

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

REGULATE THE MEDIUM,
LIBERATE THE MESSAGE

HON. BOB TRAXLER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. TRAXLER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues the following article "Regulate the Medium, Liberate the Message" by Lawrence K. Grossman, former president of NBC News and of the Public Broadcasting Service. This insightful article about media manipulation by business conglomerates appeared in the Columbia Journalism Review in the November/December 1991 issue.

REGULATE THE MEDIUM, LIBERATE THE
MESSAGE

(By Lawrence K. Grossman)

Early in the morning of Tuesday, October 20, 1987, I received an angry phone call from Jack Welch, the hard-nosed chairman of GE, who had recently bought NBC. I was president of NBC News at the time and Welch was calling to complain about the way we were reporting the previous day's sudden stock market plunge. He thought our pieces were undercutting the public's confidence in the market, which would certainly not help the stock of NBC's new parent company. He felt no qualms about letting his news division know that he thought NBC's reporters should refrain from using depressing terms like "Black Monday" to describe what had happened to the stock market the day before. NBC reporters were never told about their chairman's problem.

This year, GE, through NBC, was allowed to acquire 100 percent ownership of FNN, cable's number-one consumer news and business service. It then promptly closed down FNN, merging it into CNBC, GE's newer and smaller financial cable program service, giving it a monopoly position in the field. In addition, a GE Financial Services' subsidiary—GE Capital—plays a major role in financing cable operators and other communications businesses. And there is hardly a weekend public affairs program on television, from The McLaughlin Group to Meet the Press to This Week With David Brinkley, that is not accompanied by GE commercials.

GE also underwrites public broadcasting public affairs programs, including the financial series Marketplace, which is broadcast weekday evenings on American Public Radio. Meanwhile, along with the owners of ABC and CBS, NBC is lobbying Congress and the Federal Communications Commission to end long-standing limits on network ownership of TV stations, programs, and cable franchises so that GE can expand its media holdings and investments still further and make what it now owns even more valuable.

In the understated words of Yale law professor Stephen Carter, "We are moving into a world . . . in which the information is controlled increasingly by those who are not totally disinterested in the outcomes produced by the system."

As we head into the twenty-first century, GE's expanding media ownership and control are symptomatic of what is happening to the nation's entire communications industry. While the number of TV channels and media outlets is burgeoning, ownership and control of our mainstream media, both print and electronic, are becoming increasingly concentrated.

In the cable industry, ten cable operators now own the systems that reach the majority of the nation's subscribers. The top cable companies also own controlling interests in most of the major cable program services and in some of the production companies whose product they carry on their systems. In 1985, while trying unsuccessfully to develop an NBC Cable News channel to compete against CNN, I was advised that in order to get our news service on their franchises we would have to offer the biggest cable operators either a piece of the company or preferential price treatment. Monopoly cable operators control dozens of television channels into the home and are capable of stifling any program service they do not own.

Today, a few conglomerates, which have no direct accountability to the American public, wield extraordinary power over the ideas and the information the public can receive. That problem did not exist 200 years ago when the First Amendment was added to the Constitution to protect the individual printer, pamphleteer, and soapbox orator from the oppressive hand of government. Now, by contrast, the new communications technologies require that government work hand in glove with media companies in the allocation of broadcast frequencies, cable franchises, and satellite paths. Far from being independent and wary of one another, government officials and communications companies have become largely interdependent. The companies make large campaign contributions to help elect the public officials who decide the communications policies that directly affect the companies' bottom line.

To deal with the growing problem of media concentration, while still preserving the libertarian principles of the First Amendment, we must make an important distinction between the message, which should be entirely free of all government interference and control, and the medium, on which reasonable limits of ownership should be imposed. Twenty-four years ago the Justice Department, on antitrust grounds, opposed an FCC decision that would have allowed conglomerate ITT to acquire ABC, a move that undoubtedly saved ABC as an independent broadcaster.

Today, the biggest cable system owners should not be allowed to own the dominant cable program services they choose for their systems. Newspaper owners should not be permitted to own television stations in the same communities. A single corporation should not be able to control all or even most of the mainstream media in any one market. GE should certainly not be allowed to own both NBC and the only national financial cable news service. Nor, following the ITT-ABC precedent, should GE—one of the nation's largest defense contractors, financial service companies, consumer product

producers, and advertisers—have ever been permitted to own and control NBC, one of the nation's most powerful broadcasters. It is time to break up the growing concentration of media ownership by returning to strict enforcement of the antitrust laws.

To further stimulate press diversity in the century ahead, all of the artificial barriers that the government has erected to protect existing media franchises from additional competition should be removed. Competing cable systems should be allowed to serve customers in the same markets. Direct satellite channels should be given permission to solicit subscribers in competition with cable. Telephone companies should be encouraged to interconnect every home with fiber optic networks capable of delivering hundreds of additional television channels and sophisticated new communications services. In operating their fiber optic networks, the phone companies should be held to their traditional common carrier role, exercising no control over content and offering access to all on a first-come, first served basis.

The more information outlets we have that are either owned by many different interests or operated in a manner that opens them up to a multitude of voices, the better off our democracy will be. Competition, rather than monopolization, should characterize our national communications marketplace.

The "underlying premise" of the First Amendment, said the Supreme Court in *Associated Press v. United States*, was that the press would foster "the widest possible dissemination of information from diverse and antagonistic sources." It is time to return to that principle. The more sophisticated our print and telecommunications technology becomes, the simpler and more unambiguous our First Amendment protection should be.

Our national communications policy for the next century should ensure that:

1. The press, whether print or electronic (or more likely, a convergence of the two), will be totally free of government regulation, a principle contrary to the practice of the past three-quarters of a century, during which the broadcast press was licensed and regulated while the print press was left largely unrestricted and totally unregulated.

2. There will be no prior restraint on what can be published or broadcast, except in the rarest instances, during war or other crisis, when publication would create an imminent and irreparable danger to life and limb.

3. There will be no licensing of who may publish, broadcast, sell, or distribute any information. Everyone should have the right to publish in any medium without prior government approval.

4. There will be maximum diversity of ownership and control of all media to foster "an uninhibited marketplace of ideas in which truth will ultimately prevail, rather than to countenance monopolization of that market" (*Red Lion Broadcasting Co. v. FCC*).

5. There will be universal access to all information that is considered essential for an informed public. Thomas Jefferson said in a postscript to his much-quoted comment that he would prefer newspapers without government to a government without newspapers. "But I mean that every man should receive

* 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.

those papers and be capable of reading them." The principle that essential information should be available to everyone in this information-centered age is critical to a successful democracy. Increasingly, the public is being required to pay for programs and program services that once were available to all. As more channels come on stream, there is a growing dichotomy between the information that is available to the rich and what is available to the poor. No one should be deprived of the opportunity to receive important information because he or she cannot afford to subscribe to the new multichannel video services.

To honor the principle of universality, we need a policy of strong support for public television and radio, whose role is to offer information, education, and culture for the benefit of all the people. The proliferation of outlets, by itself, will not provide the programming that our civilization needs but the marketplace cannot support. The existence of these programs has until now depended on FCC regulations that required commercial broadcasters, in order to retain their station licenses, to operate as public trustees and to provide such programs in the public interest. With the deregulation of broadcasting, public subsidy of public broadcasting remains the only alternative.

In return for deregulation, commercial broadcasters, cable operators, and satellite distributors, who use the public airwaves and receive immensely valuable monopoly or near-monopoly franchises, should pay a spectrum-use tax, a cable franchise fee, or at least a transfer tax on the sale of station licenses and cable franchises. The income from these special assessments can help support public broadcasting.

Broadcast licenses, cable franchises, and cellular phone frequencies cost their original owners nothing, and then are bought and sold in the marketplace for hundreds of millions of dollars. They are the most lucrative giveaways in the nation's history. A 1 or 2 percent spectrum and franchise tax on broadcast and cable revenues, a modest payback in return for deregulation, will produce up to a billion dollars that could help public broadcasting provide vital information and much-needed cultural and arts programming to all the people.

It is time that the commercial broadcasters and cable operators stop getting a free ride at the public's expense. Ranchers, lumber companies, and off-shore drillers pay a share of their income for their use of public lands and waters. Truckers are taxed to help pay for the upkeep of the roads and highways they travel on. Similarly, instead of being given away, unused spectrum frequencies should be auctioned off, with the proceeds going to help public television and radio provide what is in increasingly short supply—educational children's programming, minority-interest fare, public affairs documents, and programs devoted to culture and the performing arts. (In Great Britain, the Conservative government has decided to partly deregulate commercial broadcasting and at the same time auction off all existing commercial television franchises, a policy far more radical than anything proposed here.)

Democracy will best be served in the twenty-first century by returning to the eighteenth-century idea of an independent and totally unregulated press, a press that is controlled by many different owners, a press that offers access to many different voices, and a press that makes available essential public affairs, educational, and cultural programming to all our citizens.

A TRIBUTE TO LETTY WICKLIFFE

HON. CARL D. PURSELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. PURSELL. Mr. Speaker, every once in a while, a community pauses to recognize those residents who have added to the fabric and quality of life in a significant and long lasting way.

One such individual in Ann Arbor, MI, is Letty Wickliffe, whose mother was a native Ann Arborite and whose father was a former slave and Civil War veteran.

Letty was born on January 25, 1902, in Ann Arbor and in a few days will be celebrating her 90th birthday. Her productive adult years have earned her the rightful title of respected community leader.

Undaunted by sometimes overt and other times subtle racial prejudice in Ann Arbor, Letty emerged as an energetic and dynamic leader whose words and actions matched her commitment to a truly harmonious city.

Letty's Ann Arbor neighborhood is a model area where diversity flourishes. Many city leaders have sought Letty's leadership on issues ranging from education, she holds a degree in education from the University of Michigan, to community activities, recreation, housing, and city services. Letty has had a positive impact on these issues and many others.

More importantly, Letty Wickliffe has had an impact on the people of her neighborhood, her city, and her political party, she is a lifelong Republican. There are few people who have come in contact with Letty and not come away feeling as though she genuinely cared about them, celebrating their successes and soothing their disappointments.

Letty Wickliffe is unique—a true believer in the can-do spirit and one who has never hesitated to roll up her sleeves and get a job done.

Last year, Letty was featured in a video depicting the lives of three prominent black women of Ann Arbor. To this tribute I add my own, and ask my colleagues to join me in recognizing the achievements of this grand lady.

SALUTE TO NSWSES

HON. ELTON GALLEGLY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor a vital branch of our Armed Forces for the work it does for our national defense, and for the work it does for their community.

Recently, the Naval Ship Weapons Systems Engineering Station, Port Hueneme, was presented with the city of Oxnard's 1991 Human Relations Award for its outstanding efforts to reach out to and assist its community.

From its commissioning in 1963, the station, located in my congressional district, has required the recruiting of a professional work force with the engineering and scientific educational backgrounds capable of meeting the challenges of the rapid advance of technology

at sea. It was also necessary to find the logisticians, administrators, and clerical personnel to support the station's mission. This path has taken NSWSES into a dedicated involvement and commitment to area employment and educational programs, which has grown into a significant commitment and involvement with the community.

As part of that commitment, the station sponsors an ambitious and aggressive equal employment opportunity program, which most recently added the award of two scholarships to local women students.

The station also sponsors the Naval Employment Information Center, which this year placed 1,210 persons into Navy jobs at the bases at Port Hueneme and Point Mugu. By offering counseling, testing and assistance with applications, the NEIC has assisted all comers, but especially women, minorities, and veterans.

In addition, the station was recently commended as being one of five Naval Sea Systems Command field activities that showed significant progress toward accomplishing the Navy's affirmative employment goals, with its largest gains in the hiring of Hispanics and women.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud of the accomplishments of NSWSES, and I ask my colleagues to join me in saluting Capt. R.D. Williams III, the commanding officer, and the entire facility for a job well done.

TRIBUTE TO DAVID FRIEDMAN

HON. RONALD K. MACHTLEY

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. MACHTLEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to congratulate David Friedman who is being honored by the Boy Scouts of America with the Rhode Island Good Scout Award.

David Friedman is a successful entrepreneur. His hard work and determination serves as a role model for younger Boy Scouts. David's business career began as a salesman for Paramount Foundation and Restaurant and Supply Corp. With his thirst for success, David was soon made partner and, in 1967, purchased the business for himself.

David's success continued as he acquired land occupied by Rhode Island's old mill buildings. David had the foresight to realize that these precious relics of the industrial revolution were worth preserving and that they could be updated to suit present day business needs. Mills such as Geneva Mills, Wanskuck Mills, Davol Rubber Co., Rhode Island Cardboard, and General Wire are examples of David's initiative.

In addition to refurbishing the historic mill district, David Friedman has felt strongly about improving Rhode Island colleges. With his keen business intuition, David acquired property on a 135-acre industrial park now known as Harborside Park. With this land, David introduced and developed the Johnson and Wales Culinary Arts School. The culinary arts school is recognized as one of the best of its kind in the country.

Finally, David Friedman has served his community through his involvement in as-

sorted organizations, such as the Jewish Federation of Rhode Island, of which he is a member of the board of directors. He also serves on the board of trustees for the Jewish Home for the Aged and is a corporation member of Cranston General Hospital. David's willingness to share his business abilities and personal zeal is an example we should all watch carefully.

David, congratulations for an honor well earned. You have distinguished yourself in business and volunteer organizations. I wish you all the best in your future endeavors.

A SALUTE TO IONE BIGGS

HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to Mrs. Ione Biggs, an outstanding social activist and community volunteer from the 21st Congressional District of Ohio.

For the better part of her 75 years, Mrs. Biggs has fought for the forlorn and the oppressed, articulating her concerns both at home and abroad. She has worked as a Cleveland policewoman and as a deputy clerk in Cleveland Municipal Court for 30 years. In recent years, Mrs. Biggs has devoted most of her energy to the cause of peace, attending conferences on peace and disarmament in Sweden, Holland, Denmark, and the former Soviet Union.

But, despite her involvement abroad, it is in Cleveland where Mrs. Ione Biggs has her roots and where she has attempted to effect the most social change. As president of the Cleveland-based organization of Women Speak Out for Peace and Justice, Ione Biggs has been instrumental in heightening public awareness of pertinent social issues. Last month marked the completion of Mrs. Biggs' 4-year tenure as president of this esteemed organization.

Mr. Speaker, Ione Biggs' contribution to women's groups and peace groups all over the city of Cleveland and all over the world is surpassed by few. She is true champion and pioneer of social activism whose efforts will continue to result in positive change on both a local and global level.

I am extremely proud to have a constituent like Ione Biggs and would like to share with my colleagues the following article in the Cleveland Plain Dealer newspaper concerning Ione and her many achievements.

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer, Jan. 6, 1992]

ACTIVISM NOT DAMPENED: AT 75, WOMAN KEEPS UP QUIET FIGHT FOR OPPRESSED

(By Ted Wendling)

CLEVELAND.—Dec. 23, better known as Two Shopping Days Before Christmas, was one of those grim days when downtown was teeming with teeth-gritting procrastinators.

Those who were unfortunate enough to be inching their cars down Ontario St. that day seemed oblivious to the small throng of people who had gathered on the site of the Gateway project to demand jobs and to protest recent cuts in welfare benefits. Not a single honk of support greeted their banners and speeches.

But there, shivering in a muddy, puddled parking lot, stood Ione Biggs, just as she has stood at similar rallies for the forlorn and the oppressed for the better part of her 75 years.

And no, she was not in the least bitter.

"I'm not going to criticize people who are trying to bring joy to their friends and relatives," she said when asked whether she was frustrated that the group's message was not reaching a populace preoccupied with last-minute Christmas shopping. "At the same time, they can get on the telephone or write a letter to the governor.

"This (welfare cuts) is going to cause so much hardship to so many people. At a time when there are no jobs, there has to be some other way."

Last month, Biggs' friends threw a party to celebrate her completion of four years as president of Women Speak Out for Peace and Justice. During the ceremonies, incoming President Pearl Simon quipped, "She's not just a fair-weather friend. When you go out with Ione, you can be sure the weather will be bad."

And so it was on Dec. 23, a dreary, steel-gray day when Biggs could just as easily have stayed home and left the protesting to others.

"She is a wonderful person," Simon said. "She's genuine. She's the real thing. There's no money in it. There's no stardom. Working for a better world is her life."

Unlike many other social activists, Biggs doesn't subscribe to the "squeaky wheel" theory. Her message is rarely strident; in fact, it sometimes borders on understatement.

"We feel that human rights were violated in the Persian Gulf war," Biggs said, stating one unpopular cause championed by Women Speak Out. "But we don't try to be aggressive in our peace work. We try to educate people.

"We feel that there's got to be citizen action. People must get involved in things like this."

Having worked as a Cleveland policewoman ("I was badge No. 3024") and 30 years as a deputy clerk in Cleveland Municipal Court, Biggs in recent years has devoted most of her energy to the cause of peace, attending conferences on peace and disarmament in Sweden, Holland, Denmark and the Soviet Union. But it is in Cleveland where she has her roots and where she has attempted to effect the most social change.

"We think globally, but since we can't push buttons everywhere, we work locally," she said. "We contribute to women's groups and peace groups all over the city.

The speeches had ended, the folk singers were done, and Biggs began getting fidgety. All the while she had been talking about causes and issues, her questioner kept trying to steer the conversation back to her own career and achievements.

"I'm sorry," she said. "I have to go now."

She put on her gloves and fastened the top button of her coat. It was cold outside, there were other rallies to attend and, as this day would attest, Ione Biggs is certainly no fair-weather friend.

INTRODUCTION OF THE INFRA-STRUCTURE IMPROVEMENT AND JOB OPPORTUNITIES ACT OF 1992 AND THE QUALITY OF LIFE RESOLUTION

HON. CHARLES A. HAYES

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. HAYES of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, as the President ponders his State of the Union Address, I encourage him to focus on the real needs of this Nation. For the last decade this country has been slowly falling into an economic catastrophe—nearly 9 million Americans are unemployed and 1.6 million have exhausted their unemployment compensation benefits. The current recession has showered our Nation with families that are struggling to put food on the table and pay the rent. Imagine the frustration and despair that the working fathers and mothers endure when they cannot provide food or shelter for their children, or must choose between medicine or other bare necessities. At times it seems as if this administration believes that human suffering cannot exist on American soil. People are homeless and hungry and this administration's response up until a few weeks ago was that "the recession will be over soon."

Ask anyone in any city or town in this country and they will freely tell you the state of the Union. They will tell you that we are in need of rebuilding this Nation—the economy, the infrastructure and housing. I am certain the public would be quick to tell our President that the needs for refurbishing, rehabbing and rebuilding are right here on U.S. soil. Our cities and States are suffering. We must ask why the leadership of this country, including leaders in the Congress, are so quick to support phenomenal levels of spending to help new and emerging democracies abroad, when democracy is not even guaranteed here in America. My priorities simply never change—we need to preserve democracy right here at home. We need to provide jobs for the American worker.

There is a nationwide jobs emergency and this Government must immediately respond to the need. That is why today, the very day that our President will tell us of his plan for this country, I will be introducing two legislative measures that will help set the national employment agenda, and that will help create jobs to build the infrastructure of this country, improve the quality of life and return dignity to American workers. Common sense should tell us that the best and most long-lasting way to decrease the deficit is to put people back to work—to, in fact, increase our revenue by increasing the pool of taxpayers.

The first measure, the quality of life resolution, sets a policy statement for this Nation for full employment and the second measure, the Infrastructure Improvement and Job Opportunities Act of 1992 will create job opportunities at community-based jobs projects that renovate and rehabilitate the public infrastructure including this Nation's roads and bridges, public housing, public schools and historic sites. Each jobs project will be selected by a local district executive council. The projects will provide employment training and support services

for American workers. Over 2 million people are currently eligible to participate.

The Bush administration's economic policies are clearly creating persistent high poverty and increasing the gap between the haves and have nots. Not only have the rich gotten richer, but the poor have slipped so far behind that any real recovery at times seems uncertain. With shortfalls in minimum wage, the spiraling cost of health care and the diminishing coverage of unemployment insurance, those living in poverty continue to lose out under our current economic system. This is the state of the Union and it must be addressed.

We need to know the true condition of our country—conditions which real people experience everyday. Those that are suffering because of the economy and this country's lack of direction must be recognized as part of the 1992 forecast. The quality of life is deteriorating as drugs, homelessness, and crime are on the rampage. The leaders of this country must remember that rhetoric is fine, but it does nothing to ensure that Americans have decent housing, adequate health care, quality education or a decent job at a decent wage. Investment in the citizens of this country is my primary concern and a critical starting point is a decent paying job.

As the first international union leader to be elected to Congress, I have spent a lifetime working for ordinary people. I have heralded the cause for full employment for over 50 years. Jobs are certain to be one of the major issues addressed by this Congress, in part because many of us in the Congress have maintained the vigil for a jobs bill over the years. The President and others have just miraculously happened upon the issue. The state of the Union, Mr. Speaker, is apparent on every corner of every city and town, and those that are suffering can no longer be ignored. Mr. Speaker, I encourage my colleagues' support for the Infrastructure Improvement and Job Opportunities Act and the quality of life resolution, and look forward to assisting in the battle to create a comprehensive jobs bill. Thank you.

INTRODUCTION OF LEGISLATION TO EFFECT HOME BUYER MARKET

HON. RON PACKARD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. PACKARD. Mr. Speaker, the housing market is a cornerstone of this Nation's economic stability. According to the National Association of Home Builders, the total housing starts in 1991 were under 1 million, the lowest since 1945.

As my colleagues are certainly aware, low interest rates alone will not stimulate the housing market. The housing slump is affecting not only first time home buyers, but many families as well. Due to the current market, they cannot sell their existing residence and thus cannot build or move into a larger home. Without being able to cash in on the equity built up in their home, they will not have the assets to build or purchase a new home. Southern California, which contains some of the least af-

fordable real estate markets in the Nation has suffered a great deal as a result of the continually soft market.

Therefore, I am introducing legislation which will allow the use of funds from individual retirement accounts, 401(k) accounts, and 403(b) accounts to be used for the purchase of a primary residence. By waiving the penalty and tax from withdrawal of money from these types of accounts, this bill will encourage an infusion of capital into the housing market. It will open up the first time home buyer market, and allow growing families to move into larger residences.

I urge my colleagues to join me in spurring a strong and extended economic recovery by providing incentive to first time home buyers and growing families.

TRIBUTE TO GLENN BRENNER

HON. ROMANO L. MAZZOLI

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, upon our return to Washington following the end of the district work period, we were all saddened to learn of the death of WUSA-TV sportscaster Glenn Brenner.

Glenn was quite a character. He was, first of all, a brilliant sportscaster, but more importantly, a genuinely good human being. He's the kind of guy you would like to have for a son, a brother, or as a friend—which he was to all.

He appealed to the kid in all of us. Even those who have no interest in sports whatsoever were drawn to him, and his death is so personal and deeply felt by people from all walks of life.

Glenn Brenner kept things in perspective. Sports is an important part of most Americans' lives, but it should not be an overriding presence as some would have it. Glenn Brenner and his broadcasts reflected these sensible priorities.

With his quick, incisive wit, Glenn could puncture the most self-absorbed egos. But any criticism he may have delivered was well-placed and right on target. The victims of his barbs could proudly wear the criticism as a badge of honor.

I didn't know Glenn Brenner personally, but feel as if I did. Everyone felt that way about him. His personality, warmth, and inimitable sense of humor endeared him to this community and everyone he met. The testimonies of those who knew him best confirm to all of us that Glenn, the TV person, was Glenn the human being. No disguise; what you saw is what you got.

We will miss his familiar back-and-forth, and the unscripted exchanges with his broadcast colleagues at channel 9—Sonny Jurgensen, Gordon Peterson, Maureen Bunyan, Ken Mease, and so many others. We will remember him always with a smile.

I know that I join with all my colleagues in the House in expressing our deepest sympathies and condolences to Glenn's family at this difficult time.

MATTIE GOODLETT AND CLARENCE STEWART; REFLECTING THE SPIRIT OF COMMUNITY ACTION

HON. NITA M. LOWEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mrs. LOWEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to two people whose lives reflect the spirit of community action. Mattie W. Goodlett and Clarence A. Stewart of New Rochelle, NY, exemplify those qualities that are best about community service. They are being honored for their many significant contributions at the Martin Luther King community action program breakfast. It is appropriate that they should be recognized on Dr. King's birthday, for their actions epitomize what he believed.

Since the early 1930's, Mattie Goodlett has been making a difference in New Rochelle by serving as an example of one whose values and esteem for education have guided those around her. Mrs. Goodlett is a living illustration of one who cares and who has devoted her time and efforts to improving the lives of her neighbors. Her community has responded generously to her contributions by citing her accomplishments through numerous prestigious community awards, such as the Citation of Distinguished Service and the Certificate of Appreciation from the city of New Rochelle. Mrs. Goodlett has maintained an active membership in the NAACP for over 50 years. She has received the Inter-religious Council Award and the United Negro College Fund Certificate of Appreciation. These honors are but a few of many. For 30 years, she was devoted to the success of the New Rochelle Child Care Program. Since her retirement in 1975, from her position as supervisor of the Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Child Development Center, Mattie Goodlett has remained an important leader in New Rochelle.

As a professional social worker, Clarence A. Stewart, Sr., has had a distinguished career. At the Westchester County Division of Child Welfare Services, he developed the special children's services, currently known as preventative and protective services, home maker services, and the county's first family day care program. He eventually moved on from Child Welfare Services to continue his career with the Mount Vernon Board of Education until 1991, when he retired. Although it is evident by his career choice that Mr. Stewart has always been concerned about the circumstances of others, he has expanded his interest in the community by giving of his free time to many civic activities, including his 10-year service on the New Rochelle Child Care Center Commission. In 1986, he completed a 2-year term as a member of the Child Care Commission of the State of New York. He is currently a member of the board of directors of the Martin Luther King, Jr., Child Development Center in New Rochelle. Mr. Stewart is devoted to his family and has been an inspiration to many.

I am pleased to join many others in congratulating and thanking these two dedicated individuals for all they have meant to our com-

munity. New Rochelle is a better place because of their generosity and commitment.

TRIBUTE TO ANNE BELMORE

HON. RONALD K. MACHTLEY

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. MACHTLEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to congratulate Anne Belmore for her nomination as Outstanding Young Rhode Islander by the Rhode Island Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Each year the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce recognizes outstanding young Americans for their achievements and contributions to their community, States and country. These individuals have exhibited excellence in business, politics, art, science, and other assorted categories. Anne Belmore is a nominee for the Rhode Island affiliate of the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Anne Belmore is the coordinator for the Bristol Substance Abuse Task Force. She strongly believes that a drug and alcohol free society should be the country's top priority today. Anne has shown her intent to make our country safe from the destructive effects of alcohol and drugs in many ways. She has worked with the "Youth to Youth" group and does a monthly call-in television show on substance abuse. Anne has established and oversees a drug advisory program with the Bristol schools and the surrounding community. She regularly speaks at schools and day care centers with the belief that children are never too young to learn about drugs. Anne also works with parents of teenagers on an awareness of alcohol program. Finally, Anne has established a Portuguese Advisory Board to the Bristol Substance Abuse Task Force. Anne's commitment to drug education makes her an excellent nominee for the Rhode Island Junior Chamber of Commerce Outstanding Young Rhode Islander award.

Anne, through your hard work with the Substance Abuse Task Force and your efforts to educate students on the dangers of drugs and alcohol, you have exemplified the Jaycee Creed: "That Service To Humanity Is The Best Work Of Life." I congratulate you on your nomination and wish you all the best in your future endeavors.

NATIONAL OPTICIANS MONTH

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, under the auspices of the Opticians Association of America, opticians across the country are celebrating January 1992 as National Opticians Month. I am particularly proud that one of my constituents, Daniel J. Donahue of Monroe, MI, is president of the National Association for Opticians.

As science makes it possible for us to live longer, good vision makes our longer lifetimes

more enjoyable. As vital partners in the eyewear delivery system, opticians provide eyeglasses and contact lenses to the 60 percent of all Americans who need help with their vision.

Dispensing opticians are the eyewear experts. Through formal education programs, voluntary national certification, mandatory licensing in many States, and programs of continuing education, the Nation's dispensing opticians acquire the skill and competence to guide eyewear customers through the literally thousands of choices of frames and lenses. The eyewear consumer can be assured of just the right combination to fit the need for vision correction and the wearer's image at the same time. Additionally, dispensing opticians are important parts of the Nation's small business community and provide the competitive balance that keeps eyewear within the means of all our citizens.

I am pleased to recognize the essential role played by dispensing opticians in the pursuit of the best possible sight for all Americans, and to congratulate Dan Donahue and the association's membership on their accomplishments.

A TRIBUTE TO JUDGE JOSEPH HOWARD

HON. KWEISI MFUME

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. MFUME. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor a proud man and a judge who has struggled the past 34 years to ensure that liberty and justice for all become more than just words. Judge Joseph Clemens Howard, by his own admission a black man first and then a judge, has endeavored to transform the judicial systems of Baltimore and Maryland into such in which the accused are judged by the consequences of their conduct and not the color of their skin.

Judge Howard was born in Des Moines, IA in 1922 to an African-American father and a Sioux mother. He enlisted in the Army in June 1944 at the end of his sophomore year at the University of Iowa, and served in the Philippines and Okinawa. After his honorable discharge as first lieutenant in September 1947, he returned to the University of Iowa, completing his undergraduate studies in 1950.

He pursued the study of law at Drake University, where he became the first person of African ancestry admitted into the Phi Alpha Delta Legal Fraternity in 1952. While at Drake he married Gwendolyn London in 1955.

Upon his arrival at Baltimore, he found employment as a probation officer of the Supreme Bench. He was admitted into the Maryland Bar in 1959 and joined his brother's law firm of Howard & Hargrove.

In 1964 he became assistant State's attorney. It was during his tenure in this office that he first challenged the judicial system with his charge of a double standard in rape sentencing. In 1967, as chief of the trial section in the State's attorney's office, he issued a 32-page report detailing the discrepancies in black and white rape sentencing and in the treatment of rape victims.

In November 1968, Judge Howard became the first African-American elected Associate Judge of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore City. While on the bench he issued a study challenging the inequalities in courthouse employment practices.

Judge Howard's commitment to exposing discrimination in the judicial system aroused the ire of his colleagues on the bench. He has been labeled everything from black radical to black power advocate. To these labels, Judge Howard has responded, "They can call me a lot of things, but not unjust." This is the source of his strength, he cares not how people judge him, but that justice be served.

On January 16, 1979, President Jimmy Carter nominated Judge Howard to the U.S. District Court for the District of Maryland. The Senate confirmed his nomination on October 5, 1979.

On the Federal bench, his efforts to counter prejudice have not wavered. He has worked with various committees to improve conditions for minorities in the judiciary. Through the courthouse personnel committee, for example, he has worked to increase minority employment.

Judge Joseph Howard's contributions to the Baltimore and Maryland judicial systems have been essential in establishing a basis for change. His accomplishments in the State's attorney's office, on the Supreme Bench of Baltimore City, and in the Federal Court have served to inspire people and their leaders to continue to fight for justice and equality, not only in the courts, but in the full political spectrum of their communities.

While we will miss the voice of this grand champion of justice, it soothes us to know he has spent his career inspiring a generation of admirers who will now eagerly take up his fight. In this way, Judge Howard's good works will live on, and the seeds he has sown over 34 years will continue to bear fruit, season after season.

ROYAL HIGHNESS CROWN PRINCE EL HASSAN BIN TALAL OF JORDAN

HON. NICK JOE RAHALL II

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to present here, after my introductory remarks, an impressive address by His Royal Highness, Crown Prince El Hassan Bin Talal of Jordan, presented to the Conference of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee in Amman, Jordan on December 12, 1991.

I was privileged to travel privately to the Middle East in mid-December, where I also spoke before the conference. The thrust of my remarks before the Conference was to urge all participants in the Middle East peace talks to continue their commitment to the success of that conference, and to urge their patience with the process only now just began. I stressed that this is a historic occasion, it is unprecedented, and for those reasons alone could require weeks, months, perhaps even years, to bring forth agreement among the parties involved.

The Middle East peace talks, brought to reality by the awesome resolve of President Bush and his Secretary of State, James Baker, must go forward, and it is our responsibility, and certainly our hope, that all obstacles, real and artificial, will be identified in a timely fashion and removed from the path to a lasting and just peace in the Middle East. We have before us, for the first time in our lifetimes at least, the opportunity to see all nation states in the region receive recognition of their sovereignty, recognition of the human rights of all the peoples in the region, and the assurance that the national boundaries of all countries in the region will be secured.

During my travels, I was honored to be received by the King of Jordan, many of his government's ministers and deputies, and was received as well in the homes of private businessmen held in high esteem for their commitment to peace, to democracy, and with a willingness to engage in commerce with their brother nations throughout the region and abroad.

Also during my travels, both in Jordan and again in Lebanon, where I met with its President, his ministers, and with the press, I learned that the civilians there were deeply aware of, and committed to, the Middle East peace talks then being conducted in Washington, DC. The country of Lebanon has great stakes in the outcome of the peace talks, along with all other nation states in the region, and stands ready to continue the talks to their conclusion which, they pray, will see an end to the occupation of Lebanon.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, I visited the Palestinian refugee camps. There too, to my astonishment, I found that those who are helplessly entrenched in those camps were deeply aware of the ongoing peace talks in Washington, and poignantly hopeful that the outcome of those talks will see their return to what, to them, is their homeland, too. They know their history, and they know they must no longer allow themselves to be considered as invisible, nor shall they permit themselves to be called transients in their own land.

The history of the Palestinians, Mr. Speaker, reads like a scripted nightmare written down and continually acted out. War came, and more than 300,000 Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza left their homes to escape that war, to save themselves and their families. But in September 1967, after the war had ended, a census was taken by Israeli military authorities in the newly occupied territories, and those 300,000 Palestinians who were not there to be counted were thereafter no longer considered residents of their homeland. Those few who were counted were issued with identity cards confirming that they were indeed residents but allowed to remain on sufferance only. This has gone on, and continues to go on, for more than 25 years.

You may come away from the Palestinian refugee camps with a sense of melancholy, and certainly a sense of helplessness, but you will also come away deeply impressed by an attitude of hope in that place of deprivation and want. Hope that emanates from their hearts and minds. The Palestinian people, who are just like you and me—families with children, people with hope for a regular life, a home, an education for themselves and their

children, and some dignity and quality of life—will not rest until this is made possible for them.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, the Palestinians in those refugee camps know about the Middle East peace talks, and they have a stake in their outcome.

Mr. Speaker, I am now pleased to present the address of His Royal Highness, Crown Prince El Hassan Bin Talal of Jordan, and recommend its reading to my colleagues in the House of Representatives.

ADDRESS OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS, CROWN PRINCE EL HASSAN BIN TALAL TO THE AMERICAN-ARAB ANTI-DISCRIMINATION COMMITTEE CONFERENCE

It is an opportunity for me to speak at rather a difficult moment in the context of current events, where so much is up in the air, where expectation is so ripe. I would like to speak directly to the issue, but at the same time, I think it incumbent on me at these very difficult times to express my personal satisfaction and, on behalf of you all, our honor and pride at the presence among us of Jim Abourezk, Nick Rahall, and all the many triple ADC members in the U.S. who, particularly in this trying period, make us feel that we are represented at the people-to-people level (where it matters) across the length and breadth of the U.S. So, I think a big hand is in order for them.

Ladies and gentlemen, "true peace is not merely the absence of tension; it is the presence of justice". These are the words of a man who lived—and died—for peace, for the end of discrimination and for the beginning of an age of tolerance, cooperation and understanding between peoples and nations. Although he died nearly a quarter of a century ago, his words remains singularly relevant in 1991, and I believe them especially apt today. For your deliberations at this conference—indeed, all of your endeavours—surely owe a great debt to the spirit and wisdom of Dr. Martin Luther King. I would like to take this opportunity to honour the memory of one who did so much to promote the ideals of non-violence, peace and true justice, and who showed how those ideals might one day become realities.

Distinguished delegates, Dr. King's dictum about the nature of peace is nowhere more applicable than in the Middle East. For almost two decades now, there have been no major wars between the Arab States and Israel. Yet neither has there been peace. In the occupied territories, all the features that one would expect to be present in a state of peace—stability, security, respect for personal and political rights—have been markedly absent. As the intifada goes into its fifth year, distribution of resources continues to be characterized by blatant injustice. This is, of course, to say nothing of the total blanket disregard of legitimate and basic human rights, such as the right to self-determination.

And I would like to take this opportunity here, to say to Israeli spokesmen once again: Jordan is, but it is not Palestine. The right to self determination for Palestinians is a right that this political lineage of Hashemites has promoted, has articulated, has sacrificed and died for over eight or nine long decades of this century. The disengagement of two years ago, however, was not a disengagement from the land of Palestine, but a disengagement that gave once again, as in the act of union of 1951, the right to the Palestinian people to exercise fully and freely their political choice. As we look at that—

in the corridor of the State Department I think we realize, all of us, what it is that is at stake; a clear recognition of our distinct identity, the State of Jordan and the people of Palestine.

There is not war, but there is no peace, by any criteria. Applying Dr. King's analysis, no only is justice absent, but tension is everpresent. How then may we define this situation? It is a situation that must end, one that cannot be sustained indefinitely: That much we may safely say. But as ever, the difficult questions concern not the situation to be transformed, but the nature of its replacement.

The international peace conference held in Madrid on 30 October 1991 marked a watershed in the history of our troubled region, and pointed the way towards such a replacement. After decades of false dawns, futile initiatives, representatives of all parties concerned with the conflict gathered together, in the hope of laying the groundwork for a long-term and sustainable resolution to the conflict. It is the hope of Jordan that all parties to the process will continue down the long and difficult path to peace in the spirit of open exchange and communication. The fact that we have reached this stage at all owes much to that spirit, and we believe it alone to be capable of fulfilling our mutual desire for peace, security and mutual enrichment.

It has always been Jordan's aim to help bring about a peaceful and equitable resolution to the Palestine question and the concomitant Arab-Israeli conflict. We believe that the former lies at the heart of the latter, and that progress towards peace hinges on a comprehensive resolution of that question. It must be pointed out here that when we speak of resolving the Palestine question, we are employing a term that denotes the provision of both material and non-material human needs associated with the development, identity and autonomy of the individual and of groups with which the individual identifies.

Among the central objectives of any state purporting to act in the interests of those living under its regime are the provision of food, basic health, and purpose for all. These objectives are so fundamental to the human condition that they may be classed as minimum requirements which people may legitimately expect of states. The facts on the ground indicate that Palestinians in the occupied territories are discriminated against on a daily basis in respect of these requirements, in flagrant violation of international laws. Injustice is thus being perpetrated against the personal, national and political rights of Palestinians at the most basic levels.

With respect to the first of these requirements, I would draw your attention to a few statistics on water in the occupied territories. Since 1967, Palestinians have been prevented from drilling artesian wells for irrigation purposes. As a result, the proportion of Palestinian farmland under irrigation has declined from 27 percent to only 4 percent. Some 80 percent of water from the mountain aquifers, underground reserves beneath the hills of the West Bank, is taken by Israel. West Bank villages account for about 1 percent of all the water used in Israel. The Israeli allocation of water resources, naturally scarce in the first place, is discrimination of the most basic kind.

But although the statistics are in themselves cause for grave concern, it is the absence of the third requirement—purpose—that is most worrying. Palestinians in the

occupied territories are not provided with any tools of participation, are not accorded the respect necessary to form and manifest their collective will. Purpose requires participation. Participation provides people with an opportunity to manage their own affairs, and makes their identity an object of the state's respect. The collapse of the political systems of Eastern Europe that heralded this decade graphically demonstrated that the power of human needs of identity and autonomy—of participation—is far greater than military power. In the case of Israel, its failure to supply its Palestinian population with adequate supplies of water is therefore but a symptom—though an extremely troubling one—of its failure to provide purpose and participation, which would require involving or consulting that population at the most human level of resource allocation.

It was therefore heartening to note President Bush's call, in his congressional address of 6 March 1991, for the legitimate political rights of the Palestinians in their own homeland to be a major item for the agenda of the peace conference. At last, the Palestinian national struggle for identity has been rewarded. It has taken decades, but Palestinians are now the masters of their own destiny. In the interests of reaching a resolution to this conflict, which underpins all regional confrontations, Jordan has always demonstrated flexibility as to the modalities and format of peace talks. We welcomed the inclusion of the Palestinians, and willingly provided an umbrella for their participation: The joint delegation. At Madrid, all parties indicated both their willingness to continue negotiations, and their commitment to the ultimate objective: A just and lasting peace for all. As events unfold in Washington, as we make every effort to facilitate the goal of peace, we trust that history will vindicate our endeavors. But the path is likely to be as difficult as it will be long, and if we are to attain that elusive objective, certain factors must be borne in mind.

From the co-sponsors of the talks, skillful mediation will be required; and sensitive, pragmatic use of the influence available to them will be needed to bridge the gulf that separates the parties on fundamental issues of substance. Questions must now be raised about the co-sponsorship of the Soviet Union, in the wake of the declarations of Russia, the Ukraine and Byelorussia of their Commonwealth of Slavic States. It is our hope that the impetus from Moscow as well as Washington can be sustained, in whatever form. And I would like to refer here specifically to a statement by a prominent Soviet academician only a few days ago in London, where it became perfectly evident that independent foreign policies are to be expected by the states of that union. There are issues to be discussed that will require balanced mediation, and perhaps given this, more than one mediator will be required. As always, however, it is impossible to predict the outcome of events in the Soviet Union. The pace of international change seems to have accelerated dramatically in the last three years. We can but hope that among the dividends of this rapid transformation will be even greater impetus for peace in our region, the kind of true peace that Dr. King spoke of and worked towards.

Israel, for its part, must accept the cardinal principle of international law that the acquisition of territory by war is inadmissible. Jordan, working within the framework of the UN charter and seeking always to uphold the provisions of international law, has attempted to lay the foundations for many

peace initiatives. The basis of our efforts has always been the will of the international community, embodied in UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. They provide the groundwork for a practicable formula for ending the conflict in our region, by calling for the exchange of territory for peace while safeguarding the security of all states in the region, including Israel. I would like to mention here the "security dilemma", a concept of recent political science. It relates to a situation in which two or more states are locked in an arms race with the motive of enhancing their security. With each step up in the arming process, however, the other side responds with a higher threshold of commitment, ensuring continuous incremental escalation. Thus, the pursuit of security paradoxically leads only to greater insecurity.

In a sense, this is the dilemma facing Israel today. It wishes to guarantee its security, but that will never be possible under the present conditions. The gulf war merely underlined that fact, for neither did Israel's weapons of mass destruction deter attack by Iraq, nor did its illegal possession of territory hold supposed strategic value. In these days of sophisticated ballistic technology, there can only be one sure guarantee of security.

The return of the territories occupied in 1967 is absolutely integral to the peace process, and any attempt to depict it otherwise can only be based on disrespect for the legitimacy of international law. There is no other basis for the resolution of the conflict. Only if the will of the international community and the primacy of international law are upheld—and seen to be upheld—can the peoples of the region enjoy the results of peace, and live in dignity, prosperity and true security. The peace we seek goes beyond a state of non-belligerency to one of trust, coordination, and fruitful cooperation over issues such as water, arms control, refugees and the environment. Let me make it clear—this is not a soft option for Jordan. Jordan stands by the principles I referred to, and which you have heard time and again from his majesty, and I would like to make very clear that when we speak of a process, in reality, we are no better or worse than the Europeans who initiated treaties that only sought the confidence building—evolved decade by decade, generation by generation. I am not speaking of the here, and the tomorrow and the next year. I am speaking of a vision of peace. These issues are increasingly pressing, and must be addressed soon. But there is a great deal of ground to make up if the traditional barriers between the sides are to be lowered.

Perhaps the most vital element of the peace process currently in motion is the implementation of measures to build public confidence on both sides. The most urgent and central of these is a freeze on settlement construction in the occupied territories. Congressman Rahall, may I say how worried we feel, with all due respect to the slump in the building industry in the U.S. that this silver lining may be offering hope for that potential lobby—as indeed the development of further massive military sales programmes provides hope and tangible profit for the military sales lobby.

Ladies and gentlemen, I may be dwelling on the issues, but I am not here to be an after-dinner speaker. You asked for a keynote address, and by God you're going to get one.

Such a freeze would be a mark of good faith and a valuable contribution towards

the breakdown of psychological barriers that exist for both parties. Indeed, all parties must refrain from actions which may undermine the continuation of the process. This opportunity has been nearly half a century in coming; we believe that none of the parties wish to wait so long for another opportunity, and that they will therefore act only in our common best interests.

Israeli settlements in the occupied territories do not only violate international law, but underline the primacy of war as an instrument of Israeli foreign policy. Jewish acquisition of land in Palestine has served as the basic vehicle of nation-building. Moreover, the question of settlements has repercussions beyond the occupied territories. It impinges directly on Jordan's national security, and the social, economic and environmental interests of our population.

If you will permit me to say: To those Jordanians and others who ask "why should Jordan get involved anyway?" 60% of the land today, 100% of the land tomorrow and 100% of the people of the people on your doorstep the day after. That is what, (in Arabic) "what business is it of ours".

I mentioned earlier some figures relating to the allocation of water in the West Bank. It is appropriate here to review briefly the history of relations between Jordan and Israel with respect to water. After Israel took control of the River Jordan by diverting its flow in 1964, Jordan began to build a dam on the River Yarmouk. This was deliberately destroyed by Israeli soldiers in the last hours of the 1967 war; and later plans to build a dam further up the Yarmouk have met only with Israeli intransigence. We believe that such policies are conducive only to continued confrontation, and the furtherance of the psychological barriers and material iniquities that characterise relations between the sides in the conflict. We believe that now is an appropriate time, and that his would be an appropriate area, for the implementation of confidence building measures on the part of Israel.

I should like to make some observations at this point concerning the effect upon Jordan of the mass displacement of people that has taken place in the Middle East since Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990, last year, and it seems to be a very long year away. I have been saying for several weeks: Happy new day or happy new week! Jordan's position differs in several respects from that of other countries which have received displaced people during the recent crisis. This displacement, in the case of the UK would have been equivalent to 7 million people on the shores of England—10% of our population.

In addition to accommodating large numbers of displaced migrant workers and professions who were en route to their home countries, Jordan has had to cope with up to 300,000 of its own "returnees" from Kuwait, Iraq and other Gulf States. This amounts to an increase of 10 percent on a population that already comprised the world's highest proportion of refugees to indigenous population; at one quarter. I would add briefly that the term "returnee" had no real significance for many of these involuntary migrants, as most of them had been away from Jordan for decades. Their home, on any reasonable construction of the word, was the country which they were obliged to leave. This massive influx placed a tremendous strain on Jordan's ability to provide education, jobs, housing, health care and municipal and public services.

I would also like to ask—off the text, but on the record—who stands to gain from pres-

sure on Jordan from the West, from the south, the south-east, at a time when we are expected to proceed boldly towards peace and stability while carrying so many burdens. Jordan is, but it is not Palestine.

I am proud to tell you today that Jordan rose to that challenge, when many of you were watching CNN and the build up to the Gulf crisis, I hope it is not false modesty to remind you, that many of us were digging latrines in the desert. We paid that price, we rose to that humanitarian challenge, and thank goodness, with no loss of life due to negligence. Drawing on the same spirit and determination with which the challenges of the 1948 and 1967 crises were turned ultimately to human advantage. But I cannot deny that a tremendous strain has been placed on Jordan, the effects of which continue to be felt. However, these effects and these pressures will never deter us from honoring the principles for which our forefathers stood and fell, giving the most precious contribution of all. Yes, there is a peace dividend. Yes, there is a price of peace. Yes, the parties look to heavy investment. It is estimated that the cost of safeguarding the current standard of living is \$4.5 billion. I would ask you to compare this figure with Israel's request for \$10 billion in housing loan guarantees alone for the influx of a comparable number of Soviet Jews.

Ladies and gentlemen, if it is clear that there are great disparities in the region, the nature of the challenges for the future is equally clear. It is for such reasons that Jordan regards multilateral negotiations on regional issues to be of paramount importance. These issues are by their very nature transnational, and must be addressed collectively. This includes not only the regional players, but the international community at large. The region will never know true peace unless the prevailing disparities are eliminated. We see the problems of the region as fundamentally inter-related, and we view a cooperative global framework for the resolution of our inter-connected regional crises as the only approach likely to succeed. Our basic renewable commodity in this country is not oil, but thinking. Our thinking has proceeded along the lines of the regional conference on security and cooperation put forward in Europe (the Helsinki process), and it is this paradigm that I wish to put forward to you as the best chance for lasting peace in the Middle East.

In the past, questions of demography, resources and ideology have been addressed almost exclusively through the dimension of military security. But reliance on this dimension has not, as yet, produced a situation of true peace, security and stability in the region. For example, border disputes have in the past been settled by military force. In the gulf alone there have been no fewer than twenty-two active border disputes since 1990. This has in turn fueled military spending, leading to massive military debts as eager suppliers of arms compete for customers. The inter-relation between energy, arms and debt is plain to see in this context. It is an enduring and telling irony that the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, empowered to uphold peace around the world, together account for approximately 90 percent of the world's arms trade. This over-emphasis on the military dimension has given rise to what may be termed the political economy of despair.

We in Jordan seek to take another approach. It is an innovative, even ambitious, approach, but a brief parallel with developments in Europe will serve to illustrate why

we believe it to be the only one with a chance of ultimate success. Europe, like the Middle East, was plagued by war and internal rivalry for centuries. It is only now proceeding down the path of integration and cooperation. Europeans view this process, the regional conference on security and cooperation, as the most likely to yield lasting resolutions satisfactory to all. This is a belief shared by Jordan.

By way of illustration, in the case of border disputes, we would favour peaceful negotiation with ultimate recourse to the international court of justice, and the implementation of a regional environmental plan. To take another example, rather than dealing with the scarce resource of water through hydraulic wars, we advocate a regional water plan that would ensure fair distribution for all.

In essence, then, our vision is of a Middle Eastern Helsinki process, a conference on security and cooperation for the Middle East. We believe that such a model would eliminate the political economy of despair. Democratization, freedom of expression, human rights and greater awareness of a reliance on the political and economic dimensions of security provide a route towards the alternative political economy of peace, security and progress. The participation of states with a similar experience in conflict resolution is of course imperative to assist the countries of the Middle East in overcoming their difficulties.

We are aware that this vision requires the laying aside of dogma, of prejudice, of traditional hostilities. But we must learn tolerance for different ideologies. All ideologies have certain common points, together with their differences. We must develop the breadth of vision to identify and build upon these common points, while remaining firm in our demand that every government respect those universal rights of human beings and fulfill those universal requirements I spoke of earlier. These requirements, like so many of the challenges of today's world, go beyond questions of national strategy or ideological labels. They form the starting point of a humane discourse that appreciates the common ground and moves towards a constructive dialogue. We hope that such a process will occur in the Middle East, and we are pledged to do our utmost towards it.

But such a process is hollow unless there are individuals, organizations and governments committed to rectifying conditions of injustice, maintaining public awareness, and championing the causes of peace and equality, such as the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee. Your work in providing legal assistance for victims of discrimination is much needed; your efforts to disseminate salient information equally so. Perhaps most important is your work with the media, for in the forum provided by the international media, the power of individuals and organizations to promote ways of thinking based on equality and respect can be used to best effect.

Conditions that we must hope are now drawing to their inevitable end, conditions that each and every one of you may play a part in alleviating.

"As long as there is poverty in the world, I can never be rich, even if I have a billion dollars. As long as diseases are rampant and millions of people in this world cannot expect to live more than twenty-eight or thirty years, I can never be totally healthy—I can never be what I ought to be until you are what you ought to be. This is the way our world is made. No individual or nation can

stand out boasting of being independent. We are interdependent".

Thank you ladies and gentlemen.

TRIBUTE TO LITE RAIL GALLERY

HON. ROBERT T. MATSUI

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. MATSUI. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor the Lite Rail Gallery on the occasion of their latest event. From February 3 through March 6, 1992, the Lite Rail Gallery in Sacramento will be hosting "Gathering: an Asian American Women Artist's Association Juried Exhibition."

The AAWAA was founded in 1989 by two women from the San Francisco Bay area, Florence Wong of Sunnyvale, and Betty Kano of Berkeley. The group has grown to include 75 members whose purpose is "to come together to share, to encourage and to support one another." AAWAA, while united in purpose, is a diverse group of artists, with a great range of backgrounds, ages, experiences, and styles of expression. Members are involved in visual and performance arts, music, design, video, and literature.

Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the opportunity to commend the Lite Rail Gallery for their exhibit honoring the talents of the women of the AAWAA. The organization contributes a rich array of perspectives to American art, and I ask my colleagues to join me in extending to the Lite Rail Gallery best wishes as it hosts this important exhibition.

TRIBUTE TO RICHARD A. LIDINSKY

HON. BENJAMIN L. CARDIN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. Speaker, today I rise to pay special tribute to a man who has played a key role in the shaping of a modern Baltimore City. This man is Richard A. Lidinsky, the former executive secretary to the mayor and deputy comptroller and clerk to the board of estimates.

Since 1947, Mr. Lidinsky has used his unique abilities in the public arena to build a prosperous and successful Baltimore. Mr. Lidinsky, who recently retired after a 44-year career in the public sector, has been a key player in the development of an economically sound and successful Baltimore.

As deputy comptroller and clerk to the Board of Estimates, Mr. Lidinsky has served under eight mayors and Baltimore's legendary watchdog comptroller, Hyman A. Pressman. As clerk of the board of estimates, he has overseen the office that handles all of Baltimore City's expenditures and contracts, making the renaissance of Baltimore's neighborhoods, downtown, and inner harbor a reality.

While Mr. Lidinsky has never run for elected office, his public career spans from the administration of Mayor Thomas J. D'Alesandro, Jr.,

to Mayor Kurt L. Schموke, Baltimore City's first elected black mayor. Mr. Lidinsky played an important role in the revitalization of Baltimore City in the administrations of Mayor Thomas J. D'Alesandro III, and Mayor William Donald Schaefer.

Known as "Mr. Richard" to a legion of friends and admirers, Richard Lidinsky has always remained a gentleman; able to remain above the political fray. As a religious man who attends daily mass, he was often called upon to give the opening prayer at city council meetings.

Baltimore is lucky to have had the many years of Mr. Lidinsky's public service. I fear it will be a long time before our city is graced by the presence of someone of Richard Lidinsky's personal and professional qualities. Mr. Speaker, I hope that you and my colleagues will join me and the citizens of Baltimore in paying tribute to this very special public servant.

REAGAN'S RIGHT STUFF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, given the importance of the end of communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, there has been relatively little analysis of how this historic event came about. There are many causes of the dissolution of Soviet communism, but surely one of them was the indomitable spirit of President Ronald Reagan. He called the Soviet Union an evil empire. His critics scolded him. He was right. They were wrong. The fall of communism didn't just happen. It was caused, and President Reagan was among those who helped bring it about.

At this point I want to insert into the RECORD "Reagan's Right Stuff" by Gary Hoitsma, in the Washington Times, January 22, 1992.

REAGAN'S RIGHT STUFF

One of the most remarkable aspects of the extraordinary demise of Soviet communism during the past year has been the speed with which these truly historic events happened. The failed coup in August. The banning of the Communist Party. The independence of the Baltic States and the other Soviet republics. The rise of Boris Yeltsin. The fall of Mikhail Gorbachev and, concurrently, the end of the Soviet Union. All told, the unequivocal triumph of freedom.

These events came about so fast and furiously that had anyone suggested them as much as a year ago, he would not have been believed. Had he suggested them 10 years ago, he would have been ridiculed as a hopeless romantic, if not a stupid simpleton.

And, of course, he was. Ask Ronald Reagan. More than any other prominent American, Mr. Reagan consistently and accurately predicted the fall of communism and the ultimate victory of the West in the Cold War. And all the while he was doing it, all throughout his presidency, his speeches and words about the Cold War and the battle between freedom and communism were ignored or disparaged by the prevailing leaders of sophisticated opinion. Now that events have proven him to have been right, it is amazing how little credit he has received.

So just for the record, here is a brief sampling from former President Reagan's first term in office:

May 17, 1981: "The West won't contain communism, it will transcend communism. It won't bother to . . . denounce it, it will dismiss it as some bizarre chapter in human history whose last pages are even now being written."

June 8, 1982: "The march of freedom and democracy . . . will leave Marxism-Leninism on the ashheap of history."

June 23, 1982: "So the era ahead of us is one . . . that I firmly believe will end in the triumph of the civilized world and the supremacy of its beliefs in individual liberty, representative government, and the rule of law under God."

July 19, 1982: "To all those who are denied freedom, we send a message today: Your cause is not lost. You are not forgotten. Your quest for freedom lives in your hearts and in our hearts. God willing, we will see a day when we shall speak together of the joys of freedom. . . ."

Feb. 22, 1983: "History is not a darkening path twisting inevitably toward tyranny, as the forces of totalitarianism would have us believe. Indeed, the one clear pattern in world events . . . is in the opposite direction."

March 23, 1983: "My fellow Americans, tonight we're launching an effort [the Strategic Defense Initiative] which holds the promise of changing the course of human history. There will be risks and results take time. But I believe we can do it."

Aug. 23, 1983: "There's a democratic revolution going on in this world. It may not grab the headlines, but it's there and its growing. The tide of history is with the forces of freedom. . . . That's the real message, and that's the overwhelming news story of our time, even though it seldom makes the front page."

Dec. 9, 1983: "Totalitarianism on the left, just like Nazism before it, will be discarded by a disgusted humanity. Much depends on us, but we can be confident that the tide of history is indeed running on the side of freedom."

Feb. 6, 1984: "In the political world, the cult of the state is dying, so, too, the romance of the intellectual with state power is over. . . . Believe me, there are great days ahead . . . for the cause of human freedom."

March 2, 1984: "This is our moment. Let us unite, shoulder to shoulder, behind one mighty banner for freedom. And let us go forward from here not with some faint hope that our cause is not yet lost; let us go forward confident that together we will be victorious."

May 24, 1984: "The tide of the future is a freedom tide."

June 27, 1984: "It may seem an impossible dream to think there could be a time when Americans and Soviet citizens of all walks of life travel freely back and forth, visit each other's homes, look up friends and professional colleagues, work together in all sorts of problems, and, if they like felt like it, sit up all night talking about the meaning of life and the different ways to look at the world. . . . I don't believe it's an impossible dream, and I don't believe you believe that, either."

July 4, 1984: "For a while, the doctrine of Marx and Lenin seemed something new and revolutionary. And some among us said, 'Well, that's an idea. We should look at it.' Well, all for a while. Times have changed. Man has moved on, and more and more we can see that the tide of the future is a freedom tide."

Oct. 12, 1984: "With regard to the future, you ain't seen nothin' yet." In a nutshell, Mr. Reagan was right. He understood—more accurately than most—the forces at work pushing the West toward victory in the Cold War. That he deserves immense credit for articulating his vision with unmatched eloquence and clarity—even in the face of constant belittling—is undeniable. That he will ever see it in his lifetime is—unfortunately—highly doubtful.

FULLER WARREN BRIDGE REPLACEMENT

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, on November 27, 1991 this body approved a \$151 billion surface transportation bill. This legislation focused attention on the growing needs of American infrastructure. In all 50 States there are roads, bridges, and highways which have been deemed deficient and are in desperate need of repair or replacement. Just a week ago, that need became real to me and my constituents when the Florida Department of Transportation was forced to close the Fuller Warren Bridge in downtown Jacksonville, FL. Engineers inspecting the bridge discovered seven large cracks and closed the bridge for repair.

While this may seem like just one more local bridge project clamoring for attention, it is not. You see, the Fuller Warren is the bridge which Interstate 95 uses to cross the St. Johns River in Jacksonville and moves motorists into and out of the city. The bridge was constructed 100 percent by local funds and, despite the fact that it was incorporated into the Interstate Highway System in 1969, only local funds were used for the repair of the Fuller Warren through 1989. Since that time, State funds have been used for repair. However, never have Federal dollars been spent on this vital link in the Interstate System. Anyone that has been to Florida on I-95 has traveled over this bridge. My east coast colleagues would recognize this bridge as the gateway to Florida. The closing of this bridge does not just affect the citizens of Jacksonville, but rather citizens up and down the eastern seaboard. When the Florida DOT prohibited vehicle traffic on the Fuller Warren, tourist and commercial traffic came to a standstill, causing hours of costly delays. The closing of the Fuller Warren Bridge all but closes the road to Florida whether your mission is to ship goods or visit the State.

When it was built in 1954, the Fuller Warren was designed to carry 50,000 vehicles per day. The bridge capacity is now double that and carries 100,000 vehicles per day. Because of the great needs met by the Fuller Warren Bridge and the excess capacity it is now straining to support, I am today introducing legislation to authorize the Secretary of Transportation to carry out a highway construction project to replace or repair the Fuller Warren Bridge in Jacksonville. Such a project will help meet the commercial and transportation needs of those far beyond our city and will have positive impacts across the country.

TRIBUTE TO LIONEL REMILLARD,
JR.

HON. RONALD K. MACHTLEY

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. MACHTLEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to congratulate Lionel Remillard, Jr., for his nomination as "Outstanding Young Rhode Islander" by the Rhode Island Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Each year the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce recognizes outstanding young Americans for their achievements and contributions to their community, States, and country. These individuals have exhibited excellence in business, politics, art, science, and other associated categories. Lionel Remillard is a nominee for the Rhode Island affiliate of the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Lionel Remillard's greatest achievements come from his civil work for the city of Woonsocket. A lawyer by trade, Lionel has become involved in assorted organizations through his extraordinary fundraising and legal expertise. Lionel was the first president of the Milk Fund, Inc., an organization which provides milk all year-round to Greater Woonsocket's impoverished children, their families, and the elderly. He raised a record \$93,000—plus 10 percent—in a 1-month drive for the organization in 1988 and has consistently acquired volunteers and monetary contributions for the milk fund. Lionel is also the founder of the Woonsocket Freedom Fund and the Woonsocket Columbus 500 Commemorative Committee, both of which are designed to signify the importance of liberty and happiness to the city of Woonsocket. Finally, in 1988 and 1989, Lionel was president of the Woonsocket Junior Chamber of Commerce and is still very active in the organization. Lionel's commitment to important local organizations makes him an excellent nominee for the Rhode Island Junior Chamber of Commerce Outstanding Young Rhode Islander Award.

Lionel, through your hard work and steadfast commitment to helping the Woonsocket community, you have exemplified the Jaycee Creed: "That Service To Humanity Is The Best Work Of Life." I congratulate you on your nomination and wish you all the best in your future endeavors.

THE 125TH ANNIVERSARY OF ST.
JAMES CATHOLIC PARISH

HON. BOB TRAXLER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. TRAXLER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to salute the 125th anniversary of St. James Catholic Parish in Bay City, MI. This joyous celebration lauds over a century of service to St. James parishioners and the Bay City community.

Since the first St. James Church was erected on the present site in 1868, the parishioners have remained steadfast in their commitment and have persevered through the loss of

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

two churches to fire. They continue to worship today in a beautiful, modern church dedicated in 1980.

The Reverend Henry Schutjes, a European missionary was sent to preach in the Saginaw area during the lumber era around the time of the Civil War. He founded several Catholic churches in the Saginaw Valley and was a strong believer in Catholic education. Through his efforts, the first St. James Church was built on the site of the present church in 1867, and the parish was established a year later. An elementary school and high school, the first parochial coeducational high school in the United States, opened its doors in 1873, and since then, thousands of students have passed through this educational system. St. James High School merged with other parochial schools in Bay City in 1968, to form All Saints Central High School, but St. Judes Grade School continues to be recognized today for its excellence in education.

Over its 125-year history, many young men and women have answered the call to religious life. More than 70 women have entered the convent and close to 24 men have become ordained ministers. The parish can be proud of them and the environment which fostered their vocations.

Nine pastors have very ably led the generations of St. James parishioners through adversity and good times, coping with building and rebuilding programs, changes brought about by the Second Vatican Council, and demographic and economic changes in the community. This dedication has allowed St. James Catholic Church to continue its presence and mission in the Bay City area.

Please join me in commemorating this celebration of 125 years and congratulating the congregation whose steadfast faith and commitment have brought St. James Parish to this milestone. May St. James Church and its parishioners continue to provide spiritual inspiration and leadership to the Bay City community for another century.

SALUTE TO JOE ADAMS

HON. ELTON GALLEGLY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor a true point of light in our national firmament, Joe Adams of Sunland-Tujunga, CA. For if anybody in this Nation can be said to have become involved in their community, it is Joe.

Joe has been working to make the Sunland-Tujunga area a better place to live since he moved there in 1953, after growing up in Minnesota.

Among his many accomplishments, Joe has been involved with such community groups as the chamber of commerce; the Concerned Citizens of Sunland-Tujunga, which he founded; the Foothill Area Boosters Association for the Los Angeles Police Department; the Elks Club; and the American Association of Retired People.

He helped create the day at the races and annual golf tournament for the chamber, was

president of the local AARP chapter for 3 years, and perhaps most memorably was the chairman of the fundraising drive in 1970, that enabled an 8-year-old girl dying from cancer to meet her idol, Elvis Presley.

Mr. Speaker, voluntarism has always been a cornerstone of our Republic. And as our Nation returns to the values that helped make it great in the first place, I ask my colleagues to join me in saluting Joe Adams for his selfless commitment to his community.

BEN SPADARO: DEDICATED TO COUNTRY AND COMMUNITY

HON. NITA M. LOWEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mrs. LOWEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to a man who embodies the spirit of the Veterans of Westchester County and throughout our Nation. Ben Spadaro has dedicated the last 28 years to the service of veterans, the last 7 as Westchester County Coordinator of the Veterans Service Agency. In Ben Spadaro our veterans have had a strong and effective voice, a forceful, and successful advocate.

Ben, a Westchester native, is an Air Force veteran who, after serving his country, began a lifetime of service to his community. Though he has used much of his talent as an advocate for fellow veterans, Ben Spadaro has also devoted time to such groups as the Little League, the Red Cross, Lawrence Hospital, and the American Legion, to name a few. In each instance, many individuals have benefited, many lives have been enriched.

Ben has always found time to serve as a leader in providing the veterans of Westchester with a greater voice in our community, a voice that has led to an improved quality of life for everyone. Since Ben Spadaro assumed the position of coordinator of veteran affairs, Westchester veterans have known that they have always had a friend to whom they could turn in times of need.

Ben will leave a tremendous void when he retires from county service. However, we all know that his retirement will not be an end to his distinguished public service. Instead, this transition in his life will present new opportunities for Ben to devote time and energy to those causes that are so important to Westchester and our Nation.

XEROX NAMED COPIER OF THE YEAR

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, in these times of a slumping economy, corporate layoffs, and declining consumer confidence, Americans have increasingly questioned our ability to compete with Japan and other nations in the world marketplace. To those who say American business cannot cut the mustard, to those

who say that the American work force is inferior, that our products are inferior and destined to remain that way I say that you are dead wrong.

A little over 2 years ago, President Bush presented Xerox with the Malcolm Baldrige National Quality Award. Xerox was one of only two companies to win the award, which Congress established to recognize outstanding American companies who have implemented total quality strategies and have significantly improved customer satisfaction.

At the time, then-chairman and chief executive officer David Kearns noted that "a focus on quality had enabled Xerox to halt erosion and begin to regain market share from the Japanese." But, Mr. Kearns went on to say, "Our quality journey is far from over. Receiving this award * * * provides further motivation to all Xerox people to continue to intensify their efforts to improve quality and to better serve our customers." And he was right.

Earlier this month, Buyers Laboratory Inc. [BLI], the Nation's oldest office products testing organization, awarded the Xerox 5100 copier—the first unit designed and manufactured by Xerox Corp. in the United States for worldwide export—as the "Most Outstanding Copier Overall" for 1991.

The award was among three major honors, including "Copier Line of the Year," which Xerox received. The annual awards recognize high quality, superior performance, and technical innovation. Award selection is based on BLI's rigorous testing and evaluation of office equipment. BLI tests copiers in various categories. It evaluated more than 40 models in 1991, including copiers from all major Xerox competitors. Evaluation includes analysis of factors such as copy quality, reliability, ease of use, productivity, and operating costs.

Commenting on the 5100 as copier of the year, BLI said it had "unprecedented reliability," and performed more than 400,000 copies between service checks. In addition, the remote interactive communications [RIC] capability of the machine provided "nearly seamless uptime * * * alerting service technicians of possible problems before they became apparent to the user." BLI also noted the image quality of the 5100, saying that it was "nearly flawless * * * the pinnacle of analog machines."

In selecting the Xerox copier line, including the Xerox 5102, 5014, 5028, 5034, 5046, 5052, 5065, 1090, and 5090 copiers and the DocuTech Production Publisher, BLI stated: "Xerox copiers consistently demonstrated that they are unbeatable in several areas: copy quality, ease of use, productivity, and technology. In addition, the Xerox total satisfaction guarantee is unprecedented."

This is the second consecutive year BLI has honored Xerox with its "Product Line of the Year" Award. The DocuTech Production Publisher, an industry-leading, high-speed digital publishing system, received a special "Most Outstanding Technical Achievement" Award.

Xerox has demonstrated that if you put the customer first and you make quality a priority it is possible for American corporations and American workers to compete and to make the best products in the world. This commitment to excellence is and remains a national priority.

TRIBUTE TO THE PLYMOUTH-CANTON MARCHING BAND

HON. CARL D. PURSELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. PURSELL. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to mention the outstanding accomplishment of an outstanding group of musicians in my home district, a total of 189 musicians, to be exact. I am speaking of the first-place, national championship, Plymouth-Canton Centennial Educational Park [CEP] Marching Band.

The CEP Band has won, for the second year in a row, the Bands of America Grand National Marching Band Competition—making them the No. 1 high school band in the country, 2 years running.

Under the direction of Glen Adsit, the CEP Band has marched in numerous competitions and shows. Their many hours of hard work and practice have paid off in many ways, including the national title and winning the Michigan State Championship for 6 of the last 8 years.

At a time when so much emphasis is placed on athletic competition, I believe it is equally important to note an accomplishment such as this, which takes no less dedication, talent, and execution. As the members of the band can testify, winning a national title is the culmination of a team effort where everyone must give 100 percent.

Mr. Speaker, it is with a sense of pride that I offer this tribute to the CEP Band and ask my colleagues to join me in congratulating the band members, parents, and supporters on winning the national title for the second year in a row.

IN OBSERVANCE OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., DAY

HON. ROMANO L. MAZZOLI

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, on January 20, 1992, we in America paused to mark the anniversary of the birthday of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

With a sense of great pride, I join my fellow Americans in paying tribute to his memory as a peacemaker and as an individual who made a difference in the human and civil rights struggle.

Dr. King had a lasting impact on the effort to guarantee civil rights for all. And, while his tireless labors achieved many advances in the battle for equality, much is yet to be done.

The approval of the Civil Rights Act of 1991 and the President's signing the bill into law, I believe, are steps in the right direction. I was proud to have been a cosponsor of this important legislation and to work for its passage.

Dr. King's dream is not limited to ending the evil of discrimination. It extends to recognizing the dignity and worth of all people, and to alleviating the human suffering from unemployment, a lack of medical care, and the like.

I join my colleagues and all Americans in making a commitment to making Dr. King's dream come true.

LEGISLATION TO ELIMINATE THE EARNINGS TEST

HON. RON PACKARD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. PACKARD. Mr. Speaker, I ask today that my colleagues join with me to eliminate the earnings test on Social Security benefits. I am the sponsor of H.R. 1575 to correct the injustice that seniors suffer from.

Retirement is something to look forward to; the golden years for men and women who have worked hard all of their lives. And yet many senior citizens benefits are being eroded by age-discriminatory legislation. Under current earnings test restrictions, seniors over the age of 65 to 69 who make more than \$10,200 per year must forfeit \$1 for every \$3 they earn over the limit.

H.R. 1575 would remove this limit. We must encourage those who are willing to continue working during their later years, not penalize them. For too long, the Federal Government has discouraged those 65 and older from working by limiting the amount of money they can make while receiving the benefits that are rightfully theirs.

In addition, during these tough economic times, I'm sure my colleagues will agree that repeal of the earnings test would be a sound ingredient to any economic growth package that Congress may consider in the future. Senior citizens are a valuable resource in America. These men and women have contributed to the economic prosperity of this country, and we should not penalize them for wanting to continue to work.

I urge my colleagues to support this bill so that we can correct the corrosive effects of the Social Security earnings test.

TRIBUTE TO LT. COL. RICHARD MOORE

HON. ROBERT T. MATSUI

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. MATSUI. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to Lt. Col. Richard Moore, a dedicated officer, on the occasion of his retirement from the U.S. Air Force. It is a special honor to salute such a remarkable leader, who made a great contribution to the McClellan Air Force Base and the Sacramento community.

Lieutenant Colonel Moore represents the finest tradition of military officers and the excellence of McClellan Air Force Base. His distinguished military career began over 20 years ago when, after graduating from Park College with a B.A. in mathematics, he chose to serve his country in the U.S. Air Force. In 1974, Lieutenant Colonel Moore completed his M.S. in logistics management at the Air Force Institute of Technology.

Lieutenant Colonel Moore applied his education to improving aircraft communication and electronic systems, transforming McClellan Air Force Base into an award-winning facility. Under his leadership, the Sacramento Legis-

tics Depot was awarded the 1989 Air Force Installation Excellence Award for its facility upgrades and improved plant layout design. His innovative ideas and dedication to quality improvement were again acknowledged when McClellan Air Force Base was honored with the President's Award for Quality and Productivity.

Mr. Speaker, it is with great pride and enthusiasm that I speak on behalf of Lieutenant Colonel Moore. He has been an invaluable resource to McClellan Air Force Base and the Sacramento community, and his contributions will not be forgotten.

INTRODUCTION OF THE INFRA-STRUCTURE IMPROVEMENT AND JOB OPPORTUNITIES ACT OF 1992 AND THE QUALITY OF LIFE RESOLUTION

HON. CHARLES A. HAYES

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. HAYES of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, as the President ponders his State of the Union Address, I encourage him to focus on the real needs of this Nation. Ask anyone in any city or town in this country and they will freely tell you the state of the Union. They will tell you that we are in need of rebuilding this Nation—the economy, the infrastructure, and housing. We need to provide jobs for the American worker.

There is a nationwide jobs emergency and this Government must immediately respond to the need. That is why today I will be introducing two legislative measures that will help set the national employment agenda, and that will help create jobs to build the infrastructure of this country, improve the quality of life, and return dignity to American workers. Common sense should tell us that the best way to decrease the deficit is to put people back to work—to increase our revenue increasing the pool of taxpayers.

The first measure, the quality of life resolution, sets a policy statement for this Nation for full employment, and the second measure, the Infrastructure Improvement and Job Opportunities Act of 1992 will create job opportunities at community-based jobs projects that renovate and rehabilitate the public infrastructure.

The state of the Union, Mr. Speaker, is apparent on every corner of every city and town, and those that are suffering can no longer be ignored. Mr. Speaker, I encourage my colleagues' support for the Infrastructure Improvement and Job Opportunities Act and the quality of life resolution, and look forward to their adoption.

TRIBUTE TO BRENDA CLEMENT

HON. RONALD K. MACHTLEY

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. MACHTLEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to congratulate Brenda Clement for her nomi-

nation as Outstanding Young Rhode Islander by the Rhode Island Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Each year the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce recognizes outstanding young Americans for their achievements and contributions to their community, States, and country. These individuals have exhibited excellence in business, politics, art, science, and other assorted categories. Brenda Clement is a nominee for the Rhode Island affiliate of the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Brenda's greatest achievements come from her civic work for the city of Pawtucket. She is the president of "Pride" in Pawtucket, a non-profit organization committed to promoting civic pride. Brenda is also president of the Pawtucket Citizens Development Corp. [PCDC] which was originally an advisory board under former Mayor Brian Sarault, but has now become an independent organization that fights for fair housing. In addition to her position at PCDC, Brenda is a board member of the Affordable Housing Association as well as the Pawtucket Zoning Board of Appeals. Finally, Brenda has recently become a member of the Pawtucket City Council where she can continue her work of enhancing the Pawtucket community. Brenda's commitment to establishing fair and affordable housing in Pawtucket makes her an excellent nominee for the Rhode Island Junior Chamber of Commerce Outstanding Young Rhode Islander Award.

Brenda, through your hard work and steadfast commitment to helping the Pawtucket community, you have exemplified the Jaycee creed: "That Service To Humanity Is The Best Work of Life." I congratulate you on your nomination and wish you all the best in your future endeavors.

A TRIBUTE TO BLACK AVIATORS

HON. KWEISI MFUME

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. MFUME. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to commemorate the history of African-Americans in aviation. In the early 1900's black people were denied the opportunity to learn aviation here in the United States. Their dreams of flying were shattered because of the horrible reality of racial discrimination. Over the years, these men and women were able to conquer the barriers established by racism to achieve their greatest desire: becoming aviators.

Many of these African-Americans realized that their dreams would never come to pass here in the United States so they pursued their training in Europe. One of these pioneers was Bessie Coleman who became the first licensed African-American pilot in the United States. In 1922; John W. Green, Jr., made history becoming one of the first black aviators trained by white airmen here in the United States.

After earning their wings, Americans of African ancestry were still not allowed to defend this Nation in time of war, nor were they able to participate in any meaningful way in the field of aeronautics. Black aviators used this time to prove their skills by performing as

stunt pilots in air shows and by flying long distances across the country and throughout the world. However, it wasn't until 1939 that the first training program for African-Americans was established by the Civil Aeronautics Authority. The Civilian Pilot Training Program was established to train additional pilots in the event of an emergency during World War II. This program was offered at six black colleges on the East Coast and two flying schools in the Midwest.

Three years later, the U.S. Government decided to allow black airmen to participate in the defense of this Nation and established two segregated military units, as a result of pressure from civil rights leaders. On March 22, 1941, the 99th Fighter Squadron was formed, which was a separate, all black Army Air Corps. Tuskegee Army Air Field at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama was the training site. In 1943, the first all black paratrooper company, the 555th Parachute Infantry Company also entitled Triple Nickles was formed.

The all black military units proved that they could fly in combat as well as any other group. In 1948, President Harry S. Truman signed Executive Order 9981 which combined the segregated branches into one force. The U.S. Air Force was the first branch of the military to integrate in 1949. After World War II, large numbers of African-Americans were trained in the military.

The civil rights movement of the 1960's and the following decade of affirmative action were the two eras in which opportunities in aviation flourished. More African-Americans were able to work for commercial airlines, participate in general aviation, venture into aircraft design, and teach other student pilots to fly; 1970 also symbolizes the year in which the first black-owned airline in the United States was formed, Air Atlanta.

Mr. Speaker, I am honored to pay tribute to these men and women who fought so long for the right to fly. The Maryland Aviation Administration has decided to honor the great aviators of America with an exhibit spotlighting contributions made by African-Americans in the field of aviation. The exhibit is entitled, "Blacks in Aviation: Then and Now." We, in Maryland, are especially proud to serve as the host State for such an important exhibition. I hope that it will not only enlighten those who see it, but educate those who may not have been aware of the many fine contributions made by African-Americans in the field of aviation.

IN RECOGNITION OF 100 YEARS OF SERVICE: THE YONKERS' YWCA

HON. NITA M. LOWEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mrs. LOWEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, the YWCA of Yonkers, NY has provided its neighbors with many services throughout its rich history. This year, this fine institution celebrates its 100th anniversary. The YWCA has grown from a small association focusing almost exclusively on the concerns of young women into a multiservice organization which

has a variety of programs for individuals in all walks of life.

The YWCA of Yonkers has done a remarkable job in being able to change with the times, attending to the needs of people living in our increasingly complex society. The Yonkers Y has evolved into a dynamic organization whose enterprises encompass a wide range of activities including child care, summer day camps, educational and career exploration programs, therapeutic recreation, arts instruction, health and fitness programs, and many, many other worthwhile endeavors. Time and again, the YWCA of Yonkers has seen challenges and has responded creatively and effectively. In each instance, the Y has served to enhance the quality of life for the entire Yonkers community.

The Yonkers YWCA has been a place of sharing, of fun and laughter, of compassion, of revitalizing the body and the spirit. Its legacy is one of fellowship, a compelling foundation upon which to build a promising future. I am pleased to have this opportunity to commend the YWCA of Yonkers and to offer my sincere congratulations for 100 years of outstanding service to the community. I look forward to many opportunities to work together.

THE STATE OF BLACK AMERICA
1992

HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, once again the National Urban League has given us a definitive and fact-filled report on the social and economic status of African-Americans. Their 1992 report "The State of Black America" is particularly important in this Presidential election year as it provides critical facts, analyses, and suggested solutions to problems that many prefer to ignore. Unfortunately, Mr. Speaker, much of our national political dialogue remains mired in the misguided, mythical policies of the 1980's that are the real causes of much of the national economic disaster that so many are experiencing in 1992. We were told in 1980, 1984, and 1988 that we could ignore our inner cities, our national infrastructure, our health care needs, and our educational system, spend unlimited amounts on defense, and, at the same time, slash taxes for the wealthy and balance the Federal budget.

In some other era, this concoction would have been called economic nonsense. In the 1980's it was known as Reaganomics. Now, the chickens have come home to roost. Tragically the African-American community once again bears the brunt of foolish and unsound national policy. This is the underlying message of the Urban League's 1992 report.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to address several specific parts of the excellent report and to highlight some of its recommendations.

The 1990 black unemployment rate for Cleveland, OH was 15.1 percent while the corresponding rate for whites was 3.4 percent. Unemployment for both races increased throughout 1991 to the point that Cleveland

was cited as having one of the worst unemployment problems among major American cities. At the same time, we know that Cleveland has great need to rebuild and repair its water system, many of its bridges and roads, and to further modernize and maintain its transportation system as do many other cities. Cleveland and other cities need new low and moderate income housing. We need new and renovated public buildings.

So, Mr. Speaker, we have work that needs doing. We have work that, if done, would be an economically sound investment that would actually stimulate other economic activity. We have an available work force. Our situation in Cleveland is the exact situation that the Urban League finds throughout our Nation; work to be done in rebuilding the Nation's public health system and willing, able, and abundant workers to do it; work to be done in educating our young people and willing, able, and abundant numbers of people capable of being teachers.

Why, with all that needs doing, with all the people capable of performing that work, are so many of our citizens unemployed and increasingly desperate?

The answer is as painful as it is simple: For 12 years we have followed national policies that have consciously and intentionally ignored pressing domestic needs while being primarily focused on the further enrichment of the wealthiest among us. Some called this "conservatism" but by whatever name, the results are obvious: An out of control budget deficit, massive business failures, record trade imbalances, a growing homeless population, along with the already cited disasters in the health, education, employment, and infrastructure fields.

The Urban League's State of Black America report points a way out of our problems if we only have the will. Just as communism has failed in Europe and around the world, so has conservatism failed in the United States. Conservatism has divided and polarized the races, conservatism has us as a nation questioning our will and ability to compete in any field other than military affairs. Conservatism has created debt, narrowed our rights, and obscured our vision. We really do need a United States "Marshall Plan" to put our people to work rebuilding our Nation.

Mr. Speaker, we owe the Urban League a great debt for helping us chart our way out of the situation we are in. "The State of Black America 1992" teaches us once again, that we do not advance as a nation until all of us have the opportunity to advance as individuals. This is the lesson that conservatism has forgotten.

TRIBUTE TO JOAN GOODALL
EDWARDSSEN

HON. RONALD K. MACTHLEY

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. MACTHLEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to congratulate Joan Goodall Edwardsen for her nomination as Outstanding Young Rhode Islander by the Rhode Island Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Each year the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce recognizes outstanding young Americans for their achievements and contributions to their community, States and country. These individuals have exhibited excellence in business, politics, art, science and other assorted categories. Joan Goodall Edwardsen is a nominee for the Rhode Island affiliate of the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Joan Goodall Edwardsen is co-host of the morning radio show "Jones and Joan" on WSNE. Through WSNE, Joan has promoted assorted special events to aid the Rhode Island community. Last April, Joan became involved in the Providence Recycling Art Contest, in which students from 16 of Providence's elementary schools participated. She has also assisted in events to aid organizations such as the March of Dimes, Big Sisters Association, Rhode Island Project/AIDS, the Higher Education Fund, Rhode Island Women's Network, and the Rhode Island Rape Crisis Center. In 1991 Joan was honored with the Advocacy Award for her work at Rhode Island Project/AIDS. Joan's consistent interest and involvement in these organizations clearly demonstrates her commitment to the Rhode Island community and makes her an excellent nominee for the Rhode Island Junior Chamber of Commerce Outstanding Young Rhode Islander award.

Joan, through your hard work with WSNE and your efforts to promote involvement in activities to strengthen our community, you have exemplified the Jaycee Creed: "That Service To Humanity Is The Best Work Of Life." I congratulate you on your nomination and wish you all the best in your future endeavors.

RAHALL SAYS "CHARITY BEGINS
AT HOME"

HON. NICK JOE RAHALL II

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a sense-of-the-House resolution, to be known as the "Charity Begins at Home" resolution, calling for enactment and implementation of legislation providing \$10 billion in U.S. loan guarantees on behalf of Americans, to be used at the discretion of our financially strapped State, city, and county governments, for unmet domestic needs.

As you all know, between today and the end of March, when the continuing resolution allowing foreign aid authorizations to be spent will expire, the House and Senate will meet in conference to agree on and adopt a final version of H.R. 2621, the foreign aid spending bill for fiscal year 1992, and beyond. When the Senate acts on the bill, the first order of business will be to attach approval, in some form, of the \$10 billion in loan guarantees requested by the Israeli Government last year.

As you know the President requested, and I supported him as did many of you, that we delay consideration of Israel's \$10 billion loan guarantee request for 120 days, in order to assure that the Middle East peace talks would get underway without the loan guarantees becoming an obstacle. While there are many

reasons for Members of Congress to either support or oppose the \$10 billion in Israeli loan guarantees, one of the most basic, gut-level reasons for opposing them are that we do not provide the same kind of support for American housing and infrastructure needs at the State, city, and county levels, where projects ready to go are languishing on the drawing boards. Let's let the dirt begin to fly at project sites across America, generating jobs all along the way, by approving \$10 billion in loan guarantees—for America! Our banks, who have imposed a credit crunch, will loosen up and loan money to State and local governments if such loans are backed by the full faith and credit of the U.S. Government.

Our States, cities, and counties have endured for 18 months, and continue to endure, a deep recession. They continue to see unemployment rates rise nationwide to the point where there are more than 10 million unemployed in the United States. For more than a decade they have had no other recourse than to continue to raise State and local taxes to meet domestic needs because Federal funding for such needs have dwindled and dried up. We have seen companies go bankrupt, banks and savings and loan institutions go belly up, and investment capital disappear.

My resolution says that charity begins at home, but it also calls for a level playing field between America and Israel when it comes to helping obtain added funds for housing, infrastructure and human needs. In short, my resolution says if we approve \$10 billion in loan guarantees for Israel, we must also approve \$10 billion in loan guarantees for America. It's that simple. If you agree, and wish to cosponsor, please call me or Ms. Kyle at extension 53452.

TESTIMONY BEFORE WAYS AND
MEANS COMMITTEE CONCERNING
THE U.S. ECONOMY

HON. ROMANO L. MAZZOLI

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, on December 6, 1991, I testified before the House Ways and Means Committee and recommended some steps Congress and the President should take to improve the health of the domestic economy in both the short and long term.

I ask that my comments be made part of the RECORD:

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN RON MAZZOLI

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee: Thank you for allowing me the opportunity to share my views on the state of the U.S. economy and legislative initiatives which may bring the economy back on track.

I hope the issues raised here in these hearings will act as the cornerstone for a comprehensive economic growth package to be developed early in 1992. I also hope that these hearings can be distinguished by cooperation and amity. We serve no useful purpose to the American people by measuring the debate on who can score the most political touchdowns.

In my view, Mr. Chairman, we are here today because of the irresponsible economic policies of the go-go '80s. Under the past two

Administrations, the rich got richer, the poor got poorer, and the middle-class was asked to tighten its belt to where there were no more loops left. Ivan Boesky, Michael Milken, leveraged-buyouts, corporate takeovers, and debt financing dominated America's economic landscape. And, the American people are left holding the bag.

I believe in these proceedings we should look long-term and the short-term regarding economic growth and tax fairness. I have listened over the past year to the leaders in my community and in the Commonwealth of Kentucky regarding their thoughts on economic growth. In Kentucky, we have a Governor-elect, the honorable Brereton Jones, who knows that a strong national economy means opportunities for Kentucky in education, industry, small business enhancement, and new capital. I look forward to working with him and the Kentucky General Assembly when it convenes in January.

I have also listened to Louisville Mayor Jerry Abramson and Jefferson County Judge/Executive David Armstrong about federal initiatives and programs which best serve our community, such as the tax incentives we have extended for six months. I will touch upon those later.

Let me begin, Mr. Chairman, by addressing the charge that the Congress recessed without doing anything to help the economy. This Congress passed a very important transportation and infrastructure bill which will spend, eventually, \$150 billion and put million of Americans back to work.

The Highway bill is a public investment in America—for Americans—and something we have done now to help boost the economy. I ask unanimous consent to place in the record an article by economist Robert Kuttner from Business Week in which he argues that public investment gives 100% return and it benefits the private sector. I hope the Committee will look closely at similar public investment as part of a comprehensive economic growth package.

Mr. Chairman, I want to move on to another component of economic recovery: middle-class tax relief and fairness. If we believe what some economists are saying, the way out of the recession is through consumer spending. Whatever the case may be, a middle-income tax cut is the right thing to do. Middle-income Americans, more than ever, are having real difficulties meeting their basic needs.

I am happy to be an original cosponsor of Chairman Rostenkowski's tax relief bill, H.R. 3730, which should put needed money in the pockets of over 90 million Americans, and it is a bill which will pay for itself. I believe H.R. 3730 should be a central item in any comprehensive economic growth package considered by Congress.

Mr. Chairman, I was proud to support your efforts to extend for six months the so-called tax extenders. Several of these tax extenders have been invaluable assets to my community, including the mortgage revenue bond program, the low-income housing tax credit, the targeted jobs tax credit, the employer-provided education assistance, and the research and development tax credit.

I understand, Mr. Chairman, that next year the Committee may consider which tax breaks to make permanent and which to eliminate. I look forward to working with the Committee in this endeavor, and I will be ably assisted by affordable housing advocates in my District, especially in the area of low-income housing.

As to the long-term, the President wants to reduce significantly the rate on capital

gains as part of his growth package. Alternatives would be to index gains for inflation and to target the rate reduction by type of capital asset, length of time the asset is held and time of purchase of the asset. For my part, I support the inclusion of some sort of favorable capital gains treatment as part of a growth-incentive and tax fairness package.

Another long-term component I would like to see resurrected is the investment tax credit which was terminated by the 1986 Tax Act. My field representative, John Kilroy, who is active in the business community, has told me on numerous occasions that we need this tax credit for investment in machinery and equipment. This investment incentive just may be the cure we need to reinvigorate our manufacturing base.

Mr. Chairman, I support the restoration of the Individual Retirement Account (IRA) and the expansion of its uses. During my town hall meetings in the Louisville community this past summer, restoring IRAs always received strong support. I am also an original cosponsor of H.R. 1406, the Super IRA bill introduced by the distinguished gentleman from Texas, Rep. Jake Pickle. The Super IRA bill has 260 cosponsors in the House and 76 in the Senate, and it is showing up in nearly every proposed growth package on the Hill.

It is obvious that enacting Super IRA legislation cannot be done by itself, but through this comprehensive growth package we are discussing. This country has to improve its savings rate for the long-term to provide our industries with the necessary capital to meet the competitive challenges of the next century.

The components of a comprehensive economic growth package I have focused on today may not be the entire equation to stimulate the economy and push it toward sustained growth. I'll leave that in the able hands of this Committee. However, I do believe strongly in middle-income tax relief, IRAs, and tax incentives to help housing and business opportunities as proven elements for growth.

Again, thanks for allowing me to offer my views and I look forward to the work of the Committee.

THE 75TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
KIWANIS CLUB OF BAY CITY, MI

HON. BOB TRAXLER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. TRAXLER. Mr. Speaker, I rise to salute the Kiwanis Club of Bay City, MI, as it celebrates its 75th anniversary on January 27, 1992. Bay City is located in my congressional district, and is home to a wonderful group of outstanding citizens in the Kiwanis Club. I certainly am proud and privileged to be affiliated with an exceptional group of business and professional men and women whose definition of a successful life includes serving others.

The Kiwanis Club of Bay City was chartered on January 27, 1917. It was the fifth club in the Michigan District and the 39th club chartered internationally. Kiwanis was founded in Detroit, MI, January 21, 1915. The original name was The Benevolent Order of Brothers. Within a year, the name had been changed to Kiwanis, taken from an Indian term "nun keewanis" which, roughly translated, means

"self-expression." The purpose of the organization is to provide community service and today Kiwanis serves the needs of over 79 countries around the world through more than 8,000 clubs like our local club.

This worldwide service organization for men and women desiring personal involvement in the leadership and improvement of their communities believes that as a group we can achieve what we cannot do individually. This is our motto and the cornerstone of Kiwanis, "We Build." Over the past 75 years, thousands of volunteer hours and thousands of dollars have been returned to the community by hundreds of Kiwanians.

The Bay City Kiwanis Club hosted the district convention in 1934. New clubs were sponsored by the Bay City club which is included Tawas in 1945, Standish in 1954, Ki-West Bay City in 1959, and Caseville in 1967. There have been three Michigan District Governors from the Bay City club. These included Art Cansfield in 1946, M.J. "Andy" Anderson in 1952, and E.F. "Pete" Fletcher in 1964. Michigan District Lieutenant Governors from the Bay City club include Seth Babcock in 1925, Walt Rechlin in 1927, Joe Kerr in 1931, Stewart Polvrie in 1935, Art Cansfield 1942, M. J. Anderson 1948, Ben Boutell 1952, E.F. Fletcher 1960, Carter Combs 1965, Ralph Hudson 1969, Richard Nelsen 1981, and William Dawson, our current Lieutenant Governor-elect.

In terms of community service projects, the club has consistently supported such programs as the Fellowship of Christian Athletes, Boys and Girls Club of Bay City, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Special Olympics, provision of 4-H Fair Awards. Since 1985, we have maintained a \$10,000 Kiwanis Scholarship Program through Bay Area Community Foundation. We also sponsored outstanding local high school sophomores for leadership training through the Hugh O'Brien Youth Foundation. One of our most enduring projects continues to be a sponsorship of a baseball team originally begun in 1932, in the American Legion League, and continuing today the Northwest Little League here in Bay City.

A 75th anniversary is a significant event and I would like to take a moment to acknowledge the current president, David J. Corcoran. His name will be listed along with the first Kiwanis Club of Bay City president, Homer E. Buck, a former postmaster in Bay City. Please join me in celebrating the 75th anniversary of the Kiwanis club of Bay City, and wishing many more years of success and good will.

THE FEDERAL PROGRAM
PERFORMANCE ACT OF 1992

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, today I and seven of my colleagues introduced the Federal Program Performance Act of 1992, an innovative piece of good Government legislation which would build upon the advances made in the Chief Financial Officers Act of 1990 and increase the accountability and effectiveness of the Federal Government.

Americans have many different conceptions of their Federal Government—as a provider of certain services, as a defender of freedom, and as a protector of territorial boundaries. But in recent years Americans have been inundated with so much disheartening news about Government deficits, scandals, and waste that they have come to view Washington's monolithic departments and agencies as poor performers. To date, Congress has not systematically explored ways of determining how the Federal Government has performed year to year and of constructively using this information.

The time has arrived for Congress to take an intelligent, reasoned step toward a yearly requirement that: First, the Government set goals for its own performance, and at the end of the year compare how it performed with how it wanted to perform, and second, this result be reported to the Congress, the President, and the people so that lessons can be learned and necessary policy and administrative changes made. Therefore, I drafted the Federal Program Performance Act of 1992, which would institute such a requirement of performance measurement and reporting but account for the emerging nature of knowledge in this area by mandating a 2-year pilot program in selected Federal programs. At the end of this period, the Office of Management and Budget would report to Congress and the President on the success of the pilot project and would outline a plan for a permanent performance measurement and reporting on a broader scale.

We hear all the time that the pie of Federal Government money is shrinking, that Federal programs will have to get by with less. Reducing waste is a logical response to this reality. Finding how a program is performing its intended mission is perhaps the most important link in the chain of determining how to make a program work the best it can. As it stands now, this information is lacking. My bill would start the ball rolling toward changing that.

Mr. Speaker, I and my cosponsors hope that our colleagues will join us in supporting this timely and essential bill.

SALUTE TO DEPUTY DEENA
ROSEN

HON. ELTON GALLEGLY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor an outstanding law enforcement officer, Los Angeles County Sheriff's Deputy Deena Rosen, who has retired after more than 21 years of service to the residents of the county. Deputy Rosen graduated from the L.A. County Sheriff's Academy in 1970. She began her career at Sybil Brand Institute for Women, where she was instrumental in establishing the first high-power housing area for female prisoners. In fact, the first female inmates housed there were the women followers of Charles Manson.

In February 1974, Deputy Rosen transferred to the newly opened Crescenta Valley station, becoming the first female deputy assigned to

patrol there. After 4 years there, she was transferred to Special Investigations in 1978, where she worked criminal intelligence assignments in both traditional and nontraditional organized crime, antiterrorist investigations, and criminal intelligence liaison in the Antelope and San Gabriel valleys. Her last assignment was detective, Division Headquarters, where she was a member of a joint Federal task force investigating and prosecuting corruption in law enforcement.

Mr. Speaker, Deputy Rosen retired during the congressional recess, but she will be honored by her former colleagues at a retirement dinner on February 7. I ask my colleagues to join me in saluting her for her dedication to law enforcement and in wishing her well.

COMMEMORATING THE 50TH ANNI-
VERSARY OF THE BOMBING OF
PEARL HARBOR

HON. IKE SKELTON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I was a member of the congressional delegation attending the ceremonies commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor in early December. Of the various speeches made on that occasion, one of the very finest was delivered by Congressman BOB STUMP of Arizona. He spoke at the ceremony centered upon the various battleships and those who died in them on December 7, 1941. Congressman STUMP represented the State of Arizona and I include his address as follows:

REMARKS BY HON. BOB STUMP

Governor Waihee, Members of Congress, Governors, survivors of Pearl Harbor, ladies and gentlemen.

It is a great honor to represent governor Fife Symington and the people of the great State of Arizona on this momentous occasion.

As a young sailor in 1943, I was stationed on Ford Island, overlooking the U.S.S. Arizona—what a privilege to return to the site where our nation's heritage was given a rebirth through the sacrifices of our fathers, brothers, friends and shipmates.

Their memorial is not the ceremony we conduct here today. It is not in the silent, cool chambers of a sunken vessel, nor solely in the words of ceremony.

Their memorial is in the joyful hearts of the children of Gdansk, in the joy of the oppressed as they stream over a crumbled wall, and in the tearful reunion of free Estonians.

Their memorial is in the democratic election of the St. Petersburg mayor, and yes, in an entire world that says to the fallen of the U.S.S. Arizona * * * "Your sacrifice for freedom and democracy is now complete."

The world embraces the cause for which you died, the American idea that all men—all men—are created equal and endowed by their creator with the right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

To the memories of those we honor, you could not have known when you took your oath and accepted the uniform of your country that you would be among the first to face tyranny's most vicious effort to snuff out freedom's flame.

But you did, and we are here to again say "thank you." Thank you on behalf of a grateful state, on behalf of a nation that cherishes her liberty, and on behalf of a more peaceful world.

"U.S.S. Arizona" is a name synonymous with courage, heroism and sacrifice. On December 7, 1941, the world was awakened to your message that freedom is not free, that the cause of America is right, and that you would not permit tyranny to prosper.

This December 7, 1991, your sacrifice is undiminished. The American idea is still the hope of the world, and tyranny has collapsed because of what you did here.

Today, we remember your loss, but we rejoice in the legacy you lovingly preserved.

May God bless the memory of those who perished here—

May God bless the United States of America.

TRIBUTE TO PAMELA KOPPLIN

HON. RONALD K. MACHTLEY

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. MACHTLEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to congratulate Pamela Kopplin for her nomination as Outstanding Young Rhode Islander by the Rhode Island Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Each year the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce recognizes outstanding Young Americans for their achievements and contributions to their community, States and country. These individuals have exhibited excellence in business, politics, art, science and other assorted categories. Pamela Kopplin is a nominee for the Rhode Island affiliate of the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Pamela Kopplin's greatest achievements come from her commitment to educate Rhode Island's youth. Pamela is treasurer of Volunteers in Newport Education, an organization of 200 volunteers who help 8,500 students through customized tutoring programs. She also helps Johnson and Wales students study hotel management. Last June, Pamela was elected president of the Newport Rotary Club. Since her election, she has made it possible for four Rogers High School seniors to attend the monthly Rotary meetings as well as become guests of a Rotarian working in their chosen field. Pamela's participation in the Rotary program, along with the Volunteers in Newport Education, has made it possible for students to excel in school and follow their interests. Her commitment to education makes Pamela an excellent nominee for the Rhode Island Junior Chamber of Commerce Outstanding Young Rhode Islander award.

Pamela, through your hard work as treasurer of the Volunteers in Newport Education and your efforts to help educate students, you have exemplified the Jaycee Creed: "That Service To Humanity Is The Best Work Of Life." I congratulate you on this nomination and wish you all the best in your future endeavors.

A SALUTE TO FORMER CONGRESSMAN RALPH H. METCALFE

HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to bring to the attention of my colleagues a recent paper authorized by Philip A. Grant, Jr., a professor of history at Pace University in New York. Professor Grant has written an outstanding paper entitled "The Congressional Career of Ralph H. Metcalfe of Illinois" which he delivered at the Illinois History Symposium in Springfield, IL, last month.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to include this superlative text in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and I hope that my colleagues will take the time to review his work:

THE CONGRESSIONAL CAREER OF RALPH H. METCALFE OF ILLINOIS

On February 20, 1970 Democratic Congressman William L. Dawson of Chicago announced that he would not seek reelection to a fifteenth term. Dawson, a member of the House of Representatives from Illinois' First Congressional District since 1943, for twenty years had been Chairman of the Committee on Government Operations. Outranked in seniority by only thirteen of his four hundred and thirty-five colleagues in the House, Dawson was also the senior Black serving in Congress.¹

Within days after Dawson announced his decision to retire, two prominent Democrats launched their candidates for their party's congressional nomination. These two gentlemen, Ralph H. Metcalfe and A.A. "Sammy" Rayner, would each wage intensive four week campaigns prior to the March 17 House primary.

Metcalfe, fifty-nine years of age, was a graduate of Marquette University. An accomplished athlete, Metcalfe had excelled as a member of the United States track team at the 1936 Olympics. Between 1949 and 1952 he had served as Illinois Athletic Commissioner. Since 1955 Metcalfe had occupied the post of Alderman from Chicago's Third Ward, and at the time he began his quest for a seat in Congress was in the midst of his second year as President *pro tempore* of the Chicago City Council.

The primary race between Metcalfe and Rayner was by every standard a spirited one. While Metcalfe and Rayner were in basic agreement on national issues, they differed quite substantially in their attitudes toward the political climate in Chicago itself. Metcalfe, who for many years had been a local supporter of Democratic Mayor Richard J. Daley, stressed his experience in government and his dismay at the violent tactics of various street gangs in Chicago. Rayner, who had twice engaged in unsuccessful primary bids against Congressman Dawson, denounced the conduct of the Chicago police force and applauded the gangs as a legitimate social force in the city's impoverished Black community. Metcalfe strove to portray himself as a mainstream liberal Democrat and a responsible public servant, while Rayner, expressing contempt for Mayor Daley and the political structure of the Cook County Democratic Party, proudly described himself as a militant.²

Inasmuch as Congressman Dawson had always prevailed in primary races with the

wholehearted assistance of the tightly disciplined Democratic organization, it was generally anticipated that Metcalfe would triumph in the primary. While Rayner had boundless energy and was a dynamic public speaker, he had polled only 30.1% of the primary vote in 1964 and 38.1% of the primary ballots in 1968. The key question was whether Metcalfe would win the primary contest by a convincing margin, thereby suggesting that Mayor Daley retained the confidence of the bulk of the Black population in the First District.

On primary day approximately sixty thousand Democrats availed themselves of the opportunity to choose between Metcalfe and Rayner. The early returns indicated that Metcalfe was faring well in all parts of the First District and was attracting a minimum of two-thirds of the popular vote. By midnight it was certain that Metcalfe had defeated Rayner by a resounding majority. The official result of the primary contest was as follows: Metcalfe, 42,575 (71.1%) Rayner 17,346 (28.9%).

The fact that Metcalfe won the primary by more than forty-two percentage points established that the Daley organization remained the dominant political force in the First District.³

Illinois' First Congressional District, consisting of seven wards on the South Side of Chicago, was heavily Black in its racial composition and overwhelmingly Democratic in terms of party registration. During the decade between 1935 and 1945 the district has been represented by the only Black in Congress. According to the Census of 1970, the district had a Black proportion of 88.9% within its boundaries. No Republican candidate had been elected from the First District since 1932, and in his five final general election campaigns between 1960 and 1968 Dawson's share of the popular vote had averaged 78.8%. In the presidential election of 1968 Richard M. Nixon, the Republican nominee, had attracted a mere 9.2% of the vote in the district. In addition to being predominantly Black and Democratic, the district contained many low income inhabitants and was populated largely by individuals who did not own the homes or apartments in which they resided. The First District had the third lowest per capita income of the twenty-four districts in Illinois and 77.8% of its citizens were tenants rather than homeowners.⁴

In the 1970 general election Metcalfe's Republican opponent was Janet Roberts Jennings, a thirty-seven year old teacher and former aide to the late Republican Senator Everett M. Dirksen. Two years earlier Jennings had secured only 15.4% of the vote when she challenged Congressman Dawson. Jennings in 1970 conducted a token campaign, undoubtedly suspecting that no Republican could possibly carry the First District. On election night Metcalfe assumed an insurmountable lead over Jennings. The final figures from the First District were:⁵ Metcalfe, 93,272 (90.8%); Jennings, 9,287 (9.2%).

Metcalfe was sworn in as a member of the House of Representatives on January 3, 1971. A few days later he was appointed to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, a panel on which he would serve continuously throughout his tenure on Capital Hill. In addition to his official committee assignment Metcalfe promptly joined in the Congressional Black Caucus.⁶

During his first term in the House, Metcalfe was conspicuously at odds with the domestic and foreign policies of Republican President Richard M. Nixon. Defying the

¹Footnotes at end of article.

President's wishes, Metcalfe firmly opposed both the Supersonic Transport (SST) and the extension of the military draft. Like his fellow liberal Democrats, he favored an increase in the prevailing federal minimum wage, the strengthening of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), additional funds for the United States Office of Education, proposed constitutional amendments guaranteeing equal rights for women (ERA) and assuring the right to vote for eighteen year old citizens, and overriding all of Nixon's vetoes. Metcalfe also sharply differed with Nixon on the wisdom of continuing the Vietnam War, repeatedly voting for measures to hasten American withdrawal from Southeast Asia. Concurring with the priorities of the Congressional Black Caucus, Metcalfe endorsed a series of demands that the President reverse his neglect of the problems of poor people and racial minorities.⁷

In November 1972 President Nixon won Illinois and forty-eight of the forty-nine other states, gaining reelection by the largest numerical majority in American political history. Notwithstanding the facts that Nixon carried Illinois by 874,707 votes and Cook County by 171,039 votes, Congressman Metcalfe handily defeated his Republican opponent, Louis H. Coggs. The election statistics in the First District were:⁸ Metcalfe, 136,765 (91.4%); Coggs, 12,877 (8.6%).

Consistent with the thrust of his legislative record during his first term, Metcalfe remained adamant in his fundamental disagreement with President Nixon's policies. Metcalfe favored reducing levels of defense spending, prohibiting aid to Turkey, passing the War Powers Bill to restrict the President's authority on overseas troop deployment, and mandating a specific date for the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam. On major domestic issues he supported an increase in the government's commitment to mass transit, public financing of presidential elections, eliminating windfall profits for oil companies, imposing stricter controls on automobile emissions, and the adoption of the Judiciary Committee's recommendation that President Nixon be impeached. In addition to voting to override all of the President's vetoes, Metcalfe opposed the confirmation of Nixon's choice for Vice-President, House Republican Leader Gerald R. Ford.⁹

By the beginning of the congressional election campaigns of 1974 President Nixon had resigned in disgrace and was succeeded by Vice-President Ford. The Democrats, surmising that the Republican Party had been severely damaged by the prolonged Watergate scandal, hoped to wrest at least two dozen House seats from the Republicans. When all the ballots were tabulated the Democrats in 1974 registered a net gain of forty-three seats. Among the two hundred and ninety-one Democratic victors was Congressman Metcalfe, who was re-elected by 70,802 votes (93.7%).¹⁰

During the period between January 1975 and November 1976 the Democratic Congress and President Ford clashed on numerous occasions. Indeed Ford vetoed a total of thirty-six bills, many of which the House attempted to override with Metcalfe's unqualified support. Metcalfe's hostility toward the Ford Administration was just as pronounced as had been his disenchantment with the Nixon Administration. While Ford served in the White House, Metcalfe voted to end the oil depletion allowance, provide emergency financial assistance to New York City, require comprehensive disclosure of lobbying activities, prevent the deregulation of natural gas,

and forbid both economic and military aid to South Vietnam. As an activist member of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, he was also deeply involved in behalf of bills to authorize the development of synthetic fuels, initiate a federal no-fault insurance program, and control toxic substances.¹¹

Perhaps the most noteworthy development of Metcalfe's political career was his estrangement from Mayor Daley. By the time Metcalfe was serving his third term in the House, he was charging that the Mayor condoned police brutality and was completely insensitive to the problems afflicting Chicago's Black community. In 1976 Daley and his organization endorsed Erwin A. France, a Black, to oppose Metcalfe in the Democratic primary. Metcalfe scored an emphatic victory over France, outpolling his challenger 56,101-22,028 (72.1%). Metcalfe's well-publicized primary triumph was widely interpreted as a severe rebuff to the once omnipotent Daley organization.¹²

In the general election of 1976 Metcalfe was opposed by A. A. "Sammy" Rayner, who had switched to the Republican Party. Metcalfe easily disposed of Rayner, winning reelection to a fourth term by 116,485 votes (92.3%). Based on the cumulative results of four primary races and four general election contests, it seemed that Metcalfe was invincible in the First District.¹³

By 1977 Metcalfe had advanced to the posts of ranking Democrat on the Consumer Protection and Transportation Subcommittees of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. Deriving advantage from his seniority and joined by a growing number of Black Democrats in the House, Metcalfe was anxious to cooperate with the new Democratic Administration of President Jimmy Carter.

While reserving a degree of independence, Metcalfe was quite supportive of Carter's policies. In 1977 and 1978 he voted for the Common Site Picketing Bill, the creation of a Consumer Protection Agency, a sweeping measure to regulate strip mining, an expanded Legal Services Corporation, the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment bill, and a proposed constitutional amendment granting congressional representation for the District of Columbia. Predicated on his longstanding opposition to Pentagon spending, Metcalfe opposed the B-1 Bomber and the Defense Procurement Authorization and the Defense Department Appropriation Bills of 1978. Most of Metcalfe's efforts in 1977 and 1978 were directed toward finding an effective solution to the vexing energy crisis, a task primarily within the jurisdiction of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.¹⁴

In March 1978 Metcalfe was renominated without opposition to a fifth term in the House of Representatives. Since his G.O.P. opponent again would be A. A. "Sammy" Rayner, his re-election in November was considered virtually certain. Unfortunately, Metcalfe unexpectedly died on October 10, 1978, thus ending a comparatively brief congressional career.

Since Metcalfe did not possess sufficient seniority, there was no likelihood that he could have attained the chairmanship of a standing committee. He did, however, rise to the position of tenth ranking Democrat on the forty-three member Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. While serving on the committee, he became steadily involved in the complex process of seeking solutions to such problems as no-fault insurance, toxic waste, synthetic fuel development, and the

awesome challenges posed by the energy crisis plaguing the nation. It would be an exaggeration to assert that Metcalfe was a dominant figure on the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, but it would be entirely reasonable to conclude that he worked diligently and constructively with his fellow committee Democrats to produce an impressive number of meaningful legislative proposals.

As a Black Democrat from one of the least affluent districts in the United States, Metcalfe favored an agenda geared to improve the plight of poor and disadvantaged Americans. His support for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the Legal Services Corporation, the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Bill, and a large number of other measures to promote social justice and racial equality established his belief that the national government had a genuine responsibility to address the shortcomings of the country's domestic situation. During Metcalfe's eight years on Capitol Hill the number of Blacks in the House grew from twelve to sixteen, and, as a member of the Congressional Black Caucus, he strove to dramatize a more compassionate approach to inequities within the nation.

While Metcalfe began his congressional career as an apologist for Mayor Daley, he eventually became a harsh critic of Daley and his organization. Elected to the House in 1970 with the blessing of the Daley organization, Metcalfe in 1976 had to withstand a primary challenge engineered by Daley himself. By the end of his fourth and final term in Congress, Metcalfe had become an experienced legislator with close ties to the House Democratic leadership, an independent spokesman for a large portion of Chicago's Black citizenry, and a political figure with an unblemished record of electoral success.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Maurine Christopher, *America's Black Congressmen* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1971), pp. 185-193; Bruce A. Ragsdale and Kathryn A. Jacob (eds.), *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1989* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1989), p. 885; United States Congress, *Congressional Directory, 1970* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1970), pp. 49, 238-250, 267; *Times*, New York, N.Y., February 21, 1970, p. 15.

² *Congressional Quarterly*, March 6, 1970, pp. 706-707; *Times*, New York, N.Y., March 15, 1970, p. 48.

³ *America Votes, 1970* (Washington: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1971), p. 101; *Times*, New York, N.Y., March 18, 1970, p. 22; March 19, 1970, p. 27.

⁴ *Congressional Districts in the Nineteen Seventies* (Washington: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1974), pp. 55-56; Kenneth C. Martis, *The Historical Atlas of United States Congressional Districts, 1789-1983* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1982), pp. 168-203; *Guide to U.S. Elections* (Washington: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1985), pp. 932, 937, 942, 947, 952, 957, 962, 967, 972, 977, 982, 987, 992, 997, 1002, 1007, 1012, 1018.

⁵ *Congressional Quarterly*, July 24, 1970, p. 1850; October 16, 1970, p. 2509; November 6, 1970, p. 2773; *Guide to U.S. Elections*, p. 1023.

⁶ United States Congress, *Congressional Directory, 1971* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1971), pp. 48, 273.

⁷ *Congress and the Nation, 1969-1972* (Washington: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1973), pp. 167-168, 225-232, 501, 503, 505-510, 600-602, 717-718, 720-723, 915-923, 925-930, 1003-1006, 27a-29a, 32a-35a, 38a-40a, 44a-47a.

⁸ *America Votes, 1972* (Washington: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1973), pp. 104-105, 113.

⁹ *America in the Polls, 1973-1976* (Washington: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1977), pp. 86-87, 155-165, 293-295, 508-512, 522-524, 847-851, 866-867, 890-890, 927-929, 949, 988-995, 1016-1018, 1020-1023, 1028-1030, 1032-1035; *Almanac of American Politics, 1974* (Boston: Gambit, 1973), pp. 262-264.

¹⁰ *America Votes, 1976* (Washington: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1977), p. 110.

¹¹ *Congress and the Nation, 1973-1976*, pp. 91-95, 267-269, 270-272, 311-313, 441-446, 494-497, 840-843, 895-900,

1039-1042, 1044-1047, 1052-1055, 1058-1061, 1118-1124; *Almanac of American Politics, 1976* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1975), pp. 267-270.

¹² *American Votes, 1976* (Washington: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1977), p. 119; *Congressional Quarterly*, March 6, 1976, p. 511; March 20, 1976, p. 608.

¹³ *American Votes, 1976*, p. 116.

¹⁴ *Congress and the Nation, 1977-1980* (Washington: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1981), pp. 133-136, 140-141, 355-356, 402-403, 415-417, 468-485, 544-549, 717-719, 838-839, 1011-1013, 1016-1019, 1024-1027, 1030-1033.

TRIBUTE TO FAUN PLATT OF
TIPTON, MI

HON. CARL D. PURSELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. PURSELL. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to mention the 90th birthday of a truly outstanding woman in my home district—Mrs. Faun Platt of Tipton, MI.

I have known Faun for many years, and believe her community involvement and volunteer service over the years stands as an example of the difference one person can make.

A former school teacher, Faun attended college at Illinois Normal, Michigan State, and Siena Heights. She has served as a juvenile probation officer and juvenile county agent, and is the past president of both the Adrian Womens Club and the County Federation of Womens Clubs.

Faun also became involved in politics, serving in numerous capacities, including being a member of the State Central Committee and attending three national conventions. She also remains active at the Tipton Community Church, where she has taught Sunday school and participates in the women's fellowship.

Currently, Faun is active with the senior citizen's center and the Tecumseh Orchard Terrace Board.

The mother of two sons, Faun now has five grandchildren and seven great grandchildren. She also keeps busy with music, baking, and entertaining.

Mr. Speaker, Faun Platt celebrated her milestone birthday with her friends and family on January 12, and I wish to take this opportunity to ask my colleagues to join me in congratulating her.

MR. IACOCCA SPEAKS OUT

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the recent trade trip to Japan by President Bush and certain business executives, including Chrysler CEO Lee A. Iacocca, underscored the magnitude of our strained trade relationship with Japan. I know Mr. Iacocca and his corporate colleagues began the trade venture on a most optimistic note. Yet, these captains of industry returned with a realistic sense of just how much work has to be done before the playing field is really leveled between the United States and Japan.

Upon his return from Japan on January 10, Mr. Iacocca gave a report to the Economic

Club of Detroit. It is an honest, blunt, and noteworthy commentary on the trip that I commend to all of my colleagues:

PREPARED REMARKS BY L.A. IACOCCA,
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD, CHRYSLER CORP.

Thank you, Joe. It's always good to hear one of your bosses say something nice about you. In fact, these days it's nice to hear anybody say something nice about you! But, Joe has been a member of our board now for about two years, and he has really thrown himself into the car business. Especially the way we do it at Chrysler. Maybe you've noticed—he's even doing his own TV commercials now!

But Joe, I gotta tell you, I think that battery you mentioned is just about dry. I've had a tough four days: A day to fly over, a day to fly back, and in between a brutal schedule of meetings and dinners designed to kill you just in case the jet lag didn't do the job!

The Japanese are terrific hosts. But they can wear you out. And you can forget what you went for. That didn't happen this time, though.

This was a historic trip, and let me start by saying that President Bush set a very important precedent. He took some heat here and in Japan for dragging along a business delegation. The Japanese didn't know what to make of it, except something had changed.

What's changed is that economics finally made it to the front of the plane along with the generals and admirals and all the Foggy-Bottom types. In the past, we weren't even invited to ride coach. The President just tore a page from Japan's book. Their leaders have always taken business people on missions like this because they've always put economics first.

Now we're doing that. The Cold War is over. The Soviet threat is gone. Now we can start taking care of business, like Japan has been doing for the past 45 years. I think the trip served notice on that. Seeing American government and business arm in arm for the first time ever sent the Japanese a message.

And I think they got it. They got it. They didn't like it. They fought it. (Boy, did they fight it!) And they made a start in dealing with it. But only a start. Frankly, from a Detroit perspective, a weak start—but a start.

The Big Three told the President that there should be a 20 percent reduction in the bilateral deficit in '92, going down another 20 percent a year for the following five years until things are balanced. For 1992, it would have meant \$8 billion off the total deficit. That translates to about 180,000 Americans going back to work.

That's pretty much what I told the Japanese in a speech there back in 1985. I said their trade surplus with the U.S. was going to backfire. It was then \$37 billion. Now it's \$41 billion, so you know how well they took my advice.

But this time the President was there, too. And I think they listened better.

Back in '85, I said they could take that deficit down any way they wanted: Sell us less or buy more—their call.

We weren't specific this time, either. But with autos and parts 75 percent of the problem, you'd have to assume that they'd be the major part of the solution.

Hell, I didn't go to Japan to help open the rice market. The last time I looked, we don't grow any rice in Detroit. Correcting the deficit has to be done mainly in auto trade. There's no other way.

The Japanese know that as well as we do. And they're going to fight it every inch of

the way, believe me. They have this industry targeted, and they're not about to take us out of their gunights.

The auto parts commitment looks good on paper, but we can't sort out how much of the increase they promised will come from their keiretsu suppliers here.

And on autos, we got promises to make their dealers available to American imports. Again, a start. But they wouldn't touch the bigger issue—the flood of vehicles they're sending into this market. And if they're serious about closing the auto deficit, that's where they have to start.

I don't want to get into specifics. It's too soon. I literally saw the auto agreements late Thursday afternoon in Tokyo, and I've been on an airplane most of the time since. I need some time to sort things out, but I'll agree with the quotes I saw from Red Poling and Bob Stempel this morning: Too little, way too little!

This trip didn't resolve this country's trade problems with Japan. Nobody expected it to. (You can't resolve in three days problems that have developed over 20 years.) But it did help bring those problems to a head. And frankly, that's been long overdue.

The President applied pressure—lots of pressure. Now Congress will have its crack. Dick Gephardt, John Dingell, the Levin brothers, Lloyd Bentsen and others have a bill in to force the 20 percent deficit reduction that the Big Three were suggesting. So, stay tuned!

It's important that we use all the leverage we have because without persistent outside pressure the Japanese will not move at all. And why should they? They're winning! They're beating our brains in. So we'll have to move them.

We have to because we can't handle the sheer size of the imbalance—\$41 billion in one year with one country *** over \$400 billion in a decade.

And the pattern is still the same: We ship them food and chemicals and raw materials—just like a colony. And they ship us value added cars, and machine tools and electronics and all the high-tech stuff where the good, high paying jobs are—just like a mother country.

We can't handle the unemployment that deficit causes, or the closed plants and lost tax base, or the insidious Japanese economic and political power within the United States that comes with it.

In this city, of course, we've got a special problem. The Big Three sold less than 15,000 vehicles in Japan last year. (Hell, the Japanese transplants in this country sold more cars in Japan than that!) By contrast, Japan sold about 3.8 million cars and trucks here.

They say it's because our stuff is junk. I don't think so. I wonder if there's another reason. Like maybe because my Jeep Cherokee costs \$12,000 more in Japan than it does here because they won't accept our certification, and everything has to be inspected, and there's a maze of red tape and distribution costs not designed to protect the Japanese consumer, but to keep us out!

If they don't like our cars, then you'd think they could take some American parts and help shave the auto trade deficit. They haven't done that, either. America sells less than \$2 billion worth of parts a year to Japan, but we sell \$22 billion worth to the rest of the world.

It's funny, isn't it? Those parts are good enough for Mercedes and BMW, but not good enough for Isuzu and Daihatsu.

We're getting stiffed. And when Detroit gets stiffed on autos, then America gets

stuffed on trade—period. That's because cars are America's rice. Any argument for protecting Japan's rice farmers is an argument for completely shutting Japan out of our auto market.

Now, I don't want to do that. And I don't know anyone who does. I'm called a protectionist, but I'm really a free trader. The thing I want to protect is free trade. And the way you do that is to retaliate against those who don't believe in it.

And if there's anyone here who thinks for a second that Japan practices free trade, I've got some S&L's I'd like to sell you.

Japan has no use for free trade. It certainly has never practiced fair trade. No, what Japan practices is predatory trade. Let me give you an example of how that works.

We recently got some research from a major American financial institution. You'd know the name but they asked us not to use it because they do some business in Japan, and they got some of the numbers from their clients there.

According to their study, Japan lost \$11.7 billion in North America from 1987 through 1990 in autos. (No 1991 numbers yet.) That comes as a surprise to the average American who thinks Japan must be making a ton of dough in this market. But no, they lost almost \$12 billion. How could they stand the pain? No problem. They made \$36.4 billion during the same period in their own protected home market.

You see, they operate from a sanctuary. They have almost no competition at home and they won't allow any foreign competitor to be a factor in their market. In total, all foreign auto makers from all over the world have only three percent of the Japanese market. In Europe, foreign companies have 15 percent, and in the United States they have a whopping 35 percent of our car and truck market.

Well, when you operate from a sanctuary—when your market is closed and the other guy's is wide open—that gives you some neat options. You can gouge your own consumers (if they'll stand for it, and the Japanese consumers do), keep all your people employed, and use some of the profits to grab big chunks of the other guy's market.

And that's what's happening. They are simply taking about one-third of their enormous profits from their protected sanctuary at home and subsidizing their market share grab here. That's ugly mercantilism at its worst.

It's a good strategy. They get full employment *** they get huge profits overall *** and when they control this market (and they're getting closer every day) they'll call all the shots and will get their investment back—in spades!

Sure, American consumers get a break—for a while. But Japanese consumers get an even bigger one: you see, they all have jobs. Remember—the most useless consumer is an unemployed consumer.

One way they give Americans a break is through "dumping," and we have laws against that. It's obvious that it's going on, but it's hard as hell to prove because their real costs are camouflaged within their keiretsu arrangements. And even when you can prove it, why bother?

The Commerce Department found Japan guilty of dumping minivans last month, and Toyota immediately declared victory because our government said Toyota wasn't cheating by much! They break our laws, but only by a little, so that's okay. I'm sure Toyota expects the same slap on the wrist Toshiba got a few years ago for selling sub-

marine technologies to the Soviets. (Back when there were Soviets.)

The case isn't closed, though. Now commerce wants to look at those Japanese books and see if the actual costs they provided are as high as they claim. (And if they are real, then Japan's reputation for efficient, low-cost production goes right down the toilet.)

But, so far, the Japanese would have to be stupid not to keep breaking our laws—and the Japanese are not stupid.

And now, the EC has capped Japan's sales there at 16 percent through the end of the century. (Without Japan complaining, by the way.) That leaves the U.S. and Canada as the only free market for autos on the entire planet *** the only dumping ground left for Japan's excess auto capacity.

The Japanese have almost 7 million units of excess auto capacity (75 percent of world overcapacity) and now almost all of it is targeted at us!

But the problem is even deeper than dumping, and targeting and scoffing at our laws.

It's time that we came to understand in this country that Japan's economic structure is as different from ours as ours is from Cuba's. Oh, it has all the trappings of free enterprise, but it is different *** fundamentally different.

Their closed home market *** business-government collaboration through MITI to penetrate foreign markets *** an export/import bank set up to fund that market penetration *** the keiretsu *** banks holding most of the corporate equity *** deliberate inefficiencies like distribution and agriculture *** the second-class status of the consumer *** and even a form of government which is really more of a bureaucracy than a democracy. All of these not only make Japan different, many of them are patently illegal in our country.

They have a managed economy in Japan, pure and simple. It may be economically irrational by everything we learned in school, but it works and works well for one simple reason: Because they have the giant American market as a dumping ground and a pressure relief valve.

Among other things, that means they don't have recessions. They're just not allowed there. The only time they've had negative growth since we helped them recover from the war was in 1974, but that was due to the OPEC oil shock not the business cycle. We're in our eighth recession since the war, but Japan has been immune.

Let me ask you—do you think we'd be in a recession right now if we had a completely open market roughly twice the size of ours to sell into, and if we had an endless web of formal and informal barriers that kept those people out of our market? Do you think we'd be closing plants and laying people off?

Recessions are bad news for America, and terrible news for this city. But U.S. recessions have been terrific news for Japan. That's when they've grabbed most of our market.

Over the past few years, we Americans have not only had to deal with a recession, but a war too. They haven't had either of those burdens to worry about in Japan. It's just been business as usual, and that included grabbing another 9 share points of our car market while we weren't looking. That's what they've gained since car sales began to soften here in 1988.

It happens every time our economy hits the wall. OPEC One in the early 70's—four quick points. OPEC Two, '79-'81 (the one that almost killed Chrysler)—eleven points. And now nine more points when we hit our third recession, plus Desert Storm!

That seems to be the pattern—they gain a point a year in the good years *** a point a quarter in the bad ones *** 10 more points every recession. That's a recipe for taking the whole U.S. auto market in just a few more downturns!

And I, for one, am fed up hearing from the Japanese (and some Americans, too) that all our problems in this industry are our own damn fault. We don't have idiots running General Motors, Ford and Chrysler or our suppliers. Our workers are not lazy and stupid.

I won't do a commercial here, but take a look at the new Dodge Viper at the show *** at the new Jeep Grand Cherokee *** and the new LH cars coming next summer—the Dodge Intrepid and Eagle Vision. I'll put them against anything in the World! (It's too damn bad that this trip to Japan on unfair trade is obscuring the fantastic new products coming from Chrysler and all of Detroit in 1992. They are world class!)

Sure, the Japanese make good products, too, and they're the economic force to be reckoned with in the world today. But let's not be too impressed. Any one of the Big Three would be geniuses too if we operated from the same closed sanctuary *** if we had a huge, wide open market like the United States to sell into *** if the government ran interference for us *** if we could prohibit our dealers from selling foreign cars *** if we had company unions and sweetheart deals with our banks and our suppliers *** and if American consumers wouldn't squawk about paying six times the world price for rice and \$12,000 more than U.S. sticker price for a Jeep.

And we'd also be heroes if we had the same cost of capital over the years. The cost of capital in Japan has historically been as little as half of ours. It's about equal now, but you can bet that's a temporary problem they'll correct.

Chrysler just spent a billion dollars each on a new tech center and a new inner-city assembly plant. If I were in Japan at the time I contracted for those facilities, I could have built them both for the same billion!

So let's not be so hard on ourselves. The Japanese aren't geniuses, except when it comes to manipulating our own laws and our own market for their ends.

I picked up FORBES Magazine a couple of years ago and saw a quote that tells it all. It was by Hideo Morita, the son of Akio Morita of Sony. His father, as you know, likes to lecture us poor, dumb Americans on what it takes to succeed in business these days.

Here's what his son said.

"My father's generation knew that they were playing by different rules from the West when it came to trade, but they pretended they didn't understand the rules. That's why they won."

By the way, I met Akio Morita this week in Tokyo for the first time, and I think we liked each other. One good thing American and Japanese business leaders did this week was talk to each other. Maybe we should be doing more of that.

But, ladies and gentlemen, I think it's time to make Japan not only understand the rules, but to play by them. And it might even be time to change some of those rules.

That won't be easy. I've been dealing with the Japanese for a long time, and I have immense respect for their ability to win at the negotiating table. One way they do it, of course, is to hire away our negotiators. In recent years, one-third of our top trade negotiators have quit to become foreign lobbyists, most of them for the Japanese. So when

we send someone over there to bring home the bacon for us, we don't know if the trip will turn into a job interview.

There are also a few other things we should have learned by now when it comes to dealing with Japan.

First, our problems with Japan are unique. We trade with about 200 countries all over the world, but two-thirds of our deficit is with one single nation—Japan.

So we have a separate and distinct trade problem between ourselves and Japan. And that probably means we need a separate and distinct set of trade rules for Japan than we have for everybody else.

Second, we have to deal both with Japan's closed market and Japan's business practices that affect this country. I'm talking about things like the keiretsu, dumping, and control of key technologies. Focusing only on opening up the Japanese market would be a mistake. We can get snookered if we spend all our energy prying it open but by then our companies are too weakened to take advantage of it.

Third—and this comes from bitter experience—be careful what you ask for because you might get it.

We twisted Japan's arm to quit artificially depressing the yen. Beginning with the Plaza Accord in 1985, they finally stopped. The yen doubled in value. That should have promoted an explosion of exports for us and cut down on imports.

We thought the currency swing would even out the trade. Guess what—since then we've run up almost \$300 billion in red ink with Japan, and that translates to about 7 million jobs. So something is rotten—and not in Denmark—but in Japan!

The currency swing would have helped if Adam Smith's theories worked in a world of managed trade. But they don't. They're totally irrelevant. We went from zero to 40,000 units in Europe in just a couple of years, but had a helluva time getting to one thousand in Japan. In that big market we should be selling at least 25,000!

Honda has sold 400 Cherokees for us so far. They got generous this week. They promised to triple Jeep sales to 1,200 by 1994. And triple the dealers from 100 to 300. That means by 1994 each of those dealers will sell one Jeep every three months! Wow. How did we get so lucky?

We also told Japan that if it wanted to sell in this market, it should manufacture in this market. That turned out to be a mistake. Our mistake was taking them at their word when they said transplants would replace built-up imports under the so-called "voluntary" restraints. (Nothing in writing, of course, because it was "voluntary.") They reneged, and about 70 percent of the transplant capacity became incremental.

Since those quote "restraints" in 1981, seven transplant facilities have opened and a net of nine Big Three assembly plants have closed. (General Motors' announcement a few weeks ago will change that ratio considerably.) In those ten years, our auto deficit with Japan has gone from \$14 billion to \$30 billion *** every new job created has cost two old ones *** and every new dollar contributed to America's economy drove out two old ones.

We also find ourselves with a helluva competitive disadvantage because the average transplant worker is 12 years younger and the cost of his labor is \$12 an hour less. That's because all the new Japanese plants except Mazda in Flat Rock were built in cornfields. The younger work force uses less health care and they're at least 20 years away from collecting pensions.

The location of the plants also allowed the Japanese to duck any of the responsibilities of urban America. The Big Three work force is 21 percent minority. The transplants have only about 5 percent minorities. When you drive by our new Jefferson North plant, keep in mind that no Japanese company would ever consider building that plant.

So the lesson in dealing with Japan is that you have to focus on results not on process. If you let them decide on the process (and the timetable), you will never see results. At least not the results you were looking for.

And one of the results we must insist on is employment.

The content of every Japanese import represents about 1 percent American jobs. For the transplants, it represents about 48 percent. But for the Big Three it's about 88 percent. It's pretty obvious where our priorities should be if the objective is to get Americans back to work. Ford, General Motors and Chrysler (and their suppliers) create American jobs. The Japanese don't.

President Bush said it right when he started his trip: The issue is jobs *** jobs *** jobs.

Finally, we have to beware of the ancient art of Oriental patience. (And it is an art!) They don't solve problems in Japan, they manage them.

The Japanese are masters at making you peel the onion. You get through one layer and you're looking at another one just like it. One year we negotiated on oranges, the next beef, the next tomato puree, and even ravioli, yet! And in the end we're further and further behind.

I used to believe myself that the Oriental "long view" was a great virtue and something we could learn from the Japanese. I was wrong. It's not a virtue at all, it's a weapon and we have to disarm them if we're going to get anywhere at all.

We need to use our own weapon; good old-fashioned American impatience. That means demanding a solution to the problem now. And retaliating now if we don't get it. We've already shown all the patience anyone could ask—45 years of patience. First, we helped them rebuild. Then, we defended them. Then, when they were fully recovered, we continued to allow them open access to our market while they shut us out of theirs. We even had to listen to such crazy and insulting excuses as our skis aren't right for their snow and our construction companies don't understand their dirt.

Japan has a set of standard excuses every time they're called to task.

They say they create jobs in this country. Not true. Net-Net, they cost us jobs by the tens of thousands.

They say Japan is unique and deserves special treatment. I say Japan has had a free ride long enough.

They say they're changing. They're not. The only changes that will take place in U.S.-Japan trade relations are those that we force them to make.

They say if you criticize Japan you must be a racist. That's just a weak attempt to cut off the criticism.

And finally, they say all the problems are our fault. That's like blaming our army and our navy for Pearl Harbor because they weren't ready. Japan targets this market and particularly this industry, especially when our defenses are down (like in a recession) and we deserve what we get—that's the way that argument goes.

No, we don't have to show any more patience toward Japan. None. That's a trap. And we don't have to listen to any more

phony excuses from Japan. We've heard them all for too long.

It's also sad to hear Japan's propaganda mouthed over and over by some American editorial writers and columnists, including some in this city, which is hurting so badly right now. And it's ironic because none of them have ever faced even a single minute of foreign competition in their entire lives. (Not even fair foreign competition!)

We have local pundits telling the Big Three how to compete in the global automobile market, when they can't even compete with the paper down the street. They rail against protectionism while they live under the protection of a JOA—the ultimate irony!

The standard line is that Japan's protectionism hurts Japan more than us. Tens of thousands of people in this city and this industry just went through a Christmas season wondering if they'd have jobs when they came back. Most of them are still wondering. Tell them the Japanese are just hurting themselves! (And tell those who've already lost their jobs.)

The Japanese and their Chrysanthemum Club apologists in this country (I call them "economic pacifists") are always warning against "quick fixes." As a result, we get no fixes at all. I've got news for them—it's high time for some quick fixes, and they should then be followed by more permanent repairs.

Now, I'm getting into the question time, so let me wrap up.

If I sound a little hot under the collar about what Japanese trade and economic policies are doing to this country and this city, I am. Our argument, of course, is with those Japanese policies, not the Japanese people. And with our own policies that have tolerated those Japanese policies. Both must be changed and changed fast mainly in our own self-interest, but in the long run for the good of the Japanese as well.

I warned them back in 1985. I said "you guys are protecting the wrong market. You're protecting your market in Japan when you should be protecting your market in America."

They didn't listen. Forty percent of everything Japan ships comes here. When American workers are out of a job. Japan's customers are out of a job. They haven't seemed to catch on to that yet.

In their own self-interest, the Japanese have to truly open their market, back off on their penetration of this one, and reform their whole economic structure to align it with ours and that of the rest of the world.

That would mean some severe problems for them. Maybe they would even have to taste recession for the first time *** deal with unemployment *** close some plants *** and accept some of the responsibilities, the pain and the dislocation that comes with living in a global economy.

I think the real test of the value of the President's trip this week will be whether or not Japan finally accepts some of those realities and responsibilities.

Before the trip, some of the Japanese press was speculating on what quote "souvenirs" would have to be offered to placate the Americans this time. I resented reading that. I know we've been soft on Japan in the past, but I don't think we're going to keep selling our economic independence for a few beads and trinkets. And I don't think the \$400 million Japanese lobby in this country is going to keep American resentment in check much longer.

I'm optimistic after this trip. Naturally, I'll wait to see the results, and I've been disappointed before. But this trip was more

than show. I know, some people both here and in Japan said that Stempel, Poling and I were being used. We were called, among other things, "window dressing," "clowns," and "potted plants."

Well, I can't speak for anybody else, but if I can help convince the Japanese that Americans won't tolerate their predatory, mercantilistic attack on this industry and this market any longer, then I'll be glad to sit around like a potted plant all day long.

But if they keep pretending they don't understand the rules * * * if it turns out that they stiffed the President of the United States and sent him home with only a few "souvenirs."

**RICHARD A. LIDINSKY RETIRES
FROM OVER 43 YEARS OF SERV-
ICE IN CITY GOVERNMENT**

HON. HELEN DELICH BENTLEY

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mrs. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, on January 29, 1992, I will have the distinct honor and pleasure of attending a retirement dinner for a close friend and long time associate, Richard A. Lidinsky.

On December 24, 1991, Richard Lidinsky officially retired from more than 43 years of devoted service to Baltimore City government. Richard began work as executive secretary to the mayor in 1947 for then mayor of Baltimore City, Thomas D'Alesandro, Jr. He only left city government for 3 short years from 1959 to 1962 when he served as administrative assistant to Congressman Edward A. Garmatz. In 1962, he returned to city government as deputy comptroller and clerk to the board of estimates and served in that position until his retirement in December 1991.

To invest over four decades of one's life to one particular employer reflects a great deal of devotion and satisfaction with one's place in life. Richard has served under eight mayors and was well known for his loyalty and integrity.

A lifelong resident of Baltimore, Richard always has been seen as a permanent fixture in the city. Born in Baltimore in 1920, he graduated from Baltimore City College and later from University of Baltimore Law School. Married for 46 years to the former Angela Miller, Richard is the proud father of four children. He has a strong sense of community and has always been active in numerous civic and community affairs.

Without a doubt, Richard Lidinsky has a great wealth of character and spirit. In his case, success does not just carry a professional connotation.

Not only has Richard demonstrated a great deal of commitment and dedication to his work and family, but he has also given of his time and energy as a member of the board at Bon Secours Hospital and Mercy Hospital. In addition, he was former president of the Young Men's Bohemian Democratic Club, seventh ward, Baltimore City and was active in Baltimore City Retirement Board and Baltimore City Pension Board while serving as comptroller. He is active in charitable causes such as Little Sisters of the Poor and has been active

in church affairs at St. Wenceslaus Church, the ethnic home and church of the Czechoslovakian community.

Typical of his character, upon his retirement, Richard offered to work as an unpaid consultant to the city. It appears that Richard's dedication to the city has superseded the lure of an easy retirement. Since his retirement, he has worked nearly every day imparting his knowledge and experience in service to Baltimore.

While it does not reflect our usual concept of retirement, Richard is not your ordinary person. His hard work and dedication truly is commendable. A strong family man, active in his church and community, Richard Lidinsky personifies the American dream and American work ethic.

Mr. Speaker, my fellow colleagues, it is with utmost respect and admiration that I congratulate Richard Lidinsky upon his retirement from over 43 years of devoted service to Baltimore City government. May he have continued success and happiness in the years ahead.

**THE 150TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
MACE**

HON. NANCY PELOSI

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to join my colleagues in celebrating the 150th anniversary of the historic mace. The ebony and silver mace used by the House of Representatives is one of our most cherished symbols. It is the symbol of authority of this body and one of the oldest and most important symbols of our Nation's democracy.

The sesquicentennial anniversary of the mace marks a historic occasion for the House of Representatives. It also marks an important occasion for my family. I am particularly proud to be a Member of the House during this 150th anniversary of this silver mace. Fifty years ago, my father, Thomas D'Alesandro, was also a Member of this House, as a Representative from Maryland. I appreciate the majority leader, Mr. GEPHARDT acknowledging my father in his remarks. When I was sworn in as a Member of Congress in 1987 my father was here to celebrate this honor. To me, the mace is a symbol of my family's continuing service, as well as this institution's continuity. In becoming a Member I became a colleague of my father's. Each of us who serves in this body shares the privilege of calling every other Member who has ever served here our colleague. The mace symbolizes this line of colleagues which stretches across the history of our Nation.

I am proud to be serving in the House today, 150 years after the 27th Congress gathered in the old House Chamber to use the mace for the very first time.

**A SALUTE TO THE CUYAHOGA
COUNTY BAR ASSOCIATION AN-
NUAL PUBLIC SERVANTS MERIT
AWARD RECIPIENTS**

HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, on February 26, 1992, the Cuyahoga County Bar Association will host its 46th Annual Public Servants Merit Awards luncheon. The event recognizes the exceptional work and contribution of selected county court system employees with the presentation of the Franklin A. Polk Public Servants Merit Award.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to salute the Cuyahoga County Bar Association and this year's six public service recipients. I also am pleased to take this time to recognize the man for whom these awards are given. For 40 years Franklin Polk chaired the Cuyahoga County Bar Association's Annual Public Servants Awards luncheon and although Attorney Polk passed away last year, he will always be remembered for his great love of public servants and his commitment to recognize their contributions.

This year's honorees are: Donald M. Corrigan; Kenneth Rudolph Glenn; M. Richard Odom; Colin Alfred Sheehan; Sharon L. Streich; and Raymond L. Knight and at this time, I am pleased to share the accomplishments of these six individuals with my colleagues.

Mr. Speaker, Donald M. Corrigan serves as deputy clerk for the Cuyahoga County Probate Court. He is a graduate of Lakewood High School and received a B.A. from Cleveland State University. Mr. Corrigan also served in the U.S. Army and received an Honorable Discharge in 1963. He has been employed as a machine operator, sales clerk, and tow motor inspector.

Mr. Corrigan is an active member of the Democratic Party and has assisted in election campaigns of judicial and nonjudicial candidates. He is also a member of the Cuyahoga County Golf Association and the Ridgewood Men's Golf Association and is the past president and secretary of the Cuyahoga County Golf Association. In his spare time, he enjoys playing golf and various card games.

For the past 10 years, Kenneth Rudolph Glenn has served as deputy chief probation officer for the Cuyahoga Adult Probation Department. His career with the Court of Common Pleas spans over 25 years. Mr. Glenn previously served as a social worker for the State of Ohio Department of Youth Services and he played professional basketball for the Harlem Globetrotters.

Mr. Glenn graduated from East Technical High School, received a B.A. degree in sociology from Niagara University and a M.S. in criminal justice administration from Mercyhurst College. He and his wife, Betsey, are the parents of two children, Kevin Glenn and Andrew Kopf.

In 1986, Mr. Glenn was appointed to the Ohio Attorney General Victim's Assist Board and is the past president of the Community Action Against Addiction. He is also a member

of the American Correctional Association, the Ohio Correctional and Court Service Association and in his spare time, enjoys traveling, golf, fishing, and painting.

M. Richard Odom is a detention officer at the Juvenile Court. His work for the court spans over 15 years having previously served as an assistant supervisor of transportation, financial analyst, activities worker, and child care worker.

A graduate of Shaker Heights High School, Mr. Odom will receive his B.A. in sociology from Cleveland State University in June 1992. He and his wife, Joanne, are the proud parents of M. Richard Odom, II, Matthew R. Odom, Lisa Y. Harris, Cheryl L. Hill, and Adrienne Prince.

Mr. Odom enjoys playing a variety of sports, listening to jazz, playing cards, and spending time with his three grandchildren.

Colin Alfred Sheehan has worked as a supervisor at the Cleveland Municipal Court since 1974. His service to the Cleveland Municipal Court spans nearly 25 years, having served as a deputy bailiff prior to his appointment as supervisor. Mr. Sheehan is a graduate of West High School and has received a certificate from the Cuyahoga County Sheriff's Department, the U.S. Marshall's Service, and the Ohio Peace Officer Training Council. He and his wife, Joan, are the parents of Colin Kelly Sheehan (deceased), Kevin Robert Sheehan, Colleen Roberta Sheehan, and William Thomas Sheehan.

Mr. Sheehan is an avid sports enthusiast and physical fitness guru. One can still find him playing basketball and volleyball, swimming, and walking. In his spare time, Mr. Sheehan also enjoys cooking and interior decorating.

Sharon L. Streich has spent nearly 25 years working at the Domestic Relations Court. She is currently the director of administrative services at the court. She was previously employed with Ridgewood Country Club and Central National Bank.

A native of Cleveland, Ms. Streich is a graduate of Byzantine Catholic High School. She and her husband, George, are the parents of Edward Jacob Streich.

Ms. Streich considers herself an avid Cleveland Browns enthusiast who enjoys playing golf in her spare time and spending time with her husband and son.

Raymond L. Knight is the supervisor of the archives department at the county clerk of courts. He has previously worked at the Aluminum Co. and Apex Manufacturing Co.

Mr. Knight is a graduate of East Technical High School. He has also served in the U.S. Army, receiving an honorable discharge in 1947. During his service in the Army, Mr. Knight became a boxing champion.

Mr. Knight and his wife, Joy, are the parents of Raymond L. Knight, Jr., Clarence B. Knight, Larry Knight, Carol Knight, Patricia Knight, Kevin Knight, and Kenneth Knight. He was the former president of the old 12th Ward Democrat Club and in his spare time, he enjoys fishing and gardening.

Mr. Speaker, it is a special honor for me to join in the salute to these exemplary public servants. Employees such as Mr. Corrigan, Mr. Glenn, Mr. Odom, Mr. Sheehan, Mrs. Streich, and Mr. Knight make the system work

for all of the residents of the Cleveland metropolitan area.

I join the Cuyahoga County Bar Association and the chairperson of the annual award luncheon, Mercedes Spotts, in paying tribute to the 1992 Public Service Award recipients.

**HONORING A LIFE OF DEDICATION
TO INTERNATIONAL SERVICE,
DUMOND PECK HILL**

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, a friend of mine and former chief counsel to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Dumond Peck Hill, died recently and I would like to honor the memory of this man who dedicated much of his life to international service.

Although Peck Hill left a position in Government many years ago, he continued to participate both professionally and on a volunteer basis in people-to-people programs linking countries and their leaders.

One organization to which he was particularly close was the Partners of the Americas. Partners recently voted to have its Volunteer of the Year Award—the highest recognition given annually to Latin, Caribbean, and U.S. citizens who excel in volunteer efforts—carry Dumond Peck Hill's name forever.

Partners, which was very important to Peck Hill, is the private sector successor to the Alliance For Progress, founded by the Kennedy administration to link U.S. leaders and institutions with their counterparts in 31 Latin and Caribbean countries.

Last year, I was pleased to host this organization when it celebrated its 25th anniversary in the hearing room of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. Peck Hill served as the Partners legal counsel for 20 of those 25 years and it was a credit to him that the organization can point to a fine record of growth and management in its many programs.

We will miss Peck Hill, but we know that his many contributions to international service will live on in the work he did for organizations such as Partners of the Americas.

I feel honored to have known and worked with him.

**EXPLANATION OF REMOVAL OF
NAME AS COSPONSOR OF H.R. 1330**

HON. RICHARD H. STALLINGS

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. STALLINGS. Mr. Speaker, today I removed my name as a cosponsor of H.R. 1330, the Comprehensive Wetlands Conservation and Management Act of 1991. I support many of the provisions in the bill, such as those which would allow the Corps of Engineers to delegate wetlands protection to the States, and those which would require compensation to owners of wetlands if a permit for use was denied, consistent with other Federal takings.

However, recent field tests using the legislation's proposed definition show that 60 to 85 percent of the remaining wetlands in Idaho would no longer be classified as a wetland. In fact, known waterfowl production areas such as the Roswell Slough and the Centennial Marsh would not fit the new definition. Given this new information, I cannot cosponsor this legislation as it is currently drafted.

In developing the definition of a wetland we should be focusing our efforts on balancing the rights of small businessmen and landowners against the unquestionable value of wetlands to the ecosystem. Unfortunately, as with so many important issues facing our country, politics seem to be getting in the way of developing a comprehensive long-term policy. I am concerned about this, and I appreciate the many Idahoans who have taken the time to express their opinions and concerns about the future of Federal wetlands policy.

On December 19, the four Federal agencies involved in the 1991 wetlands identification manual issued proposed rules, beginning the process of codifying the 1991 manual into formal agency regulations. I do not support the unscientific and arbitrary regulations that are currently being proposed by the administration. I believe we need a single wetlands definition that is scientifically based, defensible and measurable.

In an effort to restore science to the wetlands debate, I recently voted for an amendment which would have required the National Academy of Sciences to conduct an independent review of the science and methodology of determining what constitutes a wetlands area. While this amendment failed narrowly, it would have provided significant scientific underpinnings for the development of a wetlands delineation manual. While some criticize the delay yet another study would have caused, I believe that without additional nonbiased science to base a decision on, the politicizing of this issue could put a legislative solution at least a year down the road, and possibly more.

Many felt we reached a good compromise on wetlands when we drafted the swampbuster provisions in the 1985 farm bill. The established procedures for implementing swampbuster were specifically designed to apply to wetlands on agricultural lands, and were accepted widely by farmers, conservationists, the administration, and Congress. I supported this effort, and am very disappointed by the administration's decision to change the regulations on this program. In contacts with Idaho farmers, the Soil Conservation Service, the Idaho Department of Fish and Game, and others in our State, there is strong agreement that this program has been successful and generated very little controversy.

Last year I supported funding for the water quality incentives and wetlands reserve programs. I believe these programs and others like them will help America's farmers make significant strides toward resource conservation during the next decade. The alternative could be a regulatory approach which would be difficult to understand and possibly counterproductive for both America's farmers and the environment.

Idaho, like other arid Western States, has already lost the majority of its historic wet-

lands. Yet they provide significant benefits to the people and economy of this State. Wetlands in Idaho reduce runoff siltation and pollution into our waterways by holding back floodwater. They help in holding water from snow melt, which provides groundwater recharge benefits for fish, wildlife, native vegetation, and farming.

Mr. Speaker, I remain optimistic that we can work together to reach a sensible framework to identify and delineate wetlands in this country. The 1985 farm bill shows that it is possible.

THE TWISTED POLITICS OF TRADE

HON. MICHAEL G. OXLEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. OXLEY. Mr. Speaker, I commend to my colleagues the following article, "The Twisted Politics of Trade." Authored by Robert J. Samuelson, the piece gives, in my view, an accurate analysis of the trade issue.

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 22, 1992]

THE TWISTED POLITICS OF TRADE

(By Robert J. Samuelson)

Politics and economics have rarely been so much at odds as they are now on trade. Everyone's preaching economic nationalism. "America First," says Pat Buchanan. "Jobs, jobs, jobs," said President Bush of his recent trip to Japan. We must guard "our goal" (a hockey analogy), warns Sen. Bob Kerrey. If we practice what these guys preach, we may ultimately harm our economy's strongest sector; exports.

Contrary to popular belief, America is not an export weakling. Since 1985, our exports have nearly doubled from \$219 billion to an estimated \$422 billion in 1991. (December figures aren't yet in.) We may now be the world's largest exporter. In 1990, Germany was top with 12.1 percent of the global total. We were second (11.6 percent), and Japan was third (8.5 percent). However, our exports rose in 1991, and Germany's fell. We shouldn't now give other countries an excuse to block our exports by embracing protectionism or "managed trade."

Our politicians are doing just that. President Bush mouths the rethoric of fair trade and drifts toward managed trade. In Tokyo, he correctly pushed Japan to change practices that discriminate against imports. For example, Japan imports only 4 percent of its paper even though it is a high-cost producer. But Bush went too far in seeking special trade deals for U.S. industry. Pressuring Japan to buy 20,000 U.S. cars or \$10 billion of auto parts is managed trade that could easily backfire.

To see why, consider a more extreme scheme backed by House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt. He proposes legislation that would require Japan to eliminate its trade surplus with the United States over five years. Otherwise, we would impose sharp cuts in Japanese car imports.

Great. The United States now has an estimated \$17 billion trade surplus with the European Community. Does Gephardt naively think that the Europeans wouldn't demand the same of us? Of course they would. World trade cannot flourish on the basis of mandated trade balances between individual countries. Trade prompts countries to spe-

cialize in what they do best. In turn, specialization makes it hard to balance the trade between two countries. Suppose Country A sells gizmos to Country B and buys widgets from Country C. Even if its total trade is balanced, it may have a surplus with Country B and a deficit with Country C.

What Gephardt endorses is pure protectionism. If adopted, it would reduce trade and everyone's economic growth. Managed trade involves similar, through subtler, dangers. It would set trade goals in individual industries by diplomacy. We delude ourselves if we think we could perpetually extract concessions from other countries without giving anything in return. Sooner or later, we would face pressures to limit our exports in exchange for other countries' limits. This is senseless policy of penalizing our strong industries and rewarding our weak industries.

But the popular appeal of these approaches is increasing, because many Americans believe two myths. The first is that our trade deficit has contributed to the recession and weak economy. Quite the opposite: sharp declines in the deficit (from a peak of \$152 billion in 1987 to \$102 billion in 1990 to about \$65 billion in 1991) have been a stimulus to the economy. Unfortunately, it hasn't been enough to offset fully the drag of lackluster consumer spending.

The second myth is that the United States is fundamentally "uncompetitive." Not so. In the 1980s, two things happened. First, intense foreign competition forced U.S. companies to become more efficient. Manufacturing productivity rose at a 3.5 percent annual rate: the best gains since the early 1950s. Second, the dollar's exchange rate declined sharply from its artificially high levels of the early 1980s. These changes have made many U.S. industries low-cost producers.

Their health is obscured by the troubles of the American auto industry. Its immediate problems stem mostly from the weak economy and poor sales. But the Big Three would like to cure their slump by forcing—through legislation or a diplomatic deal—Japanese carmakers to cut U.S. sales. Other manufacturers are worried they'll suffer from this protectionism. Listen to what Dexter Baker—head of the National Association of Manufacturers and chief executive of a chemical company—said recently at a press conference. In effect, he told the automakers to get lost.

Q. Congress is considering a variety of legislation, particularly in the field of auto imports. Are you going to oppose [these bills]?

A. You bet.

Q. That's bad for the rest of American manufacturing?

A. Absolutely. Absolutely.

Q. And you will be arguing with the Big Three automakers and others?

A. Well, they're important members of our organization, but we don't think protectionism is the way to go.

With luck, our trade deficit could disappear by 1995, argues Stephen Cooney of the NAM. We should be working urgently to expand free trade, because we are in a great position to benefit. Instead of begging for special treatment, President Bush should have pushed Japan to make concessions in global trade negotiations (the Uruguay Round). Unfortunately, he merely gave lip service to the trade talks. These may fail, because both Europe and Japan are clinging to protectionism for farm products.

All Americans favor America first. But a slogan is not a policy. An open trading system serves our interests. In the 1980s, the U.S. economy was powered heavily by a

consumer buying boom, which was one reason for our huge imports. Now, consumer spending has slowed. Exports and related investments are engines of growth. If protectionism rhetoric inspires protectionism policies, Americans will be among the first victims.

HONORING MR. YOSHIO C. NAKAMURA ON THE OCCASION OF HIS RETIREMENT FROM RIO HONDO COMMUNITY COLLEGE

HON. ESTEBAN EDWARD TORRES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. TORRES. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize a special individual, Mr. Yoshio C. Nakamura. Mr. Nakamura is retiring from public service work after 29 years of employment at Rio Hondo Community College, and will be honored at a special retirement dinner on January 29, 1992.

Mr. Nakamura received his bachelor of fine arts and master of fine arts degrees from the University of Southern California. He has studied at Stanford University, UCLA, UC Riverside, Whittier College, and the Otis Art Institute.

Mr. Nakamura began his career as a teacher with the Whittier School District. In 1963 he joined the staff of Rio Hondo College as a professor of art and served in that capacity until 1973. He served as dean of community services from 1973-1983; dean of community and student services from 1983-1985; vice president of community and student services from 1985-1991, and vice president of community service and institutional development from 1990 to present.

As a staff sergeant in the United States Army, 442d Regimental Combat Team/Japanese-American Unit, he was decorated with the Bronze Star, Presidential Unit Citation with oak leaf cluster, and European Theater Ribbon with three battle stars.

He has published numerous articles on a variety of subjects, ranging from teaching guides for use at all levels of educational services, to a "how to manual" for helping community college trustees utilize community services.

During my tenure in Congress, Mr. Nakamura has been instrumental in assisting me with the preparation of my annual business expo conference. He has dedicated countless hours to working on my business expos and his personal touch has been appreciated by the thousands of individuals who have attended throughout the years. Indeed, because of Mr. Nakamura's efforts, my business expos have always been resounding successes.

Mr. Speaker, on January 29, 1992, administrators, former students, civil leaders and dear friends will be gathered to honor Mr. Yoshio Nakamura for his tremendous and unselfish contributions to the field of education and to our community. I ask my colleagues to join me in saluting this exceptional man for his outstanding record of educational service to the young people of my district and the State of California.

KAY PARDEE, DADE SUPER
TEACHER

HON. ILEANA ROS-LEHTINEN

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Speaker, every school district has those teachers who stand out and Ms. Kay Pardee is one of those teachers. Her devotion to her students speaks for itself. She presently devotes herself to teaching the third grade at Pinecrest Elementary School. The Miami Herald recently recognized her as one of Dade County's super teachers in a recent article by staff writer, Jon O'Neill. That article follows:

Kay Pardee wants her students to love learning as much as she loves teaching. And that's a lot.

Pardee, 43, has been working at Pinecrest Elementary for almost 23 years, yet every day is a new adventure. She is filled with ideas designed to make learning fun while at the same time pushing her kids to their academic limits.

"Her classroom is a magic place," said Pardee's boss, principal Bonnie Wheatley. "She is a premier teacher who has retained her enthusiasm and interest. There's no burnout as far as she is concerned."

"I love doing this," said Pardee, who teaches third grade. "It's the only job where you get a daily payoff watching the faces of your students. It's never the same, there are no ruts."

Pardee makes sure of that. Monday, she gave her math class a break from the routine by having them play the card game "War"—with a twist. Each student drew two cards, then multiplied their face values. The kid with the highest total got to keep the cards.

When the class read the book that inspired the TV show *Little House on the Prairie*, they made models of the house and churned their own butter. When they study anatomy, they make life-size paper bodies to work with.

The kids love it.

"She's nice and she makes things interesting," said David Thornton, 8. "When we did book reports, we made boxes with drawings on the outside and a clue on the inside. Then everybody had to guess what book we read. It's fun."

For discipline, Pardee uses buttons labeled ICMM for "I Can Manage Myself." When kids misbehave, they lose the buttons. If they keep them all week or all term, they get rewards like stickers or boxes of raisins.

"I think it makes them responsible for their own behavior," Pardee said. "I want to help them build their own self-esteem and let them know they can decide how well they can do."

Student Elke Van Breemen, 9, has never lost her ICMM button. That's because she enjoys her class and her teacher.

"She's very kind and she always helps you," Elke said. "She makes you do a lot of work, but in a nice way. She never shouts at you."

Pardee has had a lot of time to develop her teaching style. Born in Upland, Calif., she moved to Miami when she was 4. As a child, she used to play teacher with her sisters, right down to giving them homework. By the time she was a senior at Coral Gables High, Pardee was sure she wanted to be a teacher.

She got a bachelor's degree in education at the University of Miami, then got a master's

in reading there. She started at Pinecrest, 10250 SW 57th Ave., in 1969 and—except for a two-year stint as a reading specialist—has been there ever since.

She has seen a lot of students during the past two decades, and sometimes the biggest thrill is seeing them again.

"I had a former student come in one time and tell me she was starting to intern as a teacher," Pardee said. "Then she said: 'It's because of you that I decided to go into teaching.' You can't get much more of a reward than that."

Mr. Speaker, I commend Kay Pardee for her contribution to teaching in south Florida. She is a model educator. I commend the leadership of principal Bonnie M. Wheatley and vice principal Lamonte Haynes for making Pinecrest Elementary School a place where teachers like Kay Pardee can thrive.

A THOUGHTFUL SUGGESTION FOR
CONGRESSIONAL REFORM

HON. WM. S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, during the recess I spent some time with an old friend and colleague, Chuck Chamberlain, a fellow Michigander and former member of the House.

Chuck mentioned an article he had seen, written by Norman Ornstein, a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute. The article put forth what I feel is a fine idea for reforming one area of congressional rules, and a very controversial area at that.

Mr. Ornstein's suggestion is to change the ethics committees of both Houses of Congress "to consist of former members and staff, appointed by leaders for fixed terms."

This suggestion has at least two virtues: One, by appointing "outsiders" it eliminates a conflict, or at least a perceived conflict of interest in the deliberations of the Ethics Committees; two, by appointing those who have served in Congress, Members who are called before the Ethics Committees can be assured that their cases are being heard by people who have more than a superficial understanding of their plight.

Service on the Ethics Committees is perhaps one of the most difficult assignments a Member can have. I am sure that the many fine Members who are currently serving on these committees would welcome this change.

As Mr. Ornstein puts it:

The lawmakers who now serve on the ethics panels—including some of the best, most honorable and most conscientious we have—would be freed from that thankless and onerous task and able to spend much more time on productive policy pursuits.

There are many thoughtful and civic-minded former members who would like a chance to serve their Nation once again.

I believe this suggestion merits serious consideration by my colleagues and ask that the column by Norman Ornstein be reprinted in the RECORD.

[From the Washington Post, Nov. 28, 1991]

LET FORMER CONGRESSMEN JUDGE

(By Norman Ornstein)

The Senate Ethics Committee's reprimand of Senator Alan Cranston puts a painful and

rather bizarre end to the saga of the Keating Five. But it does not end the dilemma the Senate—and the House—face while dealing with investigation and punishment of violations of congressional ethics. No matter what they do, they get criticized and vilified. The verdicts are either too easy, reflecting the desire of members to protect their own, no matter how egregious the conduct, or too tough, reflecting partisan, personality or ideological motives to "get" the miscreant.

We have had more than our share of highly publicized examples in the past few years, from Gus Savage, Jim Bates, "Buz" Lukens and Speaker Jim Wright in the House to the Keating Five and Sens. Durenberger and D'Amato in the Senate. Currently, we have the investigations into leaks in the Senate, and the sergeant-at-arms bank in the House. We don't know what will come next, but most assuredly something, and someone, will emerge before long. Each time, the House or Senate Ethics Committee, or a related designated group, investigates and deliberates, surrounded by an atmosphere of suspicion and skepticism. No wonder finding members to serve on the ethics panels is about as easy as recruiting vacationers to Beirut.

The problem starts with the fact that the congressional ethics committees have a built-in conflict of interest. When colleagues investigate, judge, prosecute and punish each other, there will always be suspicion about their actions. The judges, after all, are peers and friends (or rivals) of the judged. They are together with them daily, often on an intimate basis and in an interdependent fashion. The outcomes of their actions do more than affect the accused: They can shape the judges' own careers and policy or political preferences. That inherent conflict is precisely why Congress passed the "Special Prosecutor" law for the executive branch—to avoid the taint that would come from executive officials investigating allegations of wrongdoing by one of their own.

In particularly touchy and controversial situations, the two congressional ethics committees have tried to resolve this ethics dilemma by taking on an independent investigator, like Richard Phelan in the Jim Wright case and Robert Bennett for the Keating Five. That has not worked well. Special counsels may have ambitions and political motives of their own, as Phelan demonstrated, or may find, as Bennett did, that their work does not prevent the ethics committees from dividing politically or being accused of the same old conflicts of interests.

The solution for Congress is not to create special prosecutors for itself; that would not be appropriate under the Constitution, which gives Congress, in Article I, Section V, the responsibility to police the conduct of its own. Neither would it be suitable to create ethics committees consisting of those who are removed from Congress and who do not understand the nature and working of an inherently political body.

There is a way out, however, that strikes the right balance: Change the Senate and House ethics committees to consist of former members (and staff) appointed by leaders for fixed terms. Former lawmakers understand Congress and its members but are removed from the conflict of interest that comes with judging one's contemporary colleagues.

Many former members, to be sure, have their own conflicts of interest, including those who lobby Congress or otherwise do business directly with it. But we have available loads of others, including some of the most impressive and experienced citizens in

the country, who run businesses, practice law, write, teach or engage in other productive pursuits. Who among us could exceed the integrity, patriotism, sensitivity and credibility of people like Edmund Muskie, Howard Baker, James Pearson and Charles McC. Mathias from the Senate, or Barber Conable, John Y. McCollister, Bill Brodhead and John Brademas from the House? There are dozens of others who would be just as appropriate. The same is true of high-quality former members of the staff; the ethics committees also have responsibility for overseeing and policing the conduct of staffers.

If we have ethics panels made up of former legislators and staffers, they could consider any charges or complaints of wrongdoing or misconduct by lawmakers or employees, investigating and adjudicating them, then making recommendations to the appropriate house of Congress for the final judgment it is required to make under the Constitution.

Lawmakers wouldn't have to worry about losing control; it would be their most respected and esteemed former colleagues, free from their own political ambitions or self-interest, making judgments. Outsiders might criticize their verdicts but could not make any charges stick that it was the foxes guarding the chicken coops (or the chickens judging the foxes). The lawmakers who now serve on the ethics panels—including some of the best, most honorable and most conscientious we have—would be freed from that thankless and onerous task and able to spend much more time on productive policy pursuits. And at least one area where Congress is regularly pilloried could be removed from the list.

THE POWERFUL WORDS OF SAMUEL J. LEFRAK

HON. STEPHEN J. SOLARZ

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to a friend, a proud New Yorker, a distinguished leader of the business community, and a dedicated public servant, Dr. Samuel J. LeFrak.

Dr. LeFrak is chairman of the LeFrak Organization, one of the world's leading building firms. In New York, such landmarks as LeFrak City, Battery Park City, and Kings Bay Housing stand as monuments to his professional success. Yet his contributions to our city and our Nation extend far beyond his corporate endeavors.

Dr. LeFrak is a leading advocate for the homeless. He is also the sponsor of a scholarship program that sends gifted New York children to participate in the yearly American Academy of Achievement Program which brings talented youngsters together with prominent Americans. At last year's academy meeting, Dr. LeFrak was given the honor of presenting the keynote address at the United Nations. His speech, while directed at the 500 high school honorees in the audience, has a powerful message for all of us. I commend Dr. LeFrak's words to my colleagues.

ACCEPTING THE CHALLENGE OF A CHANGING
WORLD

(By Samuel J. LeFrak)

Ladies and gentlemen, distinguished guests.

Cicero once said: "I approve of a youth who has something of the old man in him. *** as I approve of the old man who has something of the youth in him. He who follows this rule may be old in body but can never be old in mind."

Welcome and congratulations to all of you honorees and over-achievers here today: past and present *** young and old *** in mind and body.

You deserve the world's applause and recognition for what you have achieved and for what you will be achieving.

The hallowed halls of this great building are most appropriate for today's meeting because this is a sacred place. Alone among the institutions of international politics, the United Nations is the preeminent forum where words—not guns—are the weapons of choice for settling disputes and avoiding war.

One of the greatest strengths of our democracy is that we can, on occasion, act like a community. We can become a group, sharing its strengths to overcome our weakness, a group accepting diversity as a precious source of creativity and using conformity as a ladder for communication. It is always reassuring to have a visible manifestation of this idealistic concept. Thus, I predict that we are on the threshold of the Golden Age of the United Nations.

Indeed, all of us here today who experienced the glory and victory of Operation Desert Storm also witnessed the global cooperation which brought about the downfall of an aggressor state.

Through rapid communications, high technology, and reason, a relentless and immediate focus on Saddam Hussein's madness rallied the world behind the United States and leaders like President George Bush and U.N. Ambassador Thomas Pickering.

Truly, the "Global Village" is a reality; and the microcosm of this volatile reality is here at the United Nations. We are one world! One people!

It was for just such purposes that this complex of buildings and its altruistic doctrines were created forty years ago: to study, evaluate, and respond quickly to world strife with practical solutions.

Today, as we approach the 21st century, the scope of changes taking place compels us to resolve international issues at an even faster pace than before.

Instant TV replay of shattering events like Tienanin Square and the Kurdish disaster are immediate reflections of global problems that must be solved at once.

My remarks today, therefore, will be addressed to you: the next generation of young, bold leaders who must yet confront and unravel the monumental conflicts that have plagued mankind throughout the modern era *** a generation that must reshape the future of the world as we enter a new millennium.

And I must say that I am happy to be here to speak to such an outstanding group of overachievers.

For you are not a lost generation! Or a silent generation! Or an indifferent generation! You are a concerned and committed generation. And I, for one, believe adult America should be proud and thankful that you, young America—youthful America—is concerned for our country, dedicated to genuine understanding of world problems and fearless in your determination to be a part of the solutions we seek.

Never before has youth been so informed, assertive, articulate and well educated. Poetry and art, philosophy and science, reli-

gion, politics, economics, and the environment will be affected by you. It is you who must eventually cure cancer, homelessness, AIDS, and the common cold, lay out blight-proof and smog-free cities, enrich the underdeveloped world, and write "the end" to poverty and war.

As we stand on the threshold of the Twenty-first Century, our ability to survive and flourish as a civilization will depend upon your enthusiasm, creativity and hard work. For you are the future explorers, scientists, artists, inventors, and innovators who must change the way we live. Many of you someday may even return here to the United Nations to represent our great country as its diplomats and world statesmen.

For it is your generation that will be called upon to correct the effects of this vast explosion of technology, rapid communication, and knowledge *** to satisfy our growing needs for education, health, culture, and improved living conditions. Your mission, therefore, is to accept the challenge of a swiftly changing world.

No other generation of Americans has ever had so great an opportunity and so great a responsibility.

Chekhov said we live today to improve tomorrow. Albert Einstein summed up the challenge. He said the most incomprehensible thing about the world is that it is comprehensible.

Any attempt to understand international relations today therefore must begin by considering the speed with which the modern world has been unmoored from its own past. An exuberant new vitality has stirred the human species, altering patterns of life set in the daybreak of civilization. Moved by ideals of individual dignity and worth, millions of people in countries around the world have questioned and changed age-old hierarchies of power and influence. Empires have disappeared, new nations have been born. There is today the technical paucity to do down with poverty, disease and homelessness.

A wise man once wrote: "The worst sin toward our fellow creatures is not to hate them but to be indifferent to them." Indifference can no longer be tolerated. Throughout history there has been no better time than now to correct the world's inequities.

Only one choice faces us. And that is to act! The 80-year old Voltaire, when told that a tree he favored would take 40 years to bloom, said to his gardener, "Well, then, plant it this afternoon."

As we look to the next century, shortages, poverty, upheavals, environmental disasters seem all too possible. How can we survive, much less prosper, in a complex and turbulent world?

We should remember that the Chinese ideograph for "crisis" is composed of two picture-characters: one means "danger" and the other means "opportunity."

I stress the significance of the word "crisis." For each disappointment, each disaster, each crisis offers us a window of opportunity to advance science and culture, to extend human kindness and caring to others less fortunate...to keep bright the torch of reason and concern in a world too often dark with despair and doubt.

More than 125 years ago, a group of French painters decided to break from the artistic traditions they inherited. These rebels became known as the Impressionists. From the beginning, critics denounced them as if they were attacking the very basis of French life, instead of merely trying to capture the effects of light as they saw it.

It took twenty years for their works to become popular, and, by that time, the movement had come to an end . . . but not without having achieved a permanent and honored place in world history.

Seventy-five years ago new ideas were being breached and old frontiers were being breached in music, literature, and science. Debussy was paving the way for the sounds of 20th Century music and audiences more than once broke up concerts with noisy demonstrations and riots. Men like James Joyce and T.S. Eliot were bringing a new realism to fiction and poetry in a society that had grown all too satisfied with the old ways of viewing the world. In physics, Ernest Rutherford was beginning to unlock the secrets of the atom. And soon afterward, Sigmund Freud would open new windows on the inner conflicts of man.

In short, this period was much like our own, but with one significant difference—and this difference has a vital bearing on you young people gathered here today. For you, the intellectual vanguard of your generation, are the Impressionists of today.

Recall for a moment the work of one distinguished innovator born more than 300 years ago: Galileo. In a dramatic demonstration, Galileo climbed to the top of the leaning Tower of Pisa and dropped objects of varying weights to the ground to prove that the mass of an object had no effect on its velocity under free-fall conditions.

Yet for two thousand years, man had believed the reverse because Aristotle, the great Greek philosopher, had said so! Before Galileo, no one had asked for proof or sought to disprove Aristotle's theory.

Today, we are moving through a period of splendid hope. We are on the verge of a Second Age of Enlightenment. New horizons, new challenges, new opportunities abound. Your commitment to balancing business needs with environmental concerns, in seeing that higher education addresses real-world issues and problems, and in attempting new forms of artistic and social expression, represent democratic areas where truth and absolute freedom exist with no holds barred.

You seek to bring new flavor into our lives. You ask to be directed and guided in a manner that will not turn you into carbon copies of previous generations, for you are tomorrow's leaders. Yet, the proliferation of knowledge required today by our highly technical society demands that you think fast, run fast, write fast, and act fast.

You are a generation of Galileos poking holes in the Aristotiles of the older generation. However, you face difficulties Galileo did not encounter, for, after all, no one's life then depended upon relative velocities of falling objects. In a sense, mankind could afford to wait two thousand years for Galileo.

However, today's world being what it is, we cannot afford to wait 2,000 or 500 or even 50 years for answers to problems facing our society. This urgency will create added burdens and tensions. But you cannot let this deter you from your intended course.

Moreover, do not expect to have only one crucial confrontation with truth as Galileo did. Your problems will not lend themselves to simple solutions. You will have to take that lonely walk up hundreds of towers; and even then the results will often create contradiction and uncertainty.

Consider for a moment the radical and turbulent changes you have lived through in just a few short years.

We've seen man land on the moon; the Berlin Wall torn down; the winds of change

blowing throughout the world; Russia forsaking Communism and moving toward the West; peace talks abound; China evolving toward a market economy.

We saw the United Nations band together to destroy an unjust and cowardly enemy threatening world peace. We saw American forces in a desert war use modern technology to defeat an enemy within a relatively short period of time. We hailed a dauntless General Norman Schwarzkopf. And applauded a brilliant general staff under the command of General Colin Powell. Victory brought us together. Made us proud. Gave us strength and hope. Yes, even the "flag-burners" were denounced! And a tremendous swell of American patriotism was reborn!

Now a new world order faces us today. New dreams. New aspirations. New challenges. The international community seeks our help, guidance, direction, and cooperation.

And with whom does all this new hope and promise reside?

With you . . . America's greatest resource: its young, bright leaders and scholars.

No one knows, no one can be sure, what great talent lies within you. The reinforcement and nourishment you derive from the academic world is only the foundation upon which you must build the superstructure of your future lives.

Historically, our past generations have depended upon hard work and resourcefulness. It was this resourcefulness that helped our forefathers develop America. Their ingenuity and enterprise enabled our people to enjoy those luxuries we now take for granted.

The entire world is now looking for your help, your resourcefulness, your ingenuity, and for this reason you must be ready to lead.

For better or for worse, the world today is committed to accelerating change—radical, wrenching, erosive of both traditions and old values. You, its inheritors, have grown up with rapid change and are better prepared to accommodate this change than any young men and women in history.

With your skeptical, yet humanistic outlook, your disdain for fanaticism, and your scorn for the superficial, you will infuse the future with a new sense of morality, a contemporary ethical concept that will further enrich our society and keep our great nation paramount in the eyes of the world.

Mark Twain once said to another group of overachievers: "You have won your places, not by hereditaries, and not by family influence or extraneous help, but by the natural gifts that God gave you at your birth, made effective by your very own energies."

So, remember this well—your energies and abilities have brought you this far. It is even more important that you rely on these same energies and abilities from this point on! Each of you can make something of yourselves because by your very presence here today you have proven that you have within yourselves the ability, the desire, and aspirations to reach for the stars.

But now the responsibility is yours. You have demanded it. It is up to you to know all. It is up to you to dare all.

Tomorrow's challenges are the greatest reason for your existence. You are the hope for our future.

God Bless You . . . and God Bless our Wonderful Country!

Thank you.

DIFFERENT CENTURY RULERS SET SIMILAR REFORMS IN MOTION

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, the very able and much published Marine Gen. James D. Hittle, retired, has written an interesting piece in the January 27 Navy Times. I submit it for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The analogy he draws between today and the Russian events of a century and more ago is startling to say the least.

[From the Navy Times, Jan. 27, 1992]

DIFFERENT CENTURY RULERS SET SIMILAR REFORMS IN MOTION

(By Brig. Gen. James D. Hittle)

Alexander II is known as the "Czar Liberator." So far, Mikhail Gorbachev is not called "Communist Liberator" but it could take only the passage of time for his policies to be seen in clearer perspective. Just as Alexander II received his well-deserved nickname, Gorbachev, for his historic contributions, deserves recognition for the forces he set in motion.

Alexander II (1818-1881) and Gorbachev lived in different centuries and under different political systems. Yet, whatever their respective motives, through both of their periods of power run some basic similarities.

Each came to power inheriting accumulated problems of their predecessors. Alexander, when he became czar in 1855, found himself ruling a vast nation wallowing in an economic and political quagmire of serfdom that was virtually a form of slavery, outdated political methods, censorship and an economic system unprepared for the industrial revolution. Moreover, Russia was being financially drained by the Crimean War. Alexander, like Gorbachev in his time, faced the unpleasant choice of accepting and continuing the policies of the Russia he inherited or facing up to the harsh reality of what was going on.

The Crimean War basically was a conflict between Russia and the Western powers—England and France—aligned with Russia's old antagonist, Turkey. In this sense, there were basic parallels between the Crimean War and Gorbachev's Cold War.

What Alexander II did regarding the Crimean War and what Gorbachev did regarding the Cold War underlines the realism of both. Alexander II accepted the Western peace terms, thus, in effect, surrendering. Gorbachev, about a century later, threw in the towel, too, ending a potentially explosive, and extremely expensive, confrontation with the West.

Another intriguing parallel is how, after the end of the Crimean War and again following the Cold War, Russia reopened the window to the West.

There followed, under Alexander's rule, revitalization of a previously moribund railway system, expansion of banking and hospitals and extensive improvements in education. Western technology, then as now, was to play a major role in the transformation of Russia.

But perhaps it was the kind of reform policies that Alexander II and later Gorbachev initiated that so clearly marked the changes they were bringing about.

Alexander, in 1861, liberated the millions of serfs. His objective was to provide them with

shelter and fields to till. To do this required some breaking up of the huge land holdings. Gorbachev, in the next century, sought to stimulate agriculture by providing rented land to the individual farmer, largely at the expense of the collective farm system. In each of these instances, Alexander's and Gorbachev's policies were only partially successful. It was the land-owning nobles and gentry who opposed and partially blocked Alexander's efforts. Gorbachev's opposition was the entrenched bureaucracy whose authority and privileges are largely based on the collective system.

Both rulers initiated farsighted changes in the lives of the Russian people. Alexander stopped the heavy restrictions on religious activities. Gorbachev started opening the churches. Also, under each, censorship was relaxed. Alexander put an end to special taxes levied on the Jews. Gorbachev permitted the emigration of Jews.

On military personnel matters there is another striking parallel between what happened under the czar and the communist leaders. After both the Crimean and the Cold War there were heavy cuts in Russian military forces, with widespread termination of military careers and resulting dissatisfaction and dissension.

The relaxation of censorship under Alexander fostered political discussion and the growth of political journalism. Later, under the communists, journalism was rigidly controlled, and opposing political discussion forbidden. Gorbachev returned the country to a policy of openness, providing freedom to speak and write, even critically, about government policy.

The parallels of their respective rules extended even to their removal from power. Alexander was killed by a bomb thrown by a disgruntled student. Gorbachev's authority really ended with the brief, but futile coup. From the moment of his capture and the three-day loss of the nuclear control "black box," his power went into a tailspin.

As historical figures, both Alexander II and Mikhail Gorbachev stand tall in their respective centuries and in their roles affecting not only Russia but world events. Each in his time initiated transitions of epic proportions. Alexander II started the transition of the Russian empire from a semi-feudal to an early industrial and capitalist nation. Gorbachev set in motion vast forces that ended the Cold War, broke down the Berlin Wall, freed Eastern Europe and brought down the communistic Soviet Union. And, as so often happens, those whose reforms are the engines of transitions do not end up under happy circumstances. Both Alexander and Gorbachev paid a high price for their glasnost and perestroika.

In the end both were victims of their own liberalizing policies. Mikhail Gorbachev, now in eclipse and discard, must occasionally remember what Alexander II once said to his friend Prince von Bismarck: "It was never possible to stop liberal developments at the right time."

TRIBUTE TO WARREN BROOKES

HON. LAMAR S. SMITH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. SMITH of Texas. Mr. Speaker, clarity is a valued commodity in our world that often seems clouded by confusion. Warren Brookes

helped us navigate through that cloud. He passed away in December, and we will all miss the lucid reasoning he brought to our world.

Warren stood out among his colleagues. Not tossed about by the political storms that rage in our Capital, he was anchored by his beliefs. Those beliefs led him toward the truth as he saw it.

Mr. Speaker, the following article from the Washington Times is a fitting tribute to Warren that I wanted to share with my colleagues:

WARREN BROOKES

The story goes that the popular CBS news program "60 Minutes" was looking to do a story on Warren Brookes, whose reporting was making life miserable for those who argue that more government can cure everything from acid rain to hair loss. In a town where journalistic success is measured by TV appearances, a lot of reporters would have welcomed the national spotlight. Not Mr. Brookes, not the man known to many here simply as "Warren."

Instead, the columnist encouraged the show's producers to take a closer look at the government's idea of acid-rain clean-up. The show took his advice, and what followed was a prime-time reminder of what the columnist had long argued: The Clean Air Act wasn't really going to clean up very much, but the economy would pay an enormous price. So it has, and so it will.

Well, the environmental president and his handpicked choice to run the Environmental Protection Agency, William Reilly, can breathe a little easier now knowing that they don't have Warren to kick their programs around any more. He died suddenly, unexpectedly last week after a brief illness. He leaves behind many friends at The Washington Times, where his column appeared, and a legacy of puncturing this city's conventional wisdom.

Unlike a lot of reporters in Washington, Warren actually crunched some of the numbers spewing out of the federal government. When they didn't add up, he dared to say so. He showed that Washington's beloved fuel-economy standards were killers, but that apples were not. He threw cold water on global warming. He made clear just how taxing taxes could be. He let the air out of the so-called Massachusetts Miracle.

He also followed the facts where they led him. If that meant breaking ranks with conservatives and saying something nice about Rep. John Dingell—say, on the allegations of scientific fraud involving Rockefeller University President David Baltimore—he would. But no dumb idea was safe. Following news of his death, Mr. Dingell released a statement praising the columnist's analysis and writing. "We didn't always see eye to eye," he said, "but I always received fair treatment at his hand, and I regarded him as a friend. I hope God is good to him." A spokesman for the congressman added that Warren was more interested in ideas than personalities: "It was never personal with him." From Vice President Quayle, whom Warren visited over Christmas, came this praise: "He was a wonderful person, a great reporter and a dear friend. I will miss him."

The columnist's success was based on more than hard work. It started from an almost religious premise that Washington's materialistic outlook on life made it incapable of understanding the people it was supposed to govern. Government measures well-being in terms of quarterly GNP figures. Warren measured it in terms of energy, imagination

and faith. Where Washington saw limits, scarcity and death, Warren saw a limitless God in whom all things—even life everlasting—were possible. From a few loaves and fishes could come not just progress but miracles. In his 1982 book, "The Economy in Mind," which is excerpted today in the space opposite, he quoted Pope John Paul II: "Whatever the miseries or suffering that afflict man, it is not through violence, the interplay of power and political systems, but through the truth concerning man, that he journeys toward a better future." (His emphasis.) Christ Jesus himself rejected the finite material world, wrote Warren, when he said, "In the world ye have tribulation, but be of good cheer; I have overcome the world."

Unfortunately, Warren, added, some people have taken to worshipping a different god—a god of entropy, of finitude, of limits. This new religion, he said, "must accept all of the unspiritual premises these limits imply, from environmental extremism to zero population growth, from abortion to the 'right to die.'"

His own unshakable faith made Warren skeptical of the limits implicit in environmentalism, protectionism, anti-immigration fervor and in so much of what passes for policy in Washington. It made him a great reporter—much as it would embarrass him to hear this—who will be much missed. Washington has lost a journalist, The Times a good friend and the nation that rare public servant. But Warren's ideas live on, confirming his belief in how few limits in life there really are.

SIU-CREWED TUGS SAVE SIX FOUNDERING ON VIOLENT LAKE ERIE

HON. MARY ROSE OAKAR

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Ms. OAKAR. Mr. Speaker, in these times of daily accounts of personal failings, it is with great pride that I rise today to share with you the personal heroics of several Greater Clevelanders, all seamen and all members of the Seafarers International Union. They risked personal injury and possible death to save the lives of their fellow seamen late last year on the storm-tossed waters of Lake Erie.

Unfortunately, the American worker has been the object of scorn and ridicule in recent weeks. I am proud to say that the selfless efforts of the men profiled here typify the work ethic which has helped to make the Greater Cleveland area the proud community it is today. The account of their brave efforts is contained in the following story which was written for a future issue of Seafarers Log, the official publication of the Seafarers International Union.

SIU-CREWED TUGS SAVE SIX FOUNDERING ON VIOLENT LAKE ERIE

The SIU-crewed tugboat Wisconsin completed a daring rescue of six boatmen drifting on a tugboat and barge on choppy Lake Erie minutes before nightfall.

Around 2:30 p.m. on December 14, the dispatcher at the Great Lakes Towing office in Cleveland received a distress call from a non-union tugboat, the Paddy Miles, towing the barge loaded with a crane. A second tug, the

Hamm Thomas, also pulling the barge from Rocky River—less than 10 miles west of Cleveland—sunk shortly after entering Lake Erie. Its two-man crew safely scrambled aboard the barge.

Deckhand/Engineer Ed Fike was at home when he received a call to report to the 90-foot Wisconsin. "I asked myself what I was going out for," the 31-year SIU member told a reporter for the Seafarers Log. Weather conditions included 10 to 12-foot seas, 35-mile-per-hour winds gusting as high as 60 and temperatures dropping to 30 degrees.

"Then I heard people needed rescued and I changed my mind immediately," Fike recalled.

The 48-foot Miles had lost all power and its tow line when it called for help. Both the tug and barge were drifting to the east. News reports noted the only available Coast Guard rescue vessel, a 41-footer, was not rated for seas higher than eight feet.

When the Wisconsin caught up with the barge, it was 1.5 miles east of the mouth of the Cuyahoga River in downtown Cleveland.

"We made a pass for the rig and got a line on it," Fike said.

Because of the high seas and icy conditions, the cable slipped off the cleat.

"We re-rigged a line and went after it again. Considering the heavy seas, everything went really well," the deckhand added. One of the four men on the deck of the Miles caught the line and secured it for towing. The Wisconsin pulled the barge within the Cleveland breakwall where the Idaho, another SIU-crewed Great Lakes Towing vessel, was waiting. The Wisconsin returned to the lake to save the Miles.

"It was getting close to dark," Fike remembered. "We didn't have much time left." The Miles had drifted within 1,000 feet of the breakwall and was headed for it. The Wisconsin pulled alongside the smaller tug and secured a tow line on the first try.

The whole rescue took approximately two hours. Fike said he talked briefly with those who were rescued, but "it was so cold and we were so wet, all we wanted to do was get warm and dry." However, one of those saved by the Great Lakes Towing tugs remembered them with a Christmas card. It read:

To the Heroes: Thank you for coming to the rescue in a life-threatening situation. Your determination and professionalism will not be forgotten. (signed) Russ Maher, Willowick, Ohio.

Other SIU crewmembers involved in the rescue included Deckhands Ray Smith on the Wisconsin and Tim McKenna aboard the Idaho. All three received plaques and letters of commendation from Great Lakes Towing. The company also recommended the trio, as well as the captains and engineers on the Wisconsin and Idaho, for Coast Guard recognition. Finally, the television show "Rescue 911" has contacted the company about doing a story on the rescue.

CULTURAL COLLISION

HON. ENI F.H. FALEOMAVAEGA

OF AMERICAN SAMOA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Mr. Speaker, as our colleagues may have been aware, Senator HATFIELD and I—on a bipartisan basis—were able to solicit the support and endorsement of our distinguished Members in both the Senate

and the House to officially designate the year 1992 as the "Year of the American Indian" (S.J. Res. 217, H.J. Res. 342, Public Law 102-123, signed by the President on December 4, 1991). Although only symbolic, this gesture is important in the eyes of many American Indians because it shows there is sympathy in the eyes of a majority of both Houses of the Congress for those Indian issues we as a Congress have been struggling with for over 200 years. In further explanation of this issue I am providing a recent article from the National Journal for my colleagues' consideration.

CULTURAL COLLISION

The Native American lobby may have found a secret ally in a long-time nemesis. It hopes to share the spotlight in this year's commemoration of the 500th anniversary of Christopher Columbus's historic voyage.

Representatives of Indian tribes have argued aggressively—and with some success—that observations of Columbus's 1492 landing serve as a forum for a reappraisal of the history of Native American cultures and of the status of Indians in contemporary society. The ultimate goal is to parlay the quincentennial hoopla—which will reach a peak on Oct. 12—into pro-Indian social legislation and land policies.

The Native Americans confront a monumental task. Generations of American schoolchildren have been taught that Columbus's arrival opened their country to the advances of European culture and technology. The Indians hope to turn that story on its head; they argue that their ancestors had already established sophisticated civilizations and that Columbus's so-called gifts were devastating: the eventual death of 90 per cent of the indigenous population—as a result of what many Indians regard as genocide—and the institution of slavery.

On the ceremonial front, at least, the Indians have scored a substantial victory. In large measure, 1992 has officially been transformed from the celebration of Europe's discovery of a new world to a commemoration of an encounter between two old worlds.

Some traditionalists call that rewriting history. But Rep. Ben Nighthorse Campbell, D-Colo., a Cheyenne who is the only American Indian in Congress, responds: "Hell, we didn't have a chance to help write it in the first place. We're just trying to set the record straight."

Expanding the record hasn't been easy. Before they could even begin their campaign, Indian leaders had to revise their approach to politics, persuasion and the press. When Congress, in 1984, began to discuss plans for a quincentennial jubilee celebration, the Native American community reacted in traditional fashion: Many Indians ignored it, some protested loudly and largely ineffectually, but most greeted the plans with silent resentment.

"In Indian country, when we don't like something, we stay at home," said Suzan Shown Harjo, a Cheyenne and Hodulgee Muscogee, who is national coordinator of the Washington-based 1992 Alliance, a clearinghouse founded in mid-1990 for Native American responses to the quincentennial. "It took a long while for many of us to really see the pressing need for our involvement in 1992."

Actually, it took about five years. By 1989, however, Indians had begun contacting the planners of quincentennial events to seek recognition of the Native American perspective. State, local and church officials were also

asked to lend their support for a more balanced presentation of early American history. And Indians began to plan a variety of alternative events of their own.

Perhaps most important, Native Americans began to cultivate the press. "We learned to play the media game," said Sandra Toineeta a Lakota, who is the American Indian consultant to the New York City-based National Council of Churches and coordinator of the council's 1992-related activities. "It is a media event, so the media had to pick up on it."

CONVERGENCE OF FORCES

It can't be said that the Indians mounted a well-oiled lobbying operation to influence the Columbus commemoration. In fact, they still disagree among themselves over how to proceed this year. Harjo's Alliance, for example is by no means a typical umbrella coalition of like-minded interest groups. The major Native American organizations, such as the National Congress of American Indians in Washington, the Association of American Indian Affairs in New York City and the Boulder (Colo.)-based Native American Rights Foundation, go their separate ways, albeit they all hammer away at basically the same themes.

"I wish I could point to someone who orchestrated this, but there's nobody who can really take credit for it," said La Donna Harris, executive director of Americans for Indian Opportunity in Washington. "There has been no major institutional change [in the country], but rather a new sense of awareness that's come mostly because people like ourselves [in the native American leadership] have said: 'Wait a minute. This really isn't a celebration. You don't have the full story.'"

A combination of outside factors helped the Indians get their message across. Timing was crucial. The nation's changing ethnic makeup, fed by new patterns of immigration, moved issues such as multicultural education to the front burner in the 1980s. Also, the 1960s generation, weaned on a diet of inclusiveness, had come of age and assumed positions of authority in schools, churches and some political offices. Many of them were receptive to the ideas the Indians were pushing.

"Independent ideas coming from many different groups sort of coalesced," said Alicia M. Gonzalez, director of the Smithsonian Institution's office of quincentennial programs.

Other interests clamoring for a place on the quincentennial stage bolstered the Indian's efforts. A major assist, for example, came from Hispanics, a population bloc with its own Columbus-related political agenda and its own claims to indigenous ancestry.

Ironically, Native Americans may have received their biggest boost unintentionally from the Christopher Columbus Quincentennial Jubilee Commission, the official body established by Congress in 1984 to plan a traditional Italian-centered—Columbus Day-parade-writ-large—celebration. Lack of funds, mismanagement and scandal sidetracked the commission, delaying and perhaps precluding lavish preparations for festivities.

The recession has also kept some corporate backers from their checkbooks, as has their fear of investing in projects that could turn out to be controversial because of the stir raised by the Indians.

A lack of consensus among historians has contributed to the debate over how the quincentennial should be commemorated, whether as a glorification of European explorers or a repudiation of rapacious slave

traders. In the main, the federal agencies that have the money to mount major exhibitions and produce television documentaries—the Smithsonian Institution and the Library of Congress, for example—are playing it down the middle by adopting the encounter-of-two-cultures theme.

Predictions vary greatly as to how the year's celebratory events will unfold. In some cases, Native American mourning services will be held simultaneously, or there may be heckling by Indians, like that at some Columbus Day parades last October. Among the major events will be Columbus (Ohio)'s ambitious April-October Ameriflora festival, a horticultural and theatrical exposition budgeted at \$53 million. Most such observations are expected, at least minimally, to acknowledge Native Americans in a positive way.

The main hope within Native American circles is that it not be all over when it's over. "A lot of people in the Indian community worry that this is going to be a five-minute shot in the arm for Indian problems and everybody is going to forget it after 1992," Campbell said. "Everybody will go back to business as usual, and the Indian people will still be suffering the way they did before."

POLITICAL AGENDAS

However the 1992 events turn out, Indians, Hispanics and other groups have already assured that the quincentenary will differ greatly from what Congress had in mind when it created the Columbus jubilee commission eight years ago.

Like the annual Columbus Day parades in big cities such as Boston, Chicago and New York, the quincentenary jubilee was initially envisioned by many as an excuse for a year-long celebration of Italian heritage. Nearly half of the public members named to the 30-member federal commission were prominent Italian-Americans.

"I don't think anybody viewed this as anything more than another significant chronological anniversary to 'do' in the same way all the other commemoratives had been done," said Robert B. Blancato, now the director of institute and public policy for the National Italian-American Foundation in Washington, who at the time worked for then-Rep. Mario Biaggi, D-N.Y., one of the act's sponsors.

"As far as an Indian person being a full member of the [national quincentenary] commission, I don't think that occurred to them collectively at the very beginning," said Bill Ray, a Klamath Indian who is a member of the Oregon Commission on Indian Services. Thanks to pressure from Native American, Hispanic and church groups, Ray was named to the commission last month. He had served as an honorary member and chairman of its Native American Advisory Committee since 1989.

The political turn of events has even surprised the academic world, where vociferous argument has been going on for decades, if not centuries, about what kind of a person Columbus was, where his ship actually made landfall, the exchange of foods and diseases that resulted from the encounter, the full extent of the indigenous civilizations and the reasons for their demise.

We thought there would be much more [in the way of] vigorous intellectual debates [as 1992 approached]. Those haven't taken place," said Franklin W. Knight, a professor of Latin American and Caribbean history at the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore and an adviser to various projects to observe the quincentenary. "What we have are a lot of polemical debates."

A hard core of Italian-Americans is determined to proceed along traditional lines. Columbus: Countdown 1992, a private, nonprofit organization based in New York City, for example, has commissioned portraits of 15th century navigators, published books about Columbus and the Italian Renaissance and produced a video of a puppet play about Columbus.

"I say it's the discovery of America by the Europeans, and it's the logical extension of the Renaissance," said Anne Paolucci, an English professor at St. John's University in New York City and founder of the Countdown organization. "The native populations, when they get on their soap opera boxes and start spouting off these days, they're saying what amounts to 'When did you stop beating your wife?' To accuse Columbus and the people who came with him of all these things [slavery, genocide, etc.] is really a sin."

But some larger Italian-American organizations have changed their tune. Though Blancato of the National Italian-American Foundation complained that the "media has given [the quincentennial critics], in our assessment, an undue amount of attention," he said the foundation has made overtures to Native American and Hispanic critics to work together on projects of mutual interest, such as health care and education. "We're looking for avenues for dialogue for the future," he said.

Organized Hispanics got an early appreciation of the public relations opportunities presented by the quincentenary. Both as immigrants and as descendants of indigenous populations taught the language of Spanish conquerors, most Hispanics in this country have long been treated as second-class citizens. Now, they'd like to use the quincentenary to showcase their history and the contributions of the ancestors.

"We saw 1992 as an opportunity to tell the rest of the world and the American people about how American we were, how integral we were to the development of this nation and how important we continue to be," said Raul Yzaguirre, president of the Washington-based National Council of La Raza, one of the largest Hispanic advocacy organizations. "Lewis and Clark [in 1804-06] found American Indians speaking Spanish and with Spanish artifacts," he noted.

But in 1985, it looked as if the Hispanics would be left out of the quincentenary just as they say they were ignored in the American bicentennial blowout in 1976. "All of a sudden, instead of the focus being on the opening of a new world by a Spanish civilization, it was the discovery of America by one individual," Yzaguirre said. "It was an Italian event." So the Hispanics organized their own National Hispanic Quincentennial Commission, with Yzaguirre at its helm.

Because so many Hispanics have Indian ancestry, Yzaguirre said his organization developed close working ties with Native American groups. But some Hispanic advocates are suspicious of the receptivity that has been given to the Indians' demands for recognition.

"There are people who realize that Hispanics are going to be very powerful very soon—the largest minority group within the next 20 years—and so what they are doing is a very sophisticated version of Hispanic bashing," said Barbara A. Tenenbaum, editor in chief of the *Encyclopedia of Latin American History* and vice president of the Hispanic quincentennial commission. "Native Americans are not going to be a power in this country ever, so it's safe to advocate their cause. It's not as though the quincentenary

is being used to say all Europeans were disgusting, only that the Spanish were rotten."

Native Americans insist they don't want to be played off against the Hispanics; they simply want their rights as citizens and the dignity of human beings, which begins with the accurate recounting of history. To the Indians, therefore, the quincentenary presented the biggest challenge, but ultimately the biggest prize.

Some observers interpret the change in Native American lobbying tactics on the quincentenary as part of their coming of age in American society.

"It is a reflection very largely of the greater organization and consciousness and capacity to move in American society of spokesmen for the American Indians," said William H. McNeill, University of Chicago historian and a vice chairman of the national quincentennial commission. "There are now enough educated persons who have no handicap in discoursing in English and explaining their dissatisfaction with the traditional image."

Harjo and other Indian leaders describe an evolution from the frustration-provoked violence of American Indian Movement activists in the 1970s to a more calculated effort to work through mainstream institutions such as the schools, the news media, the museums and the sports world. "There are fewer than two million Indians in this country, and we can't tell our story to everyone one by one," Harjo said. Every summer, Harjo urges high school principals at an institute held at Harvard University to change history curriculums. She also solicits support at sportswriters' meetings for ending the use of Indian names for athletic teams.

A segment of the Indian community still believes violence, or at least disruption of quincentennial activities, is the only way to capture public attention. But the mainstream participants disavow that course as counterproductive. "Whatever the results, they would be short-lived," Ray said. "We're looking for more longterm awareness."

Over the long term, he said, the tribes want to build a constituency for such Native American priorities as Indian land claims, freedom of religious practices legislation and the return of bones and religious objects by museums, as well as social programs to improve Indian education and combat alcoholism and high suicide rates.

The Indians had an early and powerful ally in the National Council of Churches, which adopted a strong resolution in May 1990 denouncing church participation or acquiescence in observations honoring what it described as genocide against indigenous people and the institution of slavery. The resolution called on its 32 member denominations to refrain from celebrating the quincentenary and instead to engage in activities of reflection and repentance.

"It was a highly controversial resolution at the beginning, but they hung in with it and took the punches with it," said Council of Churches' consultant Toineeta. "And now many of the denominations have adopted resolutions with similar flavor."

The council's resolution lists African-Americans among the victims of the 1492 encounter but does not emphasize their plight. In fact, surprisingly little attention has been focused on the whole aspect of slavery. A probable reason is the absence of black voices in the general clamor over the quincentenary.

In 1984 and 1985, black organizations reacted to the initial quincentennial plans in a manner similar to that of Native Americans,

John Herbert, the Library of Congress's quincenary coordinator, recalled. "They asked, 'Why should we celebrate?' Hebert said. Unlike the Indians, however, who have taken a "very forceful and vocal and demonstrative position, I have not seen a similar sharpening of focus from African-American society," he said. "There hasn't been the same follow-up that says 'What we will do instead is this.'"

SHAPING THE STORY

Although Native American activists say that the film documentaries and museum exhibits developed for the quincennial are not sufficiently pro-Indian, most such efforts have taken pains to acknowledge the cultures Columbus encountered in 1492. There have also been fewer re-creations of the event than many observers had expected.

"We thought we would be overwhelmed by movies and television programs about Columbus, and that certainly has not yet happened," Johns Hopkins's Knight said. "I heard talk about three movies, but I don't know of any of them in advanced production." The recession, the disarray of the quincenary commission and fear of arousing controversy are generally given as reasons why such projects have had difficulty attracting financial support.

Knight was an adviser to the only television series that has aired so far, the seven-part *Columbus and the Age of Discovery*, produced by WGBH in Boston and shown on PBS last October. The documentary used the disputed word *discovery* "because this is what it was," Knight said. "Everybody discovered something about themselves, about others and about the wider world."

Some television critics complained that the series, which took pains to include European, Native American, African, Asian and Middle Eastern perspectives, was boring.

But advocates on all sides agreed it presented a balanced picture. During the course of filming from 1986-88, Knight said, Indians interviewed in several countries expressed increasing political interest in how the Columbus story was being presented. The National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) contributed \$650,000 toward the production's \$6.5 million budget.

But the NEH rejected a request for financial aid by an independent filmmaker, Yanna Kroyt Brandt, for his proposed four-part series called *1492—A Clash of Visions*. NEH deputy chairwoman Celeste Colgan said it was turned down because its script characterized the Aztecs as "very benign" in contrast with "the rapaciousness and greed of the Spanish conquistadors." She added that "the word genocide was applied to Columbus in a way that our national council members felt was really troubling."

Complaints about NEH financing decisions have also come from those who wish to honor Columbus's role in history. "It's so sad to see the energy expended on confrontation when here we are working on a shoestring," the pro-Italian Paolucci of St. Johns University said. "We have no grant money, no nothing. How we manage, I don't know."

Colgan said the NEH's goal in awarding grants was to avoid presentations that are "directed at persuading an audience to a particular political, philosophical, religious or ideological point of view or advocate a particular program of social action."

Two museum exhibitions mounted in Washington—the National Gallery of Art's recently completed *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration* and the Smithsonian's *Seeds of Change*—epitomize the emphasis on objectivity and balance (Harjo called them "safe and

boring"). *Seeds of Change* is only one of more than 100 quincenary events the Smithsonian plans, but it is the centerpiece of the institution's commemorative calendar.

"Very sensitive issues were being dealt with," the Smithsonian's Gonzalez acknowledged. "So [the institution] tried to discuss it in as objective a way as possible." One way that was done was by emphasizing disease as a major killer of the indigenous population rather than violent acts by European discoverers and colonizers. "If you want to get away from genocide, it's easier to talk about disease," said James Axtell, a humanities professor at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Va., and chairman of the American Historical Association's Columbus Quincenary Committee.

But Gonzalez doesn't interpret the encounter or the institution's depiction of it as totally neutral. "You can't deny that there was a deliberate intent [to destroy or at least weaken the native cultures]," she said. "Every group approached us," she said. "Many groups came ready to battle. In the end, we worked with many of them."

Hebert of the Library of Congress criticized the Smithsonian show for not hitting hard enough at the problem of slavery in a segment that focused on the development of the sugar trade. "That was hardly really a response, to damn one product rather than the process" he said. Hebert said the library is planning an exhibit, *1492, An Ongoing Voyage*, that will present manuscripts and other archival items in which slavery will be given greater stress.

Some scholars, such as Axtell, worry that the politics of the quincenary could prove counterproductive to the aims of the Indians and others. "I see dangers in the abrupt kind of moralizing that's going on, using little pieces of information from the past for political or moral purposes" he said. "It treats the Indians like nothing but victims, passive helpless victims who just got run roughshod over. And they weren't that; they were much stronger."

To many Native Americans, the real reason for dwelling on this issue is not the past but the future. "there's certainly the historical perspective," Ray said. "but the real important thing for tribes today is what do we do now. We have crucial issues that the tribes have to face. What can be done to help them solve those problems?"

TRIBUTE TO DR. JOHN H. GIBBONS

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the Technology Assessment Board, I am pleased to call to your attention the singular honor recently received by Dr. John H. Gibbons, Director of the Office of Technology Assessment. On behalf of the OTA, Dr. Gibbons accepted the Officer's Cross of the Order of Merit from the Federal Republic of Germany. The medal, issued only by the President of the Federal Republic, honors those whose work has contributed significantly to Germany. It is only rarely awarded to non-Germans.

The German Bundestag recently established an office modeled after OTA. The special scientific unit performs assessments, monitors scientific and technological developments, and

integrates its work into the parliamentary process. OTA has also assisted efforts to establish similar agencies in Western Europe and Asia.

In accepting the award, Dr. Gibbons said, "we all appreciate the profound influence that science and technology are having on the course of history. There is a new sense of global community, not only among scientists, but also among policymakers and others. A key issue is how our leaders can make wise decisions in an age increasingly driven by technological change."

As the complex technological issues Congress brings to OTA for analysis become increasingly international in nature, from telecommunications and space exploration to adequate energy supply and nuclear waste disposal, the establishment of close contacts with other nations can provide the agency with an invaluable network of information sources for crafting thoughtful and comprehensive public policy options. Congress can be extremely proud of Dr. Gibbons' leadership at the Office of Technology Assessment.

THE NEED FOR ANTISECRECY LEGISLATION IN FEDERAL COURTS

HON. LAWRENCE J. SMITH

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. SMITH of Florida. Mr. Speaker, in 1984, a California jury ruled for a plaintiff who complained that the manufacturer of silicone breast implants failed to warn of the potential for severe side effects. Why have so few people heard about what today is a major health concern for thousands of women?

Because the court issued an order that prohibited the plaintiff from telling anybody—even the Food and Drug Administration—what she learned.

Today, courts can still prohibit the disclosure of certain information, and they may approve secrecy agreements that seal a case's files after settlement—even if that information could save another person's life.

While these orders settle a dispute between the two parties, they also prevent anybody else from seeing information on defective products that may be injuring people every day. The present system, in essence, condones the withholding of lifesaving information from average citizens.

We must correct this imbalance in our judicial system. In April 1991, I introduced H.R. 2017, the Federal Litigation in the Sunshine Act. This bill would make it difficult for courts to conceal information on a public hazard.

The December 1991 issue of a ABA Journal contains an interesting article that reinforces my argument for disclosure legislation. It is entitled "Secrecy Versus Safety—Restoring the Balance."

I urge my colleagues to read the article, which follows my comments. If they agree that at times the safety of society overrides the need for secrecy, then I hope that they will co-sponsor H.R. 2017.

If we do not change the present situation, then who knows what health problem, known

to a few today, will become a serious problem in 10 years.

SECRECY VERSUS SAFETY—RESTORING THE BALANCE

(By Bob Gibbins)

In 1984, a San Francisco federal court case set the stage for a display of the potential of protective orders to delay government regulation and conceal threats to public health. It provides a potent look at the workings of secrecy in litigation—and clearly reflects why determined action is essential to restore balance to America's justice system. (For another view, see Arthur Miller's "Private Lives or Public Access," August 1991 *ABA Journal*, page 64.)

That case, *Stern v. Dow Corning Corp.* (U.S. Dist. Ct., N.D. Cal., No. C83-2348), involved silicone breast implants used in reconstructive surgery. The jury rendered a verdict for the plaintiff on her complaint that the manufacturer committed fraud and failed to warn of the potential for severe side effects. The case was settled while on appeal.

After *Stern* was concluded, a protective order demanded by the implant manufacturer remained in force. It prohibited the plaintiff's attorneys and expert witnesses from telling government regulators or anyone else what the discovery documents showed about safety tests of the product.

Even at a 1988 U.S. Food and Drug Administration hearing held to consider requiring implant manufacturers to demonstrate safety, a *Stern* attorney subject to that protective order was unable to disclose information about clinical or animal tests.

A medical school professor who examined more than a dozen breast implant litigation files has been similarly prohibited, by protective orders in every case, from sharing his knowledge of tests with FDA or congressional investigators. Here is an example of a publicly funded inquiry of a possibly dangerous product; yet a medical school professor is legally gagged through a process funded by taxpayers.

The protective-order strategy was used by several manufacturers, and it bought them time. Manufacturers produced and sold implants for at least six years after the *Stern* verdict, until the FDA took its first look at the companies' clinical data in 1991.

The agency concluded that no test results submitted by any manufacturer demonstrated the safety of implants, and one manufacturer has since recalled its entire line and announced its withdrawal from the breast implant market. But while the FDA vacillated and numerous product liability cases were settled with confidentiality "agreements" and protective orders, 150,000 new patients received implants each year.

Secrecy devices have been used increasingly in litigation during the past decade. A comprehensive new study of products liability litigation involving punitive damages awards revealed a marked increase in the use of confidential settlements after 1986. Conducted by professors Michael Rustad of Suffolk University Law School and Thomas Koenig of Northeastern University, the study examined a quarter-century of data.

Recent litigation involving the prescription sleeping medication Halcion further shows how secrecy, along with lax pharmaceutical regulation, multiplies consumer risks. In 1989 a blanket protective order was entered in *Grundberg v. The Upjohn Co.* (U.S. Dist. Ct., D. Utah, No. C89-274), a case that alleged severe, unpredictable mood changes caused by this drug now used by several million Americans. The *Grundberg* protective

order effectively made all documents produced by the defendant confidential and required their return or destruction following the conclusion of the lawsuit. But shortly after *Grundberg* was settled, Halcion's manufacturer acknowledged that clinical data submitted to the FDA during the drug approval process were incomplete.

As it stands, the *Grundberg* protective order leaves an unknown number of patients and doctors wondering what caused side effects. Considering that the plaintiff in *Grundberg* had killed her own mother (although charges against her were dismissed because of involuntary intoxication with Halcion), access to complete information is crucial. A consumer organization is now asking the court to modify the protective order.

Other examples of the threat posed by secrecy are, unfortunately, not hard to come by:

A patient with a Shiley artificial heart valve is unable to learn of the danger that the device's mechanism may fracture. She dies when the valve fails, and her husband later learns that the manufacturer secretly settled litigation brought by other victims years before.

In part through that practice, the company avoids the notoriety that could have led to earlier warning of patients and/or withdrawal of the valves from the market.

A congressional investigative report ("The Bjork-Shiley Heart Valve: Earn as You Learn," House Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, Committee on Energy and Commerce, 2/90) cites "numerous instances" of deaths that might have been avoided had patients and doctors been aware of the danger earlier. *Barbee v. Shiley, Inc.* (claim was settled in 1989 without filing complaint).

The widow of a police officer killed in the crash of a traffic-control plane is denied discovery of evidence of the airplane's design defect because of a confidential settlement "agreement" in another case. The aircraft type is still in use. *Turnberger v. Cessna Aircraft Co.*, Broward City, Fla., 17th Jud. Cir. Ct., No. 83-12392.

A scientist who herself suffered a potentially fatal allergic reaction to a painkiller—later withdrawn from the market—discovers that other victims were similarly affected several years earlier but were sworn to secrecy. She also discovers that some confidential settlement "agreements" even prohibited discussion of adverse reactions in scientific journals. *Davis v. McNeilab, Inc.*, U.S. Dist., Ct., D.C., No. 85-CV-3972 (case settled in 1986).

While private matters having no public impact and true trade secrets justify confidentiality, it is inconsistent with the impartial administration of justice for a publicly created and maintained legal system to help hide responsibility for misconduct.

Events that lead to litigation often have an impact well beyond the immediate parties, and that impact can be deadly. In today's age of mass manufacturing and distribution, a dispute brought before a court can involve a potentially life-threatening hazard that already may have affected thousands of citizens, and may affect even more in the future.

Confidentiality "agreements" in products liability cases can keep information about the dangers of defective products from coming to the attention of government regulators, the news media and others who could alert the public.

And in medical negligence cases, the doctors alleged to have caused an injury may

well have other patients undergoing the same procedures. Secret settlements and sealed files can enable physicians to keep practicing without having to account for substandard care. The same concerns apply to injurious behavior in other professions.

In fact, in all types of tort litigation, both the deterrent and compensation functions of the civil justice system can be stifled by secrecy. Beyond leaving past victims ignorant of the cause of their injuries and future victims vulnerable, secrecy also can make it more difficult for victims to prepare and prove their cases.

Secrecy can make it more likely that critical evidence will be concealed or destroyed without ever being discovered.

A legal system that functions in this way is out of balance, which is why there is growing support for changes in court rules and procedures to eliminate unwarranted secrecy. Those who advocate such change seek a fairer balance between privacy and property rights on one side, and public health and safety on the other. Restoring lost balance also could help to reduce injuries and resulting litigation.

The imbalance in the tort litigation system is rooted in abuses of otherwise legitimate rights. The litigation playing field was level when the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure and other similar reforms of litigation practice were inaugurated in the 1930s. The system at that time provided protection for truly personal information (the reasons why a divorce was sought, or why child custody was refused) and true trade secrets (chemical formulae, manufacturing methods, details of distribution networks).

Some segments of the legal community now attempt to protect classes of information that go well beyond the original plan. They are advised to misuse the "trade secret" and "privacy" labels, claiming special protection for information never intended to have confidential status under the rules of civil procedure, and claiming corporate privacy rights never recognized by American law.

From this attempt to expand the idea of protected information into new areas, there has developed a well-known arsenal of devices intended to protect wrongdoers:

"Agreements" that prohibit disclosure of the compensation paid in a settlement, the names of the parties, and sometimes even the fact that litigation occurred;

Sealed court files that can conceal the very existence of the lawsuit;

Protective orders that require the return or destruction of discovery information after the termination of the litigation, and prohibit sharing discovery material with other attorneys handling similar cases or with government agencies; and

Prohibitions against attorneys handling similar cases in the future.

New secrecy strategies are still emerging. In medical malpractice cases, for instance, negotiated dismissals of individual physicians have been used to keep the doctors' names out of the federal government's data bank of malpractice verdicts and settlements, thus thwarting an important public policy.

Secrecy proponents argue that confidentiality makes litigation go more smoothly and promotes early settlement, and indeed it may—when the advocates of secrecy get their way.

But secrecy also can delay the resolution of litigation, consume large amounts of lawyers' time, and strain the courts' capacity to move cases toward a conclusion—as shown

by a recent federal court opinion in *Wauchope v. Domino's Pizza, Inc.* (U.S. Dist. Ct., S.D. Ind., No. S90-496). The plaintiffs in *Wauchope* sought information on the corporation's promise to deliver food by car in 30 minutes or less, arguing that the policy may have led to an auto collision.

The defendants demanded that much of the discovery material requested by the plaintiffs be protected against further disclosure. The court concluded that secrecy was not justified for most categories of the material, but the defendants' demand for a protective order forced the court to read motions, review and analyze numerous discovery requests, and render its conclusions in an opinion and order more than 30 pages long. The judge properly lamented that the federal rules on discovery "should be self-executing through the cooperation of counsel."

To stabilize this out-of-balance system and counteract the harm secrecy can cause, this country needs a strong presumption of openness for court proceedings and records.

We need adequate procedures to ensure that the trial judge will consider the public's interest in information that would be concealed under a proposed protective order. Advocates of secrecy argue that existing procedures already allow courts to consider the public interest as part of the exercise of judicial discretion, but widespread approval of protective orders and confidentiality "agreements" suggests that the public interest has not been made a routine part of the courts' calculus.

The Association of Trial Lawyers of America acted in 1989 to focus attention on the multiple problems caused by secrecy. ATLA's Board of Governors passed a resolution encouraging:

Courts to scrutinize requests for secrecy and grant them only when information sought to be protected is a true trade secret or can qualify for some other privilege;

Courts to allow sharing of discovery material with attorneys handling similar cases, regulatory agencies and professional boards;

Courts to liberally grant relief from pre-existing orders and "agreements" that unfairly impose secrecy; and

Attorneys to resist secrecy demands that preclude sharing information with regulatory agencies and other lawyers, and discouraging them from agreeing to proposed secrecy orders.

By now eight states have joined the movement away from secrecy. Some of this initiative has come from judges themselves. In 1990, the Texas Supreme Court was the first court to amend its rules to recognize a presumption of openness for all court proceedings, and to establish procedures to be followed for any request to seal court files.

Court rules with a similar focus on openness have been adopted by the New York State Administrative Board of the Courts, the San Diego County Superior Court, and the Delaware Supreme Court and Chancery Court.

In 1990, a different approach was taken by Florida, which passed legislation that identified a class of dangers as "public hazard," and prohibited concealment of such hazards through judicial processes.

Narrower mechanisms have been adopted in several other states. These include specific procedures to be followed in disclosing discovery materials to attorneys handling similar cases (adopted in Virginia in 1989), and standards for confidentiality regarding litigation by and against state government (adopted in North Carolina, Florida and Oregon).

Other bills and proposed court rules are under consideration in many states, most based on either the Texas or Florida models, and usually with the support of consumer, labor, environmental, senior citizen or media organizations.

The mechanics of the new measures aside, an obvious question is what the new rules and procedures change, and what they leave unchanged.

The new mechanisms give no one any new substantive rights of action. They cannot engender new cases. Nor, in any known case, do they expose strictly personal information or reveal genuine trade secrets to the public.

The changes do, obviously, give judges new duties of review in a number of situations. But once it becomes clear that requests for secrecy will be measured against the public interest, the number of secrecy demands should decrease, so that the net result is the same or better than what has been observed in the past.

The same effect should be noticeable in terms of the cost of litigation. Market forces can be expected to work against satellite litigation when clients realize that demands for unjustified secrecy will not succeed, and that they may be penalized.

Perhaps most importantly, the new measures do not infringe on judicial discretion. Indeed, they depend on judges to exercise discretion as much as the former rules ever did. They provide standards to be met by litigants, like many other written standards of proof, and prescribe what the results will be if the judge determines that the standards have not been met.

There is at least some evidence of improvement already. An ATLA member who practices in Minnesota, where no legislation has yet been passed on secrecy, recently observed a dramatic reversal of the Shiley heart valve manufacturer's previous use of secrecy demands, as well as judges' awareness of the issue of secrecy and the potential it has for harm.

These developments suggest that secrecy advocates' dire warnings about increased satellite litigation and diminished access to information are exaggerated. Their predictions imply that America's judges would allow the courts to slow to a crawl, and that members of the bar and the public would accept dramatic increases in litigation costs. Experienced judges and trial lawyers, however, will not tolerate such a result.

The goal here is to have a safer society. One way to attain that goal is to create mechanisms designed to help protect us all.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE MASSACRE OF LITHUANIAN NATIONALISTS IN VILNIUS

HON. FRANK PALLONE, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to commemorate the first anniversary of the Soviet crackdown in Lithuania. On January 13, 1991, 14 Lithuanian nationalists were killed in Vilnius by Soviet troops. The Lithuanians died resisting the Soviet attempt to seize the Lithuanian radio and TV center and the Vilnius TV tower.

One year later, thousands of Lithuanians gathered in a vastly different country to pay tribute to their 14 compatriots. Tears mixed

with pride as President Landsbergis, now head of the independent nation of Lithuania, addressed the crowd in the early morning hours.

The crackdown in the streets of Vilnius was truly the beginning of the end for the Soviet Union. The killings in Vilnius caused a shower of criticism to rain down on former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, which led to the resurgence of the hard-line element, setting the stage for the unsuccessful August coup. The coup, in turn, led to the ultimate downfall of the Soviet system. As President Landsbergis said in a special address to the Lithuanian parliament, "The Soviet world was defeated here."

Mr. Speaker, the Lithuanian people who fought the giant Soviet military machine in the streets of Vilnius deserve a large share of the credit for bringing an end to the Soviet Union. This small nation stood up to the Soviet violence. Lithuania's bravery was ultimately rewarded in September, when Lithuania and the other Baltic States received international and Soviet diplomatic recognition.

Today, Lithuania faces many challenges. Soviet troops remain on Baltic soil. Those responsible for the massacre have not yet been brought to justice. Lithuanians and their friends still feel the loss of the 14 who gave their lives so courageously. We are proud, Mr. Speaker, of their struggle and of the hard-won freedom Lithuania and the other formerly Soviet-dominated States enjoy today.

VA HOSPITALS DELIVER OUTSTANDING HEALTH CARE

HON. G.V. (SONNY) MONTGOMERY

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, it's time the American public was given the true picture of the state of veterans' health care in this country. So-called studies and media investigative reports of VA medicine in the recent past have stimulated a tremendous amount of negative publicity and, in the process, have done a tragic disservice to a fine health care system and to the constituency it serves.

No one is in a better position to gauge the quality of care delivered by VA than its health care personnel and patients, and the Veterans' Affairs Committee hears from them daily. I'd like to share with my colleagues the words of a recent patient of our fine veterans' hospital here in Washington—Walt Kennedy, minority Sergeant at Arms for the House—regarding the wonderful care he received.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, DC, December 10, 1991.

Hon. G.V. MONTGOMERY,
Rayburn House Office Building,
Washington, DC.

DEAR SONNY: First off I want to express my deep appreciation for your kind wishes during my recent hospitalization and convalescence. In times such as I recently experienced it is a friendship such as yours that means so much.

I mentioned to you my high regards for the treatment accorded me at the VA Medical Center in Washington. I did so because I am

upset at the trashing from numerous areas that hit at these hospitals. I thought you might be interested in letters I have written to Secretary Derwinski and the Director of the hospital. These units deserve better than is usually given them.

With best wishes for a most happy Christmas Season and New Year, I am

Respectfully,

WALTER P. KENNEDY,
Minority Sergeant at Arms.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, DC, November 18, 1991.

HON. EDWARD DERWINSKI,
Secretary, Department of Veterans Affairs,
Washington, DC.

DEAR ED: Within these past few weeks it has been necessary for me to be hospitalized. During a recent angiogram two blockages in a heart artery were diagnosed and inasmuch as I had by-pass five years ago angioplasty was recommended. With the choice of any hospital in this area available to me I chose the VA Medical Center primarily because I know of the outstanding physicians in cardiac care who are practicing at the hospital. I refer to Doctors Fletcher, Singh and Papademetriou.

I had the angioplasty performed and initially it was successful. However, about 14 hours later during the early morning hours one of the blockages seemed to explode and while every effort was made to reopen the artery I suffered a heart attack. For the next ten days or so I was carefully shepherded back to good health and herein is the purpose of this letter.

As you know I can look with critical eye on all aspects of the hospital operation but Ed, I can not help but express my amazement at the professionalism I witnessed in every area. The cooperation between all in the medical backup, nurses, aides, interns, etc., was superb. The attitudes of all were cheery and helpful and this atmosphere certainly helped in my speedy convalescence. But not only was the attitude in my case alone, I noted it among each and every patient and these patients remarked to me in conversation how friendly and warm all of the personnel were as they performed their duties.

In addition, the hospital itself had a cheery look, clean and organized and I must say no small commendation must go to the Director, Mr. Williams.

Your VA hospitals do not have the public relation people selling it to the public and to the legislative branch but I for one can personally attest to all I have stated and more with regard to your flagship hospital in Washington. I would be ever so grateful if you would, in my behalf, extend to all in the hospital who were so professional and kind to me my personal gratitude and appreciation.

Also Ed, because I feel so strong in this regard I am taking the opportunity of forwarding a copy of this letter to Chairman Montgomery of the House Committee on Veterans Affairs.

With all best personal wishes, I am

Sincerely,

WALTER P. KENNEDY,
Minority Sergeant at Arms.

Mr. Speaker, I'm sure many of my colleagues have seen news reports and articles which have maligned the VA health care system and, in my opinion, have unduly alarmed its current and potential patient population. It concerns me greatly that such reports will be accepted at face value and will be the sole

basis upon which many veterans, and Americans in general, will form their opinions of our veterans' medical facilities and the dedicated people who staff them.

The most recent study to have criticized VA medicine—instigated by a congressional subcommittee—was shown by two prestigious schools of public health to have used a seriously flawed methodology in reaching its conclusions. As a result, 30 VA hospitals were unfairly and inaccurately labeled as substandard and are fighting to regain their prestige.

This is not to say that our veterans' hospital system doesn't have problems. No health care system as massive as the VA is going to be perfect. But veterans and their families should rest assured that the health care they receive from the thousands of diligent VA professionals across the country is at least on a par with, if not better than, that offered by the private sector.

The VA, which operates the Nation's largest health care delivery system, treats 1.1 million patients a year in its 172 hospitals and records more than 20 million outpatient visits annually at its 356 clinics.

VA is affiliated with 104 medical schools and 59 dental schools. More than half of all practicing physicians—both in the Government and private sectors—have received at least part of their professional education in the VA health care system. Each year, approximately 100,000 health professionals receive training in VA medical centers. VA physicians are recognized as some of the best; they have to be, otherwise, these affiliations would not be maintained. The medical schools simply would not tolerate any type of substandard training environment. Furthermore, every VA facility has met the strict accreditation criteria of the Joint Commission on the Accreditation of Healthcare Organizations.

While VA has consistently worked to maintain the quality of its care, it had not done as good a job of monitoring that quality, but the Congress has corrected that. In addition, we have strengthened the role of the medical inspector and expanded the responsibilities of the inspector general.

Mr. Speaker, the truth is that the VA health care system is sound and provides exceptionally good care. The following letters from Mrs. Creed McClure of Tullahoma, TN, further illustrate this point.

JANUARY 16, 1992.

HON. GILLESPIE V. MONTGOMERY,
Chairman, Committee on Veterans' Affairs,
Cannon House Office Building, Washington, DC.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MONTGOMERY: On October 31, 1991, my husband, Creed McClure, passed away at the Alvin C. York Medical Center, Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

I mentioned to our mutual friend, Nat I. Washburn, that I wanted to express my sincere appreciation to you, since you give so much of your time and concern to the Veterans' programs.

Words are inadequate to express my gratitude to the Administration, staff, doctors, nurses and aides for the wonderful professional care he received. Since his illness necessitated long-term treatment, I felt most fortunate to have had him in the Veterans' hospital in Murfreesboro.

Creed was a patient in the 5A-North Building. The staff, doctors, nurses and aides were

so very caring and concerned. Particularly was I impressed by the professionalism of Ms. Elizabeth Barnes and Mrs. Violet Jennings, although the entire group was wonderful to both him and me.

As I have previously written you, I am most grateful for the time you contribute to veterans' affairs and that my husband and I have been among the fortunate recipients of your concern.

With my best wishes for your continued success in all you do, I am

Very respectfully yours,

Mrs. CREED D. MCCLURE.

JANUARY 16, 1992.

MR. BRIAN HECKERT,
Director, Alvin C. York Medical Center,
Murfreesboro, TN.

DEAR MR. HECKERT: On October 31, 1991, my husband, Creed McClure, passed away after having been a patient in your hospital for two and one-half years.

Words are inadequate to express my sincere appreciation to the administration, staff, doctors, nurses, aides and particularly, the people of 5A North for his professional care. Because his illness necessitated long-term treatment, I felt I was most fortunate to have had him in your hospital.

The people of 5A North were most caring and concerned! I was particularly impressed by the professionalism of Ms. Elizabeth Barnes and Mrs. Violet Jennings, although the entire group was wonderful to both him and me. I shall be eternally grateful to them.

You have a tremendous, never-ending task, and I wish you well in all your decisions and endeavors. The American people should be forever grateful to you and all the VA hospitals everywhere. I am one of those people!

Very respectfully yours,

Mrs. CREED D. MCCLURE.

Mr. Speaker, I am confident that, with improved funding levels, we will sustain the high caliber of VA direct medical care which Walt Kennedy, Mr. and Mrs. McClure, and hundreds of thousands of others have experienced, as well as the VA scientific research program, which benefits veterans and non-veterans alike.

WHEN PRESIDENT'S SPEECH IS OVER, LEGISLATING WILL BEGIN

HON. DEAN A. GALLO

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. GALLO. Mr. Speaker, tonight the President will again discharge his constitutional duty of reporting to the Congress on the state of the Union and recommending to it such measures as he may consider important to the well-being of our Republic.

The American people look to the President to provide the leadership and vision necessary to define and meet the problems and the possibilities that confront our Nation. I have every confidence that President Bush will meet this challenge boldly and confidently.

But when the President's speech is over, the television lights have been dimmed, and the last instant analysis has been aired, the hard, gritty work of legislating will begin. This is the challenge to which we in this House will have to rise. The American people expect it; duty demands it.

Over the course of the last 2 months, as I have talked with people in every corner of my district, no message has been made more clear to me than this: Do something to get our country moving again. The people of my district are sick of the politicking, tired of the posturing, and weary of the finger-pointing that seems to be substituting for governing in Washington lately.

This House is composed of an impressive collection of talented, dedicated, thoughtful, and sincere men and women. But sometimes it seems that its total is less than the sum of its parts. If we can turn that equation around, we can meet the challenges that confront us and make the American people proud of their Government and confident of their future.

In the coming weeks we will be debating the merits of various specific proposals designed to put our country firmly on the path to economic growth and prosperity. I will not take the time here to discuss those proposals in great detail—there will be time for that soon. But one thing for which there is no more time is delay. We must begin our work, and we must begin it now.

But, in acting quickly, we must avoid the temptation for a quick-fix driven more by election timetables than by responsible policy-making. The message in our current economic difficulties is that we have some underlying fundamental problems that will not be solved with a Band-Aid.

Among the fundamental and long-term actions I believe we must take are these:

We have to change the Tax Code to encourage capital formation and investment by lowering the capital gains tax rate;

We must take action to stimulate savings by expanding IRA's and allowing savers to earn tax free interest;

We have to encourage research and development into the technologies that will enable us to compete in an increasingly competitive world by making the R&D tax credit and allocation rules permanent;

We must take action to stimulate the Nation's real estate sector, including enacting passive loss reform;

We have to reform our banking system so that it serves as an engine of growth, not a brake;

We should permanently authorize small-issue industrial development bonds, one of the most effective tools we have for encouraging industrial growth;

We must not raise taxes.

In sum, we must eliminate those policies that inhibit the creative energy of the American people and restrict their incentives to participate in daring growth. We must make sure that we are rewarding those who would stride confidently into the future, not those who would stand pat.

The world in which we live today is vastly different from the one in which we lived when the 102d Congress first convened. We now live in a world with just one military superpower but with many aspiring economic superpowers.

Unless we recognize that a changing world requires us to reinvigorate our own economic machine, we will find ourselves swept aside by the dynamic tides of change that are sweeping the globe. These tides are empowering people

in every corner of the Earth to achieve for themselves what their flawed governments never had any hope of being able to achieve for them.

Mr. Speaker, let us begin our work. Time—and tides—wait for no one.

CONGRATULATIONS TO ALICE
BENOIT, R.N.

HON. THOMAS J. DOWNEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. DOWNEY. Mr. Speaker. It is with mixed feelings that I announce the retirement of Alice M. Benoit, R.N., the energetic nurse who has become almost an institution within not only the Rayburn Building, but also all over the Capitol. Alice Benoit will be leaving us on January 31, and with her she takes memories of over 24 years of service to Congress and its employees. My feelings are mixed because we will miss Alice, but we know that she will be enjoying a much more relaxed and leisurely lifestyle from now on, which is something to which we all aspire.

During Alice's tenure as an employee of the attending physician's office, she has treated literally thousands of patients, including Members of Congress, staffers, interns, pages, and visitors to the Capitol. She has given medical advice and treatment, provided medical referrals, handled emergencies, given allergy shots, blood pressures, and temperature readings, and sometimes just provided a friendly and soothing word to people when they needed it. Alice's cheerful demeanor and ability to accept and often laugh at life's challenges will be long remembered and sorely missed.

Alice is originally from St. John's, NF, Canada, and served as a nurse with the U.S. Army Air Corps from 1945 to 1949. She became an American citizen in 1948 in Mobile, AL, and married an Air Force pilot, Gene Benoit. When Gene was transferred to Wheelus Air Base in Tripoli, Lybia, North Africa, Alice worked as a civilian occupational nurse in Tripoli. Upon returning to the States, she worked as a public health nurse at various facilities in and around the Nation's Capital. Alice and her family were also stationed in Mexico City where she served as the head nurse at the American Embassy, once having the honor of personally meeting President John F. Kennedy during an official visit to Mexico City. Finally, Alice found her way to us directly from Bethesda Naval Hospital, where she worked as an R.N. As you can see, Alice's career has been extremely busy, and far from boring.

There is no doubt that someone who has been here on Capitol Hill for nearly a quarter of a century has many vivid memories and stories to tell. When Alice began working on the Hill, Lyndon Johnson was in the White House, miniskirts, go-go boots and bell bottoms were in style, and many Members of Congress here today were still in college or high school.

However, Alice has been blessed with the ability to grow with the times, and she has met many wonderful people who have helped

her—and vice versa—along the way. She has always been professional and courteous, but most of all, she has been a friend to so many of us.

I know that it will be difficult for many of us to walk by her office in Rayburn and not hear her lighthearted humming.

She has provided a bright and optimistic attitude in a place where life is often taken too seriously, and has kept so many of us and our staffs healthy during stressful times.

I personally am envious of Alice now that she will have time to take it easy for a change. I wish her all the best and hope that she will not be a stranger to these hallowed halls for long.

I know that my colleagues join me in bidding her an affectionate and fond farewell, and congratulating Alice on this remarkable achievement. I join her family—her husband Gene, her daughter Moya and son-in-law Steve, and her son, Mark and daughter-in-law Toi in wishing her good health and happiness for many, many years to come.

TRIBUTE TO THE GUIDE DOGS FOR
THE BLIND

HON. BARBARA BOXER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to the Guide Dogs for the Blind on the occasion of its golden anniversary.

Guide Dogs for the Blind is a remarkable organization in San Rafael, CA, that for 50 years has trained purebred dogs to be dog guides. It is one of the oldest programs of its type in the Nation. Located 20 miles north of the Golden Gate Bridge, its training campus includes a kennel complex, a spacious student dormitory, veterinary clinic, and administration building.

Guide dog training was quickly increased to serve qualified blind civilians after it began as a program to help World War II blind veterans. Since 1942, more than 6,000 men and women have received guide dogs and training free of charge.

Today, over 300 dogs-in-training begin their careers in guide dog kennels. Guide dogs entrusts the training of its puppies to 4-H Club members in the Western United States.

Guide Dogs for the Blind maintains its own breeding stock and uses only three breeds for guide dog work—German Shepherds, Golden Retrievers, and Labrador Retrievers. These breeds were selected for their medium size, even temperament, and short to medium-length coats. Every guide dog is a purebred, registered with the American Kennel Club.

Guide Dogs for the Blind now have graduates leading active and productive lives all over the United States and Canada. They're working in teaching, counseling, computers, media, and music, among many others. Guide Dogs for the Blind should rightfully be proud that their graduates enjoy the benefit of increased mobility through the use of these special dogs.

Mr. Speaker, I feel privileged to represent Guide Dogs for the Blind in California's Sixth

Congressional District, and I know my colleagues will want to join in congratulating the Guide Dogs for the Blind on the occasion of its 50th anniversary, and to express our hearty appreciation for its extraordinary record of service to the disabled community.

HOOVER POWER PLANT ACT
AMENDMENTS OF 1992

HON. GEORGE MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to introduce along with Representative DEFAZIO, the Hoover Power Plant Act amendments of 1992. This legislation updates and strengthens the energy conservation provisions included in the Hoover Power Plant Act of 1984. The bill will encourage the efficient use of federally subsidized power provided to customers of the Federal Western Area Power Administration [WAPA]. The wise use of this valuable resource will both reduce energy costs and protect the environment.

Under the bill, all WAPA firm power customers are required to conduct a balanced electric power planning process which considers both demand and supply side options for increasing power supplies. This type of planning is commonly referred to as "integrated resource planning" or "least-cost planning."

The experience of the past decade has revealed that a balanced planning process which gives full consideration to both demand and supply side power options is the key to achieving improvements in the efficiency of electricity use. This is the case because careful analysis of both supply and demand power alternatives often demonstrates that efficiency improvements are both the least expensive and most environmentally benign power supply available to an individual utility.

This legislation is needed because WAPA and many of its customers have lagged far behind their utility colleagues in other parts of the Nation in the area of integrated resource planning and efficiency improvements. Some of the more ambitious energy efficiency efforts have been undertaken over the past decade by California utilities and by WAPA's counterpart in the Northwest, the Bonneville Power Administration [BPA].

For example, between 1981 and 1990, BPA's efficiency programs have added about 300 megawatts of direct energy savings to BPA's energy supply at the cost of approximately 2 cents per kilowatt-hour. Over the past 8 years, Southern California Edison and Pacific Gas and Electric have achieved about 2,000 megawatts of savings through efficiency improvements.

All of the above mentioned savings were achieved largely because of requirements that were imposed on investor-owned utilities by State regulators and on BPA through the Northwest Power Act. Unfortunately, WAPA has failed to provide this type of leadership.

Despite the fact that WAPA's Energy Conservation Program has been in existence for over 10 years and has cost \$21 million, Western is unable to provide any verifiable estimate

of the amount of energy saved due to its program. WAPA customers are able to comply with its current requirements by conducting token 1970's era energy efficiency measures such as putting flyers in utility bills and conducting a limited number of residential energy audits.

It must be noted that a number of Western customers have embarked upon ambitious integrated resource planning and efficiency programs. For example, the Sacramento Municipal Utility District [SMUD] plans to achieve up to 600 megawatts of energy savings over the next 10 years. However, the efficiency activities of SMUD and others have resulted more from leadership demonstrated at the utility level rather than from Western's extremely limited efforts.

WAPA is presently considering a revision of its Energy Conservation Program. Unfortunately, the proposal it has issued is a continuation of its rather feeble effort in this area. For example, WAPA would not require its customers to actually comply with their integrated resource plans. This could result in the planning process becoming a meaningless bureaucratic exercise.

In addition, Western has also failed to propose a requirement that its customers accurately compare the costs of various energy options. If these plans do not accurately compare costs, they will have little value and could be used to justify the acquisition of expensive power options when lower cost options are available.

The receipt of low-cost federally subsidized power is a privilege. WAPA and its customers have an obligation to the Nation to use increasingly scarce Federal hydropower resources in the most efficient manner possible. The Hoover Power Plant Act amendments of 1992 establish a framework for the most efficient use possible of this valuable resource.

I insert a copy of the attached section-by-section analysis of the bill at this point in the RECORD.

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS OF HOOVER
POWER PLANT ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1992

SEC. 1. SHORT TITLE

SEC. 2. AMENDMENT OF HOOVER POWER PLANT
ACT

Designation of Hoover Power Plant Act Amendments of 1992 as Title II of Hoover Power Plant Act of 1984.

SEC. 201. DEFINITIONS

"Integrated resource planning" means a comparison of all practicable energy efficiency and energy supply options to identify the *least-cost option* for providing electric service.

"Least-cost-option" means an option for providing electric service which will minimize life-cycle system costs, and environmental costs, of providing such service.

SEC. 202. CONTRACTS TO REQUIRE INTEGRATED
RESOURCE PLANNING

Requires that Western Area Power Administration [WAPA] amend all firm power contracts to require purchasers to implement integrated resource planning within three years of enactment.

Requires that WAPA, within 180 days after enactment, prescribe a methodology to be used by WAPA customers for determining quantifiable environmental costs as part of their integrated resource plans.

SEC. 203. TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

WAPA shall provide technical assistance to utilities to conduct integrated resource planning and comply with the requirements of this title.

SEC. 204. INTEGRATED RESOURCE PLANS

(a) REVIEW BY WAPA.—Each purchaser shall submit an integrated resource plan to WAPA 12 months after their contract is amended. A revision of such plan shall be submitted every 3 years.

(b) CRITERIA FOR APPROVAL.—WAPA shall approve an integrated resource plan if it accurately compares life-cycle system costs and environmental costs for energy supply options; designates that the least-cost supply option is acquired; and, to the maximum extent practicable, minimizes adverse environmental effects of energy supply acquisitions.

(c) USE OF OTHER INTEGRATED RESOURCE PLANS.—Where a purchaser is implementing integrated resource planning under a program responding to Federal, State, or other initiatives, WAPA shall make due allowance for the incorporation of such elements within the least-cost plan required by this title.

(d) COMPLIANCE WITH LEAST-COST PLANS.—Each purchaser shall fully comply with its least-cost plan. WAPA shall review each purchaser's implementation of its least-cost plan at least once every 2 years to determine if the purchaser is in compliance with the plan. If WAPA finds the purchaser out-of-compliance, the Administrator shall impose either a surcharge on all power purchased from WAPA by the purchaser or a reduction in power allocation.

(e) ENFORCEMENT.—

(1) NO APPROVED PLAN.—If an integrated resource plan for any purchaser is disapproved by the Administrator and a revised plan not resubmitted within 9 months the Administrator shall impose a surcharge of 20 percent of the purchase price on all power obtained by that purchaser. The surcharge shall remain in effect until the plan is approved. If the plan is not approved for more than one year, the surcharge shall increase to 30 percent for the second year, and to 40 percent thereafter until the plan is approved.

(2) FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH APPROVED PLAN.—Identical surcharges shall be imposed whenever the Administrator determines that a purchaser's activities are not consistent with its integrated resource plan.

(3) REDUCTION IN POWER ALLOCATION.—In lieu of imposing a surcharge under paragraphs (1) or (2) the Administrator may reduce a utility's power allocation. If the reduction is for the first year of a violation, the reduction shall be 10 percent of the power allocation otherwise available, for the second year the reduction shall be 20 percent and for each year thereafter the reduction shall be 30 percent.

(4) SUITS TO REQUIRE ENFORCEMENT.—Any person may bring an action against the Administrator in Federal District Court to require the Administrator to immediately approve or disapprove a plan; or impose a surcharge or power allocation whenever such surcharge is mandated in accordance with paragraphs (1), (2), and (3).

(5) APPEALS.—Any person subject to a surcharge or reduction in power allocation may appeal the imposition of such penalty within 30 days.

(f) LEAST-COST PLANNING COOPERATIVES.—With the approval of WAPA, purchasers may form least-cost planning cooperatives for the purposes of complying with this title.

SEC. 205. CONSERVATION PURCHASE

WAPA may purchase, at fair market value, firm energy savings directly produced from a

utility demand side management initiative carried out by a purchaser.

WAPA may only purchase energy savings if these savings are sold at fair market value or utilized to forego electric power generation in a manner which will reduce adverse environmental effects related to hydro-electric power operations.

SEC. 206. MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

- (a) ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT STATEMENT.
 (b) PROHIBITION ON BLENDING OF POWER PRICES.
 (c) REGULATIONS.
 (d) ANNUAL REPORTS.
 (e) FUNDING.—The Administrator shall adjust WAPA rates for the sale of electric energy to the extent necessary to cover all costs incurred under this title.

CHANNEL DEFENSE FUNDING INTO HEALTH CARE PROGRAMS

HON. LUCIEN E. BLACKWELL

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. BLACKWELL. Mr. Speaker, as I read last Thursday's Washington Post on the train ride from Philadelphia, I was ecstatic to read that the President has announced steps to cut the Nation's entire force of nuclear-tipped MX intercontinental ballistic missiles. In addition, Mr. Bush has called for a scaling back of the B-2 Bomber Program. All in all, these much-needed cuts will save our country billions of dollars in defense spending.

No one can deny that the B-2's strategic nuclear objective has been diminished as the now-defunct Soviet Union no longer poses the overt threat that it once did. The President has obviously acknowledged this fact. As we stand at a major crossroads in our Nation's history, we now have an opportunity to channel the money saved from these defense cuts to fight the very real wars that exist right here on our own soil, in our own backyards. Indeed, the time has come for this administration to acknowledge another blatant and obvious fact.

Mr. Speaker, there are 37 million Americans without health insurance. I know that it has been echoed in the halls of this chamber in the past, but it must be repeated. Adequate health care should be a right, not a privilege. I will repeat the statistic that the lack of health insurance is not merely a problem for the poor, as 80 percent of those persons without medical insurance are members of working families. For me, my constituents, and many of my colleagues, this is simply unacceptable.

As the President addresses the Nation tonight, I urge him to consider the many encouraging steps we could take. Let's take these funds and gear them toward preventive health care. Long-term care. Healthy start to curb our Nations' atrocious rate of infant mortality. The list goes on and on Mr. Speaker.

Now that the iron curtain has been lifted, and the people of Eastern Europe are free from the shackles of oppression, it is time for us to free the citizens of our own country from the clenching fear of inadequate health care. The time to act is now.

HONORING MILDRED C. BIRD FOR 25 YEARS OF SERVICE TO BLOOMINGDALE, NJ

HON. ROBERT A. ROE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. ROE. Mr. Speaker, it is with distinct pleasure and great pride that I rise today to pay special tribute to Mildred C. Bird, who after 25 years of dedicated service to the borough of Bloomingdale, NJ, will retire. A career in public service can be a rewarding and satisfying experience. Certainly those who have worked along side and been assisted by this marvelous lady have experienced her commitment and professionalism. Millie will be honored at a special dinner on Sunday, February 1 at the lovely Wayne Manor, exactly 25 years to the day that she was appointed municipal clerk of the borough.

She was born in Mount Marion, NY, and after being voted "Most All-Around Senior" by her high school classmates, she went on to work in New York City for the next several years. After a move to Clifton, NJ, and the borough of Bloomingdale shortly thereafter, she assumed her role as municipal clerk and began her long and productive career. Millie has been extremely active in her profession holding the titles of registered municipal clerk in the State of New Jersey and certified municipal clerk in the International Institute of Municipal Clerks. She was named acting administrator of Bloomingdale in June 1987 and was named administrator in August 1989.

Locally, Millie served in every position upon the Passaic County Municipal Clerk's Association executive committee, including that of president and chairman of the groups 25th anniversary festivities. She also acted as an adviser from the county association to the State association before being elected to the State's executive committee, where she served in a variety of positions including president. Millie also participated in the first certified municipal clerks' course at Syracuse University, which is now taught at approximately 35 other universities and colleges, including Rutgers.

Always active in her community and willing to pledge her time and effort, Millie worked on both the borough's 50th Anniversary and National Bicentennial Committees. She has also served on the borough's Board of Health and was chairman of its United Way affiliate. In addition, she has been an active member of the United Methodist Church. Millie was also instrumental in the establishment, and was an auxiliary member, of the Bloomingdale VFW Memorial Post 9458, which has just celebrated its 25th anniversary.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure that you and all my colleagues in the House join with me and Millie's husband Donald, her two sons, Edward and Alan, her two grandsons, Michael and Jeffrey and all her friends in commending her for her outstanding service.

Mr. Speaker, seldom will you find a citizen who is so giving of their time and so devoted to doing their very best in everything in which they are involved. Mildred Bird has served her community these many years and deserves our praise, our gratitude and our very warmest wishes for a happy and healthy retirement.

CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS HELPED "BUILD" AMERICA

HON. BOB CLEMENT

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. CLEMENT. Mr. Speaker, today I want to pay tribute to a group that helped "build" America during the 1930's and 1940's—the Civilian Conservation Corps [CCC].

In April the CCC celebrates its 59th anniversary, and I'd like to ask my colleagues to mark this noteworthy occasion. Our Nation owes a debt of gratitude to this remarkable organization and the men who served in the CCC and helped build roads, dams, parks and buildings throughout our great Nation. The legacy of the CCC lives today, and their work and contributions will be evident for generations to come.

On April 5, 1933, during the historic "One Hundred Days" of Franklin Roosevelt's first term, the U.S. Congress enacted as part of the New Deal legislation the "Civilian Conservation Corps Relief and Reforestation Act."

The CCC was created as an emergency relief measure to alleviate high levels of youth unemployment. The CCC workforce had the task of mitigating the depletion of America's natural resources. In FDR's first statement about the CCC he proposed that it be "used in work, not interfering with normal employment and confining itself to forestry, the prevention of soil erosion, flood control and similar projects." By midsummer of its first year of existence, CCC had hired 300,000 unemployed young men who were working in 1,500 CCC camps throughout the country. During its peak year in 1935 the CCC employed a half million men located in 2,600 camps in all 48 States and U.S. territories—including 4 Tennessee camps.

Enrollees had to be unemployed single males between the ages of 18-25, and later included 225,000 World War II veterans. They earned \$30 per week and were required to send \$25 home to their families. CCC workers received room and board, clothing and educational opportunities.

The CCC: Built or preserved more than 1,000 national, State, county and city parks. Built 3,740 fire towers. Built 97,000 miles of truck roads. Spent more than 4 million man-days fighting fires. Planted more than 2 billion trees. Arrested erosion on more than 20,000 acres and spent more than 1 million man-days protecting life and property during the 1937 floods in New England and the Ohio and Mississippi River valleys.

The CCC: Restored man-made drainage systems which affected 84 million acres of agricultural land. Rescued more than a million sheep in the 1936-37 blizzards in Utah. And, taught more than 40,000 illiterates how to read and write.

The first Tennessee CCC camp opened in May, 1933 with the establishment of Camp Cordell Hull in Unicoi County.

For administrative purposes the CCC was divided into nine corps areas. Tennessee was part of the 4th Corps area, and was part of District C along with portions of western North Carolina and north Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi.

Approximately 70,000 Tennesseans served in the CCC in Tennessee and as far away as the west coast. By 1941 in Tennessee the CCC had built 98 lookout towers and houses; erected nearly 4,000 miles of forest telephone lines; built 1,496 miles of minor roads; constructed 387,208 check dams and planted over 36 million trees for erosion control; almost 27 million for reforestation and 554,457 pounds of hardwood seeds; spent 134,811 man-days fighting forest fires and another 122,033 man-days in fire prevention work.

CCC boys helped build the first State parks in Tennessee including Montgomery Bell, Meeman-Shelby Forest, Natchez Trace, Chickasaw, Pickett, Reelfoot, Frozen Head, Norris Dam, the Grundy County Lakes and Recreational Area [South Cumberland], Big Ridge, T.O. Fuller, Nathan Bedford Forest, Booker T. Washington, Harrison Bay, Cove Lake, Pickwick Landing and Cumberland Mountain. CCC work included building retaining walls, trail shelters, vacation cabins, benches and picnic tables, boat houses, contact stations, water systems and even dams for park lakes. At Norris Dam State Park and Big Ridge the CCC also engaged in historic preservation work.

The CCC legacy in America and in Tennessee is one of hard work, accomplishment and pride. At least 85 percent of the CCC employees went on to serve in World War II.

I believe the public service concept of CCC should be re-examined and could be utilized to help solve some of the domestic economic problems confronting our country today.

I want to thank Mr. Robert Griffin of Howenwald, TN, Mr. Cecil Flowers of the National Association of Civilian Conservation Corps Alumni in Jackson, TN, who helped me gather information about this outstanding group of people, and the authors of several articles about CCC that I used to prepare these remarks.

Mr. Speaker, today I ask my colleagues in the U.S. House of Representatives to join me in saluting and paying tribute to the thousands of Tennesseans who served in the CCC and to a group of young men whose contributions to our Nation went far beyond building roads and dams. These young men played an integral role in the history of our Nation and personified the American spirit of hard work, public service and pride.

dom, of vision, and of courage." Long before Chairman Blatnik's death, American history began to construct a favorable perspective immortalizing this honest and decent man. Now that he has passed, I offer these words to help insure that the final perspective is true to form.

To those not from Minnesota, names such as Hubert Humphrey, Walter Mondale, and Eugene McCarthy, are more easily recognized. However, even those from Minnesota may not recall that when John Blatnik was first elected to the House in 1947, Hubert Humphrey was mayor of Minneapolis, Walter Mondale was a 20-year-old student at Macalester College, and Eugene McCarthy was a young economics professor at the College of St. Thomas. While each of these men contributed substantially to the betterment of the body politic, to this day none has acquired or exercised more power, nor had a more enduring impact on Minnesota or the Nation, than John Blatnik.

The son of an immigrant iron miner from Yugoslavia, he was a first-generation American. I can vividly remember John coming out to visit the fishing town of San Pedro in my congressional district. Like much of Chairman Blatnik's district, San Pedro has a strong Yugoslavian influence. My fondest memories involve the two of us traveling to various Slav community meetings in San Pedro and singing songs from the Yugoslavian homeland. While it was no small task for him to teach me, a Norwegian, Slav songs, I was always grateful for his patience. I am convinced it was from his visits to my district that I solidified the Slav vote in my district.

It was out of his immigrant upbringing, and his searing memories of the Great Depression, that he established his reputation as an extraordinary conciliator. As a newly elected Congressman in the early 1970's, I had the distinct pleasure of learning John Blatnik's superb legislative skills during his 3-year tenure as the chairman of the Committee on Public Works and Transportation. Never was his savvy more visible than in 1972, 3 years after I arrived, when Chairman Blatnik successfully crafted and guided into law, the Federal Water Pollution Control Act. After suffering a heart attack during intensive deliberations over the bill, many believed the strain of this endeavor was the main contributor to his attack. However, characteristic of the man, he never quit. Thanks to his unending devotion, Americans are able to enjoy our Nation's water resources, free from the massive pollution so characteristic of the early 1970's.

Upon learning of John Blatnik's death, I, as true of all that knew him, was filled with a great sense of loss. For us, his name creates deep feelings of respect, admiration, and unending commitment to public service. Those that reside in the Eighth Congressional District of Minnesota, however, must feel the loss of this great leader much more. John Blatnik loved his district, and most importantly, loved the people that lived there. His long-time friend Hubert Humphrey once stated, "There are a lot of junior world savers around, but John has been a giant and a Santa Claus for his district." After John suffered a heart attack in the early 1970's, Senator Humphrey also offered his view of the cause when he remarked, "He worked his heart out for his constituents."

Mr. Speaker, public servants will come and go. Many we remember, some we will forget. John Anton Blatnik, we will never forget. In his memory I offer these fond words: "Praise be to God for the dedicated men and women who without fear or favor work for the health and welfare of mankind, who will not see the full fruition of their efforts in this lifetime, but, thank God, their works do follow them".

**SANCTIONS AGAINST IRAQ
SHOULD BE MAINTAINED UNTIL
ALL KUWAITIS ARE RETURNED**

HON. CURT WELDON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. WELDON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to inform my colleagues about a most impressive and important group of people who were here in Washington last week. A Kuwaiti humanitarian delegation, made up of leading private citizens from all over Kuwait, has come to Washington to share their views about life in post-war Kuwait.

As chairman of the House Task Force on Kuwait, I have had the good fortune to enjoy close relationships with Kuwaiti Ambassador Al-Sabah, as well as with private groups and citizens in Kuwait. It was truly a privilege to meet with these individuals.

Let me say from the outset that this is a private, completely independent delegation with no ties at all to the ruling Al-Sabah family. Included in the delegation was the head of the Kuwaiti Sociologists Association, the Kuwaiti Medical Society, the Kuwaiti Accountants Association, the Kuwaiti Lawyers Society, the Kuwaiti Literary Association, the Kuwaiti Engineers Society, the Kuwaiti Pilots and Flight Engineers Society, the Kuwaiti Economists Society, the Kuwaiti Graduates Society, and the Kuwaiti General Laborers Union. These are the private sector leaders, a broad cross-section of Kuwaiti society. In fact, many of these men and women are active within nascent opposition political movements in Kuwait.

Yet they are not here in Washington to criticize the ruling family or score political points. Their primary concern, like all Kuwaitis, is the safe return of all prisoners of war still being held in Iraq. The Kuwait Association to Defend War Victims, which cosponsored the delegation, estimates that there are close to 2,000 Kuwaitis still being held in Iraqi prisons. The Association works closely with the International Red Cross to track the status of all POW's. These Kuwaitis have now been in Iraqi jails for over a year.

Last year I introduced House Resolution 217, which calls on Saddam to release immediately all Kuwaiti prisoners of war. The legislation mandates that all sanctions currently in place against Iraq be maintained until all Kuwaitis are returned. I would urge all my colleagues to co-sponsor this legislation, which promotes basic human rights and simple justice. For the sake of the thousands of Kuwaiti children whose families have been torn apart, I ask my friends on both sides of the aisle to lend their support to this important effort.

**A TRIBUTE TO HON. JOHN ANTON
BLATNIK**

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay homage to Congressman John Anton Blatnik, former representative of Minnesota's eighth Congressional District who died on December 17, 1991. If I may echo the February 1974, words of Hubert H. Humphrey spoken upon the occasion of John Blatnik's retirement, "History has a way of shrinking to proper size the episodes which capture the public's attention for a fleeting moment. And it has a way of raising to proper size the acts of wis-

TRIBUTE TO LYUN JOON KIM

HON. MERVYN M. DYMALLY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. DYMALLY. Mr. Speaker, I rise to honor one of the world's great educators and champions of international understanding—Dr. Lyun Joon Kim, founder and chairman of the board of trustees of Hanyang University, Seoul, Korea. His contributions to religion, education, human rights and music have been recognized by many universities in Canada, France, Israel, Korea, Taiwan, and the United States, all of whom have conferred honorary degrees upon him.

An examination of the degrees he holds, honoris causa, from institutions of higher education in this country, attests to the breadth of his interests and accomplishments. From Shaw University in North Carolina and Southern Illinois University he has received doctorates of literature. These were a fitting recognition of leadership in education as a man who has been a major force in founding schools such as the Dong-A Polytechnic School, the Hanyang Engineering College, the Hanyang Technical College, the Hanyang Girls Junior and Senior High School, and the Hanyang Women's Junior College. They could also be said to commemorate his role as president and publisher of the daily *Daihan Ilbo* in Seoul from 1960-1973.

The University of Toledo granted him the honorary degree of doctor of humane letters in 1983. Dr. Lyun Joon Kim is the very embodiment of all that degree embodies. As a humanitarian he has awarded thousands of scholarships to Korean students. He has championed the poor and assisted those whose human rights have been abused. Since 1965, Dr. Kim has been chairman of the International Human Rights League of Korea, and since 1984, he has been president of the countrywide organization. He is a hero of his people because of his opposition during World War II to the Japanese attempts to take over the technical college which he founded.

If Dr. Kim had never engaged upon his remarkable life of public service, he still would deserve our tribute today because of his extraordinary musical genius. Central Michigan University is but one of those institutions which have conferred upon him the degree of doctor of music. He learned to play the violin at the age of 8. He has composed some 3,800 pieces of music earning him the title of the Schubert of Asia. His musical works have been presented at concerts held in Seoul and Chongju, Korea; Tokyo, Japan; Taipei, Taiwan; Bonn, Munich, Tubingen, Dusseldorf, Iserlohn, and Bochum, Germany; Tel Aviv in Israel; Rouen and Paris in France; and in the United States in Carnegie Hall and Atlanta, GA. Tubingen University at its 500th anniversary celebration in 1979, recognized Dr. Kim with the Outstanding Composition Award.

Throughout his life Dr. Kim's actions have been inspired by his deep commitment to Christianity. His deep faith has been recognized by the doctor of divinity degrees given him by Southwest Baptist University and Faith Theological Seminary. His religious conviction

has been manifested through the sacred music he has composed and his lifelong work for Christian harmony. Since 1963, he has been the publisher of *Kidok Kyo Sinmun*—the Union Christian Press. In 1984, he was given the International Award by the National Religious Broadcasters in Washington, DC.

Mr. Speaker, in Dr. Lyun Joon Kim we have in one man a musical genius and one of the most venerable educators it has been my pleasure to honor. I am sure my colleagues will wish to join with me in wishing him many more fruitful years of service to humanity.

HOUSE SPENDING
ACCOUNTABILITY ACT**HON. STEVE GUNDERSON**

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. GUNDERSON. Mr. Speaker, today, along with a number of my colleagues, I will be introducing the House Spending Accountability Act, a bill which would require that recorded votes be taken on priority spending bills. Congress must be held accountable for the money it spends. It is outrageous that last year the House passed billions in taxpayer dollars without recorded votes.

For example, last November, the House passed a \$30 billion measure to re-fund the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation [FDIC]. This 437 page measure would protect deposits in commercial banks by granting the FDIC a \$30 billion line of credit with the Treasury to cover losses in failed banks. And, how did this bill pass? By voice vote!

I was disgusted that the House would allow a bill of this magnitude to be approved without a recorded vote. It is no wonder the American people are fed up with the way Congress does business.

The House Spending Accountability Act would require a recorded vote on legislation that would make an appropriation, provide direct spending, legislation that doesn't require an appropriation, or authorize new credit authority, a line of credit from the Treasury.

Last year, six appropriation conference reports and two continuing resolutions, totaling \$392.8 billion, passed by voice vote. In addition, the House approved by voice vote \$64.2 billion in new credit and direct spending bills. It is time the House be held accountable to the taxpayers for the funds it spends.

THE 50TH WEDDING ANNIVERSARY
OF DR. AND MRS. WILL HAYES**HON. ROBERT J. LAGOMARSINO**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. LAGOMARSINO. Mr. Speaker, I rise to recognize an event that took place while this body was in recess for the holidays. Last New Year's Eve, two long-time constituents and dear friends, Will and Barbara Hayes, celebrated their 50th wedding anniversary in Santa Barbara.

Will and Barbara met in Hawaii while Will was instructing invasion survival tactics to military personnel for the Red Cross. After experiencing the bombing of Pearl Harbor, Will knew life would be different. He returned to California for the Christmas holidays, where he married Barbara at her parent's home in Fullerton on December 31, 1941. Barbara still jokes that Will married her on the last day of the year just to get the full year's marital tax deduction.

Will and Barbara Hayes have been exemplary citizens, dedicating much of their lives to community service in Santa Barbara. During World War II, Will was commissioned as an ensign in the Coast Guard, and at the end of the war, he accepted an assistant professor position at the University of California, Santa Barbara campus. Over his career, Will has been named college dean, faculty president, president of Rotary, foreman of the grand jury, and president of the board of trustees for the Santa Barbara Public Library. Barbara started the Humpty Dumpty Nursery School, which she directed for more than 20 years and has since become a Santa Barbara landmark. Their marriage has been blessed with four sons, all of whom have continued the family tradition of community.

Not only am I proud to include these outstanding people as my constituents, I am especially proud to include them among my friends. I ask my colleagues to join me in wishing Will and Barbara Hayes a very happy anniversary, with many happy years to come.

RECOGNIZE CROATIA AND SLOVENIA
AS INDEPENDENT STATES**HON. TOM LANTOS**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, today I rise and ask my colleagues to join me in urging the President to recognize the Republics of Croatia and Slovenia as independent states. It is high time that the United States joins the European Community in extending full diplomatic recognition to these two war-torn Republics.

With the Communist Serbian Government in control of the Federal Government, Slovenia declared its independence in June 1991. The following morning, the Communist Serbian-dominated Federal army invaded Slovenia. Upon declaring independence, Croatia was faced with the same consequence.

In keeping with our 200-year democratic traditions, the United States must assist these Republics as they strive to instill the democratic values which we cherish as their own. Our forefathers fought for the right of self-governance and liberty. Today the United States should help these Republics accomplish this task by extending the hand of diplomatic recognition. Time is of the essence. The Communist-dominated Serbian Army has already encroached on over one-third of Croatian territory and has shown no intention of pulling back.

The world has witnessed the Federal army join forces with Serbian guerrillas in an effort to destroy Croatia. This is an army that was originally placed on duty as a peace-keeping

force. However, according to reports by the Helsinki Watch, Communist Serbian forces have committed outrageous acts of aggression and human rights violations against Croats.

Helsinki Watch reports: "The Serbian-led Federal army is accused of the summary execution of civilians; the indiscriminate and disproportionate use of force against civilian targets; the torture and mistreatment of detainees; disappearances and the taking of hostages; and the forced displacement and resettlement of civilians." Further, Serbia violated the 15th cease-fire agreement reached under U.N. auspices by shelling Croatian towns. It appears that Serbia will not cease fighting until Croatia is destroyed.

Mr. Speaker, the United States must take a stand. In the interest of peace and stability in the Balkans, and for the cause of furthering both democracy and human rights, our Government must recognize the independence of Croatia and Slovenia.

COMEDIAN JAY LENO TO CHEER
UP THE UNEMPLOYED

HON. WILLIAM O. LIPINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. LIPINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to stand up before you to commend comedian Jay Leno for doing his part to help the unemployed in these difficult times. Mr. Leno will be performing four free shows for the out-of-work at the Zaines comedy clubs in Chicago this February 13 and 14. In doing so, Mr. Leno will be bringing some sunshine into the lives of the unemployed.

Today, Americans everywhere are finding themselves out of work. Since the start of the recession in July 1990, 1.9 million jobs have been lost. Last year, 25 million people—20 percent of the workforce—were unemployed at some time. Job cuts now average 2,600 a day. Last month, for instance, General Motors, Xerox, and IBM released 100,000 employees from their payrolls.

According to an Associated Press poll, two out of three Americans say the economy is getting worse but think the Government can do something about it. As Members of Congress, we cannot ignore this plea for help.

As a comedian, Mr. Leno is doing his part by giving unemployed Americans the humor they need to escape their problems if only for a moment. We should be inspired by Mr. Leno's efforts and do our part as lawmakers by helping the unemployed get back to work.

FIGHTING TO PRESERVE THE
169TH

HON. NANCY L. JOHNSON

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mrs. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday, I learned that the Connecticut National Guard will lose 909 authorized positions by September 1, 1992, and will lose another

2,054 in 1993, according to orders recently issued by the National Guard Bureau, as part of its Operation Quicksilver plan. A sizable reduction was expected, and generally regarded as unavoidable and a sign of more peaceful times. But no one imagined that a decision of such importance to our communities would be blatantly unfair and disregard the service tradition of historic units like the 169th.

Under the current proposal, by 1993 Connecticut will have lost 49 percent of its force, while the average cut nationwide will be only 19 percent. While every American can understand that in times of budgetary constraints and a reduced threat of military strike we should make every effort to reduce U.S. troop strength, it is outrageous that the National Guard Bureau ignored key issues such as regional equity, excellence of service, and history when proposing these cuts.

Among the specific units targeted for elimination in 1992 is the 1st Battalion, 169th Infantry which currently has 590 soldiers serving in Manchester, New Britain, Danielson, Enfield, and Rockville, CT. The 169th was first called up by Commander-in-Chief George Washington in 1777 and helped repel the Redcoats from Saratoga. It later distinguished itself again in the War of 1812, The Spanish-American War in 1898, and in 1917 was dispatched to France to battle the German Army.

Our units rank high in readiness and mission accomplishment, as is evident in recent evaluations and statistical information. In May of last year, the Connecticut National Guard was selected as one of the finalists in the nationwide Army Community of Excellence Program for 1991 and sent delegates to the Pentagon on May 23, 1991, to collect the award. I am proud of the history of excellent service the 169th has provided on behalf of the State of Connecticut, and I will be saddened to see its proud tradition come to an abrupt end.

No one is asking the National Guard Bureau to make an exception for Connecticut's National Guard. Instead we in the Connecticut Delegation are calling for a more equitable troop reduction plan, knowing that Connecticut is prepared to assume its fair share of troop reductions. Our great State of Connecticut remains prepared to support the President and the Secretary of Defense in their efforts to act responsibly in the face of reduced military threats and urgent budgetary pressures. But we will pursue every avenue to reverse the unfair, ill-advised action recently taken.

INTRODUCTION OF LEGISLATION
TO EXTEND HEALTH BENEFIT
COVERAGE TO RECENTLY UNEM-
PLOYED INDIVIDUALS

HON. DAN GLICKMAN

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. GLICKMAN. Mr. Speaker, the Consolidated Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1985 [COBRA], requires employers to allow former employees to continue to purchase their health benefits under their former plan for 18 to 36 months after the end of their employment. The former employee pays the full cost

of the coverage, including a 2 percent fee to cover the employer's administrative costs.

Recently, I hosted a town hall meeting addressing health care. Several of my constituents mentioned that because of the current economic problems it has become difficult to secure a replacement job, and soon their option to purchase health benefits under COBRA would expire. I do not believe it is right for these people to be both jobless and unprotected in the event they need medical benefits.

With this in mind, I am introducing legislation today to extend COBRA coverage to 60 months. The intent of Congress enacting the continuation of health benefits provision in COBRA was to ensure no American went without health coverage while between jobs. The strong economy at that time caused Congress to believe 18 months would be sufficient for a terminated employee to find new work.

But the current tough economic times are keeping a greater number of people unemployed for longer than 18 months. Since Congress has extended unemployment benefits, and may do so again in the coming weeks, we also should extend the amount of time former employees may hold onto health coverage while unemployed.

This bill is a small, but important first step in helping our constituents survive these tough economic times, and will provide the security of continued health insurance to those who do not have the security of a job. I urge my colleagues to support this legislation.

TRIBUTE TO JOSÉ FERRER

HON. JOSÉ E. SERRANO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. SERRANO. Mr. Speaker, it is with great sadness that I rise today to mourn the death of José Ferrer, one of Puerto Rico's most gifted sons. Mr. Ferrer brought much joy to the lives of people all over the world through his rich, diverse artistic talents. He was world-renowned for his unique acting, directing, and producing abilities on stage as well as on screen.

Born in Santurce, PR, Mr. Ferrer's interest in show business began while he was a student of architecture at Princeton University. Following his graduation in 1933, Mr. Ferrer worked both on-stage and behind the scenes with small theatrical companies in New York. Soon, he was performing on Broadway.

Mr. Ferrer's outstanding work in the theater, in his capacity as actor, director, producer, and even author, brought him much deserved acclaim. In 1952 alone, his outstanding performance in, and direction of, several plays won him an Antoinette Perry (Tony) Award, a Donaldson Award, the Page One Award for dramatic art from the New York Newspaper Guild, and the Variety New York Drama Critics Poll for directing and acting. Mr. Ferrer won both a Tony Award and a Donaldson Award several years earlier for his widely acclaimed stage performances in "Cyrano de Bergerac" and "Othello," respectively. Mr. Ferrer also was awarded the American Academy of Arts and Letters Gold Medal for Speech in 1949.

Mr. Ferrer's artistic abilities were not limited to the stage. In 1948 he appeared in his first film, for which he received a Motion Picture Academy Award nomination. Mr. Ferrer was actually awarded the Oscar 2 years later for his magnificent performance in "Cyrano de Bergerac." Here again, in the film industry as on Broadway, Mr. Ferrer proved himself to be an exceptional actor, director, and producer whose work was highly acclaimed all over the world. In 1950 he was awarded the Linguaphone Institute Annual Award for diction in films and 2 years later he received the Federation of Motion Picture and Stage Actors of Cuba Annual Award for Acting.

Mr. Ferrer was, and his memory will continue to be, a great source of inspiration to everyone, but particularly to those individuals with mixed cultural backgrounds. Although Mr. Ferrer lived in mainland America for the greater part of his life, he was heavily influenced by his Hispanic heritage. This cultural combination resulted in a unique artistic style which characterized Mr. Ferrer's work and distinguished it from that of other artists. As Mr. Ferrer himself once said, "I am an American who is in many ways unlike an American." The product of two cultures, Mr. Ferrer demonstrated that both influences could be successfully balanced and combined so as to enable an individual to contribute in an entirely unique way to society.

In addition to obtaining numerous awards praising his individual artistic work, Mr. Ferrer was the first actor to receive two very prestigious awards commending his contributions to the arts as a whole. In 1967, Mr. Ferrer was awarded a plaque from the Organizations of American States "as a symbol of New World culture whose notable dramatic talent and distinguished contribution to the theater have greatly increased its prestige," and in 1985, he received the National Medal of Arts from President Reagan. Mr. Ferrer was an internationally celebrated Hispanic whose dedication to, and success in, the work he loved qualify him as an exemplary role model for Hispanics everywhere.

This remarkable Puerto Rican will always be remembered for his nearly six decades of invaluable contributions to the dramatic arts. Although Mr. Ferrer is no longer with us, films such as "Moulin Rouge," "The Caine Mutiny," "Joan of Arc," and "Ship of Fools," not to mention the unforgettable "Cyrano the Bergerac," will allow us to relive our enjoyment of his work and enable future generations to experience the immense talent of Mr. Ferrer. Mr. Speaker, please join me today in paying tribute to an exceptionally gifted and outstanding member of the Puerto Rican com-

munity whose death constitutes a significant loss for us all, José Ferrer.

HONORING HOUSE PAGE MICHAEL
CONNORS

HON. GARY A. CONDIT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. CONDIT. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to praise one of my constituents, Michael Connors, who served as a House Page over the last 6 months. He was part of the page class which departed on January 24, 1992.

This fine young man from Turlock, CA served this House honorably and with distinction. He accepted every challenge that was presented to him with eagerness. During the latter part of his tenure with us, he was assigned to the Democratic cloakroom where he worked tirelessly around the clock, especially during late November, to make sure that Members were being served. It was always a pleasure to see him in the cloakroom or to talk to him on the phone concerning floor activities. I will miss Michael, as will the members of my staff who came to rely on him for getting messages to me. We practically considered him as part of our staff.

I wish this young man the best of wishes as he continues his education. I am confident that he will make a valuable contribution to our society in whatever endeavor he chooses to pursue.

INTRODUCTION OF LEGISLATION
RESTORING INVESTMENT TAX
CREDIT

HON. BRIAN J. DONNELLY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1992

Mr. DONNELLY. Mr. Speaker, tonight, President Bush proposes his solution to stimulate the economy. Today, I am introducing legislation to provide an investment tax credit which will go a long way toward that goal.

My bill would allow a 10 percent tax credit for increases in investment by businesses. Most importantly, equipment qualifying for the credit must be made in the U.S.A. In addition, the credit would be available only if the equipment is new. Furthermore, the investment must be in equipment that is both an integral

part of manufacturing or production, as well as an increase in investment and not merely replacement of existing capital stock. The time has come to restore America's manufacturing base.

Mr. Speaker, my bill will also provide a tax credit to stimulate the sale of real estate held by the Resolution Trust Corporation or the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. Billions of taxpayer dollars are wasted while the Federal Government sits on this idle property. A temporary 5 percent tax credit is available to any RTC or FDIC property that is used in manufacturing or production.

Mr. Speaker, the time has come for action, not rhetoric. I think that solving this recession will require us to get back to the basics—and make fundamental, basic decisions about our economy. It was based on manufacturing—production—hard work. Consumer spending will not be the answer to this recession. Restoring America's manufacturing base will.

At this point in the RECORD I am submitting a technical description.

SUMMARY OF DONNELLY INVESTMENT TAX
CREDIT PROPOSAL

The bill would allow a 10 percent tax credit for increases in investment by businesses. A credit is a direct reduction in tax liability; a taxpayer with \$5,000 in tax liability with \$10,000 in qualified investments could reduce his tax to \$4,000 because of the credit.

The credit would be available only if the equipment: (1) was made in the United States; (2) was new property for the taxpayer; (3) was an integral part of manufacturing, production or farming; (4) was an increase in investment and not merely replacement of existing capital stock.

The credit would generally not be available for real estate (unless it is RTC/FDIC property, as described below).

The credit would be temporary, and would expire after December 31, 1995.

An additional 5 percent credit would be available for real estate owned by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation or the Resolution Trust Corporation if: (1) the property is used as an integral part of manufacturing; production or farming; (2) the property is not owned by an owner, director, or substantial shareholder of a failed bank or thrift; (3) The FDIC or RTC (as the case may be) certifies that the availability of the credit does not negatively effect real estate prices in the surrounding community; and (4) The FDIC or RTC (as the case may be) certifies that it is not possible to sell the property without the credit.

If the taxpayer disposed of the property prior to the end of its useful life, a portion of the tax credit claimed would have to be repaid to the Federal Government.