsored subversion or aggression.

To eliminate, where possible, the root causes of regional instabilities which create the risk of major war.

To neutralize the efforts of the Soviet Union to increase its influence in the world and weaken the links between the USSR and its client states in the Third World.

To aid in combatting threats to the stability of friendly governments and institutions from insurgencies, state-sponsored terrorism and the international trafficking of illicit drugs.

5. To build effective and favorable relationships with all nations with whom there

is a basis of shared concern. In the world today, there are over 150 nations. Not one of them is the equal of the United States in total power or wealth, but each is sovereign, and most, if not all, touch U.S. interests directly or indirectly.

Specifically:

To support the formation of associations of states friendly to U.S. interests using the full range of diplomatic, political, economic, and informational efforts.

To make major international institutions more effective in promoting peace, world order and political, economic and social progress.

To explore the possibility of improved relations with those nations hostile to us in order to reduce the chance of future conflict.

To strengthen U.S. influence throughout the world.

TRIBUTE TO AUBREY BULLARD

HON. MARVIN LEATH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. LEATH of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, May 16, the Texas Veterans' Commission will honor a special friend of mine upon his retirement. It is a great pleasure for me to join my friends at the commission in saluting Aubrey L. Bullard, the executive director of the Texas Veterans' Commission.

Aubrey has a long record of service to veterans. In July 1961, Aubrey was elected department commander of the American Legion, the second youngest man in Texas to be elected to that position. During his tenure, the department experienced the first increase in membership since 1947. It was a busy year for Aubrey; President John F. Kennedy appointed him to serve on a committee to study the employment of the handicapped. And, he was also an active member of AMVETS and the Disabled American Veterans.

Aubrey began his career with the Texas Veterans' Commission in November 1964. He was subsequently appointed as assistant director of the commission, and in June 1977, the commission voted unanimously to appoint him to the position of executive director. In the short period of 10 years, Aubrey has done much to help veterans and to support veterans programs.

Through his direction, the commission has greatly improved and upgraded the training provided to veterans county service officers. He has also been very active in working with veterans legislation on the State and national level. He worked diligently for the passage of a State agent orange bill, which was passed by the State legislature in 1981. In addition, he put much time and effort into the Texas Veterans' Housing Assistance Program. He worked with the Texas land commissioner and the members of the 1983 legislature in working out details of the bill and achieving its passage. This program is probably the most significant piece of veterans' legislation passed in the State's history.

On the national level, he has been active in the National Association of State Directors of Veterans Affairs. In recognition of his contributions to the association, he was presented the

Melvin T. Dixon Award, the association's highest award for service, in 1979. In 1983, the association presented Aubrey the Melvin T. Dixon Award for an unprecedented second time, and elected him to serve as their president.

Aubrey is a man who has made consistent, dedicated contributions to the well-being of America's veterans. I respect and admire him, and offer my gratitude for his efforts. We have been lucky to have him as a leader in our State and in our Nation. And, although he is retiring, I know that he will continue to be an advocate for veterans. Good luck, Aubrey.

THE NATION'S BROADCASTING NANNY

HON. BARNEY FRANK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. FRANK. Mr. Speaker, in what seems to me a very hypocritical and inconsistent act, the deregulators whom President Reagan has appointed to the Federal Communications Commission have decided that they should be the censors of what Americans listen to on their radios. The recent edict from the FCC trying to clean up breakfast radio is wholly at variance with the general thrust of the FCC's deregulatory mode. It is hypocritical in the extreme to simultaneously seek to abolish the fairness doctrine while Americans that the Reagan appointees will decide what sexual material they are or are not fit to hear.

A recent editorial in the Newton Graphic points out the great problems that are raised by the FCC's position. As the Newton Graphic points out, if the FCC's "intention is to establish a national nanny in Washington for broadcasting, it is going too far." I ask that the very sensible and well-reasoned editorial of the Newton Graphic be printed here:

THE NATION'S BROADCASTING NANNY

Few would deny that a lot of sleaze is going out over the airwaves. But drawing the line between what is dirty or disgusting and what is obscene or pornographic is no easy task.

The Federal Communications Commission evidently is ready to take on the job. It issued a sweeping order the other day warning broadcasters against shows that contain explicit, offensive descriptions of sexual or excretory activities. The punishment can be fines or loss of station operating licenses.

That goes quite a few steps beyond that FCC's 11-year-old "seven dirty words" yardstick. The agency banned use of the seven words after they were used repeatedly by comedian George Carlin in a monologue broadcast by a California radio station.

What apparently led to the FCC's broadened crackdown is an increasing number of complaints about broadcast material, both from listeners and from conservative religious organizations. One broadcaster cited by the federal commissioners was Howard Stern, a radio talk-show host, whose raunchy commentary brought a warning to a Philadelphia station that carries his program.

It is worth noting that while the FCC admonished the Philadelphia station about Stern, it did not caution a New York radio

outlet that also broadcasts his show. Does this mean that Stern is indecent in Philadelphia but not in New York?

Does the new ruling mean that Dr. Ruth Westheimer will have to be taken off the air? Or will the explicit sexual advice offered by "Dr. Ruth" be all right for some communities but not for others?

How about Phil Donahue? Conversations on his television talk show get pretty earthy at times. And what about the "soaps," which are preoccupied with sex and usually don't leave much to the imagination?

The FCC is likely to find itself swamped if it is going to decide for every community in America what is suitable for each to hear and see on radio and television.

Then, of course, there is the issue of First Amendment rights. Will the FCC's new policy amount to censorship and an infringement on the free speech and free press rights of broadcasters?

A question also is raised of the right of people to tune in programs that appeal to them. Is it relevant that rating of the Philadelphia station warned by the FCC climbed from 16th to third place in its area after it began broadcasting Stern's show?

It may turn out that the FCC's bark is worse than its bite, that its aim merely was to warn broadcasting's sleazier elements to clean up their acts. But if its intention is to establish a national nanny in Washington for broadcasting, it is going too far.

AMBASSADOR SCHIFTER'S SOLIDARITY SUNDAY MESSAGE

HON. BENJAMIN A. GILMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, May 3, 1987, many of us involved in the fight for Soviet Jewish emigration gathered together at Dag Hammarskjold Plaza opposite the United Nations in New York City for Solidarity Sunday for Soviet Jewry. This annual expression of concern routinely draws hundreds of thousands of dedicated men, women, and children, to demonstrate their support for the religious, cultural, and other human rights which are currently denied Soviet Jews.

Among the speakers was Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, Richard Schifter. Ambassador Schifter has a long and illustrious record of dedication to the cause of human rights around the world, and took the time to outline in detail for the more than 200,000 participants that day, Secretary of State Shultz' recent visit to the Soviet Union and his attendance at a Passover Seder held at Spaso House.

I would like to take this opportunity to share Ambassador Schifter's comments with my colleagues. His remarks, succinct and brief, outline the difficult road that still lies ahead, as well as the need for an ongoing personal commitment by us all.

REMARKS BY RICHARD SCHIFTER

Just under three weeks ago, I attended a truly memorable Seder celebration. It was in Spaso House, the residence of the United States Ambassador in Moscow. Joining in this commemoration of the Exodus were the men and women for whom this particular festival has such special meaning: Victor

and Irina Brallovsky, Alexander Lerner, Nahum Meiman, Ida Nudel, Vladimir Slepak, Yoseph Begun, and dozens more.

And before we got started, before the first cup of wine had been poured, the United States Secretary of State went from table to table to shake the hand of each of these guests of the United States Embassy. He told Ida Nudel that he had met her sister and had promised her to do everything he could on Ida's behalf. He promised to continue his efforts. When he met the Slepaks, he presented them with the latest photographs of their grandchildren, grandchildren whom they had never met.

And then the Secretary of State made a brief speech. He did not have a prepared text. He did not even have notes. He was simply sharing with the people in the room what was on his mind and in his heart at that moment. What he told them was that the United States was with them, that the United States would continue to support their efforts, that they can continue to count on us.

As we meet on this Solidarity Sunday, we have, for a change, some good news to balance against the bad. The good news is that during the last two months about 1200 Jews left the Soviet Union. The good news is also that it looks as if many more refuseniks will be leaving during the months immediately ahead. Many of them, though by no means all of them, will at long last have a chance to rebuild their lives.

That is indeed the good news. But as we look beyond the present effort to facilitate the emigration of the men and women whom we have come to call the refuseniks, we also see a policy being put in place to cut down any further moves for the emigration of the hundreds of thousands who want to follow, to discourage them even from applying. In other words, in the future there will be few refuseniks, but many scared-to-applink.

As we look at what has been accomplished to date, you, all of you, indeed deserve to be congratulated. It was your work that has so significantly helped with the release of the thousands that are coming out now. But the job is not over yet. Not by a long shot. Behind those who are leaving now are the hundreds of thousands for whom the doors are barred.

It is for these hundreds of thousands that you need to raise your voice, to whom you have to send your message of hope. The best message you could send them is to quote the concluding words of George Shultz in his remarks to the refuseniks at the Seder in Spaso House on April 13, 1987: "We'll never give up!"

AMERICANS WHO LOBBY FOR JAPAN

HON. MARCY KAPTUR

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of my colleagues a recent New York Times article, "Americans Who Lobby for Japan." After reading this article, it becomes clearly evident why this Nation badly needs legislation which restricts the practice of former high-level Government officials from lobbying on behalf of foreign interests immediately after leaving Government service.

HOWARD WOLPE and I have such a bill. I hope my colleagues will join in cosponsoring the Foreign Agents Compulsory Ethics in Trade Act [FACE IT], H.R. 1231.

AMERICANS WHO LOBBY FOR JAPAN

(By Clyde H. Farnsworth)

WASHINGTON.—This city's biggest growth industry is not high technology or real estate but high-powered lobbying for the Japanese.

Last week the lobbyists, who shun publicity but do some of their business in Washington's popular K Street, Du Pont Circle and Georgetown restaurants, were working overtime as Congress took up trade legislation and President Reagan welcomed Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone.

The Japanese, according to Congressional aides, spent more than \$60 million last year for direct representation in their biggest market. That's four times the level in 1984. Japan's interests have become increasingly intertwined with America's. The United States consumes about a fifth of Japan's total production, and Japanese investment here has mushroomed. Many observers say the lobbying dollars have been well spent.

"Judging from results, I'd say it's certainly one of the most effective lobbies," said Representative Sander M. Levin, Democrat of Michigan. Even so, last week the House passed an amendment sponsored by Representative Richard A. Gephardt, Democrat of Missouri, that would direct American trade retaliation against countries that enjoy large surpluses with the United States.

Many of the lobbyists have occupied high positions in government and are useful not only for what they know and understand, but also for the access they provide to those now in power.

At latest count, 105 individuals and firms had registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act as "agents" of Japan, nearly twice as many as the next closest country, Canada.

But that's not a full picture, says Joseph E. Clarkson, head of the Justice Department registration unit. Many lobbyists are exempt from registration requirements because they do simple legal representation, as opposed to direct lobbying, or are actually employed by exempted domestic affiliates of Japanese companies.

"Their main goal is to create a favorable image throughout the U.S. for Japan," said Mr. Clarkson.

In the present inflammatory trade atmosphere helping the Japanese may sound disloyal. But it is not that simple. Americans who help the Japanese say they are also helping Americans by providing cheaper goods, or even jobs—those who sell and service Japanese cars are, after all, Americans. The lobbyists for the most part, see themselves as a vital part of the Japanese-American relationship—which Mike Mansfield, the United States ambassador in Tokyo, has called the "most important economic relationship in the world."

"It was like writing a letter to an uncle in Tokyo," said Richard J. Whalen, describing his efforts in the early 1970's to advise his first Japanese client on political and economic trends in Washington.

From that start Mr. Whalen, who had been a special assistant to President Nixon and a consultant to Secretary of State William P. Rogers, built a profitable lobbying business. His clients include the Japanese Embassy, the Japanese Ministry of Interna-

tional Trade and Industry and Toyota's domestic subsidiary, Toyota Motor Sales Inc.

His company, Worldwide Information Resources Ltd., occupies a plush suite of offices at 1717 K Street. He employs a staff of 10, including his wife, Joan.

"We've earned our money by trying to ward off the bad things that could have happened," he said.

One thing that didn't happen, for which he takes some of the credit, was domestic content legislation, which would have required large portions of American labor and materials before foreign cars could be sold in the United States.

But Mr. Whalen, 51 years old, also earns his money advising Japanese—and other clients—on the financial impact of political trends.

"We value his opinion, and depending on the advice we follow it," said Nagao Hyodo, minister for general affairs at the Embassy.

What does Mr. Whalen think about lobbying for the Japanese when the United States is running a huge trade deficit?

"I'm a free trader," he said, "who believes deeply that the U.S. market is regulated by the consumer. We are absolutely sure to injure ourselves if we go the protectionist route."

"I had five kids in college and couldn't afford to go into government," said Bob Keefe, who went into the Japan lobbying business in 1976 after serving as deputy director of the Democratic National Committee under Robert S. Strauss.

Clients of the Keefe Company, which has its headquarters at 444 North Capitol Street, three blocks from the Capitol, include Toyota, Hitachi, the Nippon Telephone and Telegraph Company and the Ministry of International Trade and Industry.

Mr. Keefe also has domestic clients, including American companies seeking to expand operations in Japan, and works closely with Taiji Kohara, President of International Public Relations, a Tokyo consulting and public relations firm.

"The big difference between working for Americans and Japanese is that the Japanese pay more promptly," said Mr. Keefe.

"We tend with our Japanese clients to do an awful lot of trade policy analysis and less representation, although that varies. The Japanese tend to be extremely interested in information."

A brochure he gives clients says "Government business is information business," but adds "knowing the decision makers and how to make forceful presentations of the client's position is the hard work that successful representation requires."

A native of Indiana, Mr. Keefe, 52, came to Washington in 1960 as press secretary to Senator Vance Hartke.

He later served as an aide to two other Indiana legislators, Representative J. Edward Roush and Senator Birch Bayh and after a stint as an AFL-CIO consultant worked in the presidential campaign of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey.

Whatever it has done for the trading relationship of the world's two great economic powers, Mr. Keefe says that his efforts as a lobbyist at least succeeded in getting all his children through college: "The last one left two years ago."

Ten years ago, Stuart E. Elzenstat was head of President Jimmy Carter's domestic policy staff, reviewing prospective policy in the White House West Wing.

Now Mr. Elzenstat, who hangs his shingle a few blocks away at the law offices of

Powell, Goldstein, Frazer & Murphy at 1110 Vermont Avenue, meets with House Foreign Affairs Committee staffers, State Department officials and others on behalf of Hitachi, the electronics and computer giant.

Partly through Mr. Elzenstat's lobbying efforts, Hitachi and other foreign electronics companies won an important victory in the House last month when Speaker Jim Wright agreed to remove from the House trade bill a provision imposing a one-year ban on the import of digital audio taping equipment.

"It would have been the first time that Congress banned a product on the basis of its technology and not on the basis of health or consumer effects," said Mr. Elzenstat.

Mr. Elzenstat, 44, makes no apologies for joining the lobbyists' ranks. "Lobbyists play an important role in assisting government to understand the implications of its actions," he said, citing a whimsical comment of Senator Patrick J. Leahy, Democrat of Vermont: "God love 'em. Without lobbyists we would have to decide how to vote on our own."

"We don't feel that we lobby for the Japanese. We lobby for 8,500 American businessmen," said Robert M. McElwaine, a former Hollywood press agent, who has been president of the American International Automobile Dealers Association for the past 17 years. The association's members sell \$30 billion of foreign cars a year, most of them Japanese.

"Congressmen and senators want to put us in the position of being apologist for Japanese trading policy," he said. "We have to fight our way out of that corner because we are defending American businesses."

Mr. McElwaine estimates that there are 250,000 Americans, earning \$4.5 billion annually, directly employed by the imported car industry.

Mr. McElwaine mobilized the powerful lobbying forces of the association against the so-called voluntary export restraints set by the Japanese as a result of American pressure in 1981.

Four years later Washington stopped insisting on quotas. But the Japanese industry, fearful of Congressional reprisals, maintained the controls anyway, albeit at higher levels.

Mr. McElwaine had argued that the restraints were not only pushing up prices of Japanese cars in the United States but triggering boosts in price levels by the Detroit carmakers.

He cited a Brookings Institution study by Robert W. Crandall reporting that quota increased prices of Japanese cars by \$2,500 each and prices of domestic cars by as much as \$1,000 apiece.

Mr. McElwaine, who works out of an office employing 17 persons at 1128 16th Street, across Lafayette Park from the White House, got his auto dealership experience after serving in the Navy in World War II.

He invested Navy poker winnings and separation pay in a Nash agency in Culver City, Calif. Later he became director of corporate relations for Mercedes-Benz of North America.

The son of silent movie pioneer Don McElwaine, the auto dealer, who is 62, did a stint at the Goldwyn Studios, where he was a press agent for Errol Flynn and Danny Kaye. "That's really my chief claim to fame," he said.

Global USA, Inc., which takes in more than \$1 million a year in lobbying fees, is

probably the biggest of the Japanese lobbying firms. Operating out of a townhouse at 1823 Jefferson Place in downtown Washington that also houses a popular Italian restaurant called Trattu, Global represents many of Japan's blue chip companies, including Komatsu, a tractor maker, Hitachi, All Nippon Airways, machine tool builders Fanuc and Yamazaki-Mazak, and Kyocera, a ceramics concern.

The company was founded four years ago by Stanton D. Anderson, who had been a State Department official in the Nixon administration, and William E. Timmons, chief Congressional lobbyist in the Nixon White House.

Global, in fact, is a kind of a Republican alumni association, and it isn't shy about selling this feature to prospective clients. Its brochure boasts that its "officers, directors, consultants and staff have served in high levels at the White House, in government domestic and foreign policy positions."

Other former officials associated with the company include William H. Morris Jr., a former senior Commerce Department official who is Global's President and chief executive, John M. Nugent, an Energy Department official during the Ford Administration, and Dr. Bo Denysyk, formerly head of the export control unit at Commerce.

Like other lobbying concerns, Global does more than try to help clients sell their goods here. Through Dr. Denysyk's services Global guides Hitachi, which has three plants in this country, through the labyrinth of Commerce Department export controls. And when Komatsu was looking for a place to open a new tractor plant, Global helped it settle on Chattanooga. "We told them about the great state of Tennessee," said Mr. Morris, 57, who himself hails from Jackson, Tenn.

Global also helps American companies sell in Japan and other countries, Mr. Morris said.

The sharp reaction in Tokyo to recent White House-ordered trade sanctions in computer chips, says H. William Tanaka, chief lobbyist for the Japanese microchip industry, reflects Japan's "insular mentality and its inability to become sensitized to American legal concerns."

Born in Los Angeles to Japanese parents, Mr. Tanaka, who is fluent in Japanese and served in the Office of Strategic Services during World War II, is among the minority of lobbyists who have not entered the business through the so-called revolving door—from a senior government position.

Mr. Tanaka, 63, is an elder statesman of lobbying, having represented the Electronic Industries Association of Japan, the Japanese Automobile Manufacturers Association and the Japan Tire Manufacturers Association for nearly 20 years.

Operating from a suite of offices at 1919 Pennsylvania Avenue, about four blocks from the White House, his law firm, Tanaka Ritger & Middleton, employs a staff of 20, including a macroeconomist, a microeconomist and a political analyst.

The wide professional reach underscores his view that a lobbyist is "really an educator."

"I see my function in explaining how the political dynamic works in Washington to the Japanese and the dynamic in Japan to the Americans so that both governments will deal with each other less out of ignorance than understanding."

In the present superheated atmosphere, Mr. Tanaka says it's counterproductive for a

lobbyist to try to influence government trade decisions.

"Generally, I try to stay out of inter-governmental discussions," he said. "When issues get freighted with so much emotion and politics a so-called lobbyist is less efficient."

He says he is happiest doing nuts-and-bolts legal work for Japanese companies, such as Minibea, which makes ball bearings.

Minibea recently bought the New Hampshire Ball Bearing Company of Peterboro, N.H., but faced possible antitrust challenges from the Justice Department. And the purchase caused some concern at the Pentagon, since it was the buyer of more than half of the output of New Hampshire Ball Bearings.

Mr. Tanaka says he told the authorities that Minibea would bring cost-effective technology to New Hampshire Ball Bearings, resulting in "a net contribution to the U.S. defense mobilization base for the manufacture of smaller sized precision bearings." The sale went through.

UNION VIOLENCE

HON. RICHARD K. ARMEY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. ARMEY. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation intended to effectively remedy acts of labor violence which occur in conjunction with labor-management disputes.

The Worker Protection Act of 1987 implements in part the findings and legislative recommendations of the only exhaustive study of labor union violence in the United States—"Union Violence: The Record and the Response by Courts, Legislatures and the NLRB," by Armand J. Thieblot, Jr., and Thomas R. Haggard. The study was published in 1983 by the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School. It reviews the history of labor violence in America, and provides numerous individual case studies and statistical analyses revealing which unions have been most involved in union violence. In addition, the study compiles pertinent court and National Labor Relations Board [NLRB] decisions dealing with labor violence. Based on its thorough research, the study makes several recommendations regarding specific steps that Congress could take to alleviate labor violence in this country and provide better protection for innocent workers. My bill would write into law several of those recommendations.

Since its publication, no authoritative work has challenged the findings or recommendations of the Wharton study. In fact, Choice, the journal of the Association of College and Research Librarians, placed the Wharton study on its 1983-84 list of outstanding academic books. At the same time, since its publication there have been numerous new instances of labor violence, and the following bill is intended to address this problem that is crying out for an effective solution.

To understand the environment to which this legislation is directed, the 1985-86 labor strife at the Geo. A. Hormel & Co., meatpacking plant provides an instructive example. There, local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers [UFCW] went on a strike so

violent that local law enforcement officials and the town's mayor had to call in the National Guard on at least two different occasions. Last April, in what the local police called a riot situation, 17 persons were arrested when 1,000 UFCW supporters from around the country rallied at the Austin, MN plant in order to shut down Hormel. The riot situation, according to local UFCW official James V. Guyette, was the UFCW's "way of showing that our strike against the Geo. A. Hormel Co. has not ended." During this confrontation, tear gas and mace were needed to break up the crowd, and several law enforcement officials were injured by UFCW members who threw rocks and hazardous chemicals at the officers.

For purposes of understanding the need for the bill I am introducing today, it is significant to note that not until 4 months after the National Guard had been called out did the NLRB seek a court injunction directed at bringing the Hormel violence to a halt. Clearly, the NLRB can play a substantially greater role in combating violence such as that found in the UFCW-Hormel situation, and the Worker Protection Act ensures that the NLRB will exercise its authority to halt labor violence in a timely manner and that unions perpetrating such violence will be penalized.

Labor union violence continues to be far more frequent and widespread than is popularly understood and perceived. As demonstrated by the Hormel/UFCW example, conduct that would be criminal in any other context is, for some reason, tolerated in the labor relations context. Supreme Court decisions and existing policies of the NLRB have largely negated any effective remedy against such conduct. As one commentator wrote over 20 years ago, "The theory seems to be that, since violence is a traditional part of labor disputes, tradition sanctions its use." The Hormel strike violence demonstrates that this commentary is even more true today.

One example of how current Federal law almost condones labor violence is the Norris-LaGuardia Act. That law was passed in 1932 for the purpose of preventing the courts from favoring employers by granting injunctive relief that prevented legitimate union strike activity. The act, therefore, implements an important national labor policy that protects individuals and unions who withhold their services because of legitimate economic disputes with their employers. What has gone awry, however, is that Norris-LaGuardia's original intent has been read so broadly that it now protects individuals and unions who go beyond legitimate strike activity and threaten to or actually engage in physical violence to achieve their goals. My bill is intended to restate our national labor policy to say that violence should not be condoned because it is being used to further collective bargaining objectives.

As amply demonstrated by the Wharton study, ostensible protections against labor violence already written into Federal law have proven to be largely ineffective. For example, the Hobbs Act, which prohibits extortion accompanied by physical violence, has been held by the Supreme Court not to apply to violence in pursuit of legitimate union objectives. In the Enmons decision, several union members were indicted during a labor strike for

firing high-powered rifles at three utility company transformers, draining the oil from a company transformer, and blowing up a transformer substation owned by the company—all done for the purpose of obtaining higher wages and benefits for the striking workers. The Supreme Court refused to find a violation on the basis that the Hobbs Act was not intended to prohibit the use of violence in obtaining legitimate union objectives, such as higher wages and benefits. Hobbs, said the Court, only prohibit violence committed to obtain illegitimate objectives.

In another example showing the lack of teeth in current Federal law to deal with labor violence, in 1983, the Supreme Court by a 5-to-4 vote reversed a lower court decision that mob violence against nonunion construction workers on a Texas jobsite gave a private right action to injured employees under 42 U.S.C. 1985(3), a civil rights conspiracy statute enacted in 1871. Consequently, the Court's decision removed one of the primary means for employees subject to union violence to seek relief in Federal court. Notably, however, even the majority of the Court in *Carpenters versus Scott*, recognized that it may have misinterpreted the intent of Congress and made clear its willingness to enforce Federal statutes specifically addressed to economic and commercial conflicts proscribing injuries to persons and property.

Finally, and perhaps most significantly, the Federal agency charged with maintaining industrial peace in America—the National Labor Relations Board—has consistently refused to impose effective sanctions against labor violence. While the Board recognizes that union violence against individuals is illegal conduct that violates section 8(b)(1)(A) of the National Labor Relations Act, the Board's findings often are issued weeks or even years after the violent acts have served their intimidating purposes. The Board rarely seeks injunctive relief to prevent union violence, and Board "cease-and-desist" orders do nothing to punish the individual perpetrators of violent activity. In addition, the Board seldom awards back pay to those workers who stay away from their jobs because of union intimidation.

Moreover, the Board frequently has ordered violent strikers or union members reinstated to their jobs where the employer's nonviolent unfair labor practices have provoked the employees to resort to unprotected violent conduct. In other words, Board remedies often protect the violent individual who engages in possible criminal activity and who tries to apply his own remedy beyond the more than adequate Board remedies available against the employer who violates the act.

The Board in practice thus encourages a vigilante approach to correcting unfair labor practices. Remedies are rarely available to the individual who suffers from violence related to workplace disputes. Injunctive relief is rarely sought by the Board, and the harmed individual has no recourse to seek relief on his own behalf. Back pay awards are generally not available to those who are threatened if they attempt to peacefully perform their jobs. Individuals seldom, if ever, can obtain damages by way of an independent Federal lawsuit, and in any event, it is virtually impossible to

obtain relief against individual perpetrators, even if they act outside the umbrella of union sanction of their conduct.

An important question that arises when more effective Federal remedies for labor violence have been proposed in the past is whether the issue is better left to State and local law enforcement officials. Our labor management relations policies, however, are national policies. They are enforced by the National Labor Relations Board which administers the National Labor Relations Act, a Federal law that Congress designed to preempt comparable State laws. Since the NLRB regulates nearly all aspects of the collective bargaining relationship, it makes little sense that violent conduct that occurs in labor disputes should be treated as having little impact on the outcome of those disputes.

Although there are circumstances in which State law may effectively remedy labor violence, the fact remains that for personal and political reasons, among others, many State law enforcement authorities are hesitant to act in labor violence cases. First, labor violence often occurs on a scale and with such intensity that local enforcement authorities are incapable of handling it effectively. This may result from a lack of resources, manpower or expertise or from the reluctance of State or local police to arrest individuals who are on strike. In addition, the police and striking workers may both be members of the same union. It is clear then that Federal enforcement would therefore be more appropriate.

If this country is to have a national labor policy, then that policy should encompass all significant aspects of the employer-employee-union relationship. The bill I am introducing today would correct the problems and injustices I have discussed and restore the administration of the NLRA to its original intent.

To prescribe the legitimate rights of both employees and employers in their relations affecting commerce, to provide orderly and peaceful procedures for preventing the interference by either with the legitimate rights of the other, [and] to protect the rights of individual employees in their relations with labor organizations.

INTRODUCTION OF THE STAR SCHOOLS PROGRAM ASSISTANCE ACT

HON. JOE MOAKLEY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing the Star Schools Program Assistance Act, a bill designed to help address the educational challenges which face our Nation through the use of advanced telecommunications technology.

Mr. Speaker, in recent months, the issue of making America competitive once again in the world marketplace has dominated political debate. A number of proposals have been introduced in Congress over the past year which would make our industries and workers more productive and competitive with their foreign counterparts. President Reagan has even more recently joined the effort with a competi-

tiveness proposal of his own. Each of these proposals is different, but they do contain some common elements such as improvements in education.

Any competitiveness measure which is passed by the Congress this year must contain a renewed commitment to quality education in America. Without significant improvements in the performance of our young people in areas such as mathematics, science, computers, and foreign languages, our Nation has little chance of regaining the competitive edge it once had in many industries.

Indeed, concern over the decline of educational quality in America is not something new. With the publication in 1983 of *A Nation At Risk*, the report of the National Commission on Excellence in Education, the focus of Congress, the administration, and the American people was placed on the crisis in our schools.

In 1984, Congress acted swiftly to address this crisis by enacting the Education for Economic Security Act. This legislation recognized that deficiencies in math, science, computer, foreign language, and other instruction for both teachers and students was jeopardizing the ability of our Nation to defend itself and compete in the world market. The measure authorized Federal assistance to State and local governments for improvements in these education areas.

Despite this congressional action, our Nation is still experiencing a serious lack of achievement in mathematics, science, and foreign languages—in short, an "education deficit." Recent surveys have shown that American students continue to trail Japanese students in math and chemistry achievement. Our industries continue to suffer from a lack of engineers being generated by our educational system. Our schools themselves are having difficult times recruiting qualified teachers in the math and science areas and keeping them.

Moreover, many educational institutions and schools systems today continue to lack the resources necessary to make dramatic improvements in the quality of education.

The legislation I am introducing today will go a long way toward addressing these problems and this lack of resources by establishing a program of Federal grant assistance for the development of comprehensive educational telecommunications networks.

These networks would link up, by means of satellite and other devices, high schools, colleges, research centers, libraries, and industrial worksites, and provide courses in the areas of mathematics, science, computers, and foreign languages. Such programming would be in a two-way, interactive mode, allowing students to communicate directly and in real time to teachers in remote locations.

Mr. Speaker, over the past year, I have heard from many educational institutions in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts which have already begun limited efforts in the educational telecommunications area. These institutions are strongly supportive of efforts to establish a State- or New England-wide educational telecommunications network. The Commonwealth has already taken a step in this direction by establishing a State corporation

charged with the mission of developing a statewide telecommunications network.

While all schools will benefit from access to the information and programming made available by educational telecommunications, rural schools and school districts with limited resources will receive the greatest benefit. These schools, which simply cannot afford to provide the full range of courses students need and attract the best teachers in all fields, will be able to offer their students the expanded educational opportunities they need to prepare for college and the job market.

Mr. Speaker, educational telecommunications can be the catalyst for a resurgence of educational excellence in America. It can modernize America's classrooms and make better use of scarce educational resources.

The Star Schools Program Assistance Act requires that States make a significant investment in the development of a statewide network plan which should involve the participation of both public and private educational institutions, local governments and industry. The Federal role would be to finance the purchase of the hardware and facilities necessary to establish the network. The legislation authorizes \$100 million over 5 years, with up to \$20 million available to individual telecommunications partnerships.

Mr. Speaker, as we work to make America competitive again, nothing is more important to this effort than the education of our young people. I urge my colleagues to support the enactment of the Star Schools Program Assistance Act.

A STRONG U.S. MERCHANT MARINE—AMERICA SHOULD CARE

HON. ROBIN TALLON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. TALLON. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to welcome to Washington, a distinguished young man from the Sixth District of South Carolina, Franklin Pringle, a sophomore at Choppee High School in Georgetown, SC. He has recently been named a national finalist in the 52d Annual Harold Harding Memorial Maritime Essay Contest. As a result of his fine essay entitled "A Strong U.S. Merchant Marine—America Should Care!", Franklin has won a cruise to travel from Tacoma, WA, to Anchorage, AK.

Thanks to the local Georgetown Propeller Club, Franklin is able to spend the day here in Washington with us and see how the Federal Government works. I would like to submit for the RECORD the text of Franklin's winning essay.

Imagine our country at war on foreign soil with U.S. troops awaiting shipment of the goods necessary to successfully defend themselves. Picture a world where allies cannot be depended upon with total certainty to come to the aid of the United States. Envision the results of the destruction of the delicate balance of trade between America and other countries because we had no means of import and export transportation. America has experienced war on other land

and we have witnessed recently the reluctance of our allies to support us in political theory. Trade between countries is crucial for economic and political balance. Yet, many Americans are unaware of the significance of these events on their lives, and even less aware of the role the United States Merchant Marine plays in our national security and economic strength.

America needs a strong Merchant Marine to help guarantee the safety of our nation. In time of war, our government has the authority to lease privately owned Merchant Marine ships to carry troops and supplies to areas of battle. This flow of necessary raw materials cannot be interrupted if we hope for adequate defense. The Merchant Marine helps us provide military force when and where we need it. It has been estimated by military experts that, in time of conflict, ninety percent of the resources and supplies which must be shipped abroad will go by sea, not by air.

Obviously, our fleet must be furnished with modern technological equipment. Our vessels must be ready for action. If our government, and we as citizens, do not support our Merchant Marine, we are severing a vital artery of our national defense.

Economically, the American Merchant Marine bolsters domestic prosperity by carrying U.S. goods abroad. Jobs are created within our country through the Merchant Marine's support of our industries. Factories and corporations manufacture more products and create more jobs for many American families. Our fleet transports medicine, food, clothing and provides agricultural assistance to other nations that are unable to produce the necessary items to keep the country on its feet. In return, goods and services are provided to the U.S.

Today, however, our Merchant Marine is facing an uncertain future. People forget that the Merchant Marine is always there, quietly helping defend our constitution while performing patriotic duties. Americans have grown lax and even those who are aware of its importance have begun taking the Merchant Marine's existence for granted. A strong Merchant Marine is vital in today's society to fight the threats of war that have become relatively commonplace. We must look at the Merchant Marine as an insurance policy for the United States; we must not allow it to lapse. It is not too late to bring our Merchant Marine up to the status it should enjoy. We citizens and our government must unite to upgrade the fleet and honestly address its deficiencies.

Our present United States flag fleet is the oldest of all the world's major fleets. These ships have greater fuel consumption and larger crews. To successfully participate in successful world trade, we need more and smaller ships. Without them, the U.S. ability to compete in world trade is severely restricted.

The number of our merchant ships has been depleted. The numbers have gone from over 1,000 in 1950 to under 600 in 1981. Citizens need to be aware that, in time of war with our foremost potential enemy, Russia, we would be at a crippling disadvantage. The U.S.S.R. with its advanced submarine fleet could easily destroy our Merchant Marine vessels. Our American ships have become "super tankers" and "jumbo" vessels. Even though this is an advantage in peacetime enabling great amounts of goods to be moved at one time, it is to our disadvantage in war. Vital supplies could be destroyed by one well placed torpedo.

Our Merchant Marine vessels, due to their size, would be difficult to adapt militarily.

The Soviet Union has provided over a thousand break-bulk cargo ships while we can field only about 300.

Our allies depend upon us and our foreign trade. If our participation in foreign trade were halted, the results would be devastating for us as well as for those who depend upon us. Many would fall easy prey to their enemies or have to rely upon aid from other countries with whom we are not allied, thus lessening our number of allies. American citizens today must be aware of the importance of allies and easily they may be lost or turn against their friends. The activities of the Merchant Marine, therefore, are of vital necessity to the United States in maintaining diplomatic relationships and keeping allies.

The United States must have a strong arm Merchant Marine. This fleet must not be government owned or inactive reserve or foreign flag vessels. Our fleet must fly the U.S. flag, be of adequate size and prepared to serve in peacetime as well as in time of war. Personnel must be recruited to serve on these ships. We need a young, well trained Merchant Marine force who will find life time careers with this group. The workforce used to number over 60,000; now it is less than 20,000. In time of need, someone cannot be quickly trained to operate a vessel. Modern technology requires that the people be highly skilled personnel. We need to make a commitment to recruiting and training the best the U.S. has to offer. Our Merchant Marine vessels need to provide safe, comfortable homes and work places with good benefits and salaries. Our fleet can only be as good as those who operate it.

Our nation must take other steps to ensure the growth and survival of our American Merchant Marine. The fleet is a front-runner in world trade, but it needs more cargo to carry. One solution would be give a tax break to U.S. shippers who use the Merchant Marine ships. Unfortunately, many U.S. shippers do not use our flag ships even when the freight rates are equal. Having a tax credit of some sort would give these shippers the incentive to use our fleet.

Another measure which could be taken to increase our Merchant Marine cargo would be to focus on the U.S. exports of coal. We have an enormous supply which should give us some shipping leverage. If more coal transport were given to the Merchant Marine, the United States would be in a better position economically.

The fate of our Merchant Marine ultimately rests with our government. Some viable plan must be started to build up our merchant fleet. To allow our fleet to decline is to abandon economic prosperity and a sense of national security. None of us wants to hear, "America, your insurance has been canceled."

REV. MSGR. GEORGE A. O'GORMAN CELEBRATES 50 YEARS OF ORDINATION

HON. FRANK J. GUARINI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. GUARINI. Mr. Speaker, this month an outstanding servant of God and man, Rev. Msgr. George A. O'Gorman will celebrate his 50th year of ordination as a Roman Catholic priest.

Because of Monsignor O'Gorman's community service during the years of war and peace America has been involved in, a testimonial dinner in his honor is being tendered on Saturday, May 16, 1987, at 6:30 p.m. at Schuetzen Park, North Bergen, NJ.

Helen Gonyou, Ruth Matash, and Janet Benzoni are members of the dinner committee that have invited archbishop of Newark, Theodore McCarrick and archbishop emeritus of Newark, Peter L. Gerity and Msgr. Franklyn Casale, as well as relatives and community groups. In addition, Monsignor O'Gorman will be given a special salute by veterans' groups for his service as a chaplain in the U.S. Army, having retired with the rank of colonel from the U.S. Army Reserves just a few years ago.

Born in Jersey City, NJ, Monsignor O'Gorman was ordained into the priesthood on May 22, 1937, after his education at Seton Hall University and Immaculate Conception Seminary, two great institutions of higher learning in the Garden State. After his ordination he was assigned to St. Brigid's Parish in North Bergen where he also served as chaplain for the township police and fire departments.

When World War II came upon us, Monsignor O'Gorman answered the call and enlisted in the U.S. Army as a chaplain. Because of his tremendous courage and leadership on the fields of battle, Monsignor O'Gorman earned the nickname of "Beachhead" O'Gorman. His involvement in the invasions of Leyte and Okinawa earned him five battle stars. After his release as a major in 1946, Monsignor O'Gorman continued to serve New Jersey and his Nation as a chaplain in the Army Reserves until his retirement.

In 1946, Monsignor O'Gorman resumed his religious duties at All Saints Parish in Jersey City where he remained until 1963. It was in that year that the late Archbishop Thomas A. Boland assigned Monsignor O'Gorman to North Bergen to erect a church and found the parish of Our Lady of Fatima.

Over the years, Monsignor O'Gorman has served with distinction on the military staff of two Governors of New Jersey, as State chaplain of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, moderator for the South Hudson and North Hudson Councils of Catholic Men, a member of the planning board of North Bergen, and as chaplain of Pope John XXIII Knights of Columbus. Monsignor O'Gorman was also a member of the advisory board of the Military Ordinate—to which he was appointed by the late Terrance Cardinal Cooke—a member of the U.S. Council on Aging, Washington, DC, and a member of the Edward McDowell Post, Veterans of Foreign Wars, North Bergen, NJ. He was also appointed to the Building and Site Committee of the archdiocese of Newark by Archbishop Emeritus Peter L. Gerity.

On May 21, 1986, he was made a prelate of honor of His Holiness at the Cathedral of the Sacred Heart, Newark, NJ. Monsignor O'Gorman resides at the St. John Vianney residence for retired priests in Rutherford, NJ. Monsignor O'Gorman continues to help out at various parishes in the diocese when needed.

Monsignor O'Gorman's sister, Mrs. Kermit Sidle, resides in Westerly, RI. His nephew John lives in Grand Island, NE, and his

nephew William resides in Columbus, OH, with his wife, Philomena.

Monsignor O'Gorman's life work echoes the words of His Holiness, Pope John Paul II when he visited Philadelphia on October 4, 1979, and said in his homily to those priests in attendance:

The priesthood is not really a task which has been assigned; it is a vocation, to be heard again and again. To hear this call and to respond generously to what this call entails is a task for each priest.

Monsignor O'Gorman's career exemplifies: "Tu es sacerdos in aeternum—priesthood is forever." We do not return the gift once given. It cannot be that God who gave the impulse to say yes now wishes to hear no.

According to Helen Gonyou, past New Jersey president of the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and a member of the dinner committee:

This year during the 200th anniversary of the Constitution of the United States this golden anniversary celebration of Monsignor O'Gorman's ordination is extra significant. His entire life has been dedicated to the freedom of spirit and religion and opportunity which our forefathers outlined so carefully in the priceless document which is the envy of the entire world.

Let us not rest all our hopes on parchment and on paper. Let us strive to build peace, a desire for peace, a willingness to work for peace, in the hearts and minds of all our people. I believe that we can. I believe the problems of human destiny are not beyond the reach of human beings.

Monsignor O'Gorman has been a leader all his life, leading his religious flock, leading the community in all causes just, tending to and leading the men who served him in battle. Those who were with him in the dark days of World War II speak of his tremendous stamina, faith and courage.

One former serviceman quoted the following in describing "Beachhead" O'Gorman's combat leadership, a statement often expressed by President John F. Kennedy:

Without belittling the courage for which men have died, we should not forget those acts of courage for which men have lived.

Monsignor O'Gorman's life should inspire all of us who must be reminded that the cost of freedom has always been expensive. Monsignor O'Gorman's life echoes these words:

For of those to whom much is given, much is required. And when at some future date the high court of history sits in judgment on each of us, recording whether in our brief span of service we fulfilled our responsibilities to the state, our success or failure, in whatever office we hold, will be measured by the answers to four questions: First, were we truly men of courage? Second, were we truly men of judgment? Third, were we truly men of integrity? Finally, were we truly men of dedication?

Monsignor O'Gorman's life befits the October 6 message delivered by Pope John Paul II when speaking about our Nation and the people who made it great and what we stand for:

It is also a country marked by deep veneration for these values without which no society can prosper: love of freedom, cultural creativity, and the conviction that common endeavors for the good of society must be guided by a true moral sense. My own spirit-

ual and religious mission impels me to be the messenger of peace and brotherhood, and to witness the true greatness of every human person. This greatness derives from the love of God, who created us in his own likeness and gave us an eternal destiny. It is in this dignity of the human person that I see the meaning of history, and that I find the principle that gives sense to the role which every human being has to assume for his or her own advancement and for the well-being of the society to which he or she belongs. It is with these sentiments that I great in you the whole American people, a people that bases its whole concept of life on spiritual and moral values, on a deep religious sense, on respect for duty and on generosity in the service of humanity—noble traits which are embodied in a particular way in the nation's capital, with its monuments dedicated to such outstanding national figures as George Washington, Abraham Lincoln and Thomas Jefferson.

I am certain that my colleagues here in the House of Representatives wish to join me in this salute to Msgr. George A. O'Gorman—a great priest—a great American.

HAS FAIR TREATMENT DIED

HON. HELEN DELICH BENTLEY

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mrs. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, 3 weeks ago, a former Member of this body was yet again made the object of unusual and, to my mind unjustified, special handling by the Department of Justice.

I do not know former Congressman Hansen, but I do know the misuse of power when I see it. A column by Jack Anderson and Joseph Spear, which appeared in the Washington Post on May 11, summarizes some of the worst aspects of the case. Since the column was published Hansen has been sent back to serve 6 more months in a Federal prison. That will make a total of more than a year in prison. Rapists and arsonists have done better. I attach the column. It makes interesting reading.

HANSEN'S TROUBLING TREATMENT

[By Jack Anderson and Joseph Spear]

The coarse treatment of former representative George Hansen (R-Idaho), a big, bumbling bear of a man, has backfired on federal prison and parole authorities.

We have been covering Hansen's unconventional career for more than a decade, sometimes exposing his antics, sometimes defending his courage, as he has barged from one scrape to another. He has rarely marched in step with his former colleagues on Capitol Hill, but he is no miscreant. At 6-foot-6, he is a genial giant who eventually thumbed his nose at something bigger than he was, and he paid the price with a prison term.

Now the federal authorities seem intent on breaking his spirit, and they have gone too far. Indeed, the public should be pondering a basic question: If a public figure who commands the attention of the press can be bullied by the authorities, what happens to the ordinary individual who enters the system without cachet?

Hansen got embroiled in his current predicament by failing to list some of his wife's

financial transactions on congressional disclosure forms. Others have committed similar trespasses—former vice presidential candidate Geraldine A. Ferraro, to name only one. But Hansen had apparently antagonized too many important officials. He was prosecuted and convicted in 1984 and served six months before being paroled last December.

Hansen sold his home and automobile to pay his \$40,000 fine. When he signed his parole papers, he said that he could not agree to the standard travel restrictions and financial reporting requirements and would formally apply for a waiver. To sustain himself, meanwhile, he would continue his profession as a lecturer and consultant. He thereafter provided his parole officer with a detailed schedule of his activities.

Hansen's request for exemptions from normal parole conditions was still pending on April 15. Yet without being presented with a warrant, he was seized by federal marshals in Omaha. Consider some subsequent events:

The marshals yanked Hansen's arms behind him and handcuffed him. After a day in a county jail, he was put aboard a rented Learjet and whisked to the Washington suburbs in the dead of night.

Hansen was booked into the Alexandria city jail under a fake name. "Frederick Smith." This was done, said U.S. Marshal Roger Ray, "to avoid a lot of media attention at that time and to get him back safely."

Neither Hansen's wife nor his attorney was notified of his whereabouts. It was only after the press tracked Hansen down and began asking questions, he said, that his wife learned where he was and the marshals began allowing him to use the telephone.

According to Hansen, his first hours in jail were spent in a dark, dank basement cell.

When 35 of Hansen's congressional friends complained about his treatment, he was granted a meeting with a Justice Department official. Hansen was taken to the meeting in the Alexandria federal courthouse bound in handcuffs, chains and irons.

Footnote: A U.S. Marshal spokesman maintained that Hansen has "been treated just like everyone else that has a parole violation." That's troubling.

JAPAN, INC.

HON. WILLIAM O. LIPINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. LIPINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I rise to bring to the attention of my colleagues the nature of the huge Japanese investment recently experienced in the United States. While few dispute that this has been a good deal for nearly everybody involved—American workers, suppliers, and the State and Federal Governments—there is a darker side to the investment.

Chicago Tribune reporter Robert Kearns, in a recent series of articles on this development, argues that there is mounting evidence to suggest the Japanese firms investing here have created an "economy within an economy." Instead of utilizing American suppliers, construction groups, and distributors, these investing companies have relied almost exclusively on Japanese or Japanese-controlled

firms to help manage the capitalization, construction, and maintenance of their plants and factories.

Taking Japan's investment in "auto alley" as an example, the eight midwestern auto plants which stretch north from Mazda in Flat Rock, MI, south to Mitsubishi Diamond-Star Motors in Bloomington, IL, Kearns relates that the Japanese investment strategy in the United States is much more planned and coordinated than most Americans realize:

At the start, Japanese imports flood an industry, gaining market share at the lower end with less-expensive products. Once successful market penetration is achieved, Japanese firms move up to more profitable products, such as custom-designed computer chips or the four-door Toyota Camrys that will be made in Georgetown (KY), with a base price of \$10,648. Soon the weakened U.S. industry asks for government protection, and, as with autos and chips, frequently gets it. The Japanese, fearing that their access to the U.S. market will be cut off or responding to U.S. invitations to invest here, set up factories here or go into joint ventures. Often, the U.S. industries have been so weakened by the Japanese competition, as was the case with television makers and chip producers, that they can be bought relatively cheaply. The recent unsuccessful attempt by Fujitsu Ltd. to take over Fairchild Semiconductors Corp. is an example.

The Japanese investment comes here with some built-in advantages. First unlike U.S. firms, which concentrated abroad on plants and acquisitions, Japanese investment in the U.S. so far has centered more on distribution outlets and financial services to aid sales of Japanese exports. This distribution market gives the new Japanese firm ready access to a market for its U.S.-produced goods. * * * Second, by the time a Japanese firm invests in an American industry, its exports will usually have battered that industry to the point that labor costs are on the way down. The United Auto Workers have made concessions to Japanese investors. Third, the major Japanese investor, be they manufacturers or banks, tend to move in packs. If there's a Hitachi or a Nippon investing in a sector of the U.S. economy, a Mitsubishi won't be far behind.

Mr. Speaker, I realize that Japanese investment in this country means jobs for American workers and at least some business for American suppliers, but we must be careful to recognize the nature of the investment for what it is turning out to be: the same closed-door policy American suppliers and producers face in Japan. This is not the only problem with the increased investments. By 1990, auto industry analysts predict that Japanese carmakers in this country will be able to build 1.5 million to 2 million cars, a development that will shut down U.S. capacity and devastate the American automobile industry. While many States have aggressively cultivated Japanese investment in car factories and other industrial ventures with development loans and other financial assistance, I am not convinced that they are fully aware of the impact this added capacity will have some years down the road on our already seriously eroded manufacturing base.

GARY HART'S FALL FROM GRACE LEAVES A TANGLE OF QUESTIONS

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, listen to the disturbing eloquence of Indianapolis Star columnist Patrick J. Traub.

[From the Indianapolis Star, May 10, 1987]

GARY HART'S FALL FROM GRACE LEAVES A TANGLE OF QUESTIONS

(By Patrick J. Traub)

The rules of the game of reporting on campaigns, politicians and public office holders changed last week—a change that will take the media, politicians, readers and voters years to figure out.

The *Miami Herald*, acting on a tip and Gary Hart's challenge, followed him and friends during a weekend of activity in Washington. Hart's wife was in Denver and two of the three friends were women.

Even though the reporters failed to do their jobs adequately, the newspaper reported that Hart had spent the night with the woman. It was left to the reader to determine what "spent the night" means. Presumably it is close to what the Rolling Stones had in mind 15 years ago in their song *Let's Spend The Night Together*.

The inadequate reporting job does not change the fact that the activities of a public official as they relate to his or her marriage vows are clearly fair game.

The issue of when to report extra-marital sexual activity by public officials has been debated in and by the media for decades. The usual standard has been that if the activity can be tied to the official's public service, then it should be reported. "Simple" violations of marriage vows, clearly unrelated to public funds or activity, were considered to be non-public activity. Let he or she who is without sin cast the first stone, was the general view.

However, media debate over adultery has increased in recent weeks. *Newsweek* devoted a full page to the discussion. *Boston Globe* columnist Ellen Goodman has written that the media should be as forthcoming on the reporting of extra-marital sexual activity as it is on issue positions.

Goodman, writing only of the "male public servant," argues that reporting on "womanizing" reveals "something about a man's capacity for deception, vulnerability to exposure (and) fascination with risk-taking." Evidently, Goodman fears only male messing-around, as she uses only male pronouns. She does credit, and I believe correctly, the emerging female influence on public service as the reason for the change.

Knowing how inane candidates and campaigns can be, I predict the "come clean" issue of 1988 will be sworn statements from candidates pledging they have never engaged in an adulterous act.

But, how will the media react? How do we report this?

Obviously we must do better jobs than the *Miami Herald*. But, is simply covering all the exits all the time sufficient? Apartments, motels and homes are not the only places to watch, for example. And is simply being alone with a member of the opposite sex for a period of time, without one's spouse or another person present, sufficient

evidence of adultery or "a capacity for deceit?"

What happens to the ever increasing number of female staffers for male candidates? There is no reason to believe that at least for the near future, candidates will continue to be predominantly male. Can a candidate for public office risk having a close adviser who is a member of the opposite sex, who travels with the candidate, who stays overnight near the candidate, or spends long hours alone with the candidate?

Since the *Miami Herald* has a reporting "first" in accusing a man of sinning, the pressure will be on to be the first to report a woman's sin. That affects male staffers of female candidates.

Since the violation is one of the marriage vow—taken as solemnly and before an Almighty just as the vow of public office—what about divorce? Is that not the ultimate violation of the vow? Or separation?

And how does the media react to marital situations where such activity is accepted and condoned? Not all voters would accept that, but those who took the vows apparently do.

How far back does the media go? Are previous acts of infidelity—assuming the partner has changed—forgiven and we will only chase "new" acts? Is it just a violation of marriage that is newsworthy? Is it fair to report on married candidates differently than single candidates? Some Americans still believe sexual activity outside marriage is immoral.

Franklin D. Roosevelt's position in history will not change because of his long-standing affair; Ronald Reagan has never been called on to explain the seven-month pregnancy Nancy had following their marriage on March 4, 1952, and the birth of their daughter, Patricia, on Oct. 21. Should he be?

Should such reporting be limited to presidential candidates? What about state officials, or state legislators, or local officials, or simple public servants like policemen and housing inspectors?

Reporters are not public servants. We can neither raise your taxes nor send your children to Central America to die. But the bond of trust between reporters and readers is similar to the bond between officeholders and the public. Can a media outlet risk damaging its public image by assigning reporters to unveil a philandering politician when the reporters themselves are, or have been, philanderers?

A lot of questions. Without many answers. As Hart said Friday, "The American people decide what qualities are important to govern this country in the national interest.

"And they haven't been heard from yet."

"FEAR CAN BE YOUR BEST FRIEND"

HON. DON RITTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. RITTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to bring to the attention of my colleagues the following article describing the heroic tenacity displayed by American servicemen who were subjected to unimaginable torture at the hands of the North Vietnamese Communists. These men, of whom we are so proud, went to Vietnam on behalf of all Americans and for that we are forever indebted. To them, the

cost of preserving freedom, for ourselves and our allies, is especially understood.

[From Parade magazine, Apr. 19, 1987]

"FEAR CAN BE YOUR BEST FRIEND"

(By Hank Whittemore)

In April 1967, exactly two decades ago, Major Leo Thorsness of South Dakota, an Air Force fighter pilot, was shot down over North Vietnam. He was captured and taken to a fortresslike complex called Hoa Lo Prison, nicknamed the "Hanoi Hilton." For the next six years, Thorsness endured beatings, torture and long periods of isolation. But he and the other prisoners not only struggled as individuals; they also waged a private, psychological war as a group against their captors. Although many of their fellow inmates died, the survivors emerged victorious.

About 2400 Americans in Vietnam were listed as prisoners of war or missing in action, but fewer than 600 returned alive. Among them were Leo Thorsness and other "hard-core resisters" from inside the North Vietnamese prison system, some of whom had been there for eight years. Released together in 1973 after the war's end, they went home to a country that was in no mood to learn about, much less celebrate, their courage and heroism. Although Thorsness (by then a colonel) received the Medal of Honor, he and the other former POWs were virtually ignored.

From 1974 on, however, they were aware of the director Lionel Chetwynd's efforts to make a realistic movie about their experiences. In fact, more than 100 survivors of Hoa Lo Prison contributed information for the script; and last fall, when Chetwynd finally began shooting *The Hanoi Hilton* in Los Angeles, a few dozen of the former prisoners came to the set to coach the actors. For the job of overall "technical adviser," who would insure accuracy, they unanimously recommended Leo Thorsness.

"I jumped at the chance," he says. "If you take everything that most Americans know about Vietnam, our story is still the missing piece. How did we survive, day after day and year after year? Well, it had nothing to do with Rambo-type heroics. Nor were we lethargic, the way POWs are so often depicted. The reality was very different."

Thorsness, now 55, doesn't even remotely resemble a Hollywood hero—like celluloid "tough guys" Sylvester Stallone, Clint Eastwood and Chuck Norris. But he is a real hero, and he knows the meaning of courage as well as any man alive. Although his shoulder blades were separated, and he was "bent in half" and then hung from a ceiling by the ankles, he continued to resist his captors' demands that he make public statements against the war.

"I found out," he says, "that it's a whole lot easier to be brave while strapped in the cockpit of a plane 5 miles high, where you've got some control, than to be stripped of your clothes in a room alone and tortured while nobody else knows you're alive. That's when it's tough to be brave."

One aspect of the story that is reflected in the movie is the effect of "peace delegations" to Hanoi during the last few years of the war. There are portraits modeled after peace activists such as the actress Jane Fonda and her husband Tom Hayden. The two have been challenged by former POWs for stating publicly, after a visit to the Hanoi Hilton, that the American captives were being well treated.

"When the delegations came," Thorsness recalls, "we were forced by the Vietnamese

to memorize answers to the questions we'd be asked. They would 'bend' us. And either you 'bent' or you died. One time they brutalized me so badly, in the face and arms, that they became too embarrassed to put me before a delegation.

"I think those who came to Hanoi were ready to believe whatever they were told or shown. They weren't objective to begin with. And they were manipulated. I've forgiven everybody. It still bothers me, though, that Jane Fonda has never admitted that maybe some of the things that she said were wrong. She has never apologized."

John McCain, now a U.S. Senator, was one of the American prisoners when Fonda made her visit to Hanoi in 1972. Senator McCain (R., Ariz.) recalls that he was ordered to meet with an unnamed actress who was "working for peace" and to have his picture taken with her. When he refused, he was put into a 6-by-3-foot cell for four months. Although McCain says that he has put those years behind him, he agrees that Fonda still owes the POWs an apology for calling them "liars, and hypocrites" while declaring that there was no evidence of their mistreatment. "There is no doubt that it didn't help our morale," he says.

Even though Jane Fonda's intentions might have been of "the highest order," Lionel Chetwynd says, "she should have known that you don't go into a close society and accomplish anything other than what they want from you."

During the first three years that Thorsness was in the prison system, the attrition rate by death was very high. By the start of the 1970s, he was among the 350 men who had survived by resisting and "breaking" only under torture. In 1972, however, more "shootdowns" joined them; and these younger men inevitably brought a new attitude.

"Some guys had been on college campuses in the 1960s when we had been prisoners," Thorsness says. "They were not hard-core resisters. They said, 'Why in the world should we be tortured to say things that everybody in the States is already saying?' They knew what the story was back home."

"So we told them, 'Okay, but you can't criticize our government without taking some physical abuse first. Then, if you feel you're about to lose your ability to stay rational, you can start saying things to them.' Otherwise, we were all in greater danger—not only the rest of us, for resisting, but the weaker man himself, who would be subjected to more pressure to cooperate by making videotapes and so forth."

When the prisoners were about to be released in early 1973, their families were told to expect "basket cases" who would be unable to make decisions when they got home. "But that wasn't true," Thorsness says. "If we had come home sooner rather than later, we would have been much worse off. But in the last three years, they put us together in bigger cells, and we became our own therapists."

When Thorsness returned to South Dakota, he found himself so full of energy that he jumped into politics. He ran against George McGovern for the U.S. Senate in 1974, losing with 47 percent of the vote. In 1978, he made a try for Congress. Today, he and his wife, Gaylee, live in Seattle, Wash. He has continued to serve causes involving Vietnam veterans and believes that some of the approximately 1400 still missing and accounted for may yet be alive.

A warm, modest man with a sparkle in his eyes and a hearty laugh, Thorsness brims

over with thoughts and feelings about the nature of courage and freedom:

"When I came home, many people said they never could have lasted the way we did. But the fact is, most of them would have done the same thing. The answer is so simple that it took me a long time to figure it out: *You do what you have to do.*

"We learned that the tougher times are, the more valuable humor is. When everything else fails, humor will help to cushion your fall. Some of our humor was very sick, but it was humor. When we were put in larger cells, we first exchanged details about being tortured. But after that, we never told each other stories with sad endings.

"We were living in a constant state of anxiety, suspense, terror. But fear can be your best friend. It makes you sharper, because you're so close to the edge that your mind is darting, and your senses are more aware. The reality, however, is that some people are braver than others. If you and I put our hands on a hot surface, one of us will pull away sooner. We all have different thresholds. I think it's a mental capacity that gives you the physical endurance.

"When you were being tortured, you looked ahead only a minute. You prayed you could pass out before they could break you. Sometimes you lived only a second at a time. The first time they broke me, I thought, 'Everybody else could stand it, but I couldn't. I must be weak.' My pride was completely shattered. It was a terrible, lonely, depressed feeling. But I think everyone who survived had been broken at least once.

"Very few of us felt that, because we'd been captured, our war was over. We continued to resist, and we paid dearly for it. But it made us realize that for every freedom, there's an equal or matching responsibility. When you were finally given a mirror to shave with, the first thing you did was look yourself in the eye. Were you satisfied with what you saw?

"Enough time has gone by now so that the country is looking back at Vietnam more objectively. The emotion is gone. And I hope people think we did a decent job. I hope they will feel we did okay."

"The legacy of the war is one thing," Lionel Chetwynd says, "but the legacy of the warriors is something else. Those guys went to Vietnam in our name, and nobody can change that. The vast majority served with courage, decency, faith, reliability and conscience. To me, the prisoners of war represent the best of that. It hasn't been fashionable to say so, but they are true heroes."

THE WAR INSIDE THE PRISON

The story of group resistance by the POWs contains some remarkable elements:

Because the U.S. never declared war against the North Vietnamese, the "shootdowns" were not regarded as prisoners of war but as "criminals."

The vast majority of Americans in Hoa Lo Prison followed the Code of Conduct, which precludes giving more than one's name, rank, serial number and date of birth. Only after being tortured did they "break" and allow themselves to say more.

Orders for resistance were given by senior ranking officers via the "tap code" between calls. Anyone caught was beaten, but the POWs never relented.

In 1969, after North Vietnam had switched its alignment from China to the Soviet Union, a "three-man professional torture team" came to the Hanoi prison from

Cuba. "Their program of 'complete submission' was vicious," Thorsness recalls.

Because it was more difficult for the Vietnamese to kill a "known" prisoner, the POWs tried to "get the names out" by any means. One captive memorized the names of 400 men to the tune of "Old MacDonald Had a Farm" and then, by pretending to be crazy, obtained an early release. The names got out.

To prevent the Vietnamese from playing one captive against another, the POWs avoided taking early releases unless the entire group was set free and even refused to meet with family members.

DEDICATION OF TEMPLE B'NAI JESHURUN—OLDEST SYNAGOGUE IN THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY

HON. ROBERT A. ROE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. ROE. Mr. Speaker, one of the most important principles on which our Nation was founded is the freedom of religion, the right of each and every American citizen to worship as he or she sees fit. It is one of the basic tenets of our American way of life that makes the United States the great country that it is.

In my Eighth Congressional District of New Jersey, it is this vital principle which helped give birth, nearly a century and a half ago, to the oldest synagogue in my State, Congregation B'nai Jeshurun, also known as the Nathan Barnert Memorial Temple, which has been located in the Paterson, NJ, area for the past 140 years.

Mr. Speaker, this Sunday, May 17, 1987, will be an historic day for the congregants of Temple B'nai Jeshurun, for this Sunday will mark the dedication of this synagogue's seventh home with ceremonies in Franklin Lakes, NJ.

The Nathan Barnert Memorial Temple has been a beacon to those of the Jewish faith from the Paterson area since November 19, 1847, when it was founded. Since that time the congregation has had many different homes, but one thing has remained constant; it has been a constant source of spiritual guidance and inspiration to thousands of Jews in northern New Jersey since its inception.

Mr. Speaker, Congregation B'nai Jeshurun had its beginnings in 1847 in Paterson when six men met in a small store on the west side of Main Street near the Passaic River to organize the first minyan in the city. The background of this historic congregation can best be described by citing the Temple's official history:

The Temple was founded on November 19, 1847, by charter of the State Assembly, and acquired its first cemetery on December 23 of that year. Although early records were lost or destroyed, it is known that in 1848 the congregation worshipped in an old structure on the south side of West Street, three doors from Water Street, in Paterson, NJ. The congregation moved in 1860 to its third location, on Mulberry Street, adjoining the Dagger Ribbon Mill. In 1878, because of the influx of new Jews into Paterson, it moved to its fourth

home, a one-story wooden building between Washington and Church Streets. It was here that the first Jewish religious school in Paterson was begun, with Rev. Meyer S. Hood engaged as Rabbi and Principal, serving from 1883 to 1892.

As the congregation grew, the need for a larger home became urgent. Through the beneficence of Nathan Barnert, land was purchased from the Wall family. On October 18, 1892, ground was broken for a new temple on Broadway and Straight Streets. The original Nathan Barnert Memorial Temple thus became the congregation's fifth home. Its Moorish architecture was in the style then predominant for Jewish houses of worship. The temple was constructed of light brown stone from the local quarry. The graceful tower rose 93 feet in the air and was a Paterson landmark until 1959.

In that year, our temple moved again, acquiring its land from the descendants of the Wall family, at Broadway and Derrom Avenue, where we built our sixth home, a beautiful contemporary structure designed by Percival Goodman.

The administration of Congregation B'nai Jeshurun, as it assumes its seventh home, includes Rabbi Martin Freedman; temple administrator Harriet R. Stenchever; outgoing president Susan Low Sauer; incoming president Robert Gutenstein; men's club president Robert Tandlich; sisterhood president Janet Finke, and director of religion, Dr. Sheldon Shuch. I would like to extend my most sincere wishes to them and to all congregants of Temple B'nai Jeshurun. They have not only helped establish an enduring house of worship that will provide for the moral and spiritual guidance of those of the Jewish faith for years to come, they have also helped create a living, vibrant testament to the principles upon which our great Nation was founded.

THE RETIRING OF DR. J

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, much has been written about the extraordinary career of basketball star Dr. Julius Erving in recent weeks as he has neared retirement from pro-basketball. The Congress has honored him with a special citation recognizing that he is, in truth, "Ambassador of Basketball." Almost all has been said, but "Dr. J's" credentials for the special recognition he has received are so unique that I want to add my personal tribute by sharing with you, my colleagues, the words of the Presenter's citation which accompanied the awarding to Julius of a doctor of the performing arts degree by Temple University. Written by Prof. Henry Richardson, a dedicated basketball fan, the citation captures the essence of the Julius Erving—how he at once defined, epitomized, and eclipsed the game of basketball.

It is difficult to imagine his transcendent impact, but we know we are richer because he and his art touched our lives.

PRESENTOR'S CITATION: DR. J

Excellence creates its own beauty. When such achievement emerges publicly with a recognized special grace, then some new sense is made for all of us out of the disorder of modern life. Today, we honor a man who has let us see the passionate precision of dance in James Naismith's game. His creation of unforgettable moments makes us transcend any distinctions in society between sports and other supposedly more productive pursuits.

In the best sense, he is a teacher of international stature. An inspiration to a generation of basketball players, we see his influence on most playgrounds across the country and throughout all levels of the sport. He has set a standard of aesthetics and intelligence in the context of teamwork, to which we all may aspire.

His professional statistics are but a pale reflection of his greatness in their numbers and consistency over a dozen years. They only partially explain a long list of awards, including: his selection to four ABA All-Star first teams, and five NBA All-Star first teams, and for his being named Most Valuable Player in five All Star games, including the NBA All Star Game of 1983, and further, his being named Most Valuable Player for the year in the ABA three times, and in the NBA for 1981. In 1980, he was selected as a member of the NBA's 35th Anniversary All-Time team.

He is, simply, a player's player. And in response to his versatility and grace, the American language has been forced into an extended search for superlatives, so that now, the word "Doctor" designates a poetic summit of sport reached only by him.

He has given of himself to the community, in working with children and other groups, and illustrates by his actions a continuing sense of moral responsibility. As such, he is a prominent model of the best values of sport for the youth of America.

And there . . .

For daring to do what must be done in basketball through your own striking ballet, particularly when the stakes are highest, and thus lifting all of us to enjoyment, courage, and inspiration;

For being a person to whom public leadership has flowed on every team for which you played, and for consistently rising to meet those challenges and responsibilities for the benefit of the team;

For adding, simply, an entirely new dimension of your profession;

Temple University honors the highest values of excellence, leadership, teamwork, and aesthetics by awarding a second doctorate to the "Doctor", in conferring upon you the degree of doctor of the performing arts.

CONGRESSMAN FROST PROVIDES VOLUNTARY DISCLOSURE OF PERSONAL FINANCIAL INFORMATION FOR 1986

HON. MARTIN FROST

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, as I have done each year since my election to Congress, I am inserting into the RECORD today my financial balance sheet as of December 31, 1986.

Balance sheet: Martin and Valerie Frost

(As of 31 December 1986)

Assets:

Checking account, 1st National Bank of De Soto	\$505.46
Condominium, Dallas, TX	47,500.00
House and lot, Arlington, VA	213,000.00
Home furnishings and other personal effects	35,000.00
Savings, Wright Patman Federal Credit Union	112.31
Checking account, Wright Patman Federal Credit Union	5,334.97
Retirement, U.S. Congress	42,130.45
IRA's (Martin and Valerie)	13,083.66
Washington Fringe Benefit Investment Club (Valerie)	4,737.89
Subtotal	361,404.74

Automobiles:

1979 Chevrolet Chevette	500.00
1984 Toyota Van	7,500.00
1984 Starcraft Pop-up Trailer ...	2,240.00
1985 Pontiac 6000	7,875.00
Subtotal	18,115.00

Stocks and bonds:

478 shares Central and South-west	16,371.50
362 shares Exxon	25,385.25
100 shares Federated Department Stores	8,325.00
90 shares General Motors	5,940.00
227 shares Houston Industries ..	7,888.25
132 shares Eli Lilly	9,801.00
54 shares Mobil	2,166.75
358 shares Westinghouse	19,958.00
34 shares IBM	4,080.00
794 shares Fundamental Investors	11,282.74
292 shares Massachusetts Investors Trust	3,530.28
253 shares Wellington Fund	4,010.05
176 shares Eaton Vance Investors Fund	1,344.64
U.S. savings bonds	300.00
100 shares Wal-Mart	4,650.00
8 shares General Motors (E)	199.00
4 shares General Motors (H)	154.00
Subtotal	125,386.46
Total assets	504,906.20

Liabilities:

Mortgages:

Star States Mortgage Corp. (Dallas condominium)	37,500.00
Paine-Webber (Arlington residence)	173,200.00
Century National Bank (Arlington residence)	40,000.00
Subtotal	250,700.00

Installment loans:

Open charge accounts (balance)	1,000.00
Wright Patman Federal Credit Union (automobile)	4,047.92
GMAC (automobile)	6,710.88
Line of credit, Wright Patman Federal Credit Union	5,092.60
Subtotal	16,851.40
Total liabilities	267,551.40

Net worth:

Total assets	504,906.20
Total liabilities	267,551.40
Total net worth	237,354.80

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

STUDENTS HELPING THE HOMELESS—THE BETHLEHEM INN

HON. RON WYDEN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. Speaker, as we continue to address the problems of the homeless, I would like to bring to my colleagues attention the efforts of a dedicated group of young people at Warner Pacific College in my district. Since January 4, 1987, these students have been operating the Bethlehem Inn—the first shelter for the homeless located on the campus of a U.S. college or university.

Portland Mayor Bud Clark's emergency task force on housing provided the inspiration for the shelter. The task force sought to establish six church-sponsored shelters to address the serious lack of facilities for the homeless in the city. As part of that project, the Reverend Frank Shields founded a homeless shelter at Sunnyside Methodist Church, and suggested that one of the shelters should be opened on a college campus. Students at Warner Pacific College responded to Shields' call.

By the end of March, Bethlehem Inn had provided much-needed shelter and meals to 26 families. Some stayed one night, while others stayed for up to 3 weeks. The shelter recently increased the number of people it can assist from 10 to 12 per night. Given the tragically large number of homeless individuals and families in the Portland area, beds at the Bethlehem Inn never go empty.

Families arrive at the shelter by 6:30 every evening. They receive dinner, warm showers, and breakfast the next morning. The families leave the shelter by 7 a.m. the following day, so the parents can get an early start on their search for employment. Students who run the Bethlehem Inn hope to provide additional services in the future—including transportation to job interviews, child-care, and expanded information and referral services.

I'd like to give special credit to the students of Warner Pacific College, who are the driving force behind this center of compassion and generosity. In a vote on campus, a majority of the body endorsed the use of a college dormitory as the shelter site. More than 50 students volunteer their time to help run the shelter. Recognizing that helping others can be a valuable learning experience, the administrators of Warner Pacific College award class of volunteer credits to many of these students.

The Bethlehem Inn is also a model of community involvement. Students and other residents of the community work side by side to provide vital services for their homeless guests. The center receives donated funds from students, faculty, and the public. Social service agencies in the community also provide assistance in the form of case management, health care, job training, and referrals. The students are also reaching out to other schools in the hope of transferring their model program to campuses around the country. Volunteers at Bethlehem Inn have prepared a slide presentation and a manual to show how similar shelters can be established.

The Bethlehem Inn is a tribute to the eagerness of young people to help others, and an

May 12, 1987

example of what a community can accomplish when people band together to give their neighbors a helping hand.

RAISE THE FLAG TO CHESTER KOCH

HON. DOUGLAS APPLIGATE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. APPLIGATE. Mr. Speaker, this coming Friday, May 15, the city of Cleveland, OH, will hold a celebration for a very special person: Chester Koch.

Chester Koch, a veteran of World War I, has been employed with the city of Cleveland for 53 years. His current position as coordinator of patriotic affairs places on his shoulders the task of organizing countless programs and parades celebrated by this city along Lake Erie.

Mr. Speaker, Chester Koch will be celebrating his 95th birthday this coming Sunday. I would like to take this opportunity to have inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following story about Mr. Koch, "Raise the flag to Chester Koch," by Alfred Lubrano of the Plain Dealer newspaper of Cleveland.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to extend my utmost congratulations to Chester Koch on this very special occasion. I had the distinct pleasure of meeting Chester last March as I have in so many previous years during the Veterans of Foreign Wars dinner here in Washington. Like the many times before, he was full of energy and determined as much as anyone else to thoroughly enjoy the festivities of the evening. Chester Koch is truly an outstanding citizen of Cleveland, a highly distinguished and honorable veteran of our Nation, and one of the most enjoyable persons I've ever had the pleasure to know.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to join with my colleagues in the House in extending some very special wishes to Chester Koch on the occasion of his 95th birthday. He's a very remarkable man.

The article follows:

RAISE THE FLAG TO CHESTER KOCH

(By Alfred Lubrano)

He is Chester Koch, and has been for longer than anyone can remember.

At 94, he holds the unique job of coordinator of patriotic affairs for the city. Today, he must attend a meeting in City Hall.

The young men in suits who will run the show sweep in, a little late. They say, "Hi, Chester," though they are 50 or 60 years his junior. Only one calls him Mr. Koch, and he mispronounces the name.

For a few impatient moments, they listen to one of his stories, a winding ramble that includes an ethnic slur. The men in suits seem embarrassed as they smile and urge Koch to sit down and let the meeting begin.

Koch, a World War I veteran, has survived 14 mayors in his job, which includes directing programs and parades on major holidays. He has been employed by the city for 53 years. The city doesn't pay him much, doesn't give him official secretarial help (though he borrows "the girls" from other offices every now and then) and keeps him in a basement office.

Still, he has not been totally neglected. Sunday is his 95th birthday, and on Friday the city is giving him a big party, with hundreds expected to attend first a program in City Council chambers, then a public reception in City Hall rotunda.

Originally intended as a surprise for Koch (pronounced "cook"), the party is now public news since too many people couldn't keep the secret.

It seems more fitting this way, since large events have long been Koch's forte. Although parades are his bread and butter, Koch is also well known for having shaken the hands of, according to him, 480,000 servicemen and women on their way to war.

"I put all those men on trains," Koch said. "I encouraged them to do their job. I told their families if they raised their boys carefully, they'd be good soldiers."

"I wished the boys good luck before they left. I got the satisfaction of looking into their faces."

The meeting is on. Larry Bicking, director of parks, recreation and properties is, along with the other men in suits, trying to sell the idea of putting an underground garage beneath Mall A, also known as War Memorial Plaza. The suits are pitching to Koch and representatives of veterans groups, who are concerned that the plaza's integrity not be damaged.

Sollicitous and almost too enthusiastic, the suits present plans for a memorial park on the plaza grounds honoring America's war veterans. "We had to run this by you before we could do anything," one of the suits tells the veterans.

Koch asks a question about bannisters and they tell him his point is well taken. He pauses, has another idea, then speaks again, interrupting an American Legion guy who is asking his own question.

"Chester, please!" the guy says sharply in an exasperated tone. Koch again falls silent.

At the end of the meeting, the veterans approve of the park, which was going to be built regardless of their opinion, one gets the feeling. A suit sitting in the back of the room, behind the veterans, gives an unseen thumbsup sign to the boss suits, then leaves.

"You gentlemen did a masterful job," Koch tells the suits. Then he gets into a discussion with a veteran who is still angry that the city changed the name of Liberty Blvd., which honored World War I veterans, to Martin Luther King Jr. Dr. "They took Liberty away from us (veterans)," he says.

Koch agrees with the man, saying, "Well (Mayor George) Voinovich didn't know what he was signing" when he allowed the name change. "The legislation passed so quickly, they didn't understand what was going on."

Koch is still vital, still energetic. He looks good in a blue-gray suit with sharp pants creases. The ruby tie stud is a nice touch. The hair that's left turned white long ago. He walks slowly with a brown cane, but manages to get around.

All in all, he believes, these aren't bad times. "There's more patriotism today than in years and years," he says. "More fervor. There are more flags used now than ever. Manufacturers can't keep up."

"I think that seeing the flag makes people avoid doing things of an unpatriotic nature."

Koch says he devotes all his time to patriotic activities, to meeting with veterans groups, to understanding their needs.

"I don't know how it all developed," says the Louisville, Ky., native, who came to Cleveland in 1910 and decided to stay. He was a clerk for years, then began talking to

the soldiers going off to war. His destiny was set.

He has been in on the planning of all the big veterans events since then. The only one the city has kept him out of is his own party.

"They won't tell me anything," he says. "It's one of the most unusual things in my lifetime."

WOODROW WILSON HIGH SCHOOL'S 50TH ANNIVERSARY, MAY 16, 1987

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, on May 16, 1987, Woodrow Wilson High School in Los Angeles, CA, will celebrate 50 years of dedicated service to the Los Angeles Unified School District and the communities of El Sereno and City Terrace.

Built during the height of the depression, funding for Wilson was made available through FDR's Work Projects Administration. Designed to meet the needs of a growing population, plans were made to construct several buildings in addition to that left by Farmdale School, originally located on the site.

As the student body at Wilson grew, so did the school's importance to the communities it served. In 1939 Wilson entered athletic competition in football, basketball, baseball, track, tennis, and gymnastics. In 1942 however, many of the athletic programs as well as other extracurricular activities at Wilson were cut back due to the shortages brought on by the war. But Wilson persevered, and the end of the war saw further growth in academic and outside school programs.

By the early 1960's it was clear that the existing buildings and number of faculty at Wilson could not accommodate the growing number of students. In 1976 ground was broken on a site close to the original property, and in 1969 a new Wilson High opened its doors.

During its 50 years of operation, Wilson has turned out many fine students and has built quite an academic reputation. The class of 1985 ranked fourth in the percentage of Los Angeles high school graduates enrolling in postsecondary institutions. In sports, Wilson has also proved to be a tough competitor. The nationally acclaimed football team won four consecutive city championships between 1974 and 1978.

Today, the Wilson High student body numbers approximately 2,300. Students continue their outstanding performances academically and athletically. Wilson has served the northeast area of Los Angeles for 50 years and is a shining example of all the components necessary for the success of an academic institution.

I wanted to share Wilson High School's excellent record with my colleagues, and I send my sincere and heartfelt congratulations to all of the students and faculty at Wilson, past and present, for providing such a high standard of education, and for adding so much to the communities which Wilson serves.

HONORING LAURA BALVERDE SANCHEZ, 1987 SMALL BUSINESS PERSON OF THE YEAR

HON. ESTEBAN EDWARD TORRES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. TORRES. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor my close friend, Laura Balverde Sanchez, president of the New El Rey Sausage Co. of Los Angeles who was selected by the U.S. Small Business Administration as the 1987 Small Business Person of the Year.

In my opinion, Laura best exemplifies the attributes of this award. In addition to her entrepreneurial accomplishments, Laura is considered to be a role model for Hispanics and women. She is often called upon to assist with various community and emergency efforts. I know, first hand, that Laura is respected and appreciated by my colleagues and many community organizations that benefit from her assistance.

Laura took a failing company on the verge of bankruptcy and turned it around to a multi-million dollar endeavor in only 4 years. When Laura acquired the El Rey Sausage Co., its monthly sales were only \$14,000, not even enough to meet payroll for 11 employees and its only products, pork and beef Chorizo, and a Mexican style sausage, has been off most grocery store shelves for more than 6 months.

Today, the New El Rey Sausage Co. has experienced months where sale exceed \$300,000. It has a growing annual volume surpassing \$3 million, with \$4.5 million projected within the year. Staff has grown to 39 employees and an increasing number of retail stores and restaurants stock an expanded line of eight products featuring five kinds of sausage.

Laura Balverde was born in Los Angeles and grew up in Monterey Park. She graduated from Mark Keppel High School in Alhambra and enrolled at California State University, Los Angeles, after graduation. After 1 1/2 years she transferred to UCLA and received her B.A. at UCLA in 1983.

Laura is married to Joseph M. Sanchez, founding president of Civil Center Sales, a discount retail grocery chain in Los Angeles and president of the Mexican American Grocers Association.

One of Laura's best qualities is her ability to articulate the needs and recommendations of small business operators.

I have called on Laura for consultation on matters that come before the Small Business Committee. During the California State White House Conference on Small Business, I observed Laura describe to the participants the problems faced by small business owners in the State. She impressed me with her presentations because she stated the problem and offered possible solutions.

As a successful business owner and operator, Laura has demonstrated that an excellent product line along with quality and service leads to growth and happy customers. In business, Laura has remained competitive and profitable in a nontraditional field—meat-processing—while maintaining her involvement with the community.

Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to join me in saluting Laura Balverde-Sanchez, 1987 Small Business Person of the Year.

TRIBUTE TO MSGR. JOHN E. MORRIS

HON. ROBERT A. ROE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. ROE. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, May 17, residents of my Eighth Congressional District and the State of New Jersey will join the parish community of Holy Trinity Church and Msgr. John E. Morris in celebration of the 40th anniversary of his consecration into the sacrament of holy orders.

Mr. Speaker, the faith and devotion of our people in a full communion of understanding—ever caring and respecting the individual religious beliefs of our fellowman has been the lifeline of our democracy—ever inspiring our people with hope and urging the individual on to great achievements and purpose in pursuing the fulfillment of his or her dreams and ambitions. The exemplary leadership and outstanding efforts of our citizens so important to our quality of life are in the vanguard of the American dream and today we express our appreciation to Msgr. John E. Morris whose esteemed dedication and unselfish devotion in promulgating spiritual guidance, goodwill, fellowship, and brotherhood in service to God have truly enriched our community, State, and Nation.

Monsignor Morris has maintained the highest standards of excellence throughout his lifetime and we are pleased to share the pride of his family, many, many, friends, and parishioners in the distinguished achievements, so unselfishly dedicated to the betterment of mankind. There is so much that can be said of the love, affection, and reverence with which Monsignor Morris is held by all who have had the good fortune to know him. He was born in Brooklyn, NY, the son of Mary Cassion and John E. Morris.

Mr. Speaker, we are so proud to have Monsignor Morris with us in Passaic, NJ. He is the copastor of the Holy Trinity Church. Immediately preceding his pastorate at Holy Trinity Church, Monsignor Morris served as vicar of Southern Passiac from 1979 to 1984. Prior to his appointment as vicar, he served in the following positions: Defender of the bond, matrimonial tribunal, member of the commission for ecumenism, member of the commission for economic opportunity, member of the board of examiners of the clergy, member of the sites and building commission, and chaplain to the Little Sisters of the Poor from September 9, 1964, to June 29, 1971. In addition, he served as diocesan counselor, associate superintendent of schools, spiritual director of Pope Pius XII High School, and director of secondary education in the Paterson Diocese.

Monsignor Morris completed his theology studies for the diocese of Paterson at Catholic University in Washington, DC. He subsequently obtained a doctor of philosophy from that venerable institution. He was ordained to the priesthood at the cathedral in Newark on May

31, 1947, by Archbishop Thomas J. Walsh. He was elevated to monsignor in 1981 by Pope John Paul II. His personal commitment to the Almighty and to our people have earned him all the respect and reverence of all his parishioners.

Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the opportunity to present this brief profile of a distinguished man of God who has dedicated his life's purpose and fulfillment to helping others and guiding them in their pathway of life. The quality of his leadership is mirrored in the security and dignity that his parishioners have found in the comfort and aid he unselfishly and willingly gives to those in need and those who seek his helping hand and spiritual guidance.

Mr. Speaker, as Monsignor Morris celebrates the 40th anniversary of his ordination to the priesthood I know that you and all of our colleagues here in the Congress will want to join with me in extending our warmest greetings and felicitations for the excellence of his service to his church, our Nation, and all mankind. We do indeed salute an esteemed pastor, exemplary clergyman, and great American—Msgr. E. Morris, pastor of Holy Trinity Church, Passaic, NJ.

THE 24TH DISTRICT CONGRESSIONAL ARTS COMPETITION, "AN ARTISTIC DISCOVERY," WINNERS ANNOUNCED

HON. MARTIN FROST

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, May 8, I had the pleasure of announcing the winners of my 24th District Congressional Arts Competition, known as "An Artistic Discovery." High school students from throughout my congressional district submitted entries in this program, and each of them showed tremendous talents in their field.

The grand prize winner for 1987 is Rene Rodriguez of the Arts Magnet High School in Dallas. Rene's teacher is Ms. Josephine Jones, and both of them are to be congratulated.

The first runner-up is Na Dinh Phu of Kimball High School in the Oak Cliff part of the city of Dallas. Na Dinh's teacher is Ms. Laura Gillory.

The second runner-up is Jacke Kimberlin of Nimitz High School in Irving, TX. Jacke's teacher is Mr. Danny White.

Honorable mention recipients were Heath Stallings of the Tyler Street Academy in Oak Cliff, whose teacher is Mrs. Linda Camp, and Lori Evans of Coppell High School of Coppell, TX, whose teacher is Mrs. Eilen Thedford.

My sincere congratulations go to each of these young men and women and the others who participated in this year's competition.

CONTINUE FUNDING FOR REA

HON. ROY DYSON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. DYSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of the continuation of funds for the Rural Electrification Administration [REA]. For nearly 50 years now, the REA has financed the delivery of electric service to the far reaches of America that large power companies refused to serve. The REA's created generation and transmission cooperatives—powerplants and networks of extra-high-voltage lines, which today reach over vast regions to meet the electrical needs of America's farms, ranches, businesses, and industries.

Today, about 2 million miles of rural electric lines carry power to more than 25 million rural Americans. The more than 1,000 rural electric systems have conquered problems of climate, distance, and terrain. They have lightened the workloads of farmers and their families, but even more importantly, they have increased agricultural productivity and stimulated rural development.

Maryland's First Congressional District—which I represent—has two REA's: the Southern Maryland Electric Co-op and the Choptank Electric Co-op which serve over 233,945 people on 10,060 miles of line on Maryland's Eastern Shore and southern Maryland. Unfortunately, President Reagan has proposed in his fiscal year 1988 budget to eliminate all existing funds by 1990.

The President's proposal would essentially phase out the entire loan program by 1990. The administration seeks to cut loan levels for REA-insured loans to \$258 million in fiscal year 1988, and to \$129 million in fiscal year 1989 and in fiscal year 1990, replacing the existing insured loan program with one that would rely totally on private capital with only a 70-percent guarantee. An affordable source of capital is essential if rural electric systems are to continue providing sound, viable electric power to people in rural communities.

Mr. Speaker, the 100th Congress has a long-standing commitment to protect the growth and well-being of its rural citizens. I urge my colleagues to not sit idle and watch an important part of our American heritage erode. It is my most thoughtful conclusion that this House consider the following resolutions presented to me by the Choptank Electric Co-operative and the Southern Maryland Electric Cooperative respectively.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY BOARD OF DIRECTORS AT MEETING HELD APRIL 21, 1987

Whereas, the Rural Electrification Administration, an agency of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, which makes essential loans to electric cooperatives, has been targeted for elimination by the national Administration; and

Whereas, the elimination of REA will destroy the foundation which has enabled our electric cooperatives to serve our nation so well with dependable, affordable electric service over the past 50 years; and

Whereas, the rate increases resulting from such ill advised action are the equivalent of new taxes on our electric cooperative member-consumers;

Now, therefore be it resolved, that the Board of Directors of Southern Maryland Electric Cooperative, Inc. in official session on April 21, 1987, calls on the members of the Congressional Delegation of Maryland to oppose the elimination of REA and work to preserve the essential REA credit programs that significantly contribute to the financial ability of electric cooperatives to adequately serve their assigned service areas in our three-state area and the nation.

RESOLUTION IN OPPOSITION TO THE SALE OF POWER MARKETING AGENCIES

Whereas, the national Administration has proposed the sale of the Southeastern Power Administration and the Tennessee Valley Authority which markets federal power; and

Whereas, the Southeastern Power Administration, which sells hydropower to electric cooperatives and municipal systems, is a major power supplier in the region; and

Whereas, this sale would increase electric rates significantly for people served through consumer-owned systems, destroy jobs and opportunities for expanded economic growth, and create additional hardship and suffering for many of our cooperative service areas;

Now therefore be it resolved, that the Board of Directors of Choptank Electric Cooperative, Inc., in official session on April 20, 1987, calls on the members of the Congressional Delegation of Maryland to oppose the study, sale, transfer, exchange, lease or other disposition of the Southeastern Power Administration, the Tennessee Valley Authority and the other federal power marketing agencies, including power plants, transmissions and related facilities.

OUTSTANDING STUDENTS FROM QUINCY HIGH SCHOOL

HON. RICHARD J. DURBIN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. Speaker, this week many outstanding students from Quincy High School in my district are recovering from an exhausting weekend. Not from a weekend of athletic performance, but from the culmination of months of mental training for an academic competition.

On May 9, Quincy High School won the first statewide Scholastic Bowl competition in Illinois. This event, much like "College Bowl" of the early 1960's, features two teams from different high schools, competing to answer difficult questions from several academic fields. This program was planned by the Illinois High School Association to draw attention to students' academic efforts.

Mr. Speaker, seven Quincy High School students, led by their coach Beth Young, not only won the competition, they did so by an overwhelming margin. Confidently answering the toughest questions about literature, music, science, mathematics and social studies, the Quincy team convincingly overcame four other teams in 6 hours to win the championship.

In the final, Quincy faced a formidable opponent in Salem High School, the southern Illinois challenger with a 47-6 record going into the match. The outcome was a landslide 539-275 victory for coach Young and the seven

team members: Scott Bach, Jennifer Distlehorst, Dave Holsinger, Dana Morrall, Matt O'Neal, Jon Wanagat, and Kent Williams.

I make these announcements today not in an effort to boast, although few would criticize me for doing so. I want to point out that in today's society, we too seldom hear the accomplishments of those who are outstanding in the academic field. While the physical achievements of our young athletes are something to admire and applaud, we must remember the importance of rewarding those who attain high scholastic standards.

I congratulate the students of the Quincy High School Scholastic Bowl team, and take great pride in the educational example they have set in my district.

A NATIONAL DEBT PERSPECTIVE

HON. MICHAEL G. OXLEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. OXLEY. Mr. Speaker, as we consider legislation to increase the public debt limit this week, I want to share with my colleagues the following words from a news article recently brought to my attention by my constituent, Mr. W.A. Ross, Jr.

[From the Republican Herald, Sidney, OH, Jan. 3, 1835]

NATIONAL DEBT

Let it be remembered, that on the first day of January, A.D., 1835, the United States will be entirely clear of a National Debt!

On the 1st of January, 1791, this debt was \$75,463,476.52. On the first of January, 1816, in consequence of the war, it had risen to \$127,334,933.74. Only nine years ago it was \$81,000,000. Since the beginning of the year 1826, we have paid off, including interest, very nearly one hundred millions of dollars, over and above our current expenses, and yet the people have not been oppressed—no one can complain of being heavily taxed! What a striking illustration is this of the strength, the energy, and resources of the American people; and what a beautiful commentary on the advantages of Free Government!

This article, which appeared in the Saturday, January 3, 1835 edition of the Republican Herald of Sidney, OH, is certainly interesting food for thought. I hope that my colleagues will find it to be of interest.

HONORING PENNSYLVANIA VOTER HALL OF FAMERS

HON. WILLIAM F. GOODLING

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend and extend congratulations to members of the Pennsylvania Voter Hall of Fame from the 19th Congressional District. There are now a total of 24 inductees in the hall of fame from the district.

Membership is open to all registered Pennsylvania voters who have voted consecutively

in every November election for which they were eligible for at least 50 years. The candidates must also encourage the registration of new voters.

Abraham Lincoln once said:

America will never be destroyed by a foreign army of soldiers. Destruction can only come from within. And the most powerful force of self-destruction is indifference.

These folks are inspirational examples of proud, patriotic citizens who care about and participate in the government of their Nation. We should all congratulate them on their outstanding record of citizenship.

Among the 24 inductees from my district are 6 charter members, Hon. George I. Bloom, Charles E. Pugh and John Scotzin of Camp Hill, James A. Hubley and William J.B. Mumert of York, and Hon. Burton R. Laub of Carlisle. The other 18 members are Clyde D. Dahlheimer, Charles I. Floyd, Oliver C. Nace, Emerson D. Portner, Robert W. Schiding, Dorothy L. K. Schiding, and David F. Whare of York; R. Gertrude Ham of New Cumberland, L. Richard Hertzler and Howard D. Miller of Carlisle; Harold B. Miller and S. Ethel Miller of Shiremanstown; Ethel D. Butterfield of Gettysburg; Irene H. Nailor and Vance T. Nailor of Mechanicsburg; and Alton P. Gery, Myrtle N. Gery, and Mary E. Crain of Camp Hill.

A TRIBUTE TO JIM THORPE

HON. WES WATKINS

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. Speaker, May 22, 1987, marks the centennial of the birth of James Francis (Jim) Thorpe, a Native American of Sac and Fox, Irish and French ancestry who, along with Will Rogers, Oklahoma's world recognized humorist, probably put "Oklahoma" on the lips of more people than any other two individuals. This, of course, does not count the millions of times that the musical "Oklahoma!" has been rendered.

Oklahoma and Oklahomans were and are proud of Jim Thorpe. The Oklahoma delegation worked for a number of years with his family to see that justice was done and the return of the 1912 Olympic gold medals earned by Jim's winning the pentathlon and decathlon in Sweden. Revoked in 1913 based on the charge that he was not an amateur athlete, the gold medals were returned to the family in 1984 and are now on display below the James Banks Wilson portrait of Jim, hanging in the State Capitol rotunda.

Born in a cabin near Prague, OK, on May 22, 1887, Jim was a twin to Charlie who died at the age of 10 from pneumonia and smallpox. Charlie's death, and those of his parents in the next 6 years, had a long lasting impact on Thorpe's life. As a youngster, he had run away from a mission school near his home for the freedom of the outdoors a young Indian boy could enjoy, running, swimming and playing. After Charlie's death, Jim again returned to school, but ran away once more. His father, seeking to assure his son an education, this time enrolled him to Haskell Institute in Law-

rence, KS. It was here he was first exposed to organized football.

At the turn of the century, the Carlisle Indian School football team visited Haskell. Carlisle had been founded a few years before Jim's birth, by Capt. William Henry Pratt who was, ironically, originally the "jailer" of some Native Americans imprisoned by the Army, probably illegally, from what is now Oklahoma.

Thorpe had a dream of playing for Carlisle and, in 1904, moved there for his studies—and football. It is said that Glenn Scobey "Pop" Warner made Jim Thorpe famous: the corollary also holds. The two mutually benefited each other. Warner learned of 16-year-old Jim's track and field exploits competing successfully against upper classmen and enlisted his talents for the football team.

In 1908, as a 19-year old, Jim developed his placekicking skills which stood him in good stead the rest of his athletic career. He led Carlisle to a 10-2-1 season and was named third-team All-American.

It was the summer of 1909 that Thorpe made a decision that proved to be costly. He played baseball for Rocky Mount in the East Carolina League for \$15 a week, barely enough for living expenses. He enjoyed baseball so much that he decided, in 1910, not to return to Carlisle and instead played semi-pro baseball.

In the summer of 1911, in a chance encounter with a teammate from Carlisle, Albert Exendine, Jim learned the Carlisle team, fairing poorly, sorely missed him. He telegraphed Coach Warner who had Jim readmitted to Carlisle to play football and also to be placed in training as a candidate for the 1912 Olympics.

The return to football was effortless for Jim. In the first big game against the University of Pittsburgh, Thorpe kicked and ran with outstanding results, leading the Indians to a 17-0 victory.

In Cambridge, 30,000 fans turned out as the Harvard coaches decided they would use only the reserves against the "Indian kids".

Nursing an injured leg, Thorpe still scored a touchdown and kicked field goals to pace the Carlisle Indians 15-9 when the Harvard varsity came on the field in the fourth quarter.

But, it was too late as Thorpe, with an ankle bandaged, kicked his fourth field goal (from 48 yards) while the team held Harvard to one touchdown for the final 18-15 victory.

Sports historians cite that game as one of the greatest displays of football of all time, hinging on Thorpe's giving one of his greatest game efforts. Later that season, Thorpe punted against Brown for 83 yards, then a new collegiate record.

Warner coached Thorpe and a teammate, Louis Tewanima, a Hopi, for the Olympic try-outs, in which Thorpe won 11 gold, 4 silver, and 3 three bronze medals while Tewanima won most of the long-distance races he entered.

In Sweden, the 23-year old Thorpe won the pentathlon gold medal by winning the broad jump, placing third in the javelin, and winning the discus, the 200 meter dash, and the 1500 meter race, turning in a crowd-stunning time of 4:44.8.

The next event, the decathlon, was spread over 3 days with Jim placing third in the 100-

meter dash, and second in the running broad jump. He placed first in the shot put, giving him a slight first day lead.

The next day, under cleared skies, Thorpe took first in the running high jump (6 feet 1½ inches) won the 110-meter high hurdles in record time of 15.6 seconds, but placed only fourth in the 400-meter race. Still, he maintained his lead.

The final day, Thorpe, lacking in training and experience in the discus, javelin, and pole vault, he still took a second and two thirds. It was in the final event, the 1500-meter race, in which Thorpe displayed the qualities which made him the outstanding athlete he was: he won the race, in spite of fatigue, with a time of 4 minutes, 40.1 seconds, bettering his own record. Over the 3 days of competition, he amassed 8,412.96 points out of a possible 10,000, a record which stood until 1926. Swedish King Gustav V, in awarding him his second gold medal, proclaimed him to be the greatest athlete in the world.

In January 1913, a newspaper reported Thorpe's playing semipro ball prior to the Olympics. In spite of a worldwide outcry, the Amateur Athletic Union revoked his medals and had his name stricken from the record books for all athletic events in which he had taken part after his involvement in baseball.

Thorpe then entered the world of professional athletics full time, playing baseball for the New York Giants, Cincinnati Reds, and Boston Braves. He played football for several teams, including the Canton Bulldogs. In later years, to earn a modest living, he gave lectures and football exhibitions, which included a dropkicking demonstration at New York's Polo Grounds when he was 61.

In 1945, he became a carpenter in the Merchant Marine and married Patricia Askew who helped him organize his life, and later, after his death, took up his cause to be reinstated as an amateur.

Thorpe in 1950 was named by the Associated Press the "best male athlete of the half-century." In 1958, he was elected to the National Indian Hall of Fame, and in 1963, he was selected as charter member of the Professional Football Hall of Fame.

After many long years, the International Olympic Committee restored Thorpe's honors at an official ceremony in 1983 and presented his family with replicas of his gold medals. These medals, in turn, were presented to the State of Oklahoma in 1986 where they are now on display.

Mr. Speaker, we are told that we all need heroes. We each individually seek and find these heroes in persons and positions which best fit our individual needs. There is no doubt that Jim Thorpe was considered, and rightfully so, a great hero to many people and many generations. And I am pleased today to offer this tribute to him and his legacy.

THE FLOOR SCHEDULE: DON'T MAKE US CHOOSE BETWEEN VOTING AND OUR CONSTITUENTS

HON. CLAUDINE SCHNEIDER

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Miss SCHNEIDER. Mr. Speaker, last week, I missed a number of votes on the Department of Defense authorization. These votes were not trivial. In fact, they were of great interest to me and to my constituents. But because the leadership changed the floor schedule at the last minute, I found myself confronted with the decision of whether I should stay in Washington to vote or return to my district to keep commitments I had made weeks earlier. This was a difficult decision for me, but in the end, I felt that I was obligated to go home and meet with my constituents, many of whom had adjusted their own schedules much earlier in order to accommodate mine.

I recognize the importance of the DOD authorization. I understand that there were over 100 amendments to be considered, and I appreciate the need to finish work on this one bill as expeditiously as possible so we can get on to other pressing matters. If there is work to be done, then we should stay until it is finished. But we should be notified well in advance so appointments can be rearranged and plane flights rescheduled. One week is simply not enough time. For most of us, 2 weeks notice is the absolute minimum and 3 weeks or a month is preferable.

Mr. Speaker, this is a matter of concern to all of us, Republican and Democrat, northerner and southerner, conservative and liberal alike. We were all elected to serve our constituents and we have all pledged to be sensitive to their needs. Seeing to constituent needs at home is as important as casting votes and it should be given the same priority.

For my part, I would prefer that we stick to the schedule we all agreed to earlier in the year. If late nights and extra sessions are needed, however, let us know weeks, not days ahead of time. That's not much to ask but it will enable us to meet our dual responsibilities, in our districts and in Washington.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

HON. ROMANO L. MAZZOLI

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, I was unavoidably absent for recorded votes on Friday, May 8, 1987. Had I been present, I would have voted:

"Yea" on roll No. 96, to approve the Journal of Thursday, May 7, 1987;

"Yea" on roll No. 97, the Michel motion to instruct House conferees on H.R. 558, homeless assistance legislation, to agree to section 1001 of the Senate amendment requiring that appropriations not exceed the levels established by the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings;

"No" on roll No. 98, the Mrazek amendment to H.R. 1748, Department of Defense authorizations for fiscal years 1988-89, which recommended that the President develop a plan for the orderly reduction of U.S. military personnel and activities in Korea during fiscal year 1988-92.

"No" on roll No. 99, the AuCoin substitute amendment to the Bennett amendment to H.R. 1748, Department of Defense authorizations for fiscal years 1988-89, that sought to exempt naval aircraft repair facilities from certain public-private competition required for naval ship repair work;

"Aye" on roll No. 100, the Montgomery amendment to H.R. 1748, Department of Defense authorization for fiscal year 1988-89, that increases the full time and Reserve Components of the National Guard; and

"Aye" on roll No. 101, the Smith amendment to H.R. 1748, Department of Defense authorizations for fiscal year 1989, that continues for 1 year the eligibility of certain institutions to provide heart and lung treatment under CHAMPUS and requires GAO to report on payment of certain medical expenses.

STEWART MCKINNEY

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to add my name to the long list of those saddened by the death of our distinguished colleague, Stewart McKinney.

The voters of Connecticut first sent Stew McKinney to the House of Representatives the year after my first election to Congress. We became friends shortly after he took office, serving together on the House Banking Committee, seated next to each other for 4 years on the low end of the committee's seniority ladder.

Stewart McKinney was an outstanding Member of Congress. Few served their constituents as well—and none better—than the Congressman from Connecticut's Fourth Congressional District. And, while you could disagree with some of his positions and votes on issues, you could never deny that Stew McKinney was a man of integrity, a man of compassion and understanding, and a man of wisdom. And, of utmost importance to me, I shall ever be grateful that I was to know Stew McKinney as my good friend.

TRIBUTE TO A BUILDER OF RURAL AMERICA

HON. BOB TRAXLER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. TRAXLER. Mr. Speaker, rural America, soil conservation, and the Resource Conservation and Development Program lost a good friend and a tireless worker April 3 with the death of Dwight Spuller of Branch, MI.

I came to know Dwight through my efforts to increase the emphasis of the RC&D Pro-

gram and to increase it's involvement in the orderly growth of rural America. Dwight served, for a time, as a regional president of the RC&D organization nationally along with other dedicated volunteers who are doing their part to improve the quality of life in America's rural areas. He had appeared before the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Rural Development, Agriculture and Related Agencies, on which I have the honor to serve, many times and always presented a concise and clear picture of not only where we were but also where we needed to be going with rural development and soil and water conservation. I garnered sound advice from Dwight on many occasions.

Dwight's dedication to the land which he farmed and loved are evident from the countless hours he spent devoted to improving the land and its bounty for his neighbors, whether they lived in Michigan, Oklahoma, New Jersey, South Carolina or any of the other 50 States. He had been a director of the Mason-Lake Soil Conservation district in Michigan from 1953 until 1986. He was also chairman of the Northwest Michigan RC&D Council from 1979 until his death. His dedication is evidenced by the fact that the day before his death he was involved in RC&D and Soil Conservation work.

He had served as president and vice president of the Michigan Association of Conservation Districts, member of the State conservation committee, member of the National Association of Conservation Districts, Soil Conservation Society of America, American Forestry Association, farm bureau, and grange. His work on behalf of agriculture and forestry was recognized many times including his receiving the Goodyear Award in 1950 and 1955, FFA awards, other conservation awards and in 1969, he was named Michigan Tree Farmer of the Year.

He began farm management upon his graduation from high school until 1959, when he took over ownership of the farm. He was a dairyman, active in a tree planting and landscaping business, as well as home and cabin builder.

Dwight Spuller's active advice will be missed, but perhaps we can all learn from what he advised new council members:

Choose your own course and follow it. Get involved in regional, State, and national soil conservation activities.

That's the course Dwight Spuller charted and the Nation is the better for having a friend in Dwight Spuller.

Therefore, I think it most appropriate that the Dwight Spuller Memorial Fund has been established by the Mason-Lake Soil Conservation District, 862 West US-10, Scottville, MI.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

HON. JIM MOODY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. MOODY. Mr. Speaker, I was unavoidably absent on official business yesterday. Had I been here, I would have voted "no" on the Hunter amendment to require that short-term work on Naval Reserve ships home

ported on the west coast be performed at the home port; "yes" on the Hunter amendment to require that certain ship maintenance contract bids include the cost of moving the ship from its port to its repair location; "yes" on the Young amendment to extend the Department of Defense Polygraph Test Program, and "no" on the Army amendment to establish a Commission that would recommend military base closures.

THE FEDERAL PROCUREMENT LIABILITY REFORM ACT OF 1987

HON. EDWARD F. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, today we hear a great deal about America's ability to compete in the world marketplace. Already, your eloquent and passionate advocacy of a more competitive America has set the stage for the most far-reaching legislative agenda in many years. We all share a strong commitment to keep the United States competitive. This is no small task for a nation which, for the past 200 years, has set the standard for quality and industrial leadership. My own hometown of Cleveland is proud to have some of our Nation's leading corporate citizens as residents.

America has been successful in the world marketplace because we are a society of innovators and risk-takers. These qualities have made us vibrant competitors and have contributed to our standing as a world power. In our search to explore new ways to promote competitiveness, we cannot afford to ignore any options.

Already in the debate over competitiveness, we have heard a great deal of discussion about investment in education, export promotion, job training for displaced workers, and a number of other positive legislative initiatives.

Among the proposals that Congress must consider is one for Government contractor liability reform. Indeed, one of the best ways Congress can help ensure our international competitiveness is to recognize the very real liability problems facing Government contractors that provide goods or services in the vanguard of new technologies.

In areas such as national defense, transportation safety, and environmental protection, the work of these contractors confers tremendous national benefits as well as long-term competitive advantages. Unfortunately, these small goods and services often involve potential catastrophic risk. As a consequence, we now may forfeit vital innovative expertise because of the potential catastrophic liability associated with these goods and services.

The Nation's ability to compete in world markets depends upon the development of sophisticated technology. This technology is often pioneered in projects that are either largely or exclusively governmental in nature. It is doubtful that the best and brightest of our Nation's scientists, engineers, and inventors will seek to broaden the technological horizon with new products and processes that could lead to draconian liability and financial ruin.

Any individual smart enough to build a better mousetrap is also clever enough to avoid speculative technologies that might lead to liability so great that everything he or she has worked for in life is at jeopardy. The alternative for such entrepreneurs is easy—stay in traditional product areas and avoid uninsurable risks.

Some persons argue that potential profits will always spur businesses to develop new technologies. However, who will take such risks given the potential liability? The answer is simple—those with little or nothing to lose. Such companies would be unable to adequately compensate victims should a tragedy occur. As a matter of public policy, is this what we want to encourage? I think not.

In order to further the twin goals of enhancing American industrial competitiveness and adequately compensating victims, today I am introducing the Federal Procurement Liability Reform Act of 1987. The bill is simple, effective, and straightforward.

First, the bill provides for the indemnification of contractors for losses resulting from the performance of any Government contract if those losses are in excess of agreed upon insurance or an amount that would be considered reasonable at the time liability occurred—section 2. This indemnification would not apply if the contract is for goods or services that are substantially the same as those provided by the contractor to nongovernmental customers. Nor would it be available for liability resulting from gross negligence, willful misconduct, or lack of good faith by any directors, officers, or managing officials of the contractor.

Second, the bill addresses those situations where a court awards damages from a contractor to a Federal employee for harm resulting from the performance of a contract with the Federal Government—section 3. If that harm resulted in whole or in part from Government fault, the bill provides for reduction of damages owed by the contractor to the Government employee in proportion to the Government's fault in causing the harm.

Mr. Speaker, the time to reform the current antiquated system of Government contractor liability is now. I look forward to working with all Members to enact this crucial legislation.

RECOGNIZING THE DEDICATION OF THE "LAST PATROL"

HON. ROBERT A. BORSKI

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. BORSKI. Mr. Speaker, I would like to recognize the effort of 10 Vietnam veterans as they pay tribute to the Philadelphians who lost their lives in the Vietnam war.

At this moment, these veterans are in the third day of a 140-mile march from Washington, DC, to Philadelphia. They are marching in the "missing man" formation, carrying with them tracings from the National Memorial of the 628 Philadelphians who died in Vietnam.

This dedicated group is known as the "Last Patrol," a symbolic march to bring their fallen comrades home to Philadelphia. The Last

Patrol consists of Philadelphia Memorial President Dennis Fink, Bart Kline, Rich Boettinger, Frank Marshall, Dennis Best, Ed Scott, Al McFadden, Dan Fraley, Butch Gurski, and Lt. Gen. William Hilsman, retired.

The purpose of the 6-day march is to raise funds for the construction of a Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Philadelphia. More than \$600,000 has been raised for the monument and it is scheduled to be completed in October at Penn's Landing.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend the members of the Last Patrol for their dedication to this worthy cause. Their commitment will ensure that their fallen brothers will never be forgotten.

JOSEPH C. RAZZA—1987 RECIPIENT OF THE VFW OF DEMOCRACY SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM

HON. WALTER E. FAUNTROY

OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. FAUNTROY. Mr. Speaker, yearly the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the Voice of America, sponsor a national scholarship script writing contest. I am pleased to declare in this august Chamber, that the 1987 winner of this important competition was Joseph Christopher Razza of the District of Columbia.

In light of this signal accomplishment that so ably illustrates the great intellect, potential, and patriotism of the youth of America, I rise to salute Joseph Christopher Razza and to share his brilliant script with my distinguished colleagues:

THE CHALLENGE OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

The challenge of American citizenship is, indeed, great. This challenge is, firstly, to show our love of this country and the people who reside within it, and, secondly, to act for our nation's good with that patriotism in mind.

The patriotism spoken of here is not merely the recital of slogans or singing of patriotic songs on the Fourth of July. This patriotism transcends such symbols; it manifests itself as concern for the nation's well-being. It comes forth as genuine interest in the affairs of one's neighbors, and aid when one's neighbors require it. It is nothing short of love.

But in order for this patriotic love of America to be real, there must be an acceptance of what America is. Although the documents which laid down the foundations of this country are landmarks in the development of modern political philosophy, they alone do not constitute America. America is her people, and each American citizen must accept every other citizen on the basis of being a fellow human being and a fellow American. The conflicts that occur today between various sectors of our community are the result of misunderstanding this tenet.

Whites and blacks must accept each other as comrades, as partners in the American enterprise. Yes, in America's history lies the grim saga of the abuse of blacks by whites—what is needed is an understanding that these communities must now aid each other; that each owes the other respect and cooperation simply because we are all Americans. Just as the struggle of black Ameri-

cans must be made an integral part of American history courses, so must the history of Asian Americans. It must be made clear that the internment of Japanese Americans in World War II was wrong—because those people were Americans. We cannot shun Hispanic Americans because we want English to be our "official language"—these are our brothers. And we cannot continue denying to the Native American the fact that he was here before the Europeans and the Africans who were bought and brought. Lastly, we must everyday remember the sacrifice and contribution of American veterans; they deserve more than just Memorial Day, Veterans' Day and being on the government's back burner. They deserve our respect and attention.

Yet, even this patriotism is not enough. We owe America action, not just adoration. It is the duty of every American to be aware of what is happening in his neighborhood, in her city, in our country, and in the world at large.

However, every American citizen must do more than be aware and care. When an American citizen receives information, he has a right and a responsibility to analyze it and act upon it. If a public official is taking an action which one feels is imprudent, is immoral, or simply is not the most beneficial to the community, one must make his or her objections known. If one foresees damage resulting from a representative's action, it is one's moral duty to protest that measure. We must care enough about our nation to take some initiative. Not only should we try to help our countrymen, but we owe it to this nation which has nurtured us, protected us and given us room to grow as individuals—we owe it to this nation to lend a hand in solving its problems.

It is imperative that we do this as brothers and sisters within the context of our nation. We must realize the vision of a United States of America.

ENTREPRENEURS ARE IDEAL LEADERS IN OUR SOCIETY

HON. ARTHUR RAVENEL, JR.

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. RAVENEL. Mr. Speaker, over 200 years ago, our Founding Fathers broke away from a state of servitude in order to control their destinies by establishing unique religious, political, social, and economic systems. Today, this independent and innovative spirit is best exemplified by the millions of entrepreneurs in our country. Entrepreneurs are ideal leaders in our society—organizing, managing, controlling, and assuming risks themselves, then sharing these responsibilities and ideas with others.

In 1985, almost 15 million small businesses, of which 8 million were self-employed, employed more than half our private work force. Imagine—over half of our private sector is hired by independent businesses who are competitively participating with large corporations in our free enterprise system by offering personally and sensitive attention not provided by larger companies. In addition, small businesses, being entrepreneurial, can fill market gaps and fill them rapidly.

Without a doubt, I can say that small business plays a significant role in our economy

and in our society. In 1840, Alex de Tocqueville made an interesting observation about our American economy, "What most astonishes me in the United States is not so much the marvelous grandeur of some undertakings as the innumerable multitude of small ones." Should he have had the chance to view our Nation today, in 1987, he would agree that his observation still holds true.

**MINORITY BUSINESS
DEVELOPMENT CONFERENCE**

HON. GEORGE W. GEKAS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. GEKAS. Mr. Speaker, the city of Harrisburg will hold its third Minority Business Development Conference on Wednesday, May 20, 1987, at the Holiday Inn Center City, Harrisburg. The day-long conference, titled "Making It Happen Now" is sponsored by the office of Minority Business Enterprises, the Harrisburg Redevelopment Authority, the Minority Business Development Agency and the U.S. Department of Commerce.

This conference will offer sessions on business strategies crucial to success such as finding and obtaining procurement opportunities; recruiting and maintaining good employees; finding agencies and development centers which assist small businesses; enforcement of contract rights; "dodge" estimating services; cash flow and cost accounting obtaining necessary capital; selecting the right attorney, accountant, and insurance representative; and effects of the Tax Reform Act on small business.

The conference will feature the Reverend Benjamin Smith, a popular Philadelphia evangelist, and recording star Phyllis Hyman, who received a Tony nomination for "Best Supporting Actress" for her role in the Broadway hit "Sophisticated Ladies."

Reverend Smith, who has pastored the 7,000-member Deliverance Evangelistic Church in Philadelphia for 26 years, holds degrees from Jameson Bible Institute and the American Bible College and an advanced teacher's certificate from the Evangelical Teachers Training Association, and has served as the weekly pastor on "Time of Deliverance" broadcasts heard in the United States, Puerto Rico, Bermuda, and Nigeria since 1977. He published his first book, "God's Total Plan for Your Success," in 1983.

Reverend Smith will speak on the topic "Hope in 87."

Phyllis Hyman, a former member of Pittsburgh's All-City Choir, will speak to conference attendees on the topic of "Making it Happen Now."

Ms. Hyman, whose work in "Sophisticated Ladies" earned her a "Theatre World Award for Most Promising New Talent" as well as critical acclaim, was trained as a legal secretary and worked in a Pittsburgh neighborhood legal services office before joining a group called "The New Direction" and touring major cities across the country.

Hyman has served for the past 2 years as "National Chairperson" for the Federal Gov-

ernment's Department of Housing and Urban Development campaign against housing discrimination.

**LEGISLATION TO REQUIRE THE
FEDERAL DEPOSIT INSURANCE
CORPORATION TO PAY INTEREST
ON CERTAIN CERTIFICATES
ISSUED BY THE
GOLDEN PACIFIC NATIONAL
BANK**

HON. BILL GREEN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Speaker, I recently introduced legislation to bring some justice to members of the Chinese-American community in New York who were severely hurt by the failure of the Golden Pacific National Bank in June 1985.

Though members of the Banking Committee are quite familiar with the situation, let me briefly outline the unique situation of this bank failure.

The Golden Pacific National Bank was declared insolvent on June 21, 1985, after the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency [OCC], acting upon a tip from an informant, conducted a surprise examination of the bank. That examination revealed that over \$17 million in deposits had been collected by the bank from receipts from yellow certificates—so named for the color of the paper on which the receipts were printed—which funds had not been booked as deposits by the bank. The proceeds of the yellow certificates had been primarily to fund off-balance-sheet investments by the bank's insiders.

The OCC examination, which was conducted with the cooperation and assistance of the FDIC, revealed that the yellow certificates were in fact deposits with the bank, and not, as the chairman of the bank claimed, special agency accounts. On the basis of the determination that the yellow certificates were deposits, the OCC concluded that there were insufficient assets backing those liabilities and determined that the bank was insolvent.

After the closing of the bank, the FDIC arranged for the transfer of most of the deposits in the bank to the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank. The yellow certificates were not included in this transfer. The FDIC continued to investigate the yellow certificates on the ground that it was not satisfied that they represent insured deposits.

On July 1, 1985 and August 1, 1985, extensive testimony was taken by the Subcommittee on Financial Institutions Supervision, Regulation and Insurance of the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs. The testimony given before the subcommittee explored thoroughly not only the examination of the bank by the OCC in June 1985, but also revealed prior examinations by the OCC of the yellow certification program and determinations of the Federal Reserve Bank, which also concluded that the yellow certificates represented deposits in the bank.

Notwithstanding this accumulation of evidence, representing the combined efforts of

the OCC, the FBI, the Federal Reserve Bank and the subcommittee, as well the FDIC, the FDIC concluded that it was unable to make a determination as to the insured status of the yellow certificates, and resorted to a rarely-used statutory provision (12 U.S. 1821(f)) allowing for the FDIC to bring the matter before a Federal court for determination.

After the bank's failure, the bank's holding company, Golden Pacific Bancorp, brought suit against the Comptroller for wrongfully closing the bank on the theory that the Comptroller filed an extensive affidavit and a more than one thousand page administrative record which set forth the reasons why it considered the yellow certificates to be deposits. Judge Thomas Fannery of the U.S. District Court of the District of Columbia dismissed the holding company's lawsuit. This, at the same time that the FDIC was asserting that it could not determine whether the yellow certificates were deposits in the litigation in the Southern District of New York the Comptroller was asserting in the Bancorp litigation that it had correctly determined the deposit status of the certificates.

Following its commencement of litigation, the FDIC continued to insist on pursuing its own investigation into the circumstances surrounding each individual transaction involving a yellow certificate. It was not until October 1986, about 6 months after the initial determination by the OCC that yellow certificates were deposits, that the FDIC made the first payment of insurance proceeds to any holders of yellow certificates. At present, some yellow certificate holders still have not received insurance payments.

As the testimony before the subcommittee demonstrated the vast majority of holders of yellow certificates were non-English speaking Chinese immigrants who had been duped by the bank into entrusting it with their life savings. The impact upon the Chinese community has been substantial. Regrettably, at the very time the FDIC insurance was most needed by the individual depositors it was not available.

The FDIC has no statutory authority to pay interest on insured amounts accruing after a bank is closed. As an agency of the United States, the only way that the FDIC can make such payments is by authorization of Congress. E.g., *Library of Congress v. Shaw*, 106 S. Ct. 2957 (1986). Normally, deposits of a closed bank are paid within a week of a bank's closing, so there is no real need for such relief. Here the depositors were not paid insurance for about 16 months. The proposed bill would provide relief that can not be obtained from either the FDIC administratively or from the courts.

It has been estimated that this bill would result in an additional expenditure by the FDIC of approximately \$1 million. However, there should be little or no net cost to the FDIC, since the funds representing yellow certificate insurance have been unpaid and therefore have been accruing interest in the FDIC's reserve fund during the pendency of the FDIC's litigation.

On behalf of the holders of yellow certificates, I request the Banking Committee to consider this legislation as soon as possible and ask that my colleagues support this most important bill.

TRIBUTE TO REGINALD SMITH

HON. ELTON GALLEGLY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, one of the finest newspaper reporters I have had the opportunity to work with in public life, Mr. Reggie Smith, died this week at the all-too-young age of 31. Mr. Smith passed away of complications after exploratory lung surgery at a hospital in Los Angeles, CA.

Reginald Smith exemplified the best in news reporting, looking for relevant facts and not closing his story until satisfied he had the facts. While I was mayor of the city of Simi Valley he began his coverage of the city and local government for the Los Angeles Times Valley Edition. He quickly became known and respected by city staff and the elected officials he covered. He earned this respect because he was, first and foremost, a very real and caring person. He respected the arms-length relationship between reporter and subject, yet always somehow managed to communicate the fact that he cared about the issues and the people he was covering.

Smith joined the Los Angeles Times in 1986, after working as a government and political reporter at the San Diego Evening Tribune and the San Francisco Chronicle. In 1982, he won the Christopher Award, the San Francisco Press Club's highest honor, for a story exposing waste and ineptitude in the city housing authority.

Smith traveled with the Rev. Jesse Jackson during Jackson's unsuccessful Presidential bid and also covered city hall for the Chronicle. A graduate of San Diego State University, where he was editor of the campus newspaper, Smith was a native of Los Angeles. He leaves his parents, Rachel and Elliott Smith, Sr.; two sisters, Carol J. DeMorst and Jacqueline A. Winston, and a brother, Elliott Smith, Jr. My deepest sympathies and condolences go to his family.

But my heartfelt thoughts also must go to his loved ones—Reggie left a caring legacy behind him which I will remember as that of a reporter who lived an all-too-short life, but who condensed into that lifetime the wisdom of an elder and the enthusiasm of his youth. This Member of Congress will not soon forget Reginald Smith, nor will the many other elected and appointed government officials whose professional lives Reggie touched.

MAS FUKAI IN THE BIG LEAGUE**HON. MERVYN M. DYMALLY**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. DYMALLY. Mr. Speaker, just before the outbreak of World War II, Mas Fukai was a young man with lots of ambition. He aspired to be a professional baseball player. And maybe he could have been. His classmate and school baseball teammate Duke Snider made it, after all. Mas was also going to college. The family just assumed he would be

the one to make it. But then the war came, and the powers that be decided that having Americans of Japanese descent along the California coast was not a good idea. So they rounded up Mas and his family and thousands upon thousands of others, and put them in concentration camps in desolate inland areas like Gila, AZ where they sent Mas.

The 3 years of internment shattered dreams. Mas never had the chance to play professional ball, he did not have the chance to attend college. Instead he went to a vocational school and learned auto body repair. He worked in a General Motors plant for 13 years, then he and his brother opened a gas station and repair shop. Later Mas opened another shop on his own. But this is not a story of failed dreams and lowered expectations. It is a story of triumph, of old dreams being replaced by new dreams. It is a story of fulfillment. Mas Fukai is the personification of the adage that you can't keep a good man down.

Recently, when he became chief deputy to Los Angeles County Supervisor Kenneth Hahn, the Los Angeles Times did an extensive article on Mas. In the article, Mas reflected on his position saying:

For him—Supervisor Hahn—to have as much confidence in me—little Mas Fukai, body and fender man, to run this office, to run an office with a \$950,000 budget—it's very rewarding to me.

I had to smile at that statement because it was so typically Mas. In public life there are plenty of people who are convinced they are much more important than they are. There are not a lot of people whose sense of modesty leads them to see themselves as much less important than they in fact are. Mas is one of those few. Power and grace coexist comfortably in Mas Fukai.

When Supervisor Hahn suffered a stroke in January, Mas was the only person outside of the immediate family who had access to the supervisor. Without fanfare, he has quietly run the supervisor's office since January, amply demonstrating to all that Supervisor Hahn made a wise choice in picking Mas as his right hand man. Mas notes that, despite the stroke, Supervisor Hahn is still in charge. Let's say Mas is doing a sterling job as chief executive officer.

In fact, Supervisor Hahn recognized Mas Fukai's abilities years before he brought him onto his staff. In the late sixties, Mas was looking for a way to see that his two children would spend their free time in ways that would lead them away from opportunities to use drugs. He thought sports would be a good activity, so he organized a baseball league in the city of Gardena. It was so successful that Supervisor Hahn appointed Mas to the county's Narcotics and Dangerous Drug Commission in 1971. His appetite for public life whetted by that experience, Mas ran for the Gardena City Council 3 years later and won. He has occupied a seat on the council ever since, and is consistently among the most popular members of the council. Shortly after Mas won elective office, Supervisor Hahn brought him onto his staff as liaison to the Asian American community. For more than 20 years now, because of the highly visible role he has played on Supervisor Hahn's staff, Mas has been a

well known and well liked figure in Los Angeles County politics.

I wanted to take some time to tell my colleagues about this very special individual because I wanted my colleagues to see how effective a role model Mas has been in the Asian American community. He has encouraged and helped other Asian Americans to run successfully for office. A case in point is Michael Mitoma who recently won a seat on the Carson, CA city council. In describing the esteem that Asian Americans hold for Mas, Mitoma told the Los Angeles Times, "He's kind of our guru." Asian Americans have a strong voice in Los Angeles County politics because in the beginning Mas was that voice and now he has shown others how to speak effectively for themselves. When we think about great American heroes I expect many of us have images of heroes in war. I think of those who have empowered their people. I think of great American heroes like Mas Fukai.

GOING FOR THE GOLD**HON. HAL DAUB**

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. DAUB. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to share with my colleagues the outstanding achievements of five young women from Nebraska's Second Congressional District—each of whom decided to go for the gold and got it.

The gold to which I refer is the Girl Scout Gold Award, the highest achievement that a Girl Scout can attain. This award represents the culmination of all the knowledge, skills, experiences, and maturing that is gained through years of Girl Scouting. What is unique about the Gold Award is its emphasis on the individual: her interests, her goals, her commitment.

Once a year on the third Sunday in May, the Great Plains Girl Scout Council of Omaha, NE, honors all the Gold Award recipients. Thus, on Sunday, May 17, 1987, Tobi Richardson, Kris McCoy, and Lynda Brown of Omaha, NE, and Amy Johnson and Karol Persinger of Bellevue, NE, will be formally honored for reaching the hallmark of their Girl Scout careers.

Much leadership, service, and hard work has to be done in order to master the ideals of the Gold Award. The efforts of these five bring to mind a poem by Robert Frost. He writes:

I shall be telling this with a sigh, somewhere ages and ages hence,
Two roads diverged in a wood, and I took
the one less traveled by,
And that has made all the difference.

The road less traveled. It is always the more difficult one, but as they travel it, I am sure these Girl Scouts will find that the only barriers along the way are those that they set themselves—in their own minds.

Long after these young ladies put their award in a scrapbook or a drawer of old treasures, they will continue to wear it—no longer pinned on a uniform—but inside, in their outlook on life, in their willingness to take on a new challenge, in their dedication to their families, to their religions, and to the Nation.

DANIEL C. BISBEE TO RECEIVE EAGLE AWARD

HON. GEORGE W. GEKAS

OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. GEKAS. Mr. Speaker, Daniel C. Bisbee of Selinsgrove, PA, will receive his Eagle Award on Wednesday, May 20, 1987, at the Wesley United Methodist Church, Selinsgrove. Daniel is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Fred Bisbee.

Daniel began scouting in September 1980 and became a Webelos in 1982. He earned his Arrow of Light in June 1983. He joined Boy Scout Troop 419 of Selinsgrove in June 1983.

Although Dan is only 14 years old, he is a proven leader in Scouts, his community, school, and church.

For his Eagle project, Dan created an exercise competition program called "Take-A-Hike." Participants pledged to walk, hike, run, or swim 20 minutes a day, three times a week or more. To promote the program, Dan and his fellow Scouts went to businesses, the Kiwanis, and Rotary Clubs in his area to explain and distribute "Take-A-Hike" entry forms, and set up a stand at his local mall. His efforts raised over \$400.

Dan is an assistant senior patrol leader and served as a patrol leader. He is an Ordeal Member of the Order of the Arrow since 1985.

Outside of his scouting activities, Dan has been very active in his school. He is a member of the junior varsity track and cross-country team, a reporter for his newspaper, and a member of the Spanish club.

I would ask my colleagues in the U.S. Congress to join me in extending congratulations to Daniel C. Bisbee for earning this worthy and special award. I wish him great success in his future endeavors.

THE BLACK BUDGET

HON. FRANK J. GUARINI

OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. GUARINI. Mr. Speaker, the remarkable story about the extensive and careless covert operations to fund the Contras currently unfolding during the Iran-Contra hearings pales in comparison to the billions of dollars the administration is spending every year on its "black budget" programs. Since President Reagan took office in 1981, the black budget, including funds for secret weapons and intelligence agencies, has more than tripled and according to some experts may be more than \$35 billion a year.

The black budget was established for legitimate reasons to protect new and developing weapons and to maintain effective intelligence operations. While the protection of Stealth technology from the Soviet Union is inherently necessary, keeping its unbelievable scope and tremendous scale from congressional discretion and oversight is destabilizing and dangerous for our government. According to knowledgeable congressional sources, 70 percent

of the black budget could be declassified without jeopardizing national security.

Keeping Congress in the dark about the Iran-Contra funding has certainly damaged the Reagan administration politically and has compromised U.S. foreign policy in the geostrategic Middle East. The implications and failures of those covert policies are currently hitting home with the Congress and especially with the American people. Consequently, Congress should begin playing a stronger oversight role in covert foreign policy. The ramifications for the intelligence funding in the black budget remain to be seen.

Perhaps the most damaging aspect of the black budget is the collision course its massive programs are on with the budget constraints we must face. As a member of the Budget Committee, I know that given the substantial reductions Gramm-Rudman will impose on defense spending, priority programs necessary for our basic national defense might suffer because of the secret programs in the black budget. A three part series of Philadelphia Inquirer articles by Tim Weiner present an excellent detailed account of the black budget. Of particular interest, the articles demonstrate the gross negligence, fraud, and waste with which certain black programs are riddled. With no accountability, defense contractors have wasted millions of dollars on flawed projects. Given the importance of this issue for our national defense, I think you will find these articles most interesting. The first article in the series follows:

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, Feb. 8, 1987]

A GROWING "BLACK BUDGET" PAYS FOR SECRET WEAPONS, COVERT WARS
(By Tim Weiner)

Two years ago, a startling item appeared in President Reagan's budget. It was a military project code-named Aurora, and no further description or explanation was given. But Aurora caught people's attention anyway. That's because the projected budget showed its cost soaring from \$80 million in 1986 to \$2.3 billion in 1987.

What sort of project grows like that?

Not one the Pentagon wants to talk about. In the administration's defense budget this year, there is no mention of Aurora. The project and its billions have "gone black"—vanished into the vast cache of secret accounts that the Pentagon calls its "black budget."

Since President Reagan took office in 1981, his administration has more than tripled the black budget. This secret spending for classified programs now totals at least \$35 billion a year, according to an Inquirer investigation of Defense Department records, corroborated by Pentagon and congressional sources. It now accounts for 11 percent of the Pentagon's current \$312 billion spending request, and that number is bound to swell, for the black budget is growing faster than any other major sector of the federal government.

The Pentagon says nothing publicly about the black budget, and most members of Congress have no access to details about it.

Under the cloak of black-budget secrecy, the Reagan administration is spending billions on nuclear bombers and millions to train dolphins as underwater saboteurs. It has developed elaborate plans for winning a months-long nuclear war—World War III—and preparing for World War IV. The plans

include robots stalking radioactive battle-grounds, satellites orchestrating nuclear attacks and generals speeding along interstates in lead-lined trucks, ordering war-heads fired from faraway silos.

The black budget also funds a host of secret weapons, covert military units, one-quarter of all military research and development and at least three-quarters of the U.S. intelligence community's espionage and covert activities.

The black budget is split about evenly between funds for secret weapons and funds for intelligence agencies. The military portion alone has grown eightfold, to at least \$17 billion, since Reagan took office.

The portion of the U.S. intelligence budget hidden away in the Pentagon's secret accounts has doubled to at least \$18 billion under the Reagan administration. And no part of the intelligence budget has grown faster than funds for covert operations—currently more than \$600 million a year, according to intelligence analysts.

The controversy swirling in Washington over the covert sale of weapons to Iran and the diversion of millions of dollars in profit to contra forces in Nicaragua shows how the secret use of secret funds can undermine trust in government, warp foreign policy and damage a presidency—when it is detected.

The spending of those millions to finance secret wars has now raised congressional hackles, but the spending of billions to finance secret weapons continues to grow largely unchecked.

The black budget now is nearly as big as the entire federal budget for health care. It is far bigger than the federal budget for education or transportation or agriculture or the environment.

The black budget's fastest growing component is secret spending on military research and development. Now approaching \$11 billion, it has increased 1,357 percent under Reagan. It is three times bigger than the entire budget for the State Department. And no end is in sight.

This is growth that foreshadows huge future increases in the overall black budget, for research and development is the acorn from which the defense oak grows. So the secret spending will only accelerate as such projects as Aurora—which was a code name for the \$60 billion Stealth bomber project—go from the drawing board to the assembly line.

National security laws forbid any public debate in Congress that would reveal specific weapons or specific dollars or, for that matter, specific foul-ups in the black budget.

Thomas Amlie, a Pentagon missile expert with security clearances high enough to know about some black programs says the military has three basic reasons for having them. One, you're doing something that should genuinely be secret. There's only a couple of those, and Stealth ain't one of them.

"Two, you're doing something so damn stupid you don't want anybody to know about it.

"And three, you want to rip the moneybag open and get out a shovel because there is no accountability whatsoever."

As a consequence, critics say, the black budget is far more vulnerable than the rest of the defense budget to shoddy work, inflated bills and outright fraud by contractors and subcontractors. Rep. John D. Dingell (D., Mich.), whose House Energy and Commerce Committee is trying to penetrate

the secrecy surrounding Pentagon spending, said flatly that the black budget "conceals outright illegal activities."

"The Pentagon keeps these programs of almost unbelievable size secret from Congress, from the General Accounting Office, from its own auditing agencies," Dingell said. "And every time they have kept secrets from us, the facts, when they come out, have been surrounded by a bodyguard of lies."

Although the few members of Congress who are briefed on the black budget, and the larger number who are not, are growing increasingly unhappy with the system, they have been unable to pierce the Pentagon's shield of secrecy.

In the U.S. House of Representatives, the chairmen and ranking minority members of committees dealing with military matters receive briefings on black projects. In all, about 30 House members are given limited information about some black programs, according to congressional staff members. Senators overseeing military and intelligence affairs have greater access.

Two of those in the know, House Armed Services Committee Chairman Les Aspin (D., Wis.) and ranking minority member William Dickinson (R., Ala.), think the Pentagon's secrecy is unjustified. They have said 70 percent of the black budget could be declassified at no risk to national security.

Black budget is the Pentagon's own term for projects it hides from public view by classifying their titles, their costs or their objectives. (It does not include the Strategic Defense Initiative, or "Star Wars," which has been kept out of the black budget so that it can be promoted openly in the political marketplace.)

Black projects are concealed in several ways. In many cases, their costs simply are deleted from the unclassified budget. Some are given code names, such as Bernie; Tacit Rainbow and Elegant Lady, or hidden under innocuous headings such as "special activities" and "advanced concepts."

For example, the fiscal 1988 Air Force procurement budget includes a line item of \$4.7 billion for "selected activities," \$3.1 billion for "other production charges" and \$2.3 billion for "special programs." That is all that Congress as a whole knows about these three black programs and the \$10.1 billion they will consume.

All told, more than \$25 billion—nearly one-fifth of all Pentagon spending for developing and producing weapons and materiel—is hidden in the black budgets for research, development and procurement.

These secret programs are financing aircraft, weaponry and military satellites whose final cost will far exceed \$100 billion.

"A fair question would be: What the hell's going on here? This is a tremendous amount of money to be spending with no oversight," said John Steinbruner, an expert on nuclear war strategy who directs foreign-policy studies at the Brookings Institution in Washington. "Somebody's got to say: 'Hey, are we running a democracy or not? Is the fetish for secrecy undermining the political process?'"

"This is a problem that Congress persistently refuses to face, and the consequences could be very, very serious," said William W. Kauffman, a top defense budget adviser to Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford and Carter. "I think people in Congress don't realize that with the black budget increasing as it is, they've really got an explosive situation on their hands. Either the Pentagon is going to have to give some of

these projects up or we're going to see an explosion in budget authority and outlays."

But few members of Congress have the time or energy to fight the Pentagon for information on black projects. Several spent more than a year trying to obtain accurate budget data on the Stealth bomber. The Pentagon finally released five-year-old classified cost figures that many in Congress suspected were misleading.

"They control what the Congress gets and sees," said Rep. Denny Smith (R., Ore.), who calls himself a "cheap hawk," a cost-conscious conservative, on defense issues. "As a congressman, I can't get information. . . ." They don't want to have us mucking around in their budget.

"There's a real question here," Smith said. "Will the military accept civilian leadership when it comes to choosing weapons?"

A senior staff member of the House Government Operations Committee said that even what little congressional oversight exists has been weakened by the Pentagon's budgetary sleight-of-hand. He said the Pentagon uses a double-ledger system of accounting for black projects in which "brooms become computers" and "computers become bombs."

"The Pentagon gets tremendous benefits from misleading Congress, and very few risks," he said. "As more and more money disappears into these ultrasecret programs, the checks and balances are basically being eroded. . . . Congress has become less and less alert to this. It is abdicating power."

The black budget, Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger said at a Jan. 6 news conference, is made up of "funding which we believe it is better for us not to publicize, on the very sound premise that we don't see the purpose of giving additional information to the enemy."

Weinberger, of course, was referring to the Soviet Union. However, many members of Congress believe he had another adversary in mind.

"The attitude of this administration is that Congress is the enemy," said Rep. William H. Gray III (D., Pa.), chairman of the House Budget Committee. "So we simply do not get nearly enough information to keep track of these secret accounts. The administration has run wild in this area. They are trying to end run Congress as if there were no checks and balances in the Constitution. It is a very dangerous policy."

And even the staunchest supporters of national security now are questioning the black budget's growth.

"I know quite a lot of black programs, and many of them are well-managed," said Richard Garwin, a longtime defense consultant and presidential adviser who helped develop the hydrogen bomb. "But the proliferation of these programs is very bad. It is primarily to avert criticism and evaluation. It is part of a general trend of this administration to block information on its programs, whether they be classified or unclassified, and that is profoundly anti-democratic."

Increasingly, the Pentagon is pushing previously unclassified programs into the black budget. About \$4.5 billion in once-public Pentagon spending, such as funds for the Milstar space satellites designed to help fight nuclear wars, has vanished into the black budget in the past two years.

"Huge areas have been removed from public debate," said Jeffrey Richelson, a professor at American University in Washington who has written several acclaimed studies on U.S. and Soviet intelligence. "Whole programs have gone black without

questions being asked, such as: Do we need these weapons? Will they be destabilizing?"

Richelson said, "The secrecy once reserved for extraordinary programs"—such as the Manhattan Project to build an atomic bomb during World War II—"now has become an everyday, every-time affair."

Why are more and more projects becoming black? The foremost reason is the Reagan administration's desire for secrecy. That has driven the black budget upward more forcefully than any weapon in the Pentagon's plans.

In 1982, President Reagan signed an executive order revising the procedures for keeping secrets. The order said, in effect, that in balancing the public's right to know against the government's power to keep secrets, secrecy would carry more weight.

The order allows bureaucrats to "reclassify information previously declassified" and forbids them to consider the public's interest in access to government information when deciding to classify a document. Since then, the government has been classifying more documents and declassifying fewer than in previous administrations, according to the federal information Security Oversight Organization, which monitors classification orders.

But there may be reason other than secrecy that are driving the black budget higher.

A recent report by a presidential commission on defense-security practices warned that black programs "could be established . . . to avoid competitive procurement processes, normal inspections and oversight." And a senior House Armed Service Committee staffer, Anthony Battista, noted in a 1985 briefing, that a multimillion-dollar radar-jamming system was classified to hide the Pentagon's violation of competitive bidding rules in awarding the contract.

Battista told the Armed Services subcommittee on research and development that the Pentagon "is putting more and more into . . . the black programs, not because of national security, but simply to skirt the normal acquisition process."

Very few federal investigations have the security clearances necessary to audit black programs which usually are classified as "sensitive compartmented information," a classification above top secret. There are more than 10,000 such security "compartments," and it is illegal for anyone without that specific clearance to possess knowledge of the program.

That raises the question whether the fiscal abuses revealed in unclassified Pentagon procurement programs—the \$7,000 coffee pots and \$600 screws—also are occurring in secret.

"In a black project, people don't worry about money," says a systems engineer who has worked on four black projects at the space systems division of Lockheed Missile and Space Co. in Sunnyvale, Calif.

"If you need money, you got it. If you screw up and you need more, you got it," said the engineer, who asked that his name not be published. "You're just pouring money into the thing until you get it right. The incentive isn't there to do it right the first time. Who's going to question it?"

Questioning the black budget is difficult for a Congress lacking information. But limits in future defense spending required by the Gramm-Rudman budget-cutting law may force the issue. The law, which is designed to phase out the federal deficit by 1991, says 50 percent of the budget cuts should come from defense spending. And the federal deficit this year will be \$174.5

billion, according to the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office.

Those seeking more bang for the defense buck are concerned that the growing black budget will crowd out defense spending for mundane but crucial things such as boots and bullets.

"What we see in three to four years is a train wreck coming," said Gordon Adams of the Defense Budget Project, a Washington research organization that analyzes Pentagon spending. The crash he envisions rushing headlong in one direction, tens of billions of dollars in immovable black weapons projects; going the other way on the same track, tens of billions of unstoppable budget cuts mandated by the Gramm-Rudman law.

"The consequences of that train wreck for national security are enormous," Adams said. "What piece of flesh do we cut? Do we mothball part of the Navy? Cut personnel? We will have to make those choices, and all for a black budget we know nothing about."

But something can be learned about the black budget. The Inquirer reviewed more than 10,000 pages of Defense Department budget documents, studied the Congressional testimony of Pentagon officials and interviewed military and intelligence experts inside and outside of the Pentagon for this series.

Within the military's black budget, no subject is more controversial or costly than Stealth technology, which is designed to enable aircraft and missiles to elude enemy radar.

Although the technology is a relatively open book—an informative volume on the subject can be bought in the Pentagon bookstore and accurate models of Stealth fighters can be purchased in toy stores—its true cost remains a state secret. Defense analysts place the combined costs of Stealth projects for Air Force fighters and bombers, nuclear cruise missiles, pilotless drones and Navy attack planes at \$100 billion.

The most costly by far is the Stealth bomber, which is becoming the most expensive weapon in American history. The Air Force wants 82 of the planes delivered by the early 1990s. Most military experts place the bombers ultimate price at about \$150 million apiece. If that estimate is accurate, the Stealth bombers' total cost will be \$60 billion—a sum equal to the combined annual budgets of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

Stealth bomber spending may be spread out over several programs to hide its immense size. Now that Aurora has vanished some analysts say Stealth money is cached in two Air Force line items: "other production charges—\$11 billion" and "special programs—\$2.3 billion." Some say it is hidden within the Department of Energy's \$8 billion budget for military programs.

The Pentagon refuses to disclose the price tag on Stealth technology, saying the Soviets could deduce the status of the projects by tracking the spending. Top Pentagon officials decline to respond to reports that the Stealth aircraft's heralded radar-evading ability already has been outstripped by advances in radar technology. They have denied in a public hearing before a congressional oversight committee that Stealth aircraft exists.

The hearings stemmed from a series of security lapses and frauds on stealth projects. The Stealth related criminal cases are only "the tip of the iceberg" of illegal conduct on black projects, said Robert C. Bonner, the U.S. Attorney in Los Angeles, a hub of secret military contracting.

One engineer hired by Northrop Corp., the lead contractor on the Stealth Bomber, was a Florida chain-gang alumnus named William Reinke. He was convicted of defrauding the company of more than \$600,000 by channeling Stealth subcontracts to a company he secretly owned. In another case, a Northrop purchasing agent, Ronald Brousseau, was convicted of rigging contracts in exchange for kickbacks from subcontractors. He described the ease of defrauding black programs to a government informant wearing a concealed tape recorder: "We don't have any heads, we don't have any supervisory people. . . . Nobody questions dollars or anything like that."

Few in Congress can adequately question dollars invested in Stealth technology, or expect satisfactory answers about Stealth's capabilities, said Rep. Mike Synar (D., Okla.), because of "the absolutely adamant refusal by the Pentagon to release information on Stealth," a refusal Synar called "an insult to Congress."

Synar said his experience in trying to obtain accurate cost figures on the bomber taught him this lesson: "It's obvious that Defense [Department officials] will not be truthful with Congress and the American public when they think it's in their interest."

Stealth is the biggest of the black programs, but other secret military projects absorb billions of defense dollars, Pentagon documents show. Sophisticated Army and Air Force electronic-warfare systems; Navy programs aimed at disguising U.S. submarines' movements and detecting enemy subs with underwater sensors, and advanced computer, radar, communications and jamming systems are among the projects driving up the black budget.

All are cloaked in the secrecy that traditionally has been reserved for the nation's espionage agencies.

The intelligence community receives more than 75 percent of its funds from the Pentagon's black budget. The intelligence community's share of the black budget funds the CIA, the National Security Agency and the National Reconnaissance Office, as well as the military's intelligence branches. Their budgets appear in no public document.

The CIA's budget, an estimated \$2.5 billion, has more than doubled under the Reagan administration. And no part of it has grown faster than funds for covert operations, now \$600 million or more a year.

But the CIA's budget remains the smallest of those of the three major intelligence agencies. It is dwarfed by the National Security Agency's, which has been placed at \$10 billion.

The NSA is a global vacuum cleaner of intelligence. Its listening posts include ground stations around the world and KH-11 spy satellites orbiting the earth. The satellites and ground stations intercept information from telephones, telexes, microwave transmitters, missiles and satellites. NSA computers can pick out specific conversations from the babble of international telecommunications traffic.

The NSA also conducts surveillance within the United States. A secret court of federal judges, which meets periodically in a secure chamber within the Justice Department, grants the NSA license for domestic operations. Under a secret directive signed by President Reagan, the NSA has access to the computer systems of the IRS, the Social Security Administration and every other civilian government agency.

No law establishes or limits the powers and responsibilities of the NSA, which was

created by a secret, seven-page order signed by President Harry S. Truman in 1952. The NSA regularly spied on American citizens until 1973, when revelations in the Watergate affair ended that practice. The only known mention of the agency in the public laws of the United States is a 1959 statute that states: "Nothing in this act or any other law . . . shall be construed to require the disclosure of the organization or any function of the National Security Agency."

Employing at least 60,000 civilians, and working closely with the Pentagon from its Fort Meade, Md., headquarters midway between Washington and Baltimore, the NSA also controls the nation's cryptography program, making the codes for U.S. forces and breaking the codes of foreign nations.

The third major espionage agency is the National Reconnaissance Office. Its existence never has been openly acknowledged by the United States. It is an agency so secret that its letterhead is classified. It is known to operate satellite reconnaissance systems under the direction of the Air Force, and it provides photographic data to the intelligence community through a system of space platforms distinguished as weather and research satellites. Its budget is estimated at \$4 billion.

All three major espionage agencies overlap with the Pentagon in their missions. For example, the Army provides cover and personnel for CIA operations, such as the training of the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries, the contras. The Pentagon controls a variety of intelligence programs, including the entire National Reconnaissance Office, the NSA's spy satellites and code-breaking, research and development of espionage equipment, and submarine surveillance of the Soviet Union.

Most congressional critics of the black budget make a practical distinction between the rapid growth of secret military spending, which they see as largely unjustified and the black budget for espionage. Few have argued that intelligence programs should suffer public scrutiny.

But even this consensus has been strained by revelations that the CIA has kept Congress in the dark about covert operations of questionable legality, ranging from the mining of Nicaragua's harbors to the arms-for-Iran and cash-for-the-contras deals.

"I'm not against black programs," said Stansfield Turner, who served as CIA director from 1977 to 1981. "But is Congress willing to let these programs go through without knowing what's in them? It's clearly become much more difficult for Congress to get information, and it's clear that congressional oversight has been narrowed. I don't know whether that's a good thing."

CONGRESS MUST CONTINUE TO PUSH FOR ARMS CONTROL AGENDA

HON. JAMES L. OBERSTAR

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. OBERSTAR. Mr. Speaker, every President since Dwight D. Eisenhower has said that one of his arms control goals was the negotiation of a comprehensive test ban treaty with the Soviet Union. For an 18-month period—July 1985 to February 1987—the Soviets ceased all nuclear weapons testing and

invited the United States to join in the moratorium. The administration stubbornly declined, and conducted more than two dozen nuclear tests at the Yucca Flats facility in the Nevada desert during this period.

In February 1986, the House of Representatives passed a provision calling for a 1-year moratorium on nuclear tests above 1 kiloton, as long as the Soviets did the same and accepted verification. That courageous vote was intended to signal the Reagan administration that we in the House have exhausted our patience waiting for a substantive arms control agreement to emerge from the White House, and that we are ready to reassert our proper oversight role over the conduct of American foreign policy and take this important step to slow the relentless march toward doomsday we call the arms race.

The White House responded with assurances that the message had been received, and that the President shared our quest for a nuclear test ban. Indeed, we were assured that the President would work for this agreement in his Reykjavik meeting with Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev. Our House conferees agreed to drop this important testing moratorium, known then as the Aspin-Gephardt-Schroeder amendment, and unite with the Senate in giving the President a free hand with which to negotiate with Gorbachev a verifiable agreement. I was deeply disappointed in the collapse of our conferees on this position, and later helped to draft a resolution, passed in the Democratic caucus, to urge the Foreign Affairs and Armed Services Committees to once again report legislation such as the Schroeder-Gephardt amendment we will consider during debate on the fiscal year 1988 DOD authorization bill.

As we all know, the Iceland negotiations failed to bear fruit and the only success the President achieved in Reykjavik were those concessions by the House conferees. We are back today to reconsider those same provisions, to inform the President that arms control is an even more urgent priority than a year ago, and to once again pass nuclear test moratorium provisions. The only difference between this year and last, however, is that we will be unrelenting in our commitment to ensuring enforcement of these provisions.

The Gephardt-Schroeder amendment provides that 90 days after enactment, no fiscal year 1988 funds can be used to conduct nuclear tests with yields above 1 kiloton or outside of an existing nuclear testing area unless the President certifies to Congress that the Soviet Union has carried out a test above 1 kiloton after the end of the 90-day period; or that the Soviets have carried out a nuclear test outside a designated test area after the end of the 90-day period starting on the date of enactment; or that the Soviets have refused to accept and implement reciprocal in-country monitoring arrangements to take effect beginning at the end of the 90-day period. I am including in the RECORD an excellent analysis of the amendment distributed by our colleagues Mrs. SCHROEDER and Chairman ASPIN. It deserves the attention and careful consideration of all Members of this body.

The amendment requirements have been carefully crafted to curb the relentless drive

toward greater kill capacity, greater accuracy, and greater throw-weights that have driven the arms race forward in the midst of a wasteful and excessive military buildup. This buildup has placed an enormous burden upon the Federal budget and will continue to restrict and distort Federal spending priorities for a generation to come. As a member of the Budget Committee, I have been reminded of the tremendous long-term costs of these huge financial commitments for these expensive and destabilizing weapons systems, and have looked with horror on the prospect of a new generation of fantastically expensive esoteric weapons on the horizon. Members of this body are no longer willing to tolerate the administration's footdragging on this issue, and will no longer be indulged by empty promises of negotiated agreements on nuclear testing.

Enactment of this critical legislation will bring this country closer to comprehensive arms control than we have ever been. It is unfortunate that the Reagan administration has been unwilling to heed the call of the American public and respond to Mikhail Gorbachev's arms control overtures, but it is no surprise. Arms control opponents in this administration have demonstrated a singleminded commitment to undermining the foundations of arms control built brick by painful brick over the past 40 years; the abandonment of SALT II restrictions and the administration's novel "reinterpretation" of the ABM Treaty are but two of the most crucial mistakes of these anti-arms control zealots. Passage of the Schroeder-Gephardt amendment will indicate once again that the United States is serious about arms control, and willing to negotiate in good faith.

I urge my colleagues to vote "aye" on the Schroeder-Gephardt amendment.

DETAILED ANALYSIS OF NUCLEAR TESTING AMENDMENT

SUMMARY OF AMENDMENT

The amendment provides that ninety days after enactment, no fiscal year 1988 funds can be used to conduct nuclear tests with yields above one kiloton or outside of an existing nuclear testing area unless the President certifies to Congress that—

(1) the Soviet Union has carried out a test above one kiloton after the end of the 90-day period starting on the date of enactment;

(2) the Soviet Union has carried out a nuclear test outside a designated test area after the end of the 90-day period starting on the date of enactment; or

(3) the Soviet Union has refused to accept and implement reciprocal in-country monitoring arrangements (e.g. unmanned seismic stations located near nuclear testing areas which transmit information to satellites) to take effect beginning at the end of the 90-day period starting on the date of enactment and continuing through fiscal year 1988.

By its terms, the amendment ceases to apply if supplanted by an arms control agreement establishing significant limits on nuclear explosions by the United States and the Soviet Union.

BACKGROUND

Every President since Dwight D. Eisenhower has said that one of his goals was the negotiation of a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty with the Soviet Union. For an eighteen month period (July 1985 to Febru-

ary 1987) the Soviet Union ceased all nuclear weapons testing and invited the United States to join in the moratorium. The Reagan Administration declined to do so and conducted more than two dozen nuclear weapons tests in the Nevada desert during this period.

In February 1986, the House of Representatives passed H.J. Res. 3, calling on the President to resume negotiations for a comprehensive test ban treaty and submit the Threshold Test Ban Treaty to the Senate for ratification. After the Administration ignored this statement of congressional support for arms control, the House passed, by a margin of 234 to 155, the Aspin-Gephardt-Schroeder amendment in August. This amendment provided for a one-year moratorium on nuclear tests above one kiloton, so long as the Soviets did the same and accepted verification.

House and Senate conferees negotiated the language of the testing moratorium throughout September. On the eve of the Iceland summit, the House agreed to drop its provision to ensure that the President's hands were not tied in meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev. As one of the conferees said after the Reykjavik meeting, "We untied the President's hands and he dropped the ball."

In December, the Soviet Union announced that it would resume nuclear testing following the first U.S. test in 1987, but that it would resume its moratorium as soon as the United States agreed to cease testing. Both countries are now conducting nuclear weapons tests and appear to be trapped in a cycle of new weapon development.

Nevertheless, the arguments for passing the amendment are unchanged. A mutual and verifiable moratorium on nuclear tests would reduce tensions, delay the development of new and more destabilizing nuclear weapons, and enhance prospects for negotiation of a formal, comprehensive test ban treaty.

VERIFICATION

The United States presently has a virtually assured capability to determine whether the Soviet Union has conducted a nuclear weapons test down to the level of less than one kiloton. This capability comes from seismic monitoring outside the Soviet Union, overhead reconnaissance devices, and other intelligence methods. These methods are known as national technical means.

Confident detection of a determined effort to conduct secret low-yield tests, however, requires something more. The testing moratorium in the amendment is conditioned upon Soviet acceptance and implementation of "reciprocal, in country monitoring arrangements". This term is defined to mean arrangements to emplace in each country seismic monitoring stations capable of detecting and identifying nuclear explosions with a yield exceeding one kiloton at known nuclear weapons test sites and any other site that is currently capable of accommodating decoupled nuclear explosions with a yield exceeding one kiloton. The one kiloton threshold was selected based on scientific information about the state of the art of seismic monitoring.

In practice, in-country monitoring means tamper-proof, unmanned seismic stations which transmit data to satellites. A site which is currently capable of accommodating a decoupled nuclear explosion would be a large underground chamber, such as that produced by the peaceful nuclear explosions the Soviets have, in the past, conducted for

mining purposes in salt domes. The sites of these underground chambers are well known.

The fact of the matter is that cheating would be a very expensive and very risky proposition under the amendment. Indeed, the amount of lead time needed to cheat with confidence would not be available under a one year moratorium. Finally, the Reagan Administration found no evidence whatever that the Soviet Union cheated on its self-imposed moratorium.

NEW WEAPONS DEVELOPMENT

There are currently 25 different nuclear warhead designs in the American weapons arsenal. These include the warheads used for intercontinental ballistic missile, submarine launched ballistic missiles, cruise missiles, gravity bombs, and tactical, battlefield, and naval nuclear weapons. They range from warheads with yields of less than one kiloton to warheads with yields over a megaton. Indeed, a vast proportion of these warheads have yields in excess of the 150 kiloton limit contained in the Threshold Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (TTBT), which the United States has observed. Since the United States started obeying the TTBT, we have developed and deployed new warheads which could not be and never were tested at full yield.

New weapons systems, such as the small, mobile ICBM (Midgetman) and the Trident II missile (D-5), can be designed utilizing existing, already tested, reliable warheads. Lt. Gen. Bernard P. Randolph, Deputy Chief of Staff for Research, Development and Acquisition of the Air Force, testified last year that "if a comprehensive test ban treaty is imposed, it would certainly influence the selection of the SICBM [Midgetman] warhead in that the W-87 [MX missile warhead] would probably be selected." Forcing selection of existing warheads could, in fact, reduce the cost of new weapons systems and avoid many of the performance problems which inevitable crop up with new, high technology systems.

A moratorium on nuclear testing above one kiloton would retard development of third generation nuclear weapons, such as the hydrogen bomb pumped x-ray laser being developed from the President's allegedly non-nuclear Star Wars program. Right now, neither the United States or the Soviet Union has developed x-ray laser weapons or other third generation weapons, although both sides have researched such weapons. Indeed, the Administration claims that it is testing nuclear star wars weapons as a hedge against a possible Soviet threat in this area. If the two sides agreed to stop testing now, however, there would be no need for such a hedge, since the Soviets could not develop such a threat.

SAFETY AND RELIABILITY

It is often claimed that a moratorium on nuclear testing would reduce the safety and reliability of the stockpile. The fact of the matter is that detonating a nuclear device is not a particularly good way to check for corrosion or deterioration. Once the weapon is exploded, there is no evidence left of what might have caused any problem with the weapon. The preferred method of checking on the safety and reliability of a weapon is to disassemble it and look for faulty components. In a letter to Chairman Foscend, a number of the best nuclear scientists in America stated, "In no case . . . was the discovery of a reliability problem dependent on a nuclear test and in the case would it have been necessary to conduct a nuclear test to remedy the problem."

THE DETROIT FREE PRESS UNCOVERS STORY OF ADMINISTRATION INTIMIDATION IN LATIN AMERICA

HON. HOWARD WOLPE

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Speaker, I want to share with my colleagues a deeply disturbing exposé that appeared in the Detroit Free Press this Sunday. It describes the blatant threats and acts of intimidation that the Reagan administration engaged in five Latin American countries to further the Contra's cause in Nicaragua. Once again the administration was saying one thing publicly, but doing quite another thing privately. While publicly embracing the Contadora peace process, it was privately doing everything possible to undermine the Contadora peace initiative. That our Government sought repeatedly to disrupt serious efforts to negotiate a peace treaty in the region is shocking enough. Our means for achieving this goal, however, were truly outrageous. According to the Free Press, the administration not only made direct efforts to oust a Panamanian Defense Minister supportive of the Contadora process, but then cut aid to the country when the ouster attempts were unsuccessful. I shudder to think of the effect such meddling in the affairs of long-term U.S. allies will have on our foreign relations in the hemisphere. This carefully documented Free Press story deserves the closest scrutiny of the Members of this body.

[From the Detroit (MI) Free Press, May 10, 1987]

U.S. TRIED INTIMIDATION TO GET MORE CONTRA AID

(By Alfonso Chardy)

WASHINGTON.—The Reagan administration in 1985 and 1986 conducted a secret campaign of threats and intimidation against five Latin American governments in an effort to scuttle Central American peace talks and win support for Nicaraguan rebels, according to classified documents and interviews with U.S. and foreign officials.

President Reagan's role in the campaign is unclear, but the documents and interviews with the officials—all of whom requested anonymity—indicate that he may have personally approved at least one of the initiatives and possibly was involved in discussions of two others.

U.S. officials said the Reagan administration sought to disrupt the Contadora peace group—four nations seeking a peaceful end to the conflict in Nicaragua—because the peace talks complicated efforts to persuade Congress to approve aid to the Nicaraguan rebels, known as contras.

According to knowledgeable officials, the campaign included:

An effort to force from office the head of the Panamanian defense forces, Gen. Manuel Noriega. When Noriega did not respond to a direct request from then-national security adviser Vice-Adm. John Poindexter that he resign, the United States cut aid to Panama, then leaked damaging classified documents about Noriega to the New York Times and NBC News.

A proposal that would have had the United States drop its support for the government of Mexican President Miguel de la

Madrid, which supported the peace talks, in favor of a conservative opposition party, the National Action Party. The proposal, conveyed to representatives of the National Action Party by contra supporter Carl (Spitz) Channell, was dropped after the representatives failed to give money to the contras.

Secret talks with the Honduran military about ways of dealing with then-President Roberto Suazo, who blocked contra aid shipments in late 1985. The approach to the military to pressure Suazo to lift the blockade came after the U.S. government had failed to sway him with aid suspensions and the leaking of embarrassing information to the Miami Herald.

Secret support for a conservative presidential candidate in Costa Rica who U.S. officials hoped would support the contras.

Intense diplomatic efforts aimed at persuading Argentine officials to change their pro-peace talks position.

Some of the actions may have been illegal. Congressional aides familiar with contra affairs said a provision in the 1985-86 foreign aid law prohibited linking U.S. aid to support for the contras.

The aides said they have advised the congressional committees now investigating the Iran-contra affair about the provision, which itself does not carry any criminal penalties. But they noted that Lawrence Walsh, the special prosecutor investigating the Iran affair, is using a broad federal criminal statute covering abuse of power and disregard of duty to try to prove a vast conspiracy to defraud the government. That law carries criminal penalties.

Whether or not laws were broken, the campaign against Mexico, Argentina, Panama, Costa Rica and Honduras suggests that protecting contra aid was such an overriding goal of the administration that it governed nearly all of the United States contacts with its neighbors in the Western Hemisphere. Many of the actions angered some State Department officials, who thought that they might damage long term U.S. interests in the region.

Officials in the United States and abroad said Poindexter, Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams and former National Security Council aide Lt. Col. Oliver North—all figures in the Iran-contra affair—collaborated on the campaign. The late William Casey, former CIA director, and his Central America deputy, Alan Fiers, also co-operated, officials said.

Reagan also appears to have been informed about many of the actions.

A senior Panamanian official present at the meeting between Poindexter and Noriega said Poindexter prefaced his request for Noriega's resignation by saying he was speaking for Reagan.

Documents obtained from an employee of Channell, who pleaded guilty April 29 to a federal criminal charge related to his contra fund-raising, indicated that Channell met with Reagan 48 hours before telling representatives of Mexico's National Action Party that the President would throw his support to them if they would agree to support the contras.

And Reagan met with Vice-President George Bush, Abrams and North on March 23, 1986, the day before Abrams and North began a campaign to persuade Honduran President Jose Azcona, Suazo's successor, to request emergency U.S. military aid after Nicaraguan army troops crossed into Honduras in pursuit of contras, said White House records and administration officials.

Azcona had resisted requesting the aid because he felt the fighting was limited to Nicaraguans and was not a threat to Honduras.

Abrams later told Congress that Azcona had requested the aid voluntarily, but that has been contradicted by U.S. diplomat John Ferch, who was ambassador to Honduras at the time. Ferch, who was removed from his post by Abrams, told General Accounting Office investigators earlier this year that Azcona signed a letter requesting the aid only after intense pressure from the United States.

The White House and CIA declined to comment on the campaign, but the State Department denied that Abrams participated in a conspiracy to pressure countries in the region to support the contras.

Officials said the campaign was aimed at countries for one of two reasons: either to punish for not aiding the contras or to retaliate for pursuing peace talks in Central America.

The pressures were particularly intense in Mexico and Panama, the two most active members of the Contadora group that also includes Venezuela and Colombia. The group, founded in 1983 on the Panamanian island of Contadora, seeks to end the Nicaraguan conflict through negotiations. The right-wing contras have been fighting the left-wing Sandinista government since early 1982.

Although not a Contadora member, Argentina was targeted because it is a member of a so-called Contadora support group, which also includes Brazil, Uruguay and Peru. U.S. officials said Argentine President Raul Alfonsin was pressured because his government matched Mexico's activism at times—even acting as a de facto fifth member of the four-nation Contadora group.

IN MEXICO

On May 13, 1986, Abrams and other U.S. officials appeared before the Senate Western Hemisphere affairs subcommittee to denounce the Mexican government for corruption, drug trafficking and economic mismanagement. It was the first time that U.S. officials had publicly criticized Mexico.

But the most unusual U.S. tactic against Mexico involved threats to undermine the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) by throwing U.S. support to the National Action Party (PAN) before July 1986 state elections in northern Mexico.

In February 1986, U.S. officials had warned their Mexican counterparts that if they lobbied Congress on behalf of Contadora, the administration would lobby in Mexico for PAN.

In August, Channell took that a step further: He told PAN followers that Reagan would help them fight the ruling party if PAN helped the contras, according to notes written by an employee of Channell.

Notes from Jane McLaughlin, who attended Channell's meeting in Washington on Aug. 14, 1986, one day after Reagan hosted Mexican President de la Madrid at the White House, indicate that Channell asked the Mexicans for \$210,000 to help finance a contra aid campaign of television commercials.

McLaughlin's notes also suggest that the PAN meeting came two days after Channell claimed he had conferred with Reagan on Mexico.

"Spitz met with President Reagan last Tuesday to discuss Nicaragua and during the course of their discussion. Spitz brought up the issue of Mexico," the notes say. The

President stated that he is very upset and disappointed that de la Madrid has not taken a stronger position in supporting democracy in Nicaragua."

Two days later, according to McLaughlin's notes, Channell told the PAN supporters; "if the president were to know that you and your people were actively supporting his policies in Nicaragua, there is no doubt that he and the White House would be far more attentive to your plight in Mexico and far more inclined to acknowledge your fight for democracy."

Channell then asked the PAN supporters to contribute the \$210,000.

PAN official Ricardo Villa Escalera, who Channell associates said attended the meeting, said PAN did not contribute any money. He also said he did not recall meeting Channell.

But two other people who attended the meeting said Villa Escalera was there and told Channell that there were several wealthy Mexican businessmen in cities near the U.S. border ready to contribute the money because they considered the PRI a communist and pro-Sandinista organization.

IN PANAMA

U.S. efforts to force defense chief Noriega from power failed, but the pressure generated the worst tensions between the United States and Panama since Panama's fight for a new Panama Canal treaty in the 1970s. The CIA, the National Security Agency and the Pentagon opposed Poindexter's efforts on the grounds that Noriega was a valuable intelligence asset and that his country, where 10,000 U.S. soldiers are based, was a critical platform for monitoring events in Central America.

A senior Panamanian official said Poindexter asked Noriega for greater co-operation on Contra aid during a secret meeting in Panama on Dec. 12, 1985.

The official said Poindexter opened the session without preamble and went directly to the point.

Poindexter said the United States did not appreciate Panama's role in Contadora because it affected U.S. strategies for the region, the official said. Later, the official said, Poindexter raised the issue of the United States' anger at Noriega's role in the September 1985 ouster of U.S. backed Panamanian President Nicolas Ardito-Barletta.

The official said Poindexter and other U.S. officials at the meeting suggested that Noriega restore Ardito-Barletta to the presidency and then step down himself.

The Panamanian official said that when Ardito-Barletta was president, he had begun "to moderate Panama's presence in Contador."

The official said that after Poindexter finished making his points, Noriega turned him down, saying Poindexter had insulted Panama and didn't understand the benefits the United States received from friendship with Panama.

Within days of Poindexter's return from Panama, he told subordinates that "an alternative" to Noriega needed to be found, officials said.

Poindexter's first action against Noriega was approval in January 1986 of a National Security Council proposal to transfer most of \$40 million in economic assistance promised Panama to Guatemala. At the time of the decision U.S. officials attributed the move to budget problems.

Poindexter also authorized a campaign to discredit Noriega. Part of that campaign, administration officials said, was an April 1986 appearance before Congress by Abrams,

who denounced Panama for money laundering, drug trafficking, differences over Nicaragua, relations with Cuba and lack of democracy.

Poindexter's aides, including North and then-NSC Latin American affairs director Constantine Menges, also briefed several U.S. journalists with information that, although true, was aimed at embarrassing Noriega and signaling to him that the United States no longer favored him, the U.S. officials said.

The leaked data, including copies of secret reports by the Defense Intelligence Agency, led to June stories in the New York Times and on NBC noting Noriega's alleged involvement in drug trafficking and money-laundering.

IN ARGENTINA

Reagan administration tactics in Argentina appear to have been confined to more normal diplomatic activities. Nevertheless, an official of an international agency recalled recently that President Alfonsin once complained to him that then U.S. Ambassador to Argentina Frank Ortiz had threatened a smear campaign and the destabilization of his government if Alfonsin did not modify his government's support of Contadora. The official said he made notes of his conversation with Alfonsin.

Ortiz, reached at his home in Santa Fe, N.M., denied threatening Alfonsin but acknowledged receiving instructions from Abrams to talk to Alfonsin and his foreign minister, Dante Caputo, frequently on U.S. contra policy to try to persuade them to support it.

IN COSTA RICA

The effort on behalf of conservative Costa Rican presidential candidate Rafael Angel Calderon underscored a far wider campaign of pressure aimed primarily at persuading Costa Rican officials to allow the ostensibly neutral country to be used as a base for contra operations, administration officials and contra sources said.

The efforts failed. Calderon lost to an anti-contra candidate, Oscar Arias, and the Costa Rica-based contras have yet to create a major army in southern Nicaragua.

Calderon spokesman Victor Vargas acknowledged that Calderon met with several U.S. officials in Washington when he was a presidential candidate to discuss Nicaragua and the contras. Calderon told U.S. officials that if elected president, Costa Rica would support U.S. policy in the region, though Vargas said Calderon did not promise that the contras would be allowed to use Costa Rican territory.

The secret U.S. support for Calderon apparently began in July 1985 when Calderon, a former foreign minister, was preparing his campaign for the presidency as a member of the Social Christian Unity Party.

IN HONDURAS

Perhaps the most ironic conflict between the United States and its Latin American neighbors was with Honduras, Washington's closest Central American ally and chief regional contra base.

Problems with Honduras began in October 1985 when President Suazo blocked contra aid after a U.S. supply aircraft landed in Honduras with an NBC television crew aboard.

Honduran officials said the crew's arrival angered Suazo because its presence compromised what then was the official Honduran policy of denying that the contras operated from Honduran soil.

But U.S. officials said Suazo used the incident as a ploy to pressure the United States into backing a secret plan to call off presidential elections and allow him to stay in power two more years. U.S. officials said Suazo offered to lift the contra aid blockade if Washington endorsed his plan.

Ferch, who was then U.S. ambassador to Honduras, and North rejected Suazo's proposal, and the NSC and the State Department decided to punish the Honduran for holding up contra aid by blocking payment of a \$67.5 million economic aid package.

When the aid suspension did not sway Suazo, U.S. officials leaked stories to the news media.

Two weeks before the Nov. 24, 1985, election, Suazo showed up at a U.S.-funded military base, borrowed a U.S. Army helicopter with an American pilot and used it to drop political leaflets over a town.

After the pilot reported the incident to superiors, U.S. Embassy officials cabled to Washington with the news and hoped the affair would not worsen relations with Honduras.

But an official in Washington who had access to embassy cable traffic used the incident to chastise Suazo. He leaked the story to the Miami Herald.

Pressure on Suazo intensified in December 1985 when North took Poindexter and Abrams to Honduras for a meeting with the Honduran military leadership.

The purpose of the meeting, which took place at the Palmerola Air Base, was to persuade Honduran military leaders to force Suazo to lift the aid blockade. The officers waffled.

"Poindexter made his pitch, and the officers said neither yes or no," said a U.S. official who attended the session.

The meeting ended without resolution, and Suazo remained in office until he was succeeded in January 1986 by Azcona.

It was Suazo's blockade that forced the United States to search for an alternate supply base for the contras. U.S. officials found it in early 1986 in neighboring El Salvador. It was that private contra supply network that was financed in part with profits from U.S. arms sales to Iran.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

HON. WILLIAM E. DANNEMEYER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. DANNEMEYER. Mr. Speaker, due to a longstanding commitment in my congressional district, I was unable to attend the session on Friday, May 8, and subsequently missed six records votes. Had I been present I would have voted:

"Nay"—on adoption of the Journal of the last day's proceedings;

During the appointment of House Conferees on H.R. 588, Homeless Assistance;

"Yea"—on the Michel motion to instruct House conferees to agree to section 1001 of the Senate amendment that requires that appropriations be made in accordance with the provisions of the Budget Act which prohibit the consideration of any bill which would cause the deficit to exceed the levels established by Gramm-Rudman-Hollings;

During consideration of H.R. 1748, Defense Authorizations:

"No"—on the Mrazek amendment that sought to recommend that the President develop a plan for the orderly reduction of U.S. military personnel and activities during fiscal years 1988 through 1992;

"No"—on the AuCoin substitute amendment to the agreed-to-Bennett amendment that sought to exempt air rework facilities from certain public-private competition language relating to alteration, overhaul, and repair of Naval vessels;

"Aye"—on the Montgomery amendment that increases the strengths of the National Guard and Reserves;

"Aye"—on the Smith amendment, as modified, that continues for 1 year the eligibility of certain institutions to provide heart and lung treatment under CHAMPUS and requires GAO to report on payment of certain medical expenses.

THE CONTENT OF EDUCATION

HON. JIM COURTER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. COURTER. Mr. Speaker, the appropriate content of public education has been widely and heatedly discussed in recent years. Differences of opinion concerning whether morality can and should be taught outside the home have, in some cases, caused educators to go overboard in avoiding issues of absolute right and wrong.

In a recent article, initially published in Human Events and later condensed for Reader's Digest, Secretary of Education William J. Bennett and former Under Secretary of Education Gary L. Bauer articulate the dangers of value neutrality with regard to human conduct, past and present. We should not be afraid, as Mr. Bauer points out, to tell children why we believe democracy is better, more moral, than communism. But, unfortunately, these issues are not touched, either directly or through example, in most history and civics textbooks. Nor should we be afraid to tell young children that stealing is wrong and honesty is right. Secretary Bennett eloquently describes how these lessons can be taught through great literature.

I encourage my colleagues to read these remarks in their entirety. The issues raised must be addressed with the current generation of public school students.

WHAT WE MUST TEACH OUR CHILDREN

I. ABOUT CHARACTER

(By William J. Bennett)

According to a recent Gallup Poll, the vast majority of Americans want schools to do two things: teach our children to speak, think, write and count; and help them develop standards of right and wrong to guide them through life. In this, today's Americans echo the sentiments of Thomas Jefferson almost 200 years ago. Listing the basic requirements for a sound education, Jefferson spoke of writing, calculation, geography and the important task of improving one's "morals and faculties."

But no sooner does someone point out how important it is to form character at school than others claim it just can't be done, that there can be no consensus on

what to teach or how to teach it. So some educators deliberately avoid questions of right and wrong or remain neutral about them. Many have turned to "values-education" theories that seek to guide children in developing "their own values" by discussion, dialogue and simulation—a tragically mistaken approach, since research indicates that it has had no discernible effect on children's behavior. At best, this misguided method threatens to leave our children morally adrift.

If Americans agree there is a profound need for the development of character in our young, just how can we foster such a "moral literacy"?

We don't have to add new courses. We have a wealth of material to draw on from our literature and history—material that virtually all schools once taught, and that can still be taught in regular English and history courses.

Do we want our children to know what honesty means? Then teach them about Abe Lincoln walking three miles to return six cents and, conversely, about Aesop's shepherd boy who cried wolf.

Do we want our children to know about kindness and compassion and their opposites? Then they should read *A Christmas Carol*, *The Diary of Anne Frank* and, later on, *King Lear*.

We want our children to know what faithfulness means, so they should learn how Penelope and Telemachus and even an old dog waited 20 years for Odysseus to come home. We want them to know about respect for the law, so they should understand why Socrates submitted to the decree of Athens.

We want them to know about persistence in the face of adversity, so we should teach them about Columbus venturing into the New World and Lincoln during the Civil War.

We want our children to recognize greed, so they should learn the story of King Midas. We want them to know about overreaching ambition; we should introduce them to Macbeth and Lady Macbeth.

We want our children to know that hard work pays off, so we should teach them about the Wright brothers at Kitty Hawk and Booker T. Washington learning to read. We want them to see that one individual's action can make all the difference, so we should tell them about Rosa Parks and the civil-rights movement, or about one man's discovery of a vaccine against polio.

There are great stories from the Bible: Ruth's loyalty to Naomi, Joseph's forgiveness of his brothers, Cain's treatment of Abel, David's courage in facing Goliath. Such stories teach moral values we all share. As Harvard psychiatrist Robert Coles recently asked, "Are students really better off with the theories of psychologists than with the hard thoughts of Jeremiah and Jesus?"

There are good reasons why we should teach these and other familiar accounts of virtue and vice. First, these stories interest children. Nothing on TV or elsewhere has improved on a good story that begins: "Once upon a time . . ." Second, these stories give children specific, common reference points for what is right and wrong. Third, these stories help anchor our children in our culture, its history and traditions. In this way, we can welcome them to a common world and to the continuing task of preserving the principles, ideals and notions of greatness we hold dear.

I have spent much time as Secretary of Education traveling this country, visiting

schools, teaching classes. I have taught seventh-graders the Declaration of Independence and third-graders the story of Cincinnati returning to his farm when he could have had an empire. And all these kids got it.

My experience is that students and parents want more such discussions. There is a very broad and deep consensus out there, and we are failing in our duty if we ignore it. Let us get down to, and back to, the business of the moral education of the young.

II. ABOUT FREEDOM

(By Gary L. Bauer)

An Arlington, Va., high-school substitute teacher recently asked the students in three advanced-government classes what they saw as the most significant differences between the United States and the Soviet Union.

When it came to facts, he found that the students knew what the Soviet system was all about. But he also found that they distrusted American institutions. A show of hands indicated that only two out of 53 students thought the U.S. system morally superior to the Soviet system.

In 1985 the *Washington Post* published a story about 15 American children and 15 Soviet children who met near Washington to discuss the threat of nuclear war. The Americans were gifted students from local schools. The Russians, children of Soviet diplomats and journalists, attended an embassy school. During that meeting Alexei Palladin, 14, pointed out that the Soviet Union and United States were once friends. "What do you know about the Second World War?" Alexei asked the Americans. No answer. He nodded smugly. "Nobody even knows that we were allies fighting Nazism together." Alexei sat down to hearty applause from the audience of parents and students.

If you are like me, you no doubt find such stories alarming. I wish just one of those American children had been knowledgeable enough to bring up the Nazi-Soviet pact that helped usher in World War II, or the gulag where uncounted men and women of conscience have suffered, or the genocide taking place in Afghanistan, or anything else in the long litany of shame that is Soviet-style totalitarianism.

If these children seem to have forgotten the past, and to have become confused about the nature of the societies with which we share the globe, to be unaware of the special freedom they enjoy, perhaps it is because no one has ever taught them these things.

Part of the problem resides in our textbooks, which are quick to be hypercritical of American institutions while glossing over the inherent imperfections in totalitarianism. One widely used history text instructs: "Equality for women in the U.S.S.R. is a reality. They receive equal pay for equal work. They may marry or vote when they are 18."

These statements would be laughable if the misinformation they spread were not so dangerous. Soviet women have the right to vote in the same context as Soviet men—in a society that gives them only handpicked candidates of the Communist Party. Equal pay for equal work—yes, but in an economic system completely controlled by a central government with little chance for real initiative or economic independence.

Washington *Times* columnist John Lofton cites another textbook which fails to men-

tion the scores of millions who died in China in the name of communism, or the genocide in Cambodia following the communist take over in 1975.

When asked why, in 768 pages, these significant events were not accurately portrayed, one of the writers of this textbook responded that he was worried children might build up a "hostility" toward communism "without understanding why these things happened."

Historians and social scientists who refuse to see a difference between the United States and the Soviet Union obviously influence the teaching in our schools. One can see this clearly in a booklet published by the National Council for the Social Studies on the subject of teaching human rights.

In an example of the comparative teaching approach, the authors say: "In Western Europe and the United States, civil and political rights such as freedom of speech, voting and due process are of prime concern. In Eastern Europe, economic rights such as the right to work, to form trade unions, to strike and to take vacations are considered essential." Never mind teaching that freedom of speech is comparable to the right to take a vacation. Where is it in Eastern Europe, under the yoke of communism, that one finds the rights described? Lech Walesa would certainly be interested to know that he has the right to form a trade union and to strike.

Such views will prevail if they go unchallenged. The love of freedom is not spontaneously comprehended by the young. The appreciation and perpetuation of our free government must be nurtured—in our schools, churches and families.

Part of that same need also includes the proper teaching of history. In 1984 the National Endowment for the Humanities commissioned a survey of 17-year-old students, measuring their knowledge of American history. Two-thirds could not place the Civil War in the correct half-century. One-third did not know the Declaration of Independence was signed between 1750 and 1800.

This lack of basic knowledge may reflect the fact that some of today's teachers graduated from a college or university without ever having studied American literature or history—72 percent of the nation's colleges do not require such study. Without a basic grounding during undergraduate years, teachers are more and more captive of the textbook-driven curriculum in elementary and secondary schools.

So what should we be doing for our children? It's not enough to insist that textbooks receive closer scrutiny and that the truth about communism be taught. Our schools must also take positive steps to make the case for America, the case for freedom. We must insist on a return to the teaching of American history, at both the secondary and undergraduate levels. And such study should be grounded in the examination of original sources like the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, as well as great speeches by American statesmen.

Lessons in patriotism are more than academic study—they are the pillars of allegiance. We must teach our children to love the things we love and to honor the things we honor—nothing else will do. If we don't, they may someday pay the price, by miscalculating the intentions of those whose announced goal is to destroy liberty.

LEGISLATION INTRODUCED TO AMEND THE IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY ACT

HON. NORMAN Y. MINETA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1987

Mr. MINETA. Mr. Speaker, on May 12, I introduced H.R. 2383 which amends the Immigration and Nationality Act to provide for special immigrant status for certain aliens serving at least 4 years in our Armed Forces.

Awarding this status would rectify the unfair situation faced by many nationals of the Republic of the Philippines who are serving in the U.S. Navy and, yet, are not allowed the same opportunity to apply for U.S. citizenship afforded other aliens serving in the U.S. Armed Forces. Many loyal Filipino service members are facing naturalization and immigration problems and this special immigrant status will offer them a solution.

All other aliens must be admitted to this country for permanent residence before they may enlist in the U.S. Armed Forces. Upon admission for permanent residence and completion of 4 years of honorable service, a provision of law allows these aliens to be naturalized.

However, under the terms of the military base agreement between the United States and the Republic of the Philippines, Filipinos may enlist in our Navy from the Republic of the Philippines without first obtaining residence in this country.

Many Filipinos who have enlisted in the U.S. Navy are unable to qualify for naturalization under existing law; a law that waives the naturalization requirements with the exception of admission for permanent residence for aliens who have honorably served for 3 years in the U.S. Armed Forces. These Filipinos are unable to use the authority of existing law to obtain citizenship because they have not been admitted for permanent residence in the United States. Thus, because they have enlisted without receiving an immigration visa, these Filipinos have no immigrant status at all.

Mr. Speaker, my bill would remedy the current inequality between loyal Filipino service members and other alien armed services enlistees. The faithful military service of these Filipinos is symbolic of their devotion to the United States and rectification of their plight is long overdue. My bill would provide special immigrant status for aliens serving in our Armed Forces and thus, allow those service members to take advantage of existing law.

Mr. Speaker, let me furthermore clarify that this legislation will not give any immigration advantage to Filipino service members. Instead, it would recognize their loyal service and ensure that they receive equal treatment for the services they have performed for the U.S. Armed Forces. I sincerely hope that the House of Representatives will act favorably on this legislation and I would welcome the support of my colleagues.