

- (A) three appointed by the President,  
 (B) two appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and  
 (C) two appointed by the President of the Senate.

Members of the Taskforce shall serve without additional compensation.

(2) The Taskforce shall carry out its activities in consultation with appropriate Federal agencies, private organizations, consumers, physicians, and other interested parties.

(b) The Taskforce shall study—

(1) the effect of different policies and procedures (including use of deductibles, co-insurance, and cost- or risk-sharing; tax deduction and exclusion from income provisions of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954; and prepaid health plans) relating to payment for hospital services on (A) consumer and physician awareness of the relative cost and quality of different hospital (and outpatient) services, (B) utilization of hospital services, and (C) the quality of hospital services provided, and

(2) the desirability of increasing the use of these and similar methods in federally funded and other health insurance programs,

and shall make recommendations to the Congress for appropriate changes in legislation. The Taskforce shall complete its study, and submit a report thereon to the appropriate committees of the Congress, not later than two years after the date members are first appointed to the Taskforce.

#### EVALUATION OF COST CONTAINMENT PROGRAM

SEC. 303. (a) The Secretary shall conduct a comprehensive evaluation (hereinafter in this section referred to as the "evaluation") of the cost controls established under this Act, focusing on—

(1) their efficiency, effectiveness, and fairness compared to alternative strategies for containing hospital costs, and

(2) modification of the present system of reimbursing hospitals under the medicare program on the basis of their retrospectively determined costs.

(b) The Secretary shall submit to the Congress not later than—

(1) six months after the date of the enactment of this Act, a formal plan for the evaluation,

(2) two years after the date of the enactment of this Act, an interim report on the evaluation, and

(3) December 31, 1983, a final report on the evaluation.

#### REPORT ON COST CONTAINMENT ALTERNATIVES

SEC. 304. (a) The Secretary shall prepare and submit to Congress, not later than one year after the date of the enactment of this Act, a report on additional or alternative measures (such as changes in (1) methods

of third-party reimbursement for health costs, (2) physician reimbursement, (3) payment for drugs and medical supplies, (4) utilization of health facilities and services, and (5) capital expenditures) that can be taken to control costs in the health care industry, as well as the hospital part of the industry.

(b) The report shall include the results of a study, conducted by the Secretary in consultation with appropriate national organizations, on the activities, programs, operating costs, and reimbursement of children's hospitals (described in section 321(6)(E)). With such results, the Secretary shall include findings and recommendations, including a recommendation with respect to the use of a system for the prospective measurement of costs of such hospitals.

Page 179, line 4, insert after the period the following new sentence: "The Secretary, in carrying out the requirements of this subsection with respect to hospitals located in Hawaii or Alaska, shall make such adjustments as may be necessary to reflect the higher prices for classes of goods and services prevailing in each of those States."

Page 183, insert after line 15 the following new subsection:

(d) The Taskforce on Consumer and Physician Incentives Towards Hospital Cost Containment shall be established under section 302 not earlier than October 1 of the year in which this Act is enacted and shall be terminated not later than March 1, 1985.

Page 187, insert after line 11 the following new subparagraph:

(E) is an institution (i) organized and operated for the care of children and youth, and (ii) a majority of the inpatients of which are eighteen years of age or younger,

Page 187, lines 12 and 15, strike out "(E)" and "(F)", respectively, and insert in lieu thereof "(F)" and "(G)", respectively.

Page 188, insert after line 17 the following new paragraph:

(1) (A) The term "hospital expenses", for purposes of title I, does not include any SHUR expenses (as defined in paragraph (4)).

Page 188, line 18, strike out "(1)" and insert in lieu thereof "(B)".

Page 191, insert after line 6 the following new paragraph:

(4) The term "SHUR expenses" means expenses incurred by a hospital only in order to comply with the requirements of sections 1861(v)(1)(F) and 1902(a)(40) of the Social Security Act (relating to reporting under a system for hospital uniform reporting).

Page 191, line 7, strike out "(4)" and insert in lieu thereof "(5)".

Page 191, line 22, insert "or SHUR expenses" after "(2)(A)".

Page 193, line 5, insert "or SHUR expenses" after "(4)(A)".

Page 193, line 7, insert after the comma the following:

"except that the Secretary, in applying such percentage increase with respect to hospitals located in Hawaii or in Alaska, shall make such adjustment in such percentage increase as may be necessary to reflect any higher rate of increase in the prices of classes of goods and services in those States as compared with such rate of increase in the United States".

Page 194, strike out line 17 and all that follows through page 195, line 13 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

(1) (A) Subject to subparagraph (B), the term "percent change in area population" means, for an accounting period of a hospital, the higher of—

(i) the percentage change in the size of the population of the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (as determined by the Office of Management and Budget, if any, in which the hospital is located in the year preceding the year in which the accounting period ends over the size of the population of such Area in the second preceding year, or

(ii) the percentage change in the size of the population of the county or county equivalent area (as recognized by the Bureau of the Census) in which the hospital is located in the year preceding the year in which the accounting period ends over the size of the population of such county or area in the second preceding year,

except that in no case shall such percent change be less than zero.

(B) In the case of hospital located in a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, county, or county equivalent area which has a rate of increase in its population of persons sixty-five years of age or older for a year exceeding the rate of increase in the population of such persons in the United States for the year, the Secretary shall determine the amount of such difference and shall provide for an adjustment in the percent change in population of the Area or of the county or county equivalent area (for purposes of clauses (i) and (ii), respectively, of subparagraph (A)) for the accounting period of the hospital ending in the year in such a manner as takes into consideration the additional costs (based on national data for cost of hospital services per capita for such persons as opposed to persons of other ages) involved in caring for such persons to the extent of such excess increase rate.

H.R. 5297

By Mr. VENTO:

—Page 5, section 101, add the following new subsection:

"(e) No amount authorized to be appropriated by this Act may be used by the Commission to license or approve of the disposal of nuclear wastes in the ocean."

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

### A COCA-COLA WINDFALL?

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, it is reported that the largest single donation ever made in the history of American philanthropy has been made by retired Coca-Cola Chairman Robert W. Woodruff. Mr. Woodruff has donated 3 million shares of Coca-Cola stock to Atlanta's Emory University. The gift is valued at

\$100 million. Every time Coca-Cola stock goes up \$1, the endowment increases by \$3 million.

I would assume that during the years Coca-Cola has been manufactured there have been many summers of more than average heat. During these summers more Coca-Cola was probably sold.

Is this not a form of windfall profits? After all, it was nothing that the Coca-Cola stockholders did that made people buy more Coca-Cola during heat spells. It was no improvement in the product or reduction in the price. It could very well be argued that the company made its

excess profits in those long hot summers through exploiting the thirst of millions.

I am surprised Jimmy Carter has never said that Coca-Cola has made windfall profits throughout the years, and that much of that profit should have been taxed so that a Government agency could be set up to devise new ways of dealing with the thirst problem.

Emory University can be thankful that Mr. Carter was not in power when Coke made its biggest profits.

At this time I would like to insert in the RECORD "Emory U. Gets Gift of

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

\$100 Million" by Howell Raines, from the New York Times, November 9, 1979:

EMORY U. GETS GIFT OF \$100 MILLION

By Howell Raines

ATLANTA, Nov. 8.—Robert W. Woodruff, the retired Coca-Cola chairman known to Atlantans as this city's "anonymous donor," today gave Emory University \$100 million, a gift that is believed to be the largest single donation in the history of American philanthropy.

The gift, in the form of three million shares of Coca-Cola stock, is of such magnitude "that every time Coca-Cola goes up one dollar, the endowment increases by \$3 million or thereabouts," Henry L. Bowden, the chairman of Emory's board of trustees, said at a news conference.

As is his habit, the taciturn Mr. Woodruff, who is 90 years old and perhaps the least known of the nation's philanthropists, did not attend the news conference. But it took place in a room named for him within a building named for him on a campus that is sometimes known as "Coca-Cola U."

The benefaction announced today brings to \$210 million the money that Mr. Woodruff has given to Emory and to \$350 million his total contributions to civic and educational causes here. It also continues a tradition linking Emory's fortunes to those of Coca-Cola and its executives. Starting in 1914, the family of Asa Candler, the original popularizer of the soft drink, gave the school a total of \$21 million.

As of today, Emory is the South's richest private university, and its endowment of \$270 million ranks 11th nationally, narrowly trailing such institutions as Yale and Princeton.

"We're within shooting distance," James T. Laney, the president of Emory, proclaimed today. "We're hot on their tail." The Yale-trained theologian said that Mr. Woodruff's gift would give Emory, already regarded as one of the best schools in the South, "the capacity to emerge as one of the principal institutions of higher learning in the United States in the next decade."

In the reckoning of most Southern educators, Emory University competes with Vanderbilt, Duke, Rice, and Tulane for the distinction of being the South's best private university. The Atlanta school has 8,000 students, many of them from Eastern and Mid-Atlantic states. Places in its law school and in the nursing, dental and medical schools at the Woodruff Medical Center are highly sought. And the Candler School of Theology is the largest Methodist seminary in the United States.

The opinion that Mr. Woodruff had set a national and perhaps a world record for the size of a single gift came from the "Philanthropic Digest." James A. Chapman, a publicity-shy oil man who died in 1966, gave away \$100 million, but he scattered the money over three states. Buck Duke, the tobacco heir, gave \$100 million to the North Carolina University named for his brother, but he spread the gift over many years. And Trinity College in Nashville changed its name to Vanderbilt University while receiving only \$10 million from Cornelius Vanderbilt and his heirs.

The first contributor of record to a surviving institution of higher learning was John Harvard, who gave books and some money to a newborn college in Cambridge, Mass., in 1638.

#### HOW IT ALL STARTED

Mr. Woodruff, who retired as board chairman of the Coca-Cola Company in 1955, did not set out to break any records. He drifted into philanthropy, according to Pat Watters, the author of "Coca-Cola: An Illustrated History."

"It started out with him getting upset with all these people on his plantation having

malaria," said Mr. Watters. "Then his mother got cancer. He started solving his personal problems with money, and that got him into it."

The gift announced today amounted to a total transfer to Emory of assets of the Emily and Ernest Woodruff Fund Inc., which is named for the philanthropist's parents.

But Boisfeuillet Jones, a precise, gray-haired man who has made a career of handling out Woodruff money as president of the fund, said that the philanthropies would go on. For one thing, \$20 million is tucked away in Mr. Woodruff's Trebor Foundation. "That's Robert spelled backward," said Mr. Jones. And then there is Mr. Woodruff's personal fortune.

Mr. Laney, Emory's president, made it clear that for now the university was content with its three million shares. "We already own two million," he said. "That gives us five million." Then, grinning in embarrassment, he apologized for stating the obvious. "I just enjoy saying it," he said. ●

### NATIONAL CYSTIC FIBROSIS WEEK

#### HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, today, I am introducing a resolution which would designate the third week of September, beginning in 1980, as National Cystic Fibrosis Week. Enactment of this resolution will direct public attention to those who suffer from this debilitating disease which is destroying the lungs, digestion, and lives of between 13,000 and 30,000 children and young adults in America. Hopefully, with increased public awareness of the nature and symptoms of cystic fibrosis and its tragic impact on the lives of victims and their families, the resources needed to foster research into the cause, treatment and cure of the disease will be significantly enhanced.

Passage of this resolution will present a fitting commemoration of the Cystic Fibrosis Foundation's 25th anniversary which will be observed next year. Through the leadership of my close friend Doris Tulcin, the foundation's president, and many other concerned volunteers, the foundation has grown and developed from a small organization comprised of a handful of concerned parents, physicians and friends, to one of the Nation's leading voluntary health associations. For the 1980-81 fiscal year, the Cystic Fibrosis Foundation's budget for research, professional training, and health care delivery will total approximately \$6.6 million. Without this support, much of the progress achieved through CF research would not have been possible.

My involvement with the foundation's concerns and the plight of CF victims began in 1976, when I urged the House Appropriations Committee to designate funds for a study to be conducted by the National Institutes of Health into the state of the art and future directions for cystic fibrosis research. As a result of that study, the committee recognized that a federally supported CF research program was desperately needed. Since that time, the committee has reaffirmed its

support for this vital research effort with increased funding levels to expand the scope of the NIH involvement, and the Cystic Fibrosis Foundation has designated significant new funds for its research and care programs as well. With the creation of Cystic Fibrosis Week, I hope that the national commitment to CF research will continue to grow.

Although much of the foundation's efforts are directed to generating support for cystic fibrosis research, public education is also a high priority. Unfortunately, an overwhelmingly majority of the public is unaware of even the most fundamental facts about the disease. CF is often confused with other diseases and such misunderstandings are rarely clarified. Society needs to be informed about the symptoms of CF, particularly as they occur in infancy, to facilitate early recognition and diagnosis. Americans of all ages should know that people with the "hidden handicap" of CF can, and want to be, successful participants in school or work for as long as their health allows. It is very encouraging to know that, with the extensive treatments and new medications now available, the period of relative health is becoming longer each year for people with CF.

Despite the progress that has occurred, much more needs to be done, and ignorance concerning cystic fibrosis continues to prevail. Consequently, I am requesting that my colleagues lend their support to this resolution which will aid in the battle against this dreaded and debilitating disease. Enactment of the resolution I am introducing today will be another step toward the conquest of cystic fibrosis.

Mr. Speaker, I insert into the RECORD a factsheet prepared by the Cystic Fibrosis Foundation which provides some pertinent information concerning the disease and the foundation's activities:

#### CYSTIC FIBROSIS: THE DISEASE AND THE FOUNDATION

For nearly a quarter of a century, the Cystic Fibrosis Foundation has been the leading force in the battle against Cystic Fibrosis (CF). Although significant progress has been made toward improved clinical and psychosocial management of CF patients, this disease, the most common genetic killer of children in America, remains a mystery of science. At present, there are no known means to cure, control or prevent Cystic Fibrosis. Furthermore, there is no workable method of identifying carriers of the CF genetic trait.

Despite these facts, the outlook for those affected by CF has steadily improved. Through the diligent efforts of the handful of parents, friends, and physicians who founded the Cystic Fibrosis Foundation in 1955, as well as the thousands of people who have become involved since that time, CF is beginning to gain attention and support from both government and private sectors. The best measure of their success has been the doubling of the life expectancy of children born with CF during the last decade. Even with this progress, a child born today with CF cannot expect to live much past the age of 20.

#### WHAT IS CYSTIC FIBROSIS AND WHAT IS ITS IMPACT?

Cystic Fibrosis is a chronic, degenerative genetic disease involving the lungs and the digestive organs, as well as other major organs of the body. It causes intermittent but progressive debilitation and eventual premature death. It is characterized by a severe

cough, extreme shortness of breath, malnutrition, growth retardation, and respiratory and heart failure. CF requires daily, time-consuming, expensive treatment involving both physical therapy and a multiplicity of medications. The continued care and the knowledge of early death cause emotional stress and severe financial strain on patient and family members, and drains services and resources of the public and private sectors.

CF is the most common, presently incurable, inherited disorder in the Caucasian population. The disease is genetically transmitted; when both parents carry the gene, each child has a one in four chance of having CF, a two in four chance that he or she will be a symptomless carrier, and a one in four chance to be unaffected. When only one parent carries the gene, none of the children will have CF but each child has a 50-50 chance of being a carrier. According to current population data, approximately 10 million Americans are asymptomatic carriers of the CF trait, and between 175,000 and 200,000 carriers are believed to be born every year.

It is estimated that Cystic Fibrosis occurs once every 1,600-2,500 live Caucasian births. It is also found in non-Caucasian populations, but with less frequency. There are between 1,700 and 2,600 new cases per year in the United States. Patient information is available from the Cystic Fibrosis Foundation-supported CF Patient Registry which follows patients treated in over 120 CFF-designated medical facilities—about 13,000 patients. The CFF estimates that there are at least that many individuals outside this system who are undiagnosed, misdiagnosed or being treated by a physician who is not presently involved with the CFF Centers network.

#### WHAT ARE THE COSTS OF CYSTIC FIBROSIS?

The annual cost of care for the person with CF is extremely high. Estimates of cost of care for young adult patients exceed \$21,000 per year with some individual expenditures at \$50,000 to \$100,000 annually in the terminal years. In 1977, the National Heart, Lung and Blood Institute estimated the average annual cost to be \$10,500 per patient. It is not surprising that estimates cover a wide range because the severity of the disorder varies from patient to patient, along with the stage of the disease from diagnosis to death. Even in those instances where costs of health care are lower, they still constitute a severe financial burden for the patient and his or her family. Considering that there are from 13,000 to 30,000 patients with CF, it is estimated that, nationally, the medical costs for caring for CF patients ranged between \$150 million and \$450 million in 1977.

It should be noted that these costs are only direct patient care charges and do not include socioeconomic costs due to early death, unemployment, or underemployment. Even if they survive the disease through childhood, few young adults with CF are able to fulfill their full potential because they are disabled, cannot find employment, or their jobs do not make full use of their abilities. In general, CF patients' salaries are low because they are young or unable to compete, due to health limitations, for the higher paying positions.

#### WHAT IS THE CYSTIC FIBROSIS FOUNDATION?

The origin of the Cystic Fibrosis Foundation (CFF) can be traced to 1955 with the creation and organization of the National Cystic Fibrosis Research Foundation (NCFRF). Parents and families of CF patients, located in six areas of the country, had already organized locally to publicize the plight of those with the disease, to raise funds usually for the support of local clinics, and to share personal experiences about their afflicted children.

A group comprised of representatives from

the six geographic areas met in New York City in 1955 to consider the possibility of forming a national foundation committed to finding a cure or preventive measures for CF. What emerged from that meeting was an organization dedicated primarily to research and education as the charter members realized that embracing care at that time would have limited funds available for the research which all hoped would result in the control of the disease.

Since that time, the Foundation has grown and developed into one of the nation's leading voluntary health organizations. Although its program structure and administration have changed significantly over time, its goals have remained essentially the same. The mission of the CFF is directed toward ultimately achieving a cure or control for CF by means of basic biological research and clinical studies, and for improving care for those with the disease through support of a network of over 120 Centers across the country. The Foundation promotes and supports education programs designed to alleviate the suffering of CF patients, while implementing courses of action concerned with the personal and societal impact of the disease. Although the primary target is Cystic Fibrosis, the Foundation activities embrace a concern for other diseases as they relate to Cystic Fibrosis.

#### WHAT IS THE STATE OF SCIENCE IN CF? WHAT ARE THE HEALTH CARE ACHIEVEMENTS, OPPORTUNITIES AND CONSTRAINTS?

Cystic Fibrosis is presently incurable. It is believed to be caused by an inborn error of metabolism, the basic chemical nature of which is not yet understood. No reliable objective technique has been developed to identify the genetic defect in either parents or siblings. In addition, there is no medical procedure available to detect CF in an unborn child and newborn screening for diagnosis is plagued by many problems.

Due to improvements in treatment methods and care in recent years, however, the prognosis of patients with CF has changed. An increasing number of children with CF are surviving into their teens and twenties. Data from the Cystic Fibrosis Patient Registry indicate that the median survival time for a child born in 1966 was 11.2 years—a figure which, based in life-table study projections, increased to 19.4 years for an infant born in 1975. (In some Centers, the median survival time has increased to 25 years.) About half of the individuals with CF die between 10 to 20 years of age.

Despite improvements in the management of CF patients during the last two decades, some aspects of the disease have only been defined recently, and in other areas, virtually no new knowledge has surfaced. Not only is there a lack of basic scientific information, but also the environment for CF research is currently limited by a number of resource deficiencies including:

A shortage of trained scientists and investigators committed to the study of Cystic Fibrosis;

The absence of adequate, long-term stable funding, particularly from the government sector;

A lack of materials (i.e. tissue samples, animal models, etc.) essential to the conduct of research; and

The Cystic Fibrosis data base (including patient characteristics and clinical data) is inadequate.

Therefore, significant progress in improving the clinical management of patients with CF is not likely to occur in the future without a major commitment to research. With such a commitment, current research opportunities offer promise for advances in prevention of Cystic Fibrosis, early accurate diagnosis, and prevention and treatment of pulmonary, cardiac, and gastrointestinal complications of Cystic Fibrosis. ●

## HOSPITAL COSTS REACHING EPIDEMIC PROPORTIONS

HON. DOUG WALGREN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. WALGREN. Mr. Speaker, with the House soon to consider H.R. 2626, the Hospital Cost Containment Act of 1979, I would like to include for the RECORD an advertisement that appeared in the Washington Post on November 8, 1979. The advertisement, sponsored by 47 national and international organizations, makes a strong appeal to Congress for its help in containing inflationary hospital costs.

I urge my colleagues to support the cost containment legislation and request that the advertisement be inserted at this point:

#### HOSPITAL COST INFLATION IS REACHING EPIDEMIC PROPORTIONS

For many years, total hospital expenditures have increased significantly faster than the rise in the Consumer Price Index. And while most hospital bills are paid by public or private insurance programs and the impact of hospital inflation often can be disguised . . . the truth is that the impact of hospital cost inflation is painfully real for every American.

Hospital costs rise, and so do health insurance premiums. Workers take home smaller paychecks, and businesses are forced to charge higher prices. Inflation continues.

The elderly, who need more hospital services than other segments of the population, are particularly hard hit by hospital cost inflation. The Medicare hospital deductible paid by the elderly has almost quadrupled—from \$44 in 1969 to \$160 in 1979. If hospital cost inflation is not restrained, the deductible will reach \$260 in 1984.

We regard the problem of hospital cost inflation to be so serious that action must be taken by the Congress to slow it down. The Congress must consider a sound approach to decelerate hospital cost inflation that offers a reasonable promise of success. We believe that the Hospital Cost Containment Act of 1979 (H.R. 2626—S. 570) offers that promise.

We feel legislation is necessary because the health care delivery system operates in a non-competitive environment. Mandatory controls would go into effect only for those hospitals that do not meet attainable inflation goals. Hospitals in states which have, or adopt, mandatory cost containment programs would be exempt.

Congress has debated hospital cost containment for over two years. And hospital cost inflation has continued to rise.

There is no reason for further delay. We simply must slow down the rate of increase or suffer serious and perhaps even irreparable damage to our ability to afford health care when needed. We urge Congress to enact the Hospital Cost Containment Act of 1979 (H.R. 2626—S. 570).

This Advertisement Sponsored by:  
National Council of Senior Citizens.  
American Association of Retired Persons.  
National Retired Teachers Association.  
Prudential Insurance Company of America.  
National Caucus on State Units on Aging.  
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Urban Elderly Coalition.

The Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States.

Asociacion Nacional Pro Personas Mayores.

National Farmers Union.  
Concerned Seniors for Better Government.  
Aetna Life & Casualty Company.



dictatorship of the communist parties, and their consummate experiences attest to the overall truth that in both theory and action, communism remains as the worst form of totalitarianism and imperio-colonialism in the history of mankind," County Executive Rutkowski said.

"These submerged nations look to the United States as the citadel of human freedom and leadership in bringing about their liberation. All too many times we treat the freedoms our forefathers fought and struggled for too casually. We forget that there are human beings today whose only dream in life is to one day have the same rights and freedoms as we have in the United States, while they must live in the darkness of tyranny," Mr. Rutkowski added.

County Executive Rutkowski paid tribute to Alexandr Solzhenitsyn who was brave enough to stand up and speak out against the oppression of communist totalitarianism and brought an appreciation to the western world of the burden people living in the captive nations must bear. "The words of Alexandr Solzhenitsyn and the feelings of human compassion engrained in the minds and hearts of all Americans serve as a foundation for us to transmit to our enemies that we will never acquiesce to any permanent captivity of these nations. As we observe this anniversary of "Captive Nations Week", we must reaffirm to our captive allies that we remain determined to work for their freedom, which in essence means our freedom as well."

[From the Reading (Pa.) Eagle, July 17, 1979]  
UKRAINIANS MARK SPECIAL WEEK

Captive Nations Week is being observed this week by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and will culminate with a special church service Sunday at 9:30 a.m. in the Nativity of Virgin Blessed Mary Ukrainian Catholic Church, 632 Laurel St.

Samuel Kilyk, president of the UCCA's Reading branch, announced that the services will be conducted by the Rev. Basil Stebelsky, church pastor.

He also said the branch plans to donate books about the Ukraine and Ukrainians to the Reading Public Library.

Quoting from a proclamation issued by President Carter, Kilyk said: "Let us take this occasion to reaffirm our admiration for all the men and women around the world who are committed to the cause of freedom."

Kilyk pointed out that every year since 1959, the president of the United States has proclaimed the third week in July as Captive Nations Week.

The purpose of the resolution, signed into law first by President Dwight Eisenhower 20 years ago, was to lend moral support and encouragement to nations engulfed or controlled by world communism in their struggle for freedom and national statehood, Kilyk said.

The original resolution listed 22 such nations. The Ukraine, a nation of nearly 50 million persons, has been in the Soviet Union's captivity since 1920, Kilyk pointed out. He said in recent years the Ukrainians have been subjected to a new wave of political and cultural persecution reminiscent of the Stalin era.

"This situation is a matter of great concern to Reading's Ukrainian community," Kilyk declared.

"Thus," he said, "the UCCA's Reading branch has taken it upon itself to make the plight of their oppressed countrymen known to the general public."

[From the Chicago Harlem Irving Times Weekly, July 25, 1979]  
REMEMBER BROTHERS IN CAPTIVE NATIONS  
(By Alice Slemascko)

The cries and whispers of captives from World War II and Vietnam still echo today.

Their cries were for freedom and human rights.

Today, the outcries are coming from people subjugated by Communist governments. They are heard and remembered each year through the Captive Nations Week observances which ended Saturday.

In 1959 Congress declared that each year, the third week of July would be designated as "Captive Nations Week."

The Captive Nations Committee in Chicago, participated in the week-long observance, memorializing those nations kept captive behind the iron curtain, with a service in downtown Chicago.

At a national human and religious rights rally, Soviet dissident, Valentyn Moroz, who was a recently exchanged prisoner, spoke on life in Russia. Viktor Viksnins, Chicago Captive Nation's Committee chairman, said the purpose of the rally was to let the Communist government know that its crimes do not go unnoticed.

"On this occasion we wish to remind the American people of the plight and aspirations of the captive people of Eastern Europe, Asia and Cuba and to remind the American people that they too can lose their rights and freedom, Viksnins said.

As a matter of fact, some Americans may have already lost their rights, Viksnins contends.

On July 1, 1979 a new law took effect in the Soviet Union which will affect the citizenship of all persons born in, or descended from those born in Russia.

This new law declares all such persons to be citizens exclusively of the Soviet Union, regardless of their present residence or true citizenship status, said Viksnins.

It contends that any American who has Russian ancestry belongs to Russia. Russia simply will not acknowledge your citizenship, said Viksnins.

Two reasons are behind this new law, he said.

Primarily, it is an instrument that could be used by the Soviet government to get hold of inheritance property in the United States left by single citizens, who are considered Russian, and who died without leaving a will.

And secondly because Russians are scared of what might happen in the forthcoming Olympics.

"To eliminate the possibility of Americans creating demonstrations in the Soviet Union, the Russians created this law," said Viskins.

"If you don't behave and you create some problem, you will now stand trial as a Soviet citizen and not be simply expelled from Russia as an American citizen," said Viskins.

The Captive Nations Committee of Chicago presented a resolution at the rally, which denounces the new Soviet citizenship law. It asks the Soviet Union to repeal it and asks the United States department of state to protest the refusal of the Soviet Union to recognize the proper and legal citizenship of American citizens.

The rally was not only recognized by the Captive Nations Committee, which is made up of 30 national groups in Chicago, but also by Gov. James Thompson, Mayor Jane Byrne and Pope John Paul II.

The committee received a letter from the Pope in which he expressed his greetings and support to those gathered in observance of Captive Nations Week.

Moroz, the rally's main speaker, was one of five dissidents exiled to the U.S. from the Soviet Union in a prisoner exchange last April 27.

He along with Alexander Ginzburg have openly questioned the exchanges as a politically expedient method of removing dissidents from their homeland.

Moroz, an "adopted" Amnesty International prisoner for more than seven years, was arrested following publication of Report from the Beria Reserve, an account of conditions and treatment in Soviet prisons. Fol-

lowing a trial, he was sentenced to a total of 14 years in detention, among the harshest sentences meted out to a Soviet dissident in recent years.

The detention of Moroz was also marked with exceptional brutality and harshness. He was repeatedly placed in solitary confinement, stricken with illness and carried out hunger strikes lasting up to 145 days.

During his imprisonment, Moroz was the focus of personal appeals from Andrei Sakharov, Sergei Kovalyav, Sen. Henry Jackson and artists, intellectuals and political figures in many parts of the world.

[From the Columbus (Ohio) Dispatch  
Aug. 2, 1979]

#### BACK TO BASICS

I was very pleased and also surprised by The Dispatch's editorial, "Rewriting History Newest Soviet Ploy" of July 14. Pleased that at least finally one Columbus newspaper printed some lines about Captive Nations Week.

According to a resolution of Congress, the president must proclaim each year the third week of July as Captive Nations Week. President Dwight Eisenhower did so first in 1959. He declared solidarity with oppressed people and called by name oppressors the Soviet Union and Communist China.

Since that time every proclamation was watered down. Declarations of Presidents Johnson, Nixon and Ford were only mere formality and actually, in a sense, meaningless because our government was thinking of building bridges between West and East. Finally, on stage came detente.

President Carter, with great pomp, pronounced his views about human rights, that Americans in all time have strongly believed freedom and national independence are basic rights of humanity. Further, he asked us to remember and admire men who support ideas of freedom, and continue to fight for it in their own lands.

Again not a word about oppressors, and it is understandable. How can the president accuse another of holding in captivity many nations, when just a month ago in Vienna he raised a glass to his health, embraced him and kissed? It would be a highly inexcusable manner.

We can preach humanity and peoples' rights to freedom to little Rhodesia, but for God's sake do not further irritate the bloody Russian bear. No wonder that we neither in the past, nor today understand the basics, about Russians and communism.

Soviets from the first day have called their action in the Baltic states a peaceful workers revolution and by every means have condemned those who call it forceful takeover.

It is nothing new in Soviet society to over-write history. In their view, history must reflect thinking of the Communist Party's leaders. History in the Baltic states was always falsified to fit their aims.

I was there when Soviets forcefully occupied Latvia. I saw with my eyes how "strictly" Soviet troops observed the neutrality and mutual aid pact. They came in a combat formation and occupied all tactical points in the capital city of Riga and in the state.

Of course, the United States doesn't recognize incorporation of Baltic states into the USSR, but also never has it in direct talks with Soviets raised the Baltic question.

In the meantime Russification continues with full force in Baltic states and soon the native people will be in the minority in their own homelands.

[From the Kansas City Kansan, July 26, 1979]

#### MEANINGLESS

In 1959 the Congress passed the Public Law 86-90 or Captive Nations' Proclamation declaring the third week of July the Captive

Nations' Week. In fact, the Captive Nations' Week has become almost meaningless. In 1977 President Jimmy Carter issued the Captive Nations' Proclamation only after ethnic groups began calling the White House and demanding it. It is almost needless to say that the Captive Nations' Proclamations of President Carter in 1977, 1978, and 1979 failed to list any Captive Nations or name the Soviet Union as the only privileged colonial empire, in spite of the fact that almost all former colonial peoples of Africa and Asia have obtained their independence.

Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn and Andrei D. Saakharov have repeatedly asked the Russian Communist leaders to dissolve the Soviet Union of the non-Russian republics and to do away with the Russian control of Eastern Europe in general.

Therefore, persons who realize the danger of Communism should urge the Congress to encourage the explosive forces of nationalism of the Ukrainians, Georgians, Armenians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Poles, East Germany, Czechs, Hungarians and other Eastern European peoples. The Congress should be likewise urged to oppose the selling of our machinery and wheat to the Soviet Union and to refrain from making any concessions of credit to Russia. The militarism and imperialism of the only colonial empire should be weakened by imposing strong economic sanctions against the Soviet Union. ●

#### ADVISE AND DISSENT

### HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I would like to offer for the RECORD the text of the "Advise and Dissent" column which appears in the December issue of Penthouse magazine. The article was written by Friends of Animals vice president Bill Clark, who presents his views on the state of the North Pacific fur seals on the Pribilof Islands off the coast of Alaska.

I concur with Mr. Clark's opinion that U.S. Government-sponsored killing of these seals must be stopped. Last July, I introduced H.R. 5033, legislation designed to eventually end the killing. The bill now has 52 cosponsors. Hearings have been held by the Foreign Affairs Committee, and I am hopeful that the Interior Committee and the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee will hold hearings in the near future.

The following is the text of the Penthouse article:

#### STOP KILLING SEALS

Bureaucracies, reportedly being composed of living creatures, tend to obey the basic tenets of biology. The first tenet that bureaucracies obey is the much-abused law of self-preservation.

No bureaucracy ever volunteers itself into extinction. Bureaucracies never quit the public payroll no matter how useless they have become, indeed, no matter how detrimental they may be to the society they allegedly serve. When times get tough, when public scrutiny gets intense, bureaucracies scramble to clutch any thread to justify their own existence.

More often, however, they simply try to escape the curious inquiries of the public and melt into the shadows of the system. The less publicity a bureaucracy gets, the better its chances of survival. An outstanding

example of this syndrome is the Pribilof Island Program, which is a child of the National Marine Fisheries Service and a grandchild of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration and a great-grandchild of the U.S. Department of Commerce.

The "mission" of the Pribilof Island Program is to kill seals on Alaska's Pribilof Islands. Its job is to plan, execute, and justify the slaughter of tens of thousands of seals every year. Of these three functions, this bureaucracy is most adept in performing the executions. Planning is merely cursory and justification is shrouded in deception. And in an abuse of language worthy of Orwell's 1984, the bureaucrats call this mass murder a "seal harvest."

Besides executing seals, the Pribilof Island Program has done a pretty good job of executing the public treasury, too. In 1978, for example, the Pribilof Island Program consumed 4,613,300 appropriated tax dollars to kill seals. The sale of sealskins brought in \$684,036. And the taxpayer got to make up this bureaucracy's deficit.

An amusing irony is the fact that the seal-skin market in the United States is just about dried up. It is no longer considered fashionable to trot down Park Avenue with the skin of a marine mammal on one's back. So the skins are now sold chiefly to European fur dealers, and the U.S. taxpayer is put in the lamentable position of subsidizing fashionable fur coats for wealthy European matrons.

The progeny of the U.S. Department of Commerce apparently are no longer concerned with the balance sheets of commerce. Thus, they strain to catch any other argument to defend the slaughter upon which their bureaucracy rests. For decades the main line of defense has been "international relations."

The U.S. seal slaughters in the Pribilofs come under the Convention on the North Pacific Fur Seals, a document that dates back to 1911, when pelagic (open sea) seal killing threatened the species with extinction. These were the days that Jack London wrote about in *The Sea Wolf*, days when sealing schooners sailed about 50 miles from the continental shore and freely slaughtered the seals along their migration routes.

To control the slaughter better, the United States joined with the governments of Imperial Japan, Imperial Russia, and Great Britain (on behalf of Canada) and ratified this treaty that banned pelagic sealing in the North Pacific. Because the seals come ashore only on U.S. and Soviet islands today, the seal treaty provides that Canada and Japan get 15 percent each of the skins taken on the Pribilofs and 15 percent each of the skins taken on the Soviet islands for their agreement to stay out of the pelagic sealing business. Canada and Japan split a blood ransom of about 10,000 sealskins a year for agreeing to do nothing.

But back in 1911 the seal's migration routes were outside the old 3-mile limit. Today, with the 200-mile limit, the seals migrate within territorial limits and can be protected by domestic law. The seal treaty is superfluous.

With this argument deflated, the bureaucrats scamper to find a new one. Recently they came up with the startling biological discovery that seals eat fish. Commerce's press releases hit the mails, proclaiming that northern fur seals are eating more than 500,000 metric tons of fish annually, thereby suggesting that they pose a threat to human nutrition and thus giving a new reason for restricting the seal population.

But if one digs a bit into the biology of the seals, one finds that they eat less than 2 percent of the standing fish stocks of the Bering Sea. Also, the seals are eating more than 50 species of fish and 9 species of squid, most of which are not taken by commercial fishermen. And on top of this is the simple

arrangement of a seal's teeth. They interlock, all the way back to the last molar. This is great for biting, but not very good for chewing. And this means seals can't eat big fish; they simply can't prey upon the big Alaska salmon that the commercial fishermen are after.

Furiously pursuing a new excuse for the seal slaughters, the bureaucrats are now saying that the livelihood and traditions of the Pribilofs' Aleut community will be threatened if the seal slaughters are stopped.

First—the livelihood. More than \$9 million a year is pumped into the Pribilof Islands, and most of this goes to public relief for the Aleut community. There are food stamps, low-income public housing, welfare, education subsidies, and the full gamut of public assistance. Seal killing, on the other hand, amounts to less than 4 percent of the island's budget. It employs about 70 adults for five weeks at laborer's wages and amounts to only a very small fraction of the island's livelihood. Besides, the Aleut community of the Pribilofs received an \$8.5 million award from the U.S. Court of Claims on June 29, 1979, plus another \$4 million in the past couple of years through the Alaska Native Claims Settlement.

The Pribilof Aleut community has a bankroll of at least \$12.5 million, clear title to all their homes and public buildings and facilities, and more than 90 percent of the land area of the islands, with no mortgage or debt service to burden them. And all this is distributed through an adult population of 250 people. Indeed, the Aleuts should be making more money from interest on their bank account than they do from killing seals for the government. Furthermore, it costs the government more to administer the Pribilof Island Program and its related services than the Aleuts receive for the seal slaughter.

Second, the issue of preserving a "tradition" is also fraught with inconsistencies. Aleuts were brought to the Pribilofs as slaves by Russian sealers during the last century. Before this time there was no Aleut tradition of raiding rookery islands and slaughtering seals on a commercial scale. On the Aleutian Islands, a few hundred miles south of the Pribilofs, where the Aleuts came from, seals simply do not leave the water. Only a few could have been killed by hunters in kayaks on a subsistence basis, and never the 25,000 seals that are currently being slaughtered each year.

One must also ask what other Aleut traditions have been preserved. The Aleuts' language is English; their religion is Russian Orthodox; they carry Russian surnames; they live in standard American housing with central heating, hot and cold running water, and even electric garbage compactors. Seal killing seems to be the only "traditional" Aleut activity on the Pribilofs.

Saying that seal killing is an important aspect of Aleut culture is tantamount to saying that picking cotton is an important aspect of African culture. These are the labors imposed by slavery. The only logical explanation for the bureaucracy's insistence on continuing the slaughters is the survival of the bureaucracy itself. More than \$700,000 a year is tossed off to "fur seal research"—bureaucrats who fiddle with electronic calculators to make the seal herds appear larger than they really are so that they can come up with new reasons for killing more seals.

Then there are the costs of personnel and offices for the seal-killing bureaucrats in Washington, D.C.; Seattle, Wash.; and the Pribilofs. There are project directors, administrators, supervisors—bureaucrats galore. And the end of seal killing poses a very real and present threat to their jobs.

Domestic spying is not monopolized by the CIA, the FBI, or other superleuth organizations. Indeed, nearly every bureauc-

racy has its own snoops on the payroll. Including the National Marine Fisheries Service. The NMFS assigned two of its operatives to spy on those who went to the Pribilofs to witness the seal slaughter. Reporting to their superior, Assistant Special Agent-in-Charge Milstead Zahn, the field sleuths said their presence "helped inhibit interference with the seal harvest by any groups or individuals." In truth, however, their presence was not even known by anyone until after the episode was over and suspicions led to inquiries under the Freedom of Information Act.

I have stood on the Pribilof tundra and watched as the bludgeons descended upon hundreds of seals. I have seen the Arctic grasses soaked red with blood. I have heard the seals bark and cry and whimper as they fell, one before the other in the brutal and methodical carnage.

It's a bureaucratic system from which nobody benefits except the bureaucrats. The American taxpayer loses with a perpetual drain on the public treasury. The Aleuts lose by being locked into the slaughter syndrome—indeed, the U.S. Department of Commerce, which oversees and regulates the largest, most complex commercial system in the history of humanity, has been either unwilling or incapable of finding steady respectable employment for an adult community of 250 people. Fortunately with their recently won revenues, the Aleuts don't need Uncle Sam's misguidance any longer and can start determining their own future.

And the seals lose. They lost tragically.

There is one bright star on the Pribilof horizon. In early August, Rep. Lester Wolf (Dem.-N.Y.) submitted legislation (H.R. 5033) that would ban the seal killing and create seal sanctuaries on the rookery islands and in the surrounding territorial waters. It's a long way between authorizing a bill and getting the president to sign it into law. It's a way that will be resisted by bureaucrats from Constitution Avenue to Foggy Bottom. But it's the only way to end America's tragic seal killing. ●

#### THE CLEAN AIR ACT

### HON. DOUGLAS APPLIGATE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. APPLIGATE. Mr. Speaker, I once again come before this Congress to discuss this Nation's most severe and immediate problem, that being the need to become less reliant on imported foreign oil. The events in Iran in the past few days have only served to reinforce my belief that immediate and affirmative action must be taken.

When one considers the vast reserves of coal that the United States possesses as compared to the problem associated with the importation of oil, the production of nuclear energy and the lack of technology in other energy fields, it is difficult to rationalize this Congress attitude toward coal. Granted, some programs have been initiated that would promote coal, but we still are not using as much coal as we should. That, Mr. Speaker, cannot be disputed.

Why is this so? Perhaps the biggest obstacle to the burning of coal is the attitude that coal is dirty and harmful to one's health, although a recent report

aired by the NBC news network indicated that one's health is not affected by residing in an industrialized, polluted area as opposed to rural areas. This impression was cemented in the minds of many by the acceptance of the Clean Air Act of 1970. I will be the first to admit that since that act's passage, the environment, as a whole, is much cleaner. We have achieved the goals of that act by cleaning about 90 percent of the pollutants out of the air and water and also by maintaining that degree of cleanliness. But, according to the act and the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, we must continue in our efforts and clean the other 10 percent. Let me point out however, that this last 10 percent will cost business, industry, and the consumer at least as much as the first 90 percent did. Is this really what Congress wanted to do? I do not believe so. I believe we have lost sight of our intentions in the 9 years since the act's passage and that the act, if carried out as the EPA would intend would no longer be cost effective.

Therefore, I am today introducing a bill that will provide for a Presidential appointed commission to study the effects of full compliance with the act. My bill specifies that the commission's study will center on the effects of compliance on employment, the economic impact on our cities, or the health and safety of the citizenry and on American energy supplies and demands. The commission will report its findings, with recommendation to the Congress and to the President within 6 months.

My resolution would also prohibit any State implementation plan, as mandated under the Clean Air Act, to carry with it a time schedule for monitoring stationary source stack emissions less than an average of the previous 30 days. This will clearly allow for the burning of coal without further determination of any air quality standards which must be maintained.

The objective of my resolution, of course, is to determine the real cost of compliance to our society and with the results of my proposed study this can be determined. At that point, I believe Congress will want to take corrective action in amending the Clean Air Act to the degree that it will be both efficient yet practical.

Mr. Speaker, I would, of course, welcome any and all of my colleagues to join me as a cosponsor of this resolution. ●

#### PERSONAL EXPLANATION

### HON. ROMANO L. MAZZOLI

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, I was unavoidably absent for a vote on Wednesday, November 7, rollcall No. 630. I would have voted "aye" on rollcall No. 630, a motion on final passage of H.R. 4007, to provide for repayment of loans to State unemployment funds. ●

#### AFGHANISTAN, THE SOVIET UNION AND WORLD PEACE

### HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, the realities of international affairs are complex and intricate. What may seem to be an event of only regional or local interest may bear the seeds of worldwide importance.

Consider, if you will, the current state of affairs in Afghanistan. There are few countries which appear to be more remote, more exotic, more removed from our everyday cares than that one. But, just as Americans awoke one morning and discovered that an unfamiliar place called Pearl Harbor was important to them and just as we all began to learn strange names like "Saigon" and "Hanoi" as if they were part of our neighborhood, so, I think, will we soon be learning about Afghanistan.

How many Americans, for example, now know that the Soviet Union is placing a military base in Afghanistan, only 65 miles from the Iranian border? How many know that in 1921 a treaty was signed between the Soviet Union and Iran—a treaty still in effect—which gives the Soviet Union the right to intervene in Iran should "internal developments appear to them to threaten Soviet interests"? How many Americans know that the Soviet Union is running the internal security forces of Afghanistan in all but name?

There is a rebellion among Afghan Moslem tribesmen against the Soviet influence in their nation. But the rebels are divided among themselves. They have managed to cut roads connecting major cities but their disunity make them relatively ineffective.

The facts are plain: The Soviet Union seeks to make Afghanistan a puppet state. Afghanistan's neighbor, Iran, oil-rich and ridden with internal dissent, is obviously a target of Soviet aggression. Whether that aggression takes the form of invasion, clandestine support of Soviet-leaning Iranian terrorists or simply the psychological pressure caused by Soviet troops so close to the Iranian border, the result will be the same. The Soviet Union is exerting its presence in Afghanistan to show the world that they can move with impunity because the United States is impotent. The Soviet leaders may choose to send an army of Afghan Government soldiers armed with modern weapons to destroy the Afghan rebels. You can be sure that there will be no media reports of Soviet atrocities. The Afghan people will be shut behind a Middle East version of the Iron Curtain when the Soviets do their bloody work.

After Afghanistan is secured, Iran will be next. Mr. Speaker, what are we doing about this? Are we secretly aiding the rebels? Are we warning the Soviets? Are we linking trade or arms negotiations with pledges of good behavior on the part of the Soviet Union?

No, we are doing none of these things. We are watching and waiting.

Afghanistan could possibly become a Soviet version of Vietnam if we gave support to the rebels. The Soviet Union could be bogged down in Afghanistan, not perhaps to the extent we were bogged down in Vietnam—the Soviets, unsentimental people that they are, would not hesitate to do anything to secure a quick victory—but for a while at least they could be sucked into a brutal, widespread guerilla war in which, eventually, Soviet troops would have to come out in the open and fight.

There are many interesting possibilities in the Soviet situation in Afghanistan. But it seems that it is the Soviet Union alone which has the will to benefit from that situation.

At this time I wish to insert in the RECORD, "In Afghanistan, Two Soviet Trends Now Emerging," from the New York Times, November 1, 1979 and "Afghan Rebels Bottle Up Army Troops, Battle Each Other," from the Washington Post, November 2, 1979.

**AFGHAN REBELS BOTTLE UP ARMY TROOPS, BATTLE EACH OTHER**  
(By Stuart Auerbach)

**PESHAWAR, PAKISTAN.**—The battle started with curses in Pushtoo imputing unnatural sex lives to the women in the family of Afghan President Hafizullah Amin, followed by the crackle of rifle fire from rebel tribesmen against the government garrison of Gardez, a town in Afghanistan six days from here by camel.

The Afghan troops in the garrison replied with similar obscenities against women in the rebels' families followed by volleys of fire from their Soviet-made automatic weapons. Forty minutes later on the moonlit night early this month, the Army's Soviet-supplied artillery began firing from the garrison at the rebel positions.

According to a tape recording of the battle brought here by a Pakistani journalist who had slipped over the border to cover the rebels, once the artillery started, the cursing was replaced by the ancient Moslem prayer: Allah e akbar, God is great.

To observers here of the year-old rebellion by Moslem tribesmen against the Soviet-backed Afghan government, the most significant message of the tape was the long time—2½ hours—it took for the gunners in the garrison to zero in on the rebel positions.

"If the Soviets were firing the guns," commented on observer here, "NATO has nothing to worry about."

It is more likely, however, that all the fighting was done by Afghan soldiers. The targeting delay may mean the rebellion and political purges have resulted in poor training of the Army.

In the Gardez battle, which ended at about 3 a.m., seven rebels were killed and 17 were wounded—all by artillery shells.

One of the wounded men showed up at a makeshift rebel hospital here with a shattered arm after being transported by camel for six days over mountain trails.

According to observers here, this battle is typical of the fighting throughout Afghanistan. Uncoordinated by any central rebel authorities, at least five distinct groups attack government garrisons scattered in remote areas of the Texas-sized country.

These battles keep the government troops bottled up in their outposts, supplied only by Soviet-made helicopters. The roads are unsafe.

Even major roads connecting the largest cities are considered unsafe for travel. Rebels continually ambush armed convoys between

the capital of Kabul and the cities of Kandahar and Herat.

Kabul's main link to the outside world, the road through the Khyber Pass to Peshawar, is open most of the time. But rebels cut it for a few days last week as they dynamited three bridges.

But when the rebel groups are not fighting government troops they are battling each other—sometimes over ideological differences but most often over what one observer here called the "lust for power and guns."

One striking example is being cited here as having shaken up the fighters all over eastern Afghanistan and perhaps for making it more difficult for Afghan Army officers to turn over their men and arms to the anti-government forces.

In this incident, Abdul Rauf, commander of the Army garrison at Asmar, decided to switch sides, bringing with him 1,200 troops, their arms, two helicopters and the heads of the provincial governor and his top Soviet advisers who had been lured into the garrison and killed just before the defection.

Rauf was persuaded to join a rebel group headed by Burhanuddin Rabbani. But, sources here said, the fanatical Moslem group Hezbi-Islami attacked Rabbani's forces for the weapons.

A Hezbi-Islami official denied that a battle had taken place but acknowledged that Rauf had been relieved of any command responsibility. However, a third rebel group, the Islamic Nationalist Revolution Council headed by Pir Sayed Ahmed Gallani corroborated the earlier account.

Whatever the true details said a source who has kept close track of the rebel rivalries, the main theme is true and illustrates how the differences prevent a unified push against the Kabul government.

In August, according to a wide variety of sources here, a group of Saudi Arabian businessmen were reported to have offered millions of dollars in financing for the rebels if they could only unite. They formed a group, called the Treaty of Unity of Islam, but it broke up within weeks and the Saudi money never came.

The Hezbi-Islami group is the most radically Moslem and the hardest for the other groups to deal with, according to sources here.

Mangal Hussain, a spokesman for Hezbi-Islami who was educated as an agriculturist in Britain, said his group wants to turn Afghanistan into an Islamic state. If the Moslems seize power and the present government falls, "Quite honestly we will kill them," he said.

Gallani's Islamic Council, on the other hand, is more Western-oriented. Its spokesman, Gallani's nephew, Hossain Gallani, and Mohammed Akim, a U.S.-educated former Afghan diplomat who served at the United Nations, say they want to see "a modern Afghanistan."

"We are nationalistic," said Akim. "We believe in a modern Afghanistan. We believe in democracy. Other groups want to see a different Afghanistan, a backward Afghanistan."

Despite their rivalries, the rebel forces have been successful against the Afghan government, which controls less and less of the country.

"As individual groups, the rebels are making marginal progress," said one observer here. "But all over Afghanistan, more and more tribesmen have taken up arms against the government. Some do it because they oppose government attempts to control them, but others are doing it for pure banditry, which is a way of life in Afghanistan. They sense the government is weakening and are going for its weapons which they can sell."

With winter coming, the rebels will have

a harder time. By all accounts here, they are short of food and many of the villages on the plains where the tribesmen spend the winters have been destroyed by government attacks.

With the onset of winter, refugees are streaming here from Afghanistan.

At last count, there were more than 200,000. Citing the different motivations of anti-government forces, observers here, in Kabul and in Pakistan's capital of Islamabad question how much control the various rebel headquarters in Peshawar have over the fighting.

The rebels here insist they control the fighters. Hossain Gallani, for instance, said he is here just to get orders before finishing an attack on a garrison. But an observer here who has talked with fighters believe the relation is symbolic at best.

"Fighters do not take orders from any Peshawar groups," he said, "although they show respect to them."

**IN AFGHANISTAN, 2 SOVIET TRENDS NOW EMERGING**

(By Drew Middleton)

Two trends are now discernible in the Soviet Union's efforts to use Afghanistan as the primary base for Soviet military and political operations in Southwest Asia. One is the establishment of army and air bases near the Iranian frontier.

The second is the reconstruction of Afghanistan's internal security forces.

The economic basis for the efforts is an infusion of financial and commercial support. The Central Intelligence Agency estimates that contracts valued at more than \$200 million have been signed by the two Governments and that more than 2,000 Soviet personnel are advising and in some cases managing Afghanistan's economic ministries.

The Moslem rebellion against Prime Minister Hafizullah Amin's regime apparently has slowed Soviet's military penetration but not stopped it. According to European intelligence sources, the Russians have established a military base near Farah, a town 65 miles from the Iranian frontier, and expanded the Afghan air base at Shindand, 75 miles from that frontier.

The closeness of these bases to Iran has encouraged speculation among Western analysts that the Russians want to build positions from which they can apply military pressure on Iran. A source pointed out that the Treaty of 1921 between Iran and the Soviet Union was still in force and that it gave the Russians the right to intervene in Iran should internal developments appear to them to threaten Soviet interests.

One such development could be a counter-revolution against Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini that would have the political support of the Soviet Union. Analysts suggest that such a counterrevolution would draw its main strength from the middle class but say that it would be sustained, if it was initially successful, by Soviet propaganda and arms.

The Russians' intention to tighten their grip on Afghanistan's internal security apparatus was foreshadowed by Prime Minister Amin's announcement on Sept. 18 that he had found it necessary to reorganize the security services. This was followed at the end of the month by a statement that the Soviet Union would supply vehicles and equipment worth \$6.7 million to the People's Police Organization.

These Soviet actions have been accompanied by the transfer of modern equipment, including fighter planes, helicopter gunships and tanks. The aircraft, according to European intelligence sources, carry Afghan Air Force insignia, but the majority of the air crews are Russian.

Soviet military shipments to Afghanistan in 1978 were a small percentage of the record

\$3.8 billion in arms deliveries by the Soviet Union to non-Communist, less-developed countries that year, according to a C.I.A. report recently made available.

#### 2 POSSIBLE ROUTES

Speculation on how the Russians intend to consolidate their hold on Afghanistan, which must include elimination of the present rebellion, follows two lines.

One is that they will concentrate on building from the center out. This would mean stronger political and economic support for Mr. Amin, including expansion of the present measures to strengthen the security forces.

The second is that Moscow will decide that only the exercise of overwhelming military power can defeat the tribal military uprisings that have endangered the new Government's hold in Afghanistan and the lives of some of its Soviet supporters.

The first course will take time. The Soviet Union already is committed to \$500 million in economic aid to Afghanistan, according to the C.I.A., and contracts worth \$200 million have been signed for programs that have been formulated.

One of these projects has military as well as economic importance. It is the construction of a railroad and vehicle bridge across the Amu Darya River at Hairatan, near Sher Khan, to provide the first direct connection between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan.

#### FACTORS AFFECTING DECISION

The Russians also have contracted to supply \$30 million worth of petroleum equipment this year and next, to begin studies for construction of a copper smelter and a fertilizer plant and to renovate Sher Khan's river port to increase its cargo-handling capacity.

Several unknowns make it difficult to foresee the course the Russians will follow in Afghanistan.

One is the durability of the tribal uprisings. Mr. Amin may decide to open his Government to some members of the Moslem opposition. Or the Afghan army, bolstered by Soviet helicopters and advisers, may gain the upper hand in the fighting.

Another factor is the uncertainty about the Soviet leadership in a period in which Leonid I. Brezhnev is reported to be seriously ill. The consensus among experts is that in the event of Mr. Brezhnev's death, foreign programs will be halted until a new regime can examine them.●

#### LEGISLATIVE BUREAUCRACY

### HON. CHARLES E. GRASSLEY

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. Speaker, at a time when this Congress is throwing around a great deal of rhetoric on the need to cut down on the bureaucracy in the executive branch, I would like to point out that it is about time we started practicing what we preach.

The growth of the legislative bureaucracy over the last 30 years has been astounding. According to a report by the House Republican Research Committee, there were 69 standing subcommittees in 1949, compared to 146 standing subcommittees today. When select, ad hoc, and joint committees, subcommittees, and subunits are added, the House has 210 jurisdictional units.

With this growth in the number of subcommittees, there has been a corre-

sponding growth in the size of committee staff. The percentage of increase in staff from 1967-68 to 1977-78 is an incredible 218 percent. Likewise, the growth in subcommittee and committee staff has affected the budget; the percentage increase for the same time period is 683 percent.

The American people are just as sick and tired of this growth in the legislative bureaucracy as they are fed up with the unelected bureaucrats downtown. This disillusionment is reflected in the public outrage over the proposed Hart Senate Office Building. It is time for us to literally "put this House in order" by instituting the reforms which are necessary to end the growth of the legislative bureaucracy. If, as Woodrow Wilson said, "Congress in session is Congress on public exhibition, while Congress in its committee rooms is Congress at work," then I believe it is time to put this Congress to work by making the changes necessary to have a more efficient and less bureaucratic process.●

#### WHY NOT AN "OPERATION MENU" TO SAVE, NOT TO KILL?

### HON. PAUL SIMON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. SIMON. Mr. Speaker, one of the champions of a humanitarian policy on Cambodia has been columnist Mary McGrory. I am sure most of my colleagues read her column which appears in the Washington Star, but in the event any of them have not seen this recent one I am taking the liberty of inserting it in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Washington Star, Nov. 4, 1979]  
WHY NOT AN "OPERATION MENU" TO SAVE,  
NOT KILL?

(By Mary McGrory)

If you're looking for ironies, you only have to recall that when we bombed the Cambodians in 1969, in the opening, illegal, secret gambit of the Nixon-Kissinger quest for "a generation of peace," the exercise was called "Operation Menu."

Over a period of 14 months, 3,638 raids were flown. They were dubbed, with gruesome whimsy, "Breakfast," "Lunch," "Dinner," "Dessert" and "Snack."

Now when the Cambodians are literally dying for a genuine "Operation Menu," it can't be done.

Why? Well, you see, they explain patiently at the White House and the State Department, there are MIGs, and besides, soldiers would grab the food. The peasants, who hold skeletal babies with black circles under their eyes and flies on their faces, would be held off at gunpoint.

Is that so? That isn't what they used to say about our air operations when we were engaged in bringing the Great Society to Vietnam. Lyndon Johnson used to brag about "pin-point bombing" and "surgical strikes" which took out power plants and supply dumps and miraculously spared the human beings in their path.

If we could promise then not to hit peasants, could we not promise now to hit them—with blankets, medicine, rice and pots to cook it in?

We might save some lives. It's worth a chance.

But there is no disposition in the "human rights" administration to press the B52s into humanitarian service. We didn't mind letting the Seventh Fleet pick up boat people. But we can't do anything comparable for the land people.

The difference is, it seems, that in order to be humane on the seas, we did not have to deal with Hanoi. We are willing to do anything to avoid speaking to them, including voting for Pol Pot, the butcher of Cambodia, in the United Nations.

We go in more for recriminations than relief. John Connally, who could rescue several provinces if he donated a fraction of his campaign contributions—\$4 million to date—has declared it is important to assign the blame: "It is because of the brutality of the Soviet Union as exercised through the North Vietnamese."

Senate Democratic leader Robert C. Byrd is also making the Big Power play. He made a personal appeal to Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin to intervene with the Vietnamese. It will probably do as much good as those wartime pleas to Moscow to tell their little Red brothers to take it easy.

Instead of talking to the Russians, we should talk to the Vietnamese. We should send a negotiating team of Andrew Young, a god in the Third World, and Rep. G. V. "Sonny" Montgomery of Mississippi, a hawk who had much experience negotiating over the MIAs, to Hanoi with instructions to strike a deal with the Vietnamese. In exchange for recognition, which they crave, they give us access to the famine victims and permission to take food in by plane, truck, ship, rail or muleback—and maybe even some Peace Corps volunteers to give it out.

Jimmy Carter is timid about establishing diplomatic relations with our former enemy in a campaign year. It is why few people in the administration will acknowledge the lunacy of trying to stop a famine in a country without dealing with the people in charge.

Instead, we are told that the callous North Vietnamese are trying to blackmail us into recognition. We will not yield, we say self-righteously, even if it might mean averting another Holocaust.

It would be one of history's few cases of "blackmail with honor."

It is the only chip we have.

We prefer to blame the Russians. Nobody would dream, in this Peking-struck administration, of asking the Chinese to tell their loathsome friend, Pol Pot, to pack it in, stop the fighting which produces more refugees and more starvation.

It is hopeless to try to shame the North Vietnamese into letting us save two million lives. While angels of deliverance compared to the murderous Pol Pot, they do not pretend to care if all die. Ox-Fam, one of the international relief groups allowed to operate, had to sign an agreement pledging to withhold food not only from Pol Pot's forces, but from civilians living in areas under his control.

We have to swamp them, use every form of diplomatic, financial, logistical pressure we can think of. Otherwise, as the leader of the Western world said when he at last announced \$69 million in aid for relief, we will again be guilty of "a moral lapse whose enormity still numbs the human mind."

But he seems half-hearted about what he has finally done. He is sponsoring only the authorization of the \$39 million that is in addition to the \$30 million proposed by Congress, not the appropriation. He seems less mindful of OMB when he strews grants around the primary states.

Cambodian relief may become a political issue. Edward Kennedy fiercely faults Carter for giving "too little, too late." But Cambodians are dying by the thousands, and can't wait for the results of the caucuses in Iowa, where the wheat is brimming over the granaries.

We need to update "Operation Menu," that shameful and ruinous bombing that contributed to today's horrors.

If we need a new name, let's remember "Rolling Thunder" and call it "Rolling Manna." ●

#### A PLEA FOR JUSTICE

### HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, several weeks ago Mark Moseley, the placekicker for the Washington Redskins was confronted by a tragedy. His sister had been assaulted and murdered in Texas. The murderer had recently been paroled after serving only 2 years of a 5-year sentence for rape.

Mr. Speaker, I feel it is important to bring this issue to the attention of the House because it is not an isolated example of a criminal being released only to commit the identical crime. This is a recurring phenomenon which underscores that something is wrong with our current penal system.

I would like to enter into the RECORD an article that was published in the Washington Post last week, written about Mark Moseley. I hope that it will provide an incentive for every Congressman to work to improve our current penal system.

A complete copy of the article follows:

[From the Washington Post, Nov. 9, 1979]

A PLEA FOR JUSTICE: MOSELEY SPEAKS ON SISTER'S MURDER

(By Leonard Shapiro)

The tears are gone now, replaced by what Mark Moseley describes as "the emptiest feeling in the world."

His sister, Pamela Moseley Carpenter, 22 and "just beginning to get on with the good things in her life," is dead.

On Oct. 25, a man broke into her home in Livingston, Tex. He stabbed her in the chest with the scissors she was using that morning to make a Halloween costume for her niece.

The man beat and kicked Pamela Carpenter. And then he raped her and left her for dead.

But Pamela Carpenter regained consciousness and called a friend. As she rode to the hospital in an ambulance, she provided a description of her assailant before she died a few hours later from massive internal bleeding.

That same day, Livingston police arrested John Paul Penry, 22, a part-time deliveryman for a local appliance store who had been released last August from the Texas State Penitentiary in Huntsville. He was on parole after serving two years of a five-year sentence for rape.

Wednesday, Penry was taken before a Polk County, Tex., grand jury and indicted on a charge of capital murder, which carries the death penalty in Texas.

"It didn't take very long for the grand jury to make its decision," said Livingston Chief of Police Bill Smith. "Did he confess? We have statements from him, that's all I can say."

"Oh Lord, yes, the town is plenty upset. No, it ain't unusual for him to be out on parole. Damned right, it's disturbing. We arrest 'em, we convict 'em, we lock 'em up, and they're out of prison so fast they beat us home."

And precisely for that reason, Mark Mose-

ley, the Redskin kicker, has decided he no longer can remain silent on the death of his sister.

The other day, he telephoned a reporter and asked him to come to his home in Haymarket, Va.

"You feel so helpless," he said. "I'm a football player. Some people know who I am. Maybe if they hear our story, somebody can do something about things like this."

"If there's something I can do to prevent it from happening to someone else, to spare people the grief our family has gone through, I'll do it."

"I have four daughters and another child on the way. It scares me to think about a system that allows people back on the street like this. I'd like to see something done about it."

"We work, we pay our taxes, we try and raise our families to respect the law, to abide by it, to trust it, and then this happens. It makes it hard for me to accept."

What makes it even harder on Moseley is the knowledge that the man in custody for the murder of his sister had been indicted for two separate offenses—attempted rape and rape—in 1977. His conviction on the rape charge was the one that sent him to prison.

"There's a total of three previous cases, in all, connected to him," said Polk County District Attorney Joe Price, who will prosecute Penry and said, "Yes, he did give us a voluntary statement."

"Why was he on the streets? Well, we go to the extreme to protect a defendant's rights. Sometimes you protect them so much, something like this case happens."

Price also confirmed that a psychiatric evaluation was ordered in connection with Penry's previous conviction. That evaluation, which determined Penry was competent to stand trial, also indicated he had never finished the first grade, that he could not read or write, that he was slightly retarded and that he was considered potentially dangerous.

And yet, last August, Penry was granted a parole.

"Nobody can understand how this guy was out on the streets," Mark Moseley said. "Nobody could explain it to me. The sheriff told me it happens all the time."

"The laws have to be changed. The probation system has to be changed. Maybe somebody in Congress will read this. Maybe something can be done."

Moseley says he will attend Penry's trial, and he admits he does not know how he will react when he sees the man accused of killing his sister.

The murder has outraged the citizens of Livingston, 80 miles north of Houston. There have been letters to the editor of the Polk County Enterprise recommending lynching and, according to Chief Smith, "there's a lot of coffee-shop talk" to the same effect.

But Mark Moseley dismisses such talk.

"At first, I was furious," he said. "You're raised in a Christian home and you know you're supposed to let justice take care of itself. Yes, I wanted to beat the guy to a pulp, but the Lord could never forgive me."

"I'm afraid I wouldn't be able to control myself if I ever faced him. But when you look at it, if you do something like that to him, you go as low as he's gone."

"The thing that's scary is that he could possibly be given a life sentence and be back on the streets again in seven years."

"Do I believe in the death penalty? In this case, a guy like this, yes. Because he'd do it again."

But that will not bring Pamela Moseley Carpenter back to her husband of three years, to her family, to her friends, to her oldest brother, Mark Moseley.

"It's a cruel world out there," Moseley said. "There's a lot of evil out there, and Pam was so good. She loved kids. She and

her husband were just starting to think about a family. She and my brother's wife were going to open a day-care center."

"Maybe you could say evil won out in this case, but I don't think so. All the love she had for people—those are the things we'll never forget. And maybe some good will come out of this. We have to keep telling ourselves that God's will always has a purpose." ●

#### FIVE PINTS OF OIL

### HON. G. WILLIAM WHITEHURST

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. WHITEHURST. Mr. Speaker, I was impressed on Saturday morning by the lead editorial in the Washington Post entitled "Five Pints of Oil." Now that the President has wisely curtailed the importation of Iranian oil, every American should know what a small sacrifice is being asked for us.

The editors point out that if each household reduces its oil consumption by just 5 pints a day, we would save twice what we have been importing from Iran. Perhaps, Mr. Speaker, if everyone in the Nation pursued a voluntary odd-even system of gasoline purchase we would be more conscious of the need to conserve.

In any event, this editorial, which I heartily endorse, deserves a wide forum. The editorial follows:

#### FIVE PINTS OF OIL

Tempers seem to be rising in this country as the ordeal of the American hostages in Iran continues. Scuffles have broken out at several places around the country between Iranian students, demonstrating against the government that is their host, and Americans who have taken offense. There was an interesting scene yesterday in McPherson Square, as a knot of Iranian demonstrators were surrounded by a ring of Metropolitan police protecting them from American counter-demonstrators. It's hardly necessary to expand on the contrast between the protection offered the Iranians here and the imprisonment of the American diplomats in Tehran.

The administration is entirely right about the need to keep voices down, and to avoid useless rhetoric, during the delicate attempts to secure the release of the hostages. But this discipline contributes to a sharp sense of exasperation and impotence among Americans. What can you do?

In fact, there is one thing that you can do—one thing that makes sense and will have an impact. The Iranian government is threatening to cut off oil shipments to the United States. The right response for Americans is to cut back the amount of oil they buy and burn, and leave the various ayatollahs and mullahs to take their oil elsewhere.

It would be a great deal more than an angry gesture. Any significant reduction in oil imports by the United States now would begin to bring a salutary degree of balance back into the world oil trade. It would become a little less of a seller's market. The pressure of high worldwide demand for oil constitutes a standing invitation to the exporting countries to keep raising prices, to play favorites among customers and to demand intolerable political concessions. If demand dropped a bit, the sellers would suddenly find that their leverage was not nearly so overpowering. They would have to begin allocating production cuts among themselves, an awkward and divisive process.

How much should you cut back? If every household in the country reduced its oil consumption by five pints a day, that would add up to a million barrels—double the present flow of imports from Iran. The country now uses about 10 gallons of oil a day per household, when you count not only personal cars and home heating but industrial and commercial use. Cutting five pints out of that 10 gallons ought not to be impossible. It won't return us to the Stone Age. Since most of that oil is used on the highway, the highway is the place to start saving it.

Together, as a country, we drove ourselves into this mess. Any time we want to do it, we can walk out of it. ●

THE LAW OF THE SEA CONFERENCE: BE WARY OF A RUSH TO JUDGMENT

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, the 3d United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea (LOS) has, since 1973, brought representatives from more than 150 nations together in seven sessions to draft a treaty which will establish new international legal standards and procedures for the use of the world's oceans.

During a recent hearing before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Ambassador Elliot Richardson expressed optimism that an agreement would be reached but he warned that the context of the treaty had not been perfected with respect to fundamental issues. It was the Ambassador's opinion that a treaty will be presented to the nations before the end of 1980, following deliberations from two more sessions in February and July.

With this apparent conclusion of the Law of the Sea negotiations approaching, we recognize and commend the conference for reaching a basic consensus on some very difficult issues. However, agreement on the deep seabed mining regime remains the major constraint to a "successful" treaty text and fundamental differences of extraordinary importance remain with respect to that issue.

One of the leaders of the Congress on this issue is our distinguished colleague, Congressman JOHN BREAU. On October 27, 1979, Mr. BREAU delivered a speech before the Center for Ocean Law and Policy at the University of Virginia. Our colleague's speech emphasized the particular caution needed to be exercised by the negotiators and, in particular, Ambassador Richardson not to hastily conclude a treaty. While some parts of the treaty may be in our national interest, others may be inimical to that interest, specifically those provisions which address the exploration and development of the oceans' resources.

I would like to have the speech inserted into the RECORD to make all Members aware of the substantial work which remains at the LOS Conference before its conclusion.

The speech follows:

"THE THIRD U.N. LAW OF THE SEA CONFERENCE: FITTING NEPTUNE FOR HIS NEW CLOTHES"

Under the threat of a self-imposed deadline, mass myopia appears to have descended upon the negotiators of more than 150 nations at the Third U.N. Conference on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS III), which has completed its sixth year of work. There is, based on little objective evidence, a perception among the participants at the Conference that time is running out for the effort to achieve a widely acceptable, comprehensive oceans law treaty. This pervasive attitude is leading to accommodations which are superficially attractive, but substantially deficient.

If widely accepted, the future treaty would create a new legal, political and economic framework for two-thirds of the earth's surface. Virtually every ocean use would be regulated by the treaty. Moreover, important conceptual elements of the agreement would be extended to international arrangements on other matters.

There has been substantial progress toward general consensus on the broad outlines of the treaty, including among other things, uniform 12-mile territorial seas, the establishment of 200-mile economic zones and a special straits passage regime, conservation and management of fisheries, control of vessel-source pollution, and the creation of a new international institution to control and participate in the development of the minerals of the deep seabed. However, very important matters remain unresolved.

In their anxiety to conclude the negotiations, the delegations to the Conference are seeking rapid solutions to the most complex and consequential outstanding issues. The negotiators are persuading themselves that they are making real, not merely apparent, progress. Some critically important disagreements are being papered over with skillful ambiguities and others are simply being conceded with little consideration.

Both the substantive value and political viability of the treaty are being badly compromised. Neptune is being fitted by the UNCLOS III negotiators for his new clothes, but those who are asked to ratify the agreement in the future might well find that he has been left with some vital areas exposed.

For its own part, the United States Delegation has accepted dangerous ambiguities concerning international navigation and communication rights in relation to coastal State resource rights in the economic zones. Other States which have been endeavoring to remedy the situation have found that we effectively stand in the way. The treaty, therefore, offers little of security value in a most strategically important one-third of the oceans.

Innocent passage in the territorial sea is threatened by a provision that would allow closure to foreign vessels for purposes not currently recognized under international law and there is little prospect for a solution to that problem. As a concession to the Soviets and Arab countries, we have accepted, as part of a package accommodation, a significant cut-off of our continental margin with little thought to the loss of possibly important hydrocarbons and have agreed to share our revenues from oil and gas development on what is left of our shelf beyond 200-miles with the international community.

We appear to have abandoned the effort to achieve acceptance of a regime which would not substantially hamper marine scientific research within 200-miles of the coast where most investigation is and ought to be taking place. The mechanism for peaceful settlement of disputes is fraught with exceptions and exemptions and assures Third World

dominance of the new international judicial organs.

In the negotiations for the deep seabed minerals regime, the Third World initiative for a "New International Economic Order" has made a significant imprint on the draft treaty by achieving control which is disproportionate to the real and reasonable economic interests of the less developed countries and by imposing severe disincentives on private enterprise. The developing countries propose to utilize the deep seabed regime as a politico-economic model for future international arrangements calculated to shift global wealth from the North to the South.

At the Law of the Sea Conference, the negotiators of all countries have agreed upon the establishment of a new kind of international institution, the International Seabed Authority, which would administrate ocean mining and carry out seabed development (including mining, transportation, processing and marketing) through an operating arm called the Enterprise. The Enterprise and developing countries would have exclusive access to one-half of all mine sites and the right to compete with private and State developed country enterprises for access to the other half. This should be regarded as a concession by the North, which could otherwise monopolize seabed development, if it so chose.

The Third World has insisted upon a fundamentally one-nation one-vote system of government (thus assuring the developing countries of an automatic majority in the decision-making process), wide discretion in the Authority, onerous financial and technological conditions on private miners, severe seabed production limits and mine-site quotas, and the option of voting to end all private access after 25 years, just when seabed minerals become essential to the economies of industrialized countries.

According to developing countries, the Enterprise would be initially funded by States parties (U.S. share: \$250 million in a long-term loan and loan guarantee), and would be entitled to receive, on a mandatory basis, proprietary mining technology from private operators, processing technology from States parties, fully prospected mine sites and personnel training, and an absolute priority to mine sites when the seabed production ceiling limited entry.

The South has also demanded that seabed revenues be distributed not only to developing countries, but also to national liberation groups. The Third World has particularly scorned insistence by the North that western minority interests in the international community be protected in the composition and voting arrangements of the Authority, that the discretion of the organization in selecting applicants for mine sites be greatly limited and that presently existing ocean mining operators be protected from expropriation when the new treaty comes into force. The developing countries have been more sympathetic to Soviet Bloc demands.

In the many years of negotiations, the industrialized countries have not achieved acceptance by the Third World of assured, non-discriminatory access by private enterprises to deep seabed resources. Indeed, at the last session of the Conference, the leadership of the U.S. Delegation abandoned the essential component of assured access without so much as consulting with the other members of the Delegation, public advisers and our allies. This concession renders wholly useless progress that was achieved in other respects.

The United States and other industrialized countries have accepted the Authority and the Enterprise with liberal start-up funding from States parties to the treaty, the imposition of significant financial obligations on ocean miners, substantial limits

on seabed production, an "anti-monopoly" system, and mandatory transfer of private technology to the Enterprise.

Protections achieved thus far for private operators fail to redress the fundamental competitive advantage of the Enterprise. These facts, coupled with the acceptance of Authority participation on behalf of all seabed production in future commodity arrangement guarantee an anti-development regime which will maintain indefinitely a dangerous minerals dependence of the North on the South.

From the standpoint of the industrialized countries, the deep seabed regime sets a very adverse precedent for future international agreements for the development of common resources and the utilization of common space. The draft Moon Treaty recently referred by the U.N. Outer Space Committee to the General Assembly for opening for signature reflects the key principle of the deep seabed regime, that the resources are "the common heritage of mankind".

Mandatory transfer of ocean mining technology serves as a model which could threaten the North in the most fundamental global bargain—technology for natural resources. The South insists that technology is the "universal human heritage", although it is universally agreed that natural resources within national boundaries are subject to the "permanent sovereignty" of individual States. What is theirs is theirs and what is ours is everybody's. Mandatory technology transfer implements the concept favored by the South.

It is bad enough that the United States has accepted the compromise of vitally important national interests through numerous concessions. But there is also a real threat of acceptance by the UNCLOS III negotiators of a seabed mining regime that will leave fundamentally unresolved a number of issues critical to the interest of the United States and other western industrialized countries. Moreover, dangerous ambiguities are likely to be allowed to remain in other areas, such as the economic zone regime. Dispute settlement provisions in the treaty are inadequate to solve these problems.

Moreover, a recent proposal for detailed rulemaking on ocean mining after treaty signature, but prior to ratification, to resolve outstanding issues is a superficially attractive idea, but one which is as substantially defective as the treaty provisions which it would be designed to clarify.

Once signed, the political and even legal costs of rejection of a bad treaty would be raised dramatically. The negotiators know that and hope thereby to assure wide ratification, that is, a willing suspension of disbelief that will allow nations to persuade themselves that, indeed, the emperor does have new clothes.

I think that the United States must renegotiate major provisions and must insist that all major remaining issues should be clearly resolved in a calm and deliberate manner. The present negotiations most certainly should not be concluded in favor of reliance on dispute settlement or a post-signature rule-making process.

I would particularly caution the negotiators not to conclude a treaty that would leave in doubt the security of investments of U.S. ocean mining companies that have pioneered in the field. As the U.S. Delegation has stated—somewhat ironically—there is really no rush. I would hope that our delegation and all others would act accordingly.

While we are waiting for the negotiations to conclude and the treaty to enter into force, customary law with respect to navigation, communication and fishing will likely continue to consolidate in a reasonably acceptable manner. As for ocean mining, I ex-

pect interim unilateral legislation to be enacted shortly.

Last Wednesday I met with key leaders of the Group of 77 to discuss the attitude of the LDC's toward mining under a new domestic regime. The developing countries continue to oppose our legislation, but I remain convinced that enactment will not prejudice our ability to achieve a Law of the Sea treaty.

I look forward to ocean mining under interim legislation. I hope that an acceptable treaty will be achieved. ●

#### THE LINCOLN REVIEW

### HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I recently was introduced to a new and exciting quarterly publication, the Lincoln Review. What makes this journal so important is its refusal to go along with stereotypes about black Americans. The Lincoln Review shows intellectual courage in speaking out for the values and the needs of black Americans who may not fit into the image created by those who see blacks only as political symbols to be manipulated and exploited. The Lincoln Review sees black Americans as citizens whose interest in ending inflation, increasing production, and having a strong national defense is the same as that of anyone else. As editor J. A. Parker puts it:

Blacks are now expected to take stands on issues which, traditionally, were not considered to be "black issues," i.e., the environment, energy, and balance of payments, all of which affect economic growth and black employment. With black teenage unemployment near 40 percent, there is a critical need for the growth of U.S. economy. In the game of economic musical chairs as it is presently played, blacks always lose. Blacks have everything to gain in advocating a growth economy which will bring about new jobs for all Americans. Many blacks continue to be the last hired and the first fired.

In the search for new "friends" to help further their interests, blacks are now having to break with the coalitions of the past which were depended upon to further their goals.

Perhaps the best way to show how the Lincoln Review refuses to accept the economic clichés and the welfare-state slogans of the big Government establishment is to offer a brief review of its contents:

Issue No. 1, spring 1979, contains a "Profile of a Patriot," an inspiring story about the late Gen. Daniel "Chappie" James, the first black American to become a four-star general. It also includes an incisive look at "Racism and Organized Labor" by Prof. Walter E. Williams, the distinguished economist. Then there is an article on the civil rights struggle which demonstrates that what the black community needs more than Government paternalism is a growing, booming economy, the kind that can be created by a cut in taxes such as that proposed in the Kemp-Roth bill.

I think you will agree with me that this is not the kind of material one usually finds in articles about black Americans. This material—and other articles

in the Lincoln Review—sees black Americans as a creative, energetic group who want the chance to work and save and build in a dynamic economy. In short, the Lincoln Review departs from the customary big-brother paternalism and speaks to black Americans as citizens who understand that the free enterprise system is the greatest enemy of poverty ever created.

My congratulations go to all those responsible for this fine review.

At this point I insert in the RECORD, "Labor-Minority Alliance More Illusory Than Grand" by William Raspberry, the Washington Post, May 21, 1979; "Here Come the Free-Enterprise Blacks" by Louis Rukeyser, the New York Daily News, June 29, 1979.

[From New York Daily News, June 29, 1979]

HERE COME THE FREE-ENTERPRISE BLACKS

(By Louis Rukeyser)

Look out, Vernon Jordan. Prepare to duck, Andrew Young. Head for the hills, Benjamin Hooks.

After a generation in which these and similar thinkers have been given a virtual media monopoly as the unelected "spokesmen" for American blacks, a remarkable new group of black intellectuals is posing the first serious threat to the notion that blacks should be a permanent, monolithic left-wing force in the American economy.

The notion was, when you come to think about it, always deeply insulting to blacks—and not so subtly racist. It suggested that since blacks today include many ill-educated and low-paid individuals, blacks must automatically support those who would "protect" them through endless quotas, minimums, regulations and assorted other statist devices—devices that never in the course of human history have helped any other group much for long. This paternalistic, neoplatination thinking seemed to imply that black economics (and black arithmetic) ought somehow to be entirely different from that which works for whites.

Now comes a new quarterly of black opinion, the Lincoln Review, that recognizes that what blacks truly need is what all Americans need: greater economic opportunity, vigorous economic growth, a curb on inflation and excess government generally, and improvements in private U.S. productivity. The magazine, whose second edition will appear July 20, is published in Washington by the Lincoln Institute for Research and Education (1735 DeSales Street, N.W.), and it is based on a powerful new idea: since unchecked governmental expansion and "income redistribution" have failed as blatantly in the U.S. as in every other country that ever relied on them, it is time for American blacks to try something with a better track record—such as self-help and private enterprise.

As editor (and institute president) J. A. Parker puts it, "America's black middle class is required to confront many of the same issues which concern white middle America. Those include inflation, quality education, high taxes, crime, national defense, employment. In the search for new "friends" to help further their interests, blacks are now having to break with the coalitions of the past which were depended on to further their goals."

Parker, a self-made businessman who began life in one of South Philadelphia's most wretched slums, told me that he considered outmoded such black alliances as those with the unions ("We don't need to allow organized labor to keep its foot on our necks") and with so-called environmentalists and "no-growth" apostles generally.

A decade ago the Lincoln Review would have been a voice crying in the wilderness. Now it is part of a still-small, but increasingly audible, chorus. Such black professors as Thomas Sowell and Walter Williams (one of Parker's first contributors) have written trenchantly on the false promises of racial-quota legislation and minimum-wage rates. The NAACP itself is divided between the staff, led by Hooks, and the policymakers, led by Margaret Bush Wilson, who favor deregulation of natural gas and other growth-minded energy programs.

While it would be easy—and inaccurate—to write off these voices as an unrepresentative handful of affluent blacks, Parker insists that a majority of American blacks agree, at bottom, with the basic new direction he is advocating. "They're beginning to realize that nobody is going to give them anything," the articulate, bespectacled editor told me. "The billions of dollars are no longer there. The well is almost dry at the federal level. The answer lies in more productivity, more growth and more jobs."

Parker doesn't expect unanimous endorsement of his unorthodox views from all his fellow blacks. The Urban League's Vernon Jordan, he says, "can't allow the problem to go away—he'd be out of a job," while the equally big-government-oriented Congressional black caucus is the product of traditional urban city machines and "they're slaves to organized labor." But Parker knows, too, that 42 percent of California's black voters supported Proposition 13, despite all urgings that their "bloc" vote be cast against it. The only real "blobs" in the 1980s may be in the heads of those who have not seen this encouraging change—in black and white.

[From the Washington Post, May 21, 1979]  
MINORITY-LABOR ALLIANCE MORE ILLUSORY  
THAN GRAND

(By William Raspberry)

It's hard to think of American liberalism without thinking of the grand alliance between minorities and organized labor.

On issues ranging from desegregation to minimum wage, from fair housing to common site picketing, the alliance is a force to be reckoned with.

Two recent items raise the question whether the alliance is real and equal, or only a sham, with minorities holding the short end of the stick.

One is the March report of the U.S. Comptroller General to the Congress, which points out how little progress has been made toward integrating minorities into the skilled construction craft unions.

The other is an article by Walter E. Williams, a black economics professor at Temple University: "Racism and Organized Labor." The second piece is an explanation of the dismaying statistics turned up in the first.

The comptroller general's report is basically an account of the failure of federal efforts to increase minority opportunities in the skilled construction crafts—among the highest paid jobs in the country.

Between 1972 and 1976, the General Accounting Office reports, minority representation in the skilled craft construction unions increased only from 7.2 percent to 8.4 percent. In addition, minorities are still concentrated in the lower-paying crafts.

The common explanation for the slow progress is economic hard times. It is true that minorities tend to make more progress during boom periods than during economic slow-downs, but, as the GAO reports, this explanation falls short.

According to Comptroller Elmer A. Staats, the GAO study found "the total increase in minority journeymen much less than the available opportunities." An estimated 14,320 journeyman positions became available during the four-year period covered in the GAO

investigation. But only 1,131 minority journeymen were added to union rolls, a net gain of 766.

White workers typically obtain journeyman status directly, for example, through member referrals and entrance tests. But for minorities, the prevailing route remains the tedious, years-long, low-paid apprenticeship programs.

The GAO cites as a major reason for the small minority gains the "administration weaknesses in federal programs that could help them enter these unions." It charges that the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, the federal agency with the most direct authority over unions, has used its authority ineffectively.

The Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs has its authority over contractors and, thus, has been ineffective in influencing the nepotistic and exclusionary practices of trade unions.

And the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training has focused on increasing minority participation in apprenticeship programs rather than on increasing the number of minority journeymen.

Walter Williams would dispute none of GAO's findings. But his major point is that minorities have been duped into believing their interests are the same as the interests of organized labor.

The major interest of organized labor, Williams writes in the Spring issue of the Lincoln Review, is to maximize the income of its members. It accomplishes this goal by controlling the skilled labor pool and by deliberately reducing the number of skilled workers available.

"Non-economic or personal characteristics which can be employed to ration membership include: race, sex, political affiliation, age, education, experience, personality and relationship to other union members," Williams notes. "Considerable evidence shows that unions have employed all of these methods to ration membership."

But not in the heavy-handed, blatant "whites only" strategies of the past.

If the job-limiting policies of organized labor resulted in no income for those excluded, Williams contends, the result would be considerable social upheaval.

Therefore, he says, "as a part of union restrictive strategy, there must be a strategy of income subsidies. That is, unions will not only be the strongest supporters of welfare, food stamps and leaf-raking jobs; income maintenance programs disguise the true effects of the restrictions created by labor unions and other economic agents by casting a few crumbs to those denied job opportunity in order to keep them quiet . . ."

"The most unfortunate aspects of this is that the union support for these programs creates the illusion that unions are pro-minority."

What passes for a liberal alliance between organized labor and minorities is, in Williams view, nothing more than the calculated exploitation of the latter by the former.

Some coalition!

[From the Wall Street Journal, June 12, 1979]  
THE LINCOLN REVIEW

There's a new magazine around with something important to say about the future of the black community in the United States. The publication is a quarterly called Lincoln Review, and its editor says it is meant as a platform for topics and points of view that may fall outside conventionally defined "black issues" and black perspectives but that are nevertheless of significant concern to black Americans. The first issue of the magazine covers a range of subjects from biography to a historical sketch of black Americans in grand opera, but the review's central aim is to emphasize the black community's stake in this country's economic growth.

An article by Wendell Wilkie Gunn, "The Civil Rights Struggle: Phase II," puts the case quite clearly. Black Americans and their leaders, Mr. Gunn begins, are growing disenchanted with President Carter's Democratic administration. Politicians on the Republican right have welcomed this disenchantment by announcing that black organizations are beginning to "see the light" and turn from the false god of income redistribution to the true solution of economic growth as a way of meeting their problems.

But this kind of analysis, Mr. Gunn says, doesn't do credit to the changing nature of the black struggle in America. Through the mid-1960s, massive racial discrimination prevented blacks from participating fully in the American economy. The Democrats offered them both the political activism necessary to remove the legal barriers and the redistributionist social welfare policies necessary to mitigate the economic plight of poor blacks in the short run. Siding with the Democrats was a fully proper response to the black community's real needs and interests.

Now the discriminatory barriers are coming down, and future economic progress for blacks will depend on overall economic growth. The Democrats' policies are likely to slow that growth and thus damage the interests of black Americans. But the Republicans look like they may pass up their opportunity to make themselves the party of black progress. Many of them insist on fighting inflation with tax rate increases. The resulting contraction causes unemployment among poor blacks—and doesn't even really curb inflation, since the unemployed stop producing but receive enough in transfer payments to keep right on consuming.

So both parties offer platforms of economic contraction; the difference is that the Democrats' social welfare programs transfer some of the costs away from the poor. Under the circumstances, it's reasonable for blacks to keep choosing the Democrats; if Republicans want to change the calculus, they should push harder for the kinds of tax reductions that would stimulate real economic growth.

Mr. Gunn's argument on tax policies is of the kind that always stirs up a fuss in Republican circles. But perhaps the most refreshing thing about it is that it views black Americans as producers, actual and potential, whose interest lies in expanding opportunities rather than restricted ones. We hope the Lincoln Review will provide more of this perspective. ●

MR. HOWARD "BUD" MERCER

HON. DOUGLAS APPLIGATE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. APPLIGATE. Mr. Speaker, as always it is indeed an honor to have the opportunity to address this House, but I come before you today to relate to you an event which makes my address even more honorable.

This coming Friday, November 16, 1979, the Tuscarawas County Democratic Supper Club is hosting a testimonial dinner in honor of one of this county's most outstanding citizens, Mr. Howard "Bud" Mercer. As a member of Tuscarawas County for many years, Bud currently serves as chairman of Tuscarawas County's Democratic Party and has done so for nearly 20 years. He has provided the type of honest leadership over the years that is admired by both Democrats and Republicans alike. This lifelong service

to the Democratic Party has been exemplary.

Always one to pitch in and help, Bud has demonstrated a sincere willingness to help a cause in whatever way he is able to do so. He has been at the forefront of many battles, and while not winning every one, can point to many more successes than failures.

I am proud to be included among the many friends of Howard "Bud" Mercer and, on behalf of Ohio's 18th Congressional District, I congratulate him and thank him for his many contributions to the Tuscarawas County area.●

**PERSECUTION OF BAHAI'S IN IRAN:  
A SERIOUS HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERN**

**HON. ANTHONY TOBY MOFFETT**

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 13, 1979*

● Mr. MOFFETT. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues a situation that should be of grave concern to us all. I refer to the persecution of the Baha'is in Iran. Currently, many Baha'is in that country face financial ruin, confiscation of their property and religious persecution at the hands of the minority Shiite Moslems.

The Baha'i faith is known for its fundamental belief in one God, in the essential unity of all religions and on the oneness of humankind. Its worldwide membership comprises people of every religious and ethnic background. Recently, the Baha'i House of Worship in Wilmette, Ill., was registered as a national historic site.

The persecution of the Baha'is in Iran has been almost continuous since the founding of the religion in that country in 1844. Their religious views are considered heretical by the Shiite Moslem majority, and over the past century they have been the targets of sporadic harassment and attacks.

The Baha'is are not named in the present draft of the constitution as one of the country's minorities with special representation in the Parliament. Since the revolution there have been reports and allegations of confiscation of Baha'i property and assets, the destruction of their holy places and the desecration of their graveyards throughout Iran. There have also been reports that under the new government Baha'is have lost civil service jobs because of their religious affiliation.

In December of 1978, 140 Baha'i homes were looted and destroyed in the city of Shiraz. In nearby Nayriz 25 homes were burned down and in Sarvistan Baha'is were forced to recant their religious beliefs. Similar incidents have occurred in other parts of Iran in the wake of their revolution and the establishment of the Khomeini regime.

On September 8 of this year one of the holiest shrines of the Baha'i Faith, the House of the Bab, was attacked and almost completely demolished. This latest atrocity against the pacifist Baha'is had led many of them to believe

that their property, freedom, and their lives are now in danger in Iran.

I have sent a letter to Prime Minister Bazargan informing him of my concern for the rights of the Baha'is in Iran. I also have contacted the Secretary of State asking him to lodge a formal complaint with the Iranian Government over its apparent inability to stop the persecution of this religious minority which needs and deserves protection.

The letter follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, D.C., October 31, 1979.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Several constituents have recently written to me about the persecution suffered by people of the Baha'i Faith in Iran. I wish to call to your attention this serious matter and express my hope that the United States will use its influence to support the human rights of these people.

Since the establishment of the Islamic Republic, the Baha'is, who have endured much hardship in Iran over the past century, have had their property confiscated and vandalized, have seen several of their holy places desecrated, and have suffered employment discrimination. The authorities have done nothing to alleviate this persecution; in fact, they may quite possibly be encouraging it.

On September 8, one of the holiest shrines of the Baha'i Faith, the House of the Bab, was attacked and almost totally destroyed. This malicious action, which could have been prevented by the Iranian authorities, demonstrates a callous disregard for the Baha'is basic rights.

I hope that the State Department will investigate these matters and express the strong disapproval of the United States.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

ANTHONY TOBY MOFFETT,  
Member of Congress.●

**J. SHELBURN ROBISON: A FOOTNOTE  
IN HISTORY**

**HON. LEON E. PANETTA**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 13, 1979*

● Mr. PANETTA. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, November 11, the residents of my congressional district will celebrate the 58th anniversary of an historically important and touching moment, a moment symbolic of the continuity and concern for one's fallen comrades so characteristic of the men who have fought to protect our cherished freedoms.

Fifty-eight years ago today, a young Army captain, J. Shelburn Robison, of Carmel, Calif., lowered his saber to signal a 21-gun salute as the Unknown Soldier from World War I was buried in Arlington National Cemetery.

The ceremony was an impressive one, worthy of those who gave their lives for their country. General Pershing led the parade of dignitaries, including President Warren G. Harding, across the Potomac from Washington to Arlington. After the President delivered an address and wreaths had been laid on the casket, Captain Robison gave the command, "Battery salvo right, commence fire," and lowered his saber.

Forty-seven years later, Colonel Robison journeyed to Arlington to present that same sword to the Old Guard, the Army's crack ceremonial unit that provides an around-the-clock guard at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

Mr. Speaker, the anniversary of the presentation of that historic saber gives us the opportunity to reflect upon the contributions made by our fighting men, and on the generosity of spirit and concern for military tradition displayed by them.●

RAY ROBERTS

**HON. PHIL GRAMM**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 13, 1979*

● Mr. GRAMM. Mr. Speaker, on October 29, RAY ROBERTS informed his constituents that he would not be a candidate for reelection next year. There has been a Texan as Chairman of the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs for 22 out of the past 24 years. I believe this speaks well of the type of leadership the State of Texas has traditionally provided and the type of men the people of Texas have chosen to represent them in Washington. What better way to serve in Congress than to serve the veterans of the United States who have served their country themselves.

RAY ROBERTS was elected to Congress on January 30, 1962, to fill the vacancy created by the death of Speaker Sam Rayburn. He was appointed to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs on February 6, 1962, and became chairman in 1975. Some refer to Veterans' Affairs as a minor committee of the House of Representatives. However, as Chairman, RAY ROBERTS has jurisdiction over the third largest agency in the Federal Government; the Nation's largest hospital and medical care system; a potential clientele of veterans and their survivors equal to almost half the population of the United States; and a \$21 billion budget in this fiscal year alone. That is no minor responsibility.

RAY ROBERTS has strongly supported legislation to increase and renew a wide variety of assistance programs for all veterans. However, in doing so, he has vigorously protected service-connected disabled veterans as the rightful beneficiaries of priority medical care and just compensation for their special service and sacrifice. Since 1962, with RAY ROBERTS's support, compensation payments for service-connected disabled veterans and the widows and children of those who have died as a result of service-connected causes have more than doubled. He has sponsored legislation to provide education and readjustment benefits for Vietnam era veterans and has seen the VA hospital system and medical services program rise to lead the Nation in medical care, medical research, and education.

RAY ROBERTS has fought diligently to insure that VA hospitals provide "care second to none." Over the past 2 years, he has sought to maintain the integrity of that medical system in the face of

decreasing budgets, hospital bed losses, and personnel reductions. In going before the House to request the additional funds for the budget to insure that these severe cuts would not have to take place, RAY ROBERTS has said:

We would not have a Federal budget to argue over if the veterans of America had not fought for their country in the first place.

The Congress, recognizing this serious need, has overwhelmingly accepted his amendments.

Chairman ROBERTS has not only maintained a viable benefit program for the veterans of this country, but also has upheld the quality of that assistance by insuring that all those who receive such benefits are deserving veterans. He was author of legislation which bared automatic entitlement to veterans benefits for those persons with dishonorable discharges; due to his leadership, that legislation is now law.

He has consistently upheld the veteran's right for hiring preference in Government employment, and has successfully opposed efforts by other branches of Government to incorporate or erode responsibilities presently under the control of the Veterans' Administration. In doing so, he maintains that because of a veteran's service to his country, he or she is entitled to a series of benefits and assistance programs which are and should be distinct and significant symbols of the gratitude of the American people. He has continued his vigil to protect those rights.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation and admiration and, in part, the gratitude of the American veterans for this distinguished service. RAY ROBERTS will be greatly missed when he retires at the end of the 96th Congress. ●

FEDERAL AID FOR THE CHRYSLER CORP.

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation H.R. 5770, to provide \$1.2 billion in Federal loan guarantees to the Chrysler Corp. This legislation builds upon the Blanchard bill being worked on in the Banking Committee and is a bridge to the Riegle bill in the Senate. It provides for phasing-in loan guarantees in two increments, conditioned on evaluation at each stage of Chrysler's performance and its readiness to meet a set of conditions that safeguard the public interest in maintaining jobs, keeping factories open, and converting to more fuel-efficient autos and mass-transit vehicles.

In return for Federal assistance, Chrysler would be required to broaden further its board of directors to include representatives of labor, the consumer public, and Government, and create an employee stock ownership plan so as to expand participation in its decisionmaking processes for those sectors that have

the greatest stake in its recovery. Chrysler also would have to present a development plan that specifies the future direction of investment decisions; any plans to close down facilities and the justification for such action; and the steps necessary to convert some of its facilities to the production of mass-transit vehicles, including plans for retooling plants and retraining workers.

This legislation seeks to provide a framework of cooperation—and accountability—among business, labor, and Government, that is indispensable both in aiding Chrysler's recovery and also moving us in the direction of implementing a national economic plan for full employment and industrial revitalization, as mandated by the Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act of 1978.

A Chrysler collapse unavoidably raises very real and deeply disturbing questions about the future prospects of the entire American economy, which is now moving into a recession without the policies and mechanisms requisite to full employment and balanced growth. We have to ask ourselves, is the Chrysler case unique, the result simply of bad management, consumer disapproval, Federal regulations, or a combination of all three? Or is it a bellwether, only the most recent dramatic case in what will be a long line of corporate failures in the years ahead?

The Chrysler crisis raises most of the important questions before the Congress this year. If it collapses, would its employees find new jobs within a reasonable period, or be laid off indefinitely, with all the human and social costs this entails? What will happen in industrial centers like Detroit or Pittsburgh, and in hundreds of smaller cities and towns where Chrysler operates, if it shuts down plants or else substantially scales down its operation? What will happen to the billions in pension funds, without which retired Chrysler workers could not survive?

With Chrysler we are not just facing the financial plight of a single, albeit enormous, industrial company. Chrysler's fate is inextricably tied to a much larger, longer term transformation of the international and domestic industrial economy, that has jeopardized the jobs of millions of workers, and has altered the economic fabric of hundreds of communities in every region of the Nation.

I am persuaded that until we begin in a serious way to plan ahead for changes in employment and production in the Nation, and to avert the economic dislocations that inevitably arise, we have no choice but to support Federal aid for Chrysler.

The bill follows:

H.R. 5778

A bill to authorize emergency loan guarantees to the Chrysler Corporation

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "Chrysler Industrial Loan Guarantee Act".

AUTHORITY

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Treasury (hereinafter in this Act referred to as the

"Secretary"), on such terms and conditions as he deems appropriate, is hereby authorized to guarantee, or make commitments to guarantee, lenders against loss of principal or interest on loans that meet the requirements of this Act.

LIMITATIONS AND CONDITIONS

SEC. 3. (a) A guarantee of a loan may be made under this Act only if—

(1) the Secretary finds that—

(A) the loan is needed to enable the Chrysler Corporation (hereinafter in this Act referred to as the "enterprise") to continue to furnish goods or services and failure to meet this need would adversely and seriously affect the economy of or employment in the Nation or any region thereof;

(B) credit is not otherwise available to the enterprise under reasonable terms or conditions; and

(C) the prospective earning power of the enterprise, together with the character and value of the security pledged, furnish reasonable assurance that the enterprise will be able to repay the loan within the time fixed, and afford reasonable protection to the United States;

(2) the lender certifies that the lender would not make the loan without such guarantee; and

(3) before any such guarantee is made—

(A) the board of directors of the enterprise seeking such guarantee is expanded to include six new members who shall represent labor, minority, consumer, and environmental groups;

(B) the enterprise transmits to the Congress and the Secretary a development plan which—

(i) provides for the training of employees in the skills which the enterprise determines will be required by changes in technology, markets, and production;

(ii) provides for the retooling of the Chrysler Corporation's Dodge-Main facility in Hamtramck, Michigan as a supplier, or to make the changes necessary to convert the facility to mass-transit vehicle or any other useful production;

(iii) specifies the location of new factories and other facilities taking into account investment, production, and employment, and any plans to close any factory or other facility and the reasons for such action;

(iv) indicates the steps to be taken to insure that minority business enterprises receive a fair share of Chrysler's business and the purchases it makes from its suppliers.

(C) the enterprise shall establish an employee stock ownership plan pursuant to section 4.

(b) Loans guaranteed under this Act shall be payable in not more than 10 years.

(c) (1) Loans guaranteed under this Act shall bear interest payable to the lender at rates determined by the Secretary taking into account the reduction in risk afforded by the loan guarantee and rates charged by lenders on otherwise comparable loans.

(2) The Secretary shall prescribe and collect a guarantee fee in connection with each loan guaranteed under this Act. Such fee shall reflect the Government's administrative expense in making the guarantee and the risk assumed by the Government and shall not be less than an amount which, when added to the amount of interest payable to the lender of such loan, produces a total charge appropriate for loan agreements of comparable risk and maturity if supplied by the normal capital markets.

EMPLOYEE STOCK OWNERSHIP PLAN

SEC. 4. (a) In order to be eligible for loan guarantees under this Act, the enterprise (hereinafter in this section referred to as the "employer") shall establish in writing an employee stock ownership plan—

(1) which satisfies the requirements of section 4975(e)(7) of the Internal Revenue

Code of 1954, and which acquires qualifying employer securities (as described in paragraph (3)) using all or a portion of the proceeds of a guaranteed loan provided for in this Act;

(2) which is administered by a committee consisting of—

- (A) 2 representatives of the employer;
- (B) 2 representatives of employees who are participants in this plan;
- (C) 1 representative of the trustee of the plan; and
- (D) 2 representatives designated by the Secretary of the Treasury;

(3) which, except as provided in subsection (b), will acquire only qualifying employer securities which—

- (A) meet the requirements of section 409 A(1)(3) of such Code; and
- (B) are convertible to common stock (which meets the requirements of section 409A(L)(1) of such Code at its fair market value as of October 17, 1979 at the direction of the committee;

(4) under which qualifying employer securities having an aggregate value of not less than an amount equal to 25 per centum of the amount of the loan guarantee provided for in this Act, will be purchased with the proceeds of a loan described in this Act and in section 4975(d)(3) of such Code;

(5) under which the employer agrees to make annual contributions sufficient to permit the plan to amortize such loan;

(6) which provides that each participant will have a 100 per centum nonforfeitable interest in all amounts allocated to such account under the plan; and

(7) which provides for the allocation for each plan year of all qualifying employer securities transferred to it or purchased by it, or with regard to qualifying employer securities acquired pursuant to paragraph (4), to be released from the appropriate suspense account and allocated, to the accounts of all participants who are entitled to share in such allocation in substantially equal amounts.

(b) Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph (3), the plan may also purchase or otherwise acquire qualifying employer securities which are described in section 4975 (e) (8) of such Code.

#### SECURITY FOR LOAN GUARANTEES

SEC. 5. In negotiating a loan guarantee under this Act, the Secretary shall make every effort to arrange that the payment of the principal of and interest on any plan guaranteed shall be secured by sufficient property of the enterprise to fully collateralize the amount of the loan guarantee.

#### REQUIREMENTS APPLICABLE TO LOAN GUARANTEES

SEC. 6. (a) (1) A guarantee agreement made under this Act with respect to the enterprise shall require that while there is any principal or interest remaining unpaid on a guaranteed loan to the enterprise, the enterprise may not—

(A) declare a dividend on its common stock; or

(B) make any payment on its other indebtedness to a lender whose loan has been guaranteed under this Act.

(2) The Secretary may waive either or both of the requirements set forth in paragraph (1), as specified in the guarantee agreement covering a loan to the enterprise, if it determines that such waiver is not inconsistent with the reasonable protection of the interests of the United States under the guarantee.

(b) The Secretary shall require before guaranteeing any loan to the enterprise that the enterprise make such management changes as the Secretary deems necessary to give the enterprise a sound managerial base.

(c) A guarantee of a loan to the enterprise shall not be made under this Act unless—

(1) the Secretary has received an audited financial statement of the enterprise; and

(2) the enterprise permits the Secretary to have the same access to its books and other documents as the Secretary would have under section 7 in the event the loan is guaranteed.

(d) No payment shall be made or become due under a guarantee entered into under this Act unless the lender has exhausted any remedies which it may have under the guarantee agreement.

(e) (1) Prior to making any guarantee under this Act, the Secretary shall satisfy himself that the underlying loan agreement on which the guarantee is sought contains all the affirmative and negative covenants and other protective provisions which are usual and customary in loan agreements of a similar kind, including previous loan agreements between the lender and the borrower, and that it cannot be amended, or any provisions waived, without the Secretary's prior consent.

(2) On each occasion when the enterprise seeks an advance under the loan agreement, the guarantee authorized by this Act shall be in force as to the funds advanced only if—

(A) the lender gives the Secretary at least ten days' notice in writing of its intent to provide the enterprise with funds pursuant to the loan agreement;

(B) the lender certifies to the Secretary before an advance is made that, as of the date of the notice provided for in subparagraph (A), the enterprise is not in default under the loan agreement, except that if a default has occurred the lender shall report the facts and circumstances relating thereto to the Secretary and the Secretary may expressly and in writing waive such default in any case where it determines that such waiver is not inconsistent with the reasonable protection of the interests of the United States under the guarantee; and

(C) the enterprise provides the Secretary with a plan setting forth the expenditures for which the advance will be used and the period during which the expenditures will be made, and, upon the expiration of such periods, reports to the Secretary any instances in which amounts advanced have not been expended in accordance with the plan.

(f) (1) A guarantee agreement made under this Act shall contain a requirement that as between the Secretary and the lender, the Secretary shall have a priority with respect to, and to the extent of, the lender's interest in any collateral securing the loan and any earlier outstanding loans. The Secretary shall take all steps necessary to assure such priority against all other persons.

(2) For purposes of paragraph (1), the term "collateral" means all assets pledged under loan agreements and, if appropriate in the opinion of the Secretary, all sums of the borrower on deposit with the lender and subject to offset under title 11 of the United States Code.

#### INSPECTION OF DOCUMENTS; AUTHORITY TO DISAPPROVE CERTAIN TRANSACTIONS

SEC. 7. (a) (1) The Secretary is authorized to inspect and copy all accounts, books, records, memoranda, correspondence, and other documents of the enterprise which has received financial assistance under this Act concerning any matter which may bear upon—

(A) the ability of the enterprise to repay the loan within the time fixed therefor;

(B) the interests of the United States in the property of the enterprise; and

(C) the assurance that there is reasonable protection to the United States.

(2) The Secretary is authorized to disapprove any transaction of the enterprise involving the disposition of its assets which

may affect the repayment of a loan that has been guaranteed pursuant to the provisions of this Act.

(b) The General Accounting Office shall make a detailed audit of all accounts, books, records, and transactions of the enterprise with respect to which an application for a loan guarantee is made under this Act. The General Accounting Office shall report the results of such audit to the Secretary and to the Congress.

#### MAXIMUM OBLIGATION

SEC. 8. The maximum obligation of the Secretary under all outstanding loans guaranteed by him under this Act shall not exceed \$1,500,000,000.

#### EMERGENCY LOAN GUARANTEE FUND

SEC. 9. (a) There is hereby established in the Treasury an emergency loan guarantee fund to be administered by the Secretary. The fund shall be used for the payment of the expenses of the Secretary and for the purpose of fulfilling the Secretary's obligations under this Act. Moneys in the fund not needed for current operations may be invested in direct obligations of, or obligations that are fully guaranteed as to principal and interest by, the United States or any agency thereof.

(b) The Secretary shall prescribe and collect a guarantee fee in connection with each loan guaranteed by it under this Act. Sums realized from such fees shall be deposited in the emergency loan guarantee fund.

#### FEDERAL RESERVE BANKS AS FISCAL AGENTS

SEC. 10. Any Federal Reserve bank which is requested to do so shall act as fiscal agent for the Secretary. Each such fiscal agent shall be reimbursed by the Secretary for all expenses and losses incurred by it in acting as agent on behalf of the Secretary.

#### PROTECTION OF GOVERNMENT'S INTEREST

SEC. 11. (a) The Attorney General shall take such action as may be appropriate to enforce any right accruing to the United States or any officer or agency thereof as a result of the issuance of guarantees under this Act. Any sums recovered pursuant to this section shall be paid into the emergency loan guarantee fund established under section 9.

(b) The Secretary shall be entitled to recover from the enterprise, or any other person liable therefor, the amount of any payments made pursuant to any guarantee agreement entered into under this Act, and upon making any such payment, the Secretary shall be subrogated to all the rights of the recipient thereof.

#### REPORTS

SEC. 12. The Secretary shall annually submit to the Congress a full report of his operations under this Act. Each such report shall include a full report of the Secretary's operations together with his recommendations with respect to the need to continue the guarantee program beyond the termination date specified in section 13. If the Secretary recommends that the program should be continued beyond such termination date, he shall state his recommendations with respect to the appropriate board, agency, or corporation which should administer the program.

#### TERMINATION

SEC. 13. The authority of the Secretary to enter into any guarantee or to make any commitment to guarantee under this Act terminates three years after the date of the enactment of this Act. Such termination does not affect the carrying out of any contract, guarantee, commitment, or other obligation entered into pursuant to this Act prior to that date, or the taking of any action necessary to preserve or protect the interest of the United States in any amount advanced or paid out in carrying on operations under this Act. ●

## SLAMMER VI

## HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, Capt. Samuel S. Wood, Jr., a brilliant U.S. Army officer, recently wrote a thoughtful article in *Armor* magazine about a weapons system the United States possesses but does not make good use of.

I believe Captain Wood's arguments are persuasive, and I hope the Army will consider his recommendations.

The article follows:

## SLAMMER VI

(By Capt. Samuel S. Wood, Jr.)

In a time when targets outnumber artillery tubes there is a need for a multiple rocket launcher. Combat-proven on the battlefields of the Pacific and in Europe during World War II and later in Korea, the multiple rocket launcher provides the user with the ability to blanket the target area with a tremendous amount of firepower. As an area weapon that complements artillery, the rocket can provide the combined effects of many battalions of massed artillery. Rockets can provide the commander with an advantage he should not be denied, and the 2.75-in rocket fired by the Slammer VI is a system that can provide a variety of support to the frontline combat commander.

Fundamentally, the rocket is a self-contained warhead and propellant that needs only a simple launcher. You cannot expect the accuracy of a rocket to be the same as conventional tube artillery. However, what it loses in accuracy is outweighed by the volume of fire it can produce within seconds.

Rocket artillery has had a rather short but impressive history. The United States' use of rockets to augment artillery had its birth in 1846. William Hale developed a rocket which was used by the army of General Winfield Scott in the siege of Vera Cruz.<sup>1</sup> Except for signal rockets, rockets did not reemerge as a weapon system until World War II. Rockets were developed to defeat armor, aircraft, troops, and radar-directed fire control and communication equipment. During the Battle of the Bulge, rockets were used to break the German counteroffensives. Rockets were also used to pulverize beach areas during amphibious assaults in the Pacific, and rockets are credited as being instrumental in securing Okinawa. On the beaches of Normandy, rockets were also equipped with chaff warheads that created a window of jammers that moved the radar controlled fire from German guns away from Navy ships.

In the Korean War, the rockets of U.S. Marines found a 1,000-man Communist Chinese battalion located in a 1,000-by-500-yard area, and over 400 were killed and 600 wounded. This was accomplished in a matter of 14 minutes with 57 rockets.<sup>2</sup> This was an area target that would have required a TOT mission of many battalions of supporting artillery.

In Vietnam, rocket artillery was off the ground and in the air, but little work was done to improve the Korean War vintage ground rocket launchers in the inventory. Conventional artillery support was more than adequate to support maneuver forces and with the addition of the helicopter rockets and aircraft rockets, the commander could bring a large amount of firepower to bear on a relatively small area. With a very limited counterbattery threat, or air threat, the de-

livery of 2.75-in artillery and aircraft rockets was almost unrestricted.

At the end of the Vietnam War, the United States did not have a ground platform rocket launcher for the 2.75-in rocket, but warheads for the rocket had been adopted for helicopter and aircraft delivery. The warheads included high explosive, shaped charge, flechette, and white phosphorus. The rocket's range was about 6,000 meters, and because it had only 1,700 more meters range than the 107-mm mortar, multiple rocket launcher remained on aircraft.

Events in the Middle East brought renewed interest in a multiple rocket launcher, and need for it resurfaced. Commanders wanted fire support to defeat a multiplicity of targets and when the cry went up in 1974 to field a multiple rocket launcher, concepts were developed and tested. As a result, the general support rocket system was approved for fielding in the early eighties. Another system, the Slammer, was locally fabricated at Fort Campbell, Ky. and the Slammer VI at the Redstone and Allegheny Arsenals.

Since the Department of the Army's tests of the Slammer VI were concluded in April of 1977, additional emphasis has been placed on the need to field a multiple rocket launcher. The Slammer VI system can be fielded now! To better understand its availability, a description of Slammer VI is necessary.

The Slammer VI concept was developed at the Redstone and Allegheny Arsenals after the 101st Air Assault Division tested a two-pod version mounted on a ¼-ton vehicle.<sup>3</sup> Slammer VI was made with an M-91 chemical rocket launcher, M-200 rocket pods, and 4.2-in mortar sight. The M-91 rocket launcher, which was in the inventory in the early 1960's as a chemical rocket launcher, was modified for Slammer VI by changing the rocket racks to accommodate M-200 rocket pods. The M-200 rocket pods are the standard 2.75-in rocket pod in the Army and Air Force inventories. A 4.2-in mortar sight was added for fire control. Fired by a 24 volt system, the rockets can be ripped one at a time or fired in a 114 rocket salvo. Tests revealed that a system could be assembled for only \$7,500.<sup>4</sup>

The testing and evaluation of the system was conducted at Yuma Proving Grounds, Redstone Arsenal, and Forts Sill, Campbell, and Bragg. There were no firing tables available, and the testing units swagged the proper settings on the launcher for the desired ranges.

Test firings showed inaccuracies in the rockets that could easily be overcome by changing the firing sequence of the pods. Range limitations were overcome by improvements in the 2.75-in rocket motor which increased the range from 6,000 to nearly 11,000 meters.

Developed in response to a demand from the field, the Slammer VI answered the call for an area saturation weapon and product improvements and an increase in research funds could have provided the maneuver forces an effective weapon with many capabilities that are not available in other fire support systems.

The system's light weight and easy towing capability could have given either armor or mechanized infantry an inexpensive weapon system that could be fired, and then discarded if necessary.

However, Slammer VI was shelved after only 6 months of testing before its impact on the Army could be evaluated. The tests included immediate smoke, area saturation with high explosive warheads, and infrared illumination missions. In an illumination capability test, Slammer VI provided over 3 hours of continuous infrared illumination for TOW gunners.<sup>5</sup> As an area fire weapon, two Slammer VI systems produced more target destruction on a 400- x 600-meter area

than a battalion of 155-mm artillery pieces firing dual purpose improved conventional munitions.

In tests at Forts Bragg and Campbell it was found that Slammer VI could fill the gap between the 4.2-in mortars and division artillery assets. After TRADOC withdrew funds for testing, these posts drew from their own resources and conducted further tests. Through their efforts, the system's advantages were weighed against its disadvantages, with the major problem being the ammunition available. Test reports stated that if the range dispersion, limited range of 6,000 meters, and lack of varieties of warheads were overcome, Slammer VI would be reconsidered for fielding.<sup>5</sup>

## RESUPPLY FOR 1-HR SUSTAINED FIRE

	Rounds	5-ton loads
Slammer VI platoon.....	1,368	2.1
81-mm mortar platoon.....	1,440	1.4
155-mm howitzer battery.....	414	2.6

AREA SUPPRESSED (SQUARE METERS)  
PERSONNEL STANDING IN OPEN

	Slammer VI platoon	81-mm mortar platoon	155-mm howitzer battery
7 sec.....	190,836	2,628	51,216
75 sec.....	190,836	14,454	307,296
15 min.....	381,672	157,680	1,229,184

Presently, problems with the ammunition are being or have been corrected and the 2.75-in. rocket has been revolutionized. An improved rocket motor has increased ranges from 10,000 to 11,000 meters, new ammunition packaging has reduced the logistical burden, and improved fire control has provided the desired accuracy.

Further, the new warheads can provide the commander with some remarkable fire support. One-sixth of a Slammer VI load of 19 rockets can provide a 400-meter smoke screen for 4½ to 5 minutes after only a 30-second buildup. A complete Slammer VI load of smoke could screen or obscure 2,400 meters.

The chaff warhead can screen attack helicopters from Threat radar-directed fire control systems and provide a window for close air support or attack helicopters.

The submunition warhead equipped with a new fuze, scatters nine submunition projectiles over the target area. Each shaped charge submunition can penetrate 3½ inches of armor and detonation of the warhead creates a casualty producing blast with a radius of 15 meters. Armored vehicles and infantry coming under fire from a Slammer VI submunition salvo would be exposed to 2,072 subprojectiles in a 500-meter square area in a matter of 8 seconds. These three warheads could make a difference in any attack.

The Slammer VI was ahead of its time, but the concept is sound and its mission is ever apparent. With the application of sound tactics, proper employment, and the addition of improved warheads, the Slammer VI in the hands of the artillery, infantry, or armor could provide the commander with smoke, a jamming window to defeat electronics, dual-purpose munitions, and other types of warheads. Above all, it could provide the commander with an almost instant response to his call for fire, and near-instant firepower for that decisive time and place where the need for an area saturation weapon is available. There are 2,500 chemical rocket launchers that are potential Slammer VI systems sitting in depots. They are already paid for, and properly reconfigured as Slam-

Footnotes at end of article.

mer VI systems, they could provide the commander with massive fire support for area saturation missions.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> John E. Burchard, *Rockets, Guns, and Targets*, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1948), pp. 8, 133, 179, 202.

<sup>2</sup> *Reexamination of Requirement For An Area Saturation Weapon Such As The 4.5-in. Rocket*, (Fort Still, 1952), p. 6 C.

<sup>3</sup> Neely S. Harrison, *The Need for a Rocket Launcher*, Fort Still, 1976.

<sup>4</sup> Captain C. Connolly, 2.75-in. Rocket Department at Redstone Arsenal, interviewed by Sam Wood (telephone conversation) 1505 hours, 2 June 1978.

<sup>5</sup> Information Paper, "Slammer," XVIII Airborne Corps Evaluation (Fort Bragg, 1977), p. 2.●

IT IS TIME TO CIRCLE THE WAGONS

### HON. JACK BRINKLEY

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. BRINKLEY. Mr. Speaker, down the hall from me in the Rayburn Building is the office of the gentleman from Oklahoma, TOM STEED. Only two men currently serving in the House of Representatives came earlier than he did. And because of his seniority his office occupies the finest view of the U.S. Capitol Building itself. He is a thoughtful man.

TOM represents a district in Oklahoma which encompasses the military installation of Fort Sill. Buffalo herds still roam on this reservation and TOM tells an interesting story about them. To protect their young calves the buffalo form a protective circle around them, standing side by side, each buffalo facing outward—like a cross section of an ear of corn, with each grain of corn representing a buffalo.

Perhaps the early Western settlers adopted this protective device when they circled their wagons against Indian attacks. It is certain that they observed the buffalo strategy and admired the collective will of the buffalo in protecting its young and helpless.

Today in our country, the alarm has again been sounded. Remember the Pueblo. Remember Panmunjom. Remember Iran.

It is time to circle the wagons again. It is time to abandon a policy of non-resistance. It is time to take a stand, and draw the line, to say we will treat others in a civilized way but that we expect the same treatment in return, not some of the time, or most of the time, but all of the time.

We need not fear the Walls of Jericho. We need not fear giants in the land.

Those walls will fall before righteous men and those giants will prove to be mere bullyboys if our course is just.

There is a time for everything under the sun and it is time to circle the wagons. Our military strength is formidable. Yet there is something more important even than that. It is our will. It is our resolve, and commitment.

General Eisenhower said that freedom

from fear and injustice and oppression will be ours only in the measure that men who value such freedom are ready to sustain its possession—to defend it against every thrust from within and without.

Strength and will are strong companions to peace. Vacillation and appeasement are the roads to war or surrender.●

### CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR SPEAKS OUT ON NUCLEAR LEADERSHIP

#### HON. JOHN W. WYDLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, the Christian Science Monitor published an editorial on November 1 entitled "For Nuclear Leadership" which is a most sensible position that should be brought to the attention of all Members of the House.

The editorial grasps the key message of the Kemeny Commission report, that is,

The United States, if it continues to pursue the development of nuclear power, cannot do so entirely without risk and, if this risk is to be kept to tolerable levels; there have to be major institutional changes in the nuclear energy industry.

It also takes the position that the review of existing power plants with respect to safety risk should certainly be made on a "case-by-case basis."

I was pleased to note that, as our own Committee on Science and Technology hearings concluded,

The recent significant findings of the Commission's probe is that the major cause of the Three Mile Island accident was not the deficiency in the equipment design but the failure of the people involved.

It is important that the Members of the House understand that the Nuclear Regulatory Commission needs some months to get itself together but at the same time the nuclear industry is aggressively moving out to improve the institutional mechanisms by which safety problems are considered through the new Institute on Nuclear Power Operations. As a result of this two-pronged effort, to restructure the responsible Government body while the industry takes on a strong policing action with respect to nuclear utilities, there is no need for a congressional moratorium.

Such action is being proposed in the form of the Markey and Weaver amendments to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission Authorization, H.R. 2608, scheduled for floor action this week. I trust that my colleagues will not give the international community, this country, or the nuclear industry the wrong signal by calling for a moratorium.

We have learned the lessons from Three Mile Island, let us move out smartly on implementing what we have learned.

The editorial follows:

#### FOR NUCLEAR LEADERSHIP

One overriding message emerges from the Kemeny commission report on the nuclear accident at Three Mile Island. The United States, if it continues to pursue the development of nuclear power, cannot do so entirely without risk and, if this risk is to be kept to "tolerable levels," there have to be major institutional changes in the nuclear energy industry. President Carter and Congress will need to follow through swiftly on this broad recommendation if they are to assure the American people that present nuclear power generation, let alone expansion of it, is desirable. Failure to do so can only fuel the efforts of those scientists, environmentalists, and others who would call a halt to all nuclear development. The economic cost of this could prove high.

It is not only the construction of new power plants which must be addressed—and here Americans will be sobered by how close the commission came to recommending an outright moratorium. The public is also bound to ask questions about the 70 some nuclear plants now in operation. Are the safety risks at these within tolerable limits? It would be overreacting to suggest that all these facilities be shut down until this can be thoroughly ascertained, a drastic move which could entail unacceptable economic dislocations and hardship. But it seems to us the U.S. Government could institute a case-by-case review of existing plants—their design, siting, training programs, emergency procedures, management methods—and relicense them if satisfactory. In fact there perhaps ought to be periodic recertification of nuclear plants to assure fullest compliance with upgraded safety standards.

As for the Kemeny commission's broad recommendations, these ought to be carefully studied and pursued. It makes sense, for instance, to grant operating licenses for nuclear reactors only after the federal government has approved state and local emergency plans, and after the plants have been reviewed for safety improvements, competence of their training program, siting away from population centers, and so on.

There also can be no quarrel with the recommendation that reactor operators be given much more rigorous training than they have to date. Perhaps the most significant finding of the commission's probe is that the major cause of the Three Mile Island accident was not the deficiencies in equipment design but the failures of the people involved—the way plant operators and later the Nuclear Regulatory Commission reacted. It is clear that, to bring about the radical change in attitudes toward nuclear safety which the commission says is needed, there will have to be a substantially higher level of education.

Major changes will also have to take place at the NRC but whether that agency should actually be abolished and replaced by an independent agency as the presidential commission recommends is open to debate. Following the NRC's poor handling of the Three Mile Island crisis, a good case can be made that new leadership is needed at the NRC. A bolstering of its inspection and enforcement branches and some structural changes also may be warranted. But the NRC itself is the product of a reorganization and, as we have seen from the establishment of the new Department of Energy, mere organizational changes do not automatically promise efficiency and effectiveness. This will have to be looked at carefully.

But looked at it must be. It will not please the President or the Congress that, amid all the other burning issues which must be dealt with, and dealt with in an increasingly politicized atmosphere, the question of nuclear safety is now added to the agenda. This is a volatile issue. But inasmuch as the

United States now depends to a degree on nuclear power to meet its energy needs, it would be diserving the national interests not to give the Kemeny commission report the highest priority. ●

EVELYN BAUGH NAMED TEACHER  
OF THE YEAR

HON. LARRY J. HOPKINS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. HOPKINS. Mr. Speaker, all too often these days, we hear sad tales about the decline of our educational system in this country. We hear about plunging test scores on the one hand, and about U.S. Army training manuals being rewritten to a fourth grade reading level, on the other.

Fortunately, however, in the midst of all this doom and gloom, shining stars sometimes show through. One such shining star is Mrs. Evelyn Baugh of Lexington, Ky., who has just been chosen Fayette County's teacher of the year.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to add my congratulations to those of her family, friends, students and former students; and at this point, I would like to share with my colleagues two local newspaper articles which tell the story of this remarkable woman who has served the students of Fayette County so well for 20 fulfilling years.

The articles follow:

PERSONAL TOUCH PAYS OFF FOR TEACHER OF  
THE YEAR

(By Judi Joseph)

A part of children's summer vacation from school is wondering what kind of teacher they will have in the coming year.

Children entering Evelyn Baugh's third grade class at Lansdowne Elementary School this year didn't have to wonder long. Mrs. Baugh made a special trip to the home of each of her students this summer to visit with them and their parents.

It's that kind of special attention that earned Mrs. Baugh the title of "Fayette County Teacher of the Year" for the 1979-80 school year.

Mrs. Baugh was selected by a committee of teachers and administrators after being nominated by Lansdowne principal James Wyrick.

Mrs. Baugh, 43, has been teaching 21 years, 19 of those years in Fayette County. A native of Radford, Va., she earned her teaching degree from Radford College and taught two years in Virginia before coming to Fayette County. From 1960 to 1966 she taught at Athens Elementary, and moved to Lansdowne when it opened 13 years ago.

Despite her new title, Mrs. Baugh says she doesn't think of herself in terms of the word "teacher."

"Teachers should be guides and resource people," she explained while sitting at her desk after her students had left for the day. "The children should be responsible for their own education.

"I ask them, 'Who is in charge here?' They guess the superintendent, the principal, the teacher. But I tell them they are in charge. It's up to them to determine what they want to get out of their education here," she said.

While Mrs. Baugh supports teaching basic educational skills, such as reading and math, she also emphasizes development of the whole person.

"I hope I can teach children to grow in

their own respect for themselves and develop a good self-image," she said. "I feel each child is unique in his or her own rate and pattern of mental, physical, social and emotional growth. Learning is enhanced when each child is placed in a situation where they can experience success."

To encourage self-respect and respect for others, Mrs. Baugh lets the children handle much of the classroom chores. The children appoint responsible students to such tasks as handing out papers and workbooks and being classroom leader, the one who lines everyone up to go to lunch.

When a student fails in his duty or violates another student's rights, it is the children who determine how the student should be disciplined, Mrs. Baugh said. For example, if a student is noisy and disturbs other children—but does not become quiet after two reprimands from the teacher—the children may decide that the noisy one should lose his playtime privileges for a day.

"I try to develop a feeling of being important and functioning maturely in each child," she said. "With that control I can begin to work more with the needs of individual students."

To encourage progress, Mrs. Baugh writes out notes to each student every night praising them for good work and suggesting ways they can improve certain skills. She estimated she works about three hours a night grading papers and making lesson plans.

Mrs. Baugh said she realized she was taking time away from her husband Robert, a local insurance representative, by bringing work home. "I could give the kids 'busy work' and get my work done at school, but when you see an opportunity for learning, you have to grab it when it occurs."

Mrs. Baugh said a problem nowadays is "the number of single-parent homes where parents are under so much pressure and don't have enough time to spend with their children." But she doesn't hesitate to get parents involved.

Parental support is "the key to a successful year," she said. "With the cooperation of parents and open communication between parents and the teacher—as a team—they can more nearly meet the needs of the child."

Parent participation can be seen in Mrs. Baugh's colorful classroom and throughout the school building at 336 Redding Road. Posters and charts made by parent volunteers line the walls. A mural of an old oak tree covers a section of a wall in Mrs. Baugh's classroom, painted by the parent of a former student. Hanging plants decorate corners of the room.

The school day isn't all hard work for the 28 students in Mrs. Baugh's classroom. If the students complete their duties, they can go back to one corner of the classroom and play games. Or they can nestle down into comfortable couches and read a book.

TEACHING IS LEARNING ABOUT RESPONSIBILITIES,  
WITH LOVE, EDUCATOR SAYS

There's something special about a teacher who spends her summer days visiting the homes of the students she'll have that fall and her winter nights writing notes to those same students, explaining areas of weakness and giving suggestions for improvement.

And the local public schools chose to reward Evelyn Baugh's special qualities by naming the 22-year veteran educator Fayette County Teacher of the Year.

Mrs. Baugh, 43, is a third grade teacher at Lansdowne Elementary School, 336 Redding Road. She has taught for 20 years in Fayette County public schools. Fourteen of those were spent as Lansdowne.

Mrs. Baugh is proud of her ability to maintain classroom control. She says her teaching philosophy doesn't fit into either extreme—traditional or modern—but falls

somewhere "in the median, though I try to update my techniques, styles and methods."

Relying heavily on the 3 R's, "not reading, 'riting and 'rithmetic but rights, relationships and responsibilities," Mrs. Baugh said she loves the challenge of "setting up a classroom environment in which children can attain without having too many failures."

"Even young children can recognize the rights they have in a school and the rights of their peers.

"As a pupil, each person has specific rights: the right to learn, the right to privacy in the classroom, the right to playtime, and I could go on and on."

The second R—relationships—is attained by teaching students that "peace within our nation is built on relationships between people in our society. If he or she wants to be a responsible person, they must learn to respect other people regardless of race, color or creed," Mrs. Baugh stressed.

"(Also), pupils can take responsibility for their actions when guided to do so," Mrs. Baugh said.

She believes in helping students get the tools they will need to face life as adults. She strives to see them "equip themselves with discipline, to think critically and to evaluate themselves and their place in the world."

The award winning teacher hopes the children in her classroom understand that there is value in every person. "It's not what you can do to please someone. It's just in being. Just because you are a person, you are important."

One of her teaching techniques enables her to do something many teachers probably would never dare—accentuating and emphasizing the differences in students.

Very often she asks her students, "How do people differ?" Mrs. Baugh encourages them to look at each other for differences.

After discovering the variations, sometimes for the first time, she said students consistently say, "we're all different. And, no, that's not bad, that's fine."

Mrs. Baugh rarely raises her voice in the classroom. "The clicking of my fingers is the only means of discipline I use." She feels that the "yelling and continual boisterous attitude of some teachers is lording over people."

"I want students to obey because they want to obey and because they can control themselves. I could leave my room (students unattended) for two hours and no one would know. There would be no misbehavior because they love me and they know that I love them and they would do anything to keep from disappointing me."

Mrs. Baugh noted that education is returning to the basics after, "I've seen it run the gamut from the open classroom, multi-age groups, team teaching, non-graded schools and free choices in curriculum."

The back-to-the-basics thrust, she said, was initiated when those connected with school systems began noticing a decline in basic reading and math skills.

Mrs. Baugh said the parents of her students support her. She visits the home of each child before school starts in order to get "insight into the family and knowledge about the child."

After the summertime home visits, "I say to the parents in writing within the second week of the school year what their child's weaknesses and strengths are and my plan for them. I also tell them what they can do to help."

In addition to the correspondence with parents, Mrs. Baugh often spends her nights writing each student a note of classwork evaluation, telling them "how well I think they handled their time, whether they met the purpose of the assignment, what they did wrong and how they can improve."

She sees her award as "an honor to my profession."●

### FREEDOM FOR SOVIET NATIONAL GROUPS

**HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, in one of those happy coincidences that happen from time to time, I recently have come across three articles, appearing in three different publications, each dealing with the question of national groups in the Soviet Union.

The most recent of these articles appeared in *Business Week*. Briefly, the author, once director of the State Bank in Czechoslovakia and now a professor emeritus of economics in the United States, says the United States must create a strategy of freedom. By this he means we must support the self-determination of national groups now controlled either directly or indirectly by the Soviet Union.

Usually when such a strategy is mentioned there is a feeling that such a move can be dangerous and perhaps lead to war. But the Soviet Union openly and proudly boasts of its "right" to support what it calls "liberation groups." Why do we not have the same right?

Why do we not at least investigate the possibilities of developing information and communication policies that will let the various national groups know we support self-determination?

I see nothing warlike in this. Indeed, it is precisely our refusal to counter the Soviet strategy of revolution with our own strategy of freedom that has led to our current low state of military and—what is equally important—psychological readiness. In short, we are more in danger of drifting into war through indifference or fear than we would be if the Soviet Union knew we believed enough in our principles to put them into practice.

Here are three suggestions for such a strategy:

First. The United States should increase the quantity and quality of our international broadcasts over the Voice of America, Radio Liberty, and Radio Free Europe. This does not mean we have to use "hawkish" or provocative language—but it does mean that both directly and indirectly millions of listeners in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union should know that we support the right to self-determination as one of the primary human rights. Just by expanding our broadcast time we could have a beneficial result, as the various national groups learn that we care.

Second. The President should appoint a study commission composed of experts in foreign policy and international communications and members of various ethnic groups to come up with some specific suggestions as to how we might implement this strategy. I share with many

a distaste for Presidential commissions because their conclusions are usually the product of group consensus and mean nothing. But surely we can find a group of knowledgeable and imaginative Americans capable of offering specific suggestions for a strategy of freedom based on American principles, cognizant of the realities of international relations in a nuclear age and competent enough to differentiate between irresponsible schemes and courageous and dynamic policies.

Third. The Soviet Union's rulers should be told by the President that since they openly proclaim their right—as they see it—to aid so-called national liberation groups wherever and whenever they want to, we are going to do the same. When they stop, perhaps we will stop—but not before then.

There are other ways of approaching this issue and I hope to hear from many of our colleagues with suggestions. I hope they join with me in supporting a new policy of positive, confident, bold, courageous international relations based on the American principles of dedication to human rights and self-determination.

As this point I insert in the RECORD, "A U.S. Strategy to Stop the Soviets" by Eugene Loeb, "Business Week," October 29, 1979:

#### A U.S. STRATEGY TO STOP THE SOVIETS

The foreign policy of a world power such as the U.S. can be successful only if it has a clear strategic goal and subordinates lesser interests and tactics to long-range strategy. While shifting its tactics and masking its true aims, the Soviet Union has a long-term strategic goal that it pursues ruthlessly and relentlessly. The Soviet Union has reverted from a Communist revolutionary state to a classically imperialistic state. Marxist ideology has become a convenient tool to disguise the traditional expansionistic aims of the Soviet elite.

Although the U.S. and the Soviet Union are frequently compared in cocktail party conversation, the fact is that the two superpowers are dramatically different. The Soviet Union is clearly inferior in terms of power (especially the power to attract masses of people by persuasion rather than by force), yet because it is constantly on the offensive and the U.S. policymakers are often befuddled, the Soviet Union has more than made up for its deficiencies. It has repeatedly created crises that are generally consistent with long-term Soviet strategic goals, forcing the U.S. to react on an ad hoc basis to each Soviet tactical move. It is no surprise that, lacking a thought-out strategy of its own, the U.S. comes out the loser in so many of these conflicts.

The U.S. has a great potential over the Soviets, in that, unlike the Soviet Union, it can "go public" with its strategic goal. That goal—promoting human freedom—is consistent with American public opinion and with the deep-seated sentiments of masses of people throughout the world, and it most definitely includes support for the fundamental concept of self-determination of peoples. If the U.S. championed self-determination, it would present a serious challenge to Soviet imperialism and dramatically change the way the world situation is perceived by millions of people.

#### A TWO-PART 'MONOLITH'

The West is guilty of a fundamental error in viewing communism as monolithic. History has shown that it is not, and through

support for self-determination, the West can exploit the fissures within the so-called "monolith." The underlying conflicts within the Communist world (particularly nationalistic conflicts) can be used to blunt the power of Soviet imperialism and thus reduce the chances of a Third World War.

Even within the Soviet Union, the seeds of conflict (and not just nationalistic conflict) exist. As far back as the 1920s, when the first Five-Year Plan was instituted, there was a conflict within the Soviet elite concerning two divergent economic paths. One, the victorious Stalinist path, favored support for heavy industry to increase the nation's war-making potential. The other, more consumer-oriented (or "Western") approach, emphasized developing a consumer-oriented society to satisfy the needs of the broad mass of people.

While holding down the satisfaction of consumer demands (the Soviet standard of living is below that of most of Eastern Europe), the Soviet elite spends spectacular amounts to maintain its military establishment. It is estimated that the U.S. spends about 6 percent of its gross national product (GNP) for military purposes. Its allies spend less. By contrast, the Soviet Union spends an estimated 15 percent of its GNP on the military, and there are additional costs that are hidden from Western intelligence. For instance, when I headed the State Bank of Czechoslovakia, using Eastern bloc accounting procedures and methods, we estimated that as much as 30 percent of the Soviet Union's GNP was actually devoted to military activities.

#### MILITARY SPENDING

Since Stalin's time it has been official Soviet policy to subordinate national aspirations to the "needs of the revolution." Of course, the "revolution" was identical with the Soviet elite's quest for power, so it was not difficult for the Soviet elite to equate nationalism with subversion and treason and to subject it to the harshest oppression.

But the suppression of nationalism, within the Soviet Union itself and among the subject nations of the Eastern bloc, has created a great deal of stress within the system.

If the current Western policy of détente-appeasement were replaced by a policy based on the inevitability and validity of the self-determination of peoples, there would be a tidal shift in political sentiment throughout the Eastern bloc. Nationalistic forces throughout the Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc would be immeasurably strengthened by this shift in Western policy.

Clearly, the West must build its military strength to discourage Soviet adventurism and make any open Soviet move against Western Europe militarily unpalatable. Concurrently, through championing the cause of self-determination, the West can unleash a torrent of human sentiment that will erode the foundation of the Soviet empire.

It is essential that Western leaders realize that nationalistic aspirations do not assure democracy, capitalism, or other features of Western political systems. The West can count on only two results from a policy of self-determination: one, people in given nations will be free from foreign domination so that they can work out their own political and economic arrangements and, two, such independence forms a bulwark against Soviet imperialism, which is the major threat to freedom throughout the world. Before the people of any nation can build a free society for themselves, they first need to throw off the bonds of foreign oppression. It is this first, fundamental goal of self-determination that the West should work for, in its own ultimate self-interest.●

## THE INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE'S POWER TO LEVY

HON. DON YOUNG

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill which will require the Internal Revenue Service to obtain a court order before it may seize a citizen's property for the payment of taxes.

Under the present law, the Internal Revenue Service may now seize a person's property without such an order. Title 26, subsection 6331(b) of the United States Code, defines the power of the Internal Revenue Service to levy as the "power of distraint and seizure by any means." I believe that the scope of this law is too broad and too vague and therefore in some instances, allows the Internal Revenue Service to seize property through the use of methods that could be described as unlawful.

I wish to bring to the attention of my distinguished colleagues an incident which occurred in Fairbanks, Alaska recently. Two of my constituents had their property seized in a manner which graphically illustrates the potential for the abuse of these powers. If this would have been done by any other law enforcement agency, the outcry would have been heard all the way to Washington.

Mr. Speaker, I do not believe the citizens to which I refer were blatantly trying to defy the law. I believe they acted in the only manner they saw fit; believing at that time that the Internal Revenue Service was acting outside of their statutory authority. It was to their utter amazement that the Internal Revenue Service was not required to obtain a court order prior to seizing their property.

I further wish to state for the record that it is totally beyond my comprehension how this body could have granted such broad statutory authority to this Government agency, especially when it is in direct violation of the Fourth Amendment of the United States Constitution, which provides that:

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Law enforcement agencies are presently required to adhere to this most specific clause. There is absolutely no reason to exempt the Internal Revenue Service from the same requirement.

Mr. Speaker, my bill would rectify this serious mistake and protect our citizens from this type of search and seizure without warrant and due process of law.●

## A FEDERAL OFFICE OF FAMILIES? WHAT NEXT, MR. CARTER?

HON. JOHN H. ROUSSELOT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, only a few weeks ago in the name of "consolidation," this Congress authorized the creation of a new, costly Federal agency, the Department of Education, which will operate on a yearly budget of at least \$14.5 billion and employ a minimum of 18,000 employees. This new DOE follows in the footsteps of the first DOE—the Department of Energy—which was created under the Carter administration 2 years ago. We all know what the Department of Energy has accomplished. Remember those gasoline lines? With no reasonable explanation for the state of its own inadequacy to find workable programs to restore confidence that this Nation will have adequate fuel and energy supplies even for this coming winter, this agency had, in its short lifetime, doubled its annual expenditures from \$5.2 billion in fiscal year 1978 to an estimated \$10.0 billion in fiscal year 1979.

Now, I ask my colleagues, does this seem representative of Carter the candidate who promised to cut back Government regulation and redtape? Does bureaucracy superadded to bureaucracy cut back on the wasteful Federal spending that is fueling inflation, lessen controls over the lives of individuals and private enterprise, restore authority to the State and local governments which are restrained, repressed and hampered by complicated and excessive Federal rules and regulations?

The fact is, President Carter has established a policy of more and more Government management over the personal lives of each and every American family. Mr. Carter has now endorsed a new plan to create an Office of Families within the area of Health, Education, and Welfare, the new name of which we now understand will be the Department of Health and Human Services. Does anyone even ask what the cost is to the taxpayers just to go through the procedures of a name change, this is stationery purchase and miscellaneous expenses to reclassify all the various sections and personnel?

Apparently, it is the President's opinion that big Government, not parents or church, can best cope with the problems of family life. Will his proposed Office of Families regulate the number of children and of which sex will be allotted to each family, govern their social lives and set formulas for the sharing and distribution of family love as the Department of Energy did with gasoline supplies?

The Cincinnati Enquirer, in an October 18 editorial, published an excellent editorial in opposition to Mr. Carter's insidious plan. I submit this article as a word of caution for the consideration of my colleagues in the House of Representatives who may be asked to vote on such a proposal.

The article follows:

## THE FAMILY—PRESIDENT CARTER COULD DO IT SERIOUS INJURY

President Carter has become an unfortunate parody of himself.

His newest proposal to make good his promise of a government "as full of love as the American people themselves"—an Office of Families in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare—is morally repugnant to those who genuinely care about the sanctity of the American family.

The President's notion is absurd on its face. "Many families have been strained to the breaking point by social and economic forces beyond their control," the President said in Kansas City the other day. "Some indeed have broken." What he failed to say is that it is government taxation and government inflation that have created the "economic forces beyond" the control of most American families.

The American family is too important to to the very fabric of this society to let it become the plaything of a liberal, activist bureaucracy, a pork-barreling Congress, a judiciary out of touch with mainstream America, and an executive in desperate search of re-election.

Who can resist the temptation to suggest that the Office of Families (OOF) could become the moral equivalent of OSHA, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, or EEOC, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Would we have unannounced, unwarranted investigators peering into the kitchens, the parlors, the family rooms and the bedrooms of American homes? Do we have an equal number of male and female children here? Is love adequately distributed amongst all the members of the family? Did you wash behind your ears? Have you spent 20 hours and this week filling out the proper government forms, in triplicate? Is this family represented by counsel?

If we have learned our lessons from Washington, it is that whenever government finds the excuse, it grows bigger on its own momentum. This is one more example in that vein. And we would have Mr. Carter to thank.●

## HAPPY BIRTHDAY GOLDEN RAIN NEWS

HON. DAN LUNGREN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. LUNGREN. Mr. Speaker, the Golden Rain News of Leisure World Seal Beach was 16 years old on Thursday, November 8, 1979.

Owned by residents of Leisure World Seal Beach, the newspaper is an unsubsidized, community paper which has more financial advertising than any other newspaper of its size in the Nation. Highly regarded by its competitors, the newspaper enjoys a 95 percent subscription rate in the Leisure World community.

I wish to congratulate Marj Shippey, manager of publications; Margaret Newhose, editor; and Bill Williamson, advertising manager, for the high quality publication they produce.

I also extend my congratulations to President George H. Supple, of the Golden Rain Foundation, and Administrator Jack O. Davis, for making possi-

ble such an excellent example of media.●

ACID RAIN BILL—H.R. 5764

**HON. BRUCE F. VENTO**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. VENTO. Mr. Speaker, earlier I explained the general environmental problems caused by acid rain not only in this country but throughout the industrialized world. Acid precipitation, as many of you are already aware, results when sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxides combine with water in the air and are chemically changed into acids which drop to the earth mixed with snow or rain. Today, I wish to cite the devastating effects acid rain can cause in a specific area—the Boundary Waters Canoe Area.

As my colleagues will remember, 1 year ago we determined the management policies to best protect the resources of the Boundary Waters Canoe Area Wilderness in northern Minnesota. During that time, a more insidious threat was being studied by scientists. Studies by both the United States and Canada have confirmed that the acid rains that fall in northern Minnesota are killing many of the lakes in the only large lakeland unit of the U.S. wilderness system—the BWCA. The first lake is expected to "die," that is, lose its aquatic life, in 7 years.

The acid rains also threaten:

The area's thin, sensitive soil;

The region's two dominant trees, the white pine and the trembling aspen;

Lichen species, which are the principal plant cover on 5 percent of the region's land;

Various insect groups, including some bees, wasps and beetles.

Another factor that worries scientists is that acid rain also increases the accelerate accumulation of mercury in fish. Many lakes in northeastern Minnesota would then contain fish that exceed FDA limits on mercury for human consumption.

The Canadian study went on to say that the average BWCA lake will probably die in about 85 years. How soon a lake dies will depend on its size and depth, the distance from sources of pollution, and variations in the surrounding and underlying soil and rock.

Acid rain has about the same pH, or acidity, as lemon juice. It becomes a serious threat only in areas that are short on buffering agents in the rocks and soil. Unfortunately, the BWCA and the adjacent Voyageurs National Park are such areas. They have thin soil and granite bedrock, a combination that provides little buffering ability. In time a lake's ability to neutralize acids can be used up and the water will increase in acidity. This interrupts fish production and at higher concentrates can kill fish. Agricultural lime has been applied to some lakes to provide a buffer, but in areas like BWCA, which has such a large number of lakes, it is not considered practical in the long term.

The existing nitrate and sulfate pollution in BWCA is caused by local cities as close as Duluth. It is also carried in by weather systems from as far away as Detroit, St. Louis, Chicago, Cincinnati and Pittsburgh. But as my colleagues know, pollution such as acid rain has no boundaries.

Recently, Ontario Hydro, a Canadian Government utility, decided due to increased U.S. pressure to cut the size of the proposed Atikokan powerplant in half to 400 megawatts and to delay completion until 1988. This powerplant will be about 35 miles north from BWCA. Their decision to reduce the scale of the plant will certainly not totally solve the problem.

According to the EPA study about half the sulfates and most of the mercury from the Atikokan plant would be loaded onto the area in the wintertime. This would increase the danger that concentrated doses of acid could be delivered to fisheries during spring snowmelts. Some lakes are already so sensitive that the acid could completely use up their buffering capacity.

So colleagues, as the present BWCA battle against acid rain so clearly shows, this problem is not only a national but international issue. To answer the many questions that still exist as to the source, impacts and solutions of the acid rain problem, I have introduced with Mr. LAFALCE and Mr. OBERSTAR H.R. 5674. Hopefully, this bill will give us a better understanding of the problem and more knowledge to implement needed remedies.

There is an increasing amount of awareness concerning acid rain shown by the recent ASAP (Action Seminar on Acid Precipitation) Conference in Toronto on November 1-3. Approximately 800 citizen activists unanimously approved a resolution that states their concern over the acid rain problem. I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues a copy of the following resolution.

The resolution follows:

REVISED RESOLUTIONS

Whereas acid precipitation has caused marked and dramatic damage to ecosystems and regional economies, rendered hundreds of lakes lifeless, decimated sport fisheries, impaired visibility, and threatened agriculture, tourism and forest industries and the public health and welfare of citizens throughout North America; and

Whereas existing atmospheric loads of sulphur and nitrogen oxides are directly contributing to dry deposition and rain and snow fall at least 50 times more acidic than normal, with isolated episodes reaching thousand fold increases in acidity; and

Whereas acid precipitation and its damages will continue to escalate as Canadian and U.S. industries shift toward a greater reliance on coal; and

Whereas existing air quality standards and legal requirements are clearly inadequate to control acid precipitation, having allowed the sharp increase in long-range pollution over the last two decades; moreover, federal, state, and provincial governments, especially in the Ohio River valley and Ontario have failed to take adequate control actions; and

Whereas both the U.S. and Canadian governments have recognized the need for a cooperative approach to this international

problem; but have not yet agreed on specific terms to further regulate sulphur and nitrogen oxide emissions.

Therefore, the citizens participating in this ASAP conference resolve:

That each country must immediately adopt and implement a control policy for both new and existing sources to reduce the overall atmospheric loads of sulphur and nitrogen oxides to less than 50 percent of present levels within ten years, with regular incremental reductions during that decade.

That national energy policies are critical to curtailing acid precipitation, with special emphasis placed on:

(a) Energy conservation and renewable energy resource development as the highest priority;

(b) The use of natural and unconventional gas as a preferred substitute for oil in the transition period;

(c) The direct use of coal encouraged only in utility and industrial boilers with best available control technology.

(d) The conversion of existing facilities from oil to coal only where the resultant emission rates will not increase.

That the international treaty now under negotiation by Canada and the U.S. must establish the goal of reducing transboundary and regional air pollution levels through the adoption and enforcement of stringent emission control strategies.

That the participants are committed to seeing that this treaty is enforced, and that a commission of citizens from both countries should be established to monitor and report publicly on each country's record of compliance.

That research not be a substitute for immediate control action but that investments by both countries be increased particularly with regard to the economic and other effects of acid precipitation and associated pollutants on materials, drinking water quality, crops forests, rangelands, and aquatic ecosystems.

That both governments educate the general public, and especially the threatened agricultural, tourist, and forestry industries, about the dangers of acid precipitation and encourage public participation in government decision making.

That new emission standards must emphasize presently available control techniques, such as coal pre-washing, use of low sulphur fuels, flue gas desulphurization and denitrification; and furthermore, that techniques to disperse emission in space or time, such as increased stack height and intermittent control systems should be prohibited.

That each country adopt special siting and control policies and standards to preserve and protect existing pristine air quality parks and wildernesses.

That workers can and must be protected from choosing between their jobs and a healthy environment.

That federal, provincial, and state governments participate in all available legal actions which will reduce sulphur and nitrogen oxide emissions and acid rain.●

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

**HON. ALVIN BALDUS**

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. BALDUS. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, November 9, I missed several votes. Had I been present, I would have voted as follows:

Rollcall No. 642. On agreeing to resolu-

tion to consider solar power satellite R. & D., H.R. 2335. "Yes."

Rollcall No. 647. On agreeing to conference report on H.R. 4930, fiscal year 1980 Department of the Interior and related agencies appropriations. "Yes."

Rollcall No. 648. On receding from its disagreement and concurring with specified Senate amendments on H.R. 4930. "Yes."

Rollcall No. 649. On agreeing to a motion that the House adjourn from Friday until noon on Tuesday, November 13. "Yes." ●

#### THE FTC SIDE OF THEIR INVESTIGATION OF JS&A GROUP, INC.

### HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, last week, on the eve of the scheduled House vote on FTC, an ad appeared in the Washington Post and the Wall Street Journal which made serious allegations regarding the FTC's investigation of JS&A Group, Inc. As you know, it has become very popular to make charges of abusive actions on the part of the Commission and its staff.

In an effort to obtain the complete story regarding this allegation, I requested the FTC to provide me with the facts of its investigation. After reading the following reply, I am convinced that the Commission is acting properly in this matter.

Of particular note is FTC's statement that this firm has had a pattern of violating the Mail Order Rule for 2½ years before the fateful snowstorm. Numerous complaints were received from its customers regarding delays in mailing the articles ordered and failure to refund money to customers who were dissatisfied with the merchandise.

Please read the following FTC letter. I am sure your reaction will be the same as mine—this is not a case where a small businessman is caught up in the bureaucratic nightmare.

The letter follows:

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION,  
Washington, D.C., November 6, 1979.

HON. JAMES S. SCHEUER,  
Chairman, House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Consumer Protection and Finance of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SCHEUER: The Commission has asked me to respond to your request for information concerning the Commission's investigation of JS&A Group, Inc. As you know, the Company's president, Mr. Joseph Sugarman, placed advertisements in today's Washington Post and Wall Street Journal which discussed the existence and nature of the investigation. Essentially, Mr. Sugarman alleges that all of JS&A's consumer problems resulted solely from a breakdown in its computer capabilities and a series of blizzards in early 1979.

Although staff intends to continue this non-public investigation in accordance with the Commission's Rules of Practice and Procedures, I believe that certain information concerning the investigation should be available to you in light of Mr. Sugarman's statements. I want to stress, however, that this

case is still in the investigative stage, and that the Commission has taken no position on its ultimate merits. If staff ultimately recommends a formal civil penalties complaint for action by the Commission, a matter on which there has been no final staff determination, the Company will have ample opportunity to make its views formally known to the Commission.

The investigation of JS&A Group, Inc., a mail order marketer which sells relatively high-priced consumer products and advertises heavily, centers on the Company's compliance with the "Mail Order Rule" (16 C.F.R. Section 435), promulgated by the Commission in 1976. Generally speaking, the Rule simply provides that when a delay of over 30 days in shipping a consumer's order will occur, the consumer must be notified and provided with an option to cancel the order and receive a refund. It does not require that the seller ship goods to consumers within 30 days of receipt of their order. The rule was prompted in part by considerable evidence, developed on a rulemaking record, that some mail order companies would receive orders from customers, cash the enclosed checks and then simply delay shipping the ordered product—without notifying consumers, or giving them a chance to receive their money back. The White House Office of Consumer Affairs reports that in 1975 mail order complaints were second only to auto repair in terms of consumer complaints. It has remained the number two complaint, with its percentage increasing.

Concerning staff's investigation of JS&A Group, staff has compiled considerable information to give it reason to believe that the company was in widespread violation of the Mail Order Rule's requirements for approximately two and one-half years before its computer problems in late 1978 and early 1979. In response to approximately 75 consumer complaints about JS&A Group's failure to comply with the Commission's Rule, staff asked to inspect those company records which would indicate whether it was responding to consumers within the required 30-day period. Although JS&A was served with a copy of the Mail Order Rule in July, 1976, JS&A Group's own records indicated violations of the Commission's Rules for a period dating back to 1976.

Staff also has reason to believe that during the following two and one-half years, JS&A Group apparently failed to implement a procedure which would ensure that its customers would be protected under the Commission's Rule. In addition, the staff investigation indicates that during the period when the company's computer problems occurred—a period when the company apparently knew that it could not process orders in a timely fashion—it nevertheless failed to notify consumers of their rights under the Mail Order Rule and the company apparently continued to accept orders and to cash checks from consumers.

The company's computer breakdown, therefore, relates to only a portion of the information that staff has and, in any event, is substantially irrelevant to the requirements of the Rule. The Rule provides that when a company cannot fill orders in 30 days, because of a computer breakdown or any reason, it simply must notify consumers of the delay and allow them to ask for their money back. Staff is not attempting to apply the Rule in a case where a business, through computer failures, was unable to ship within 30 days. Rather, the Rule assumes that understandable delays will occur, and simply requires consumers to be notified of that fact and their right to a cancellation or refund. We believe that, during this period, the company could have complied with the Rule simply by advising consumers, at the time their orders were received, of their rights under the Mail Order Rule. As you know, Mr. Sugarman asserts in his ad that the company did attempt to notify consumers. We

have been unable to obtain any information to confirm this claim, and therefore cannot resolve this dispute on the basis of the information we now have. We are hopeful that documents in the company's files (and which are the subject of the subpoena) will aid us in assessing the validity of Mr. Sugarman's claims.

I think you should also know that the staff has uncovered additional information which tends to indicate that the company has violated another important provision of the law. JS&A Group has frequently offered its products on a "free 30-day trial period" with a right to "full refund." There have been complaints that on a number of occasions, about 75, the company has failed to refund consumers' payments until after outside agencies intervened on their behalf.

On the basis of this evidence of violations, the staff entered into negotiations with counsel for JS&A Group in an attempt to resolve this matter without litigation, as is our customary practice. When the negotiations were unsuccessful, the staff had no choice but to proceed with a further investigation and to subpoena documents which would be necessary in a civil penalty trial. In response to JS&A's Motion to Quash, the Commission limited the subpoena substantially, granting most of the objections. The staff intends to carefully analyze the subpoena return to make a final determination as to whether to recommend a civil penalty action to the Commission. As mentioned previously, the Commission will have any submission made by Mr. Sugarman and JS&A, as well as any staff recommendation, before it when it decides whether to proceed further.

We believe substantial consumer loss results from mail order practices that violate the Commission's Rule. We also believe that our investigations of such alleged violations are an important protection for those millions of consumers who purchase by mail.

We hope that this information is responsive to your request.

Sincerely,

ALBERT H. KRAMER,  
Director.

#### MAIL ORDER FIRM EXPLAINS DISPUTE WITH FTC IN ADS

(By Larry Kramer)

At first glance, the arguments are familiar: The company says the federal government is persecuting it, and the government agency says the company is cheating consumers.

But the case of the FTC vs. JS&A Group Inc. is far from normal.

The Chicago-based electronics products mail order house opened the first battle in what promises to be an interesting war with a quarter-page advertisement in The Washington Post and The Wall Street Journal yesterday.

"You've heard of the tax revolt. It's about time for an FTC revolt. Here's my story and why we've got to stop federal bureaucratic regulation," reads the ad.

"My story is only one example of how the FTC is harassing small businesses but I'm not going to sit back and take it," continues the text next to a photo of JS&A President Joseph Sugarman.

What follows is a detailed story in which Sugarman blames "three major blizzards" in the Chicago area in January 1979 and a computer failure for the inability of JS&A to fill its mail orders within the 30-day period mandated by the FTC.

Still, he said, the FTC investigated complaints from consumers claiming that they had not received their orders from JS&A.

"Despite our efforts to manually notify our customers of our delays, our computer was not functioning, making the task extremely difficult," the ad claims.

Then the FTC asked the company to pay a \$100,000 penalty for not shipping its products on time.

"If this all sounds like blackmail—that's just what it appeared to be to us," the ad states and urges congressmen, senators and businessmen to "take the powers of the FTC from the hands of a few unelected officials and bring them back to Congress and the people."

The FTC, predictably, sees things differently.

In a letter sent yesterday to Rep. James Scheuer (D-N.Y.), chairman of the House Commerce subcommittee, FTC Bureau of Consumer Protection Director Albert Kramer responded to the advertisement.

"Although staff intends to continue this nonpublic investigation in accordance with the commission's rules of practice and procedures, I believe that certain information concerning the investigation should be available to you in light of Mr. Sugarman's statements," Kramer wrote.

Kramer first pointed out that the FTC doesn't require that a shipper sends goods within 30 days, only that it inform consumers when a delay of more than 30 days occurs, giving consumers the option to cancel.

"Concerning staff's investigation of JS&A group," he continued, "staff has compiled considerable information to give it reason to believe that the company was in widespread violation of (that) rule for approximately two and one-half years before its computer problems in late 1978 and early 1979."

Kramer went on to add that his staff has uncovered additional information that the company is violating another rule in some cases by failing to refund customer's payments even after offering its products on a "free 30-day trial period."

#### FTC REVOLT

(By Joseph Sugarman)

I'm pretty lucky. When I started my business in my basement eight years ago, I had little more than an idea and a product.

The product was the pocket calculator. The idea was to sell it through advertisements in national magazines and newspapers.

Those first years in the basement weren't easy. But, we worked hard and through imaginative advertising and a dedicated staff, JS&A grew rapidly to become well recognized as an innovator in electronics and marketing.

#### THREE BLIZZARDS

In January of 1979, three major blizzards struck the Chicago area. The heaviest snowfall hit Northbrook, our village—just 20 miles north of Chicago.

Many of our employees were stranded—unable to get to our office where huge drifts made travel impossible. Not only were we unable to reach our office, but our computer totally broke down leaving us in even deeper trouble.

But we fought back. Our staff worked around the clock and on weekends. First, we processed orders manually. We also hired a group of computer specialists, rented outside computer time, employed a computer service bureau, and hired temporary help to feed this new computer network. We never gave up. Our totally dedicated staff and the patience of many of our customers helped us through the worst few months in our history. Although there were many customers who had to wait over 30 days for their parcels, every package was eventually shipped.

#### WE OPENED OUR DOORS

During this period, some of our customers called the FTC (Federal Trade Commission) to complain. We couldn't blame them. Despite our efforts to manually notify our customers of our delays, our computer was not functioning making the task extremely difficult.

The FTC advised the JS&A of these complaints. To assure the FTC that we were a responsible company, we invited them to visit

us. During their visit we showed them our computerized microfilm system which we use to back up every transaction. We showed them our new dual computer system (our main system and a backup system in case our main system ever failed again). And, we demonstrated how we were able to locate and trace every order. We were very cooperative, allowing them to look at every document they requested.

The FTC left. About one week later, they called and told us that they wanted us to pay a \$100,000 penalty for not shipping our products within their 30-day rule. (The FTC rule states that anyone paying by check is entitled to receive their purchases within 30 days or they must be notified and given the option to cancel.)

#### NOT BY CONGRESS

The FTC rule is not a law nor a statute passed by Congress, but rather a rule created by the FTC to strengthen their enforcement powers. I always felt that the rule was intended to be used against companies that purposely took advantage of the consumer. Instead, it appears that the real violators, who often are too difficult to prosecute, get away while JS&A, a visible and highly respected company that pays taxes and has contributed to our free enterprise system, is singled out. I don't think that was the intent of the rule.

And when the FTC goes to court, they have the full resources of the US Government. Small, legitimate businesses haven't got a chance.

We're not perfect. We do make mistakes. But if we do make a mistake, we admit it, accept the responsibility, and then take whatever measures necessary to correct it. That's how we've built our reputation.

#### BLOW YOUR KNEE CAPS OFF

Our attorneys advised us to settle. As one attorney said, "It's like a bully pulling out a gun and saying, 'If you don't give me a nickle, I'll blow your knee caps off.'" They advised us that the government will subpoena thousands of documents to harass us and cause us great inconvenience. They warned us that even if we went to court and won, we would end up spending more in legal fees than if we settled.

To settle would mean to negotiate a fine and sign a consent decree. The FTC would then issue a press release publicizing their victory.

At first we tried to settle. We met with two young FTC attorneys and agreed in principle to pay consumers for any damages caused them. But there were practically no damages, just a temporary computer problem, some late shipments, and some bad weather. The FTC then issued a massive subpoena requesting documents that will take us months to gather and which we feel was designed to harass or force us to accept their original \$100,000 settlement request.

Remember, the FTC publicizes their actions. And the higher the fine the more the publicity and the more stature these two attorneys will have at the FTC.

If this all sounds like blackmail—that's just what it appeared to be to us.

We did ship our products late—something we've admitted to them and which we publicly admit here, but we refuse to be blackmailed into paying a huge fine at the expense of our company's reputation—something we've worked hard eight years to build.

We're not a big company and we realize it would be easier to settle now at any cost. But we're not. If this advertisement can attract the attention of Congressmen and Senators who have the power to stop the harassment of Americans by the FTC, then our efforts will be well spent.

#### ALL AMERICANS AFFECTED

Federal regulation and the whims of a few career-building bureaucrats is costing taxpayers millions, destroying our free enterprise system, affecting our productivity as a nation

and as a result is lowering everybody's standard of living.

I urge Congressmen, Senators, businessmen and above all, the consumer to support legislation to take the powers of the FTC from the hands of a few unelected officials and bring them back to Congress and the people.

I will be running this advertisement in hundreds of magazines and newspapers during the coming months. I'm not asking for contributions to support my effort as this is my battle, but I do urge you to send this advertisement to your Congressmen and Senators. That's how you can help.

America was built on the free enterprise system. Today, the FTC is undermining this system. Freedom is not something that can be taken for granted and you often must fight for what you believe. I'm prepared to lead that fight. Please help me.

Note: To find out the complete story and for a guide on what action you can take, write me personally for my free booklet. "Blow your knee caps off." ●

#### PERSONAL EXPLANATION

### HON. WILLIAM F. CLINGER, JR.

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. CLINGER. Mr. Speaker, on November 9, 1979, I was absent from the floor of the House of Representatives as I was back in my district in Ridgway, Pa., conducting a Federal water and sewer conference. Had I been present, I would have voted in the following fashion:

Rollcall No. 642: H.R. 2335, solar power satellite. The House agreed to the rule (H. Res. 458) under which the bill was considered, "yea";

Rollcall No. 643: H.R. 2603, DOE national security programs. The House passed the measure to authorize appropriations for the Department of Energy for national security programs for fiscal year 1980, "yea";

Rollcall No. 644: H.R. 2603, DOE national security programs. The House agreed to a motion that the conference committee meetings on S. 673 be closed to the public at such times as classified national security information is under consideration, except that any sitting Member of Congress shall have the right to attend any closed or open meetings, "yea";

Rollcall No. 645: H.R. 2335, solar power satellite. The House agreed to resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole, "yea";

Rollcall No. 647: H.R. 4930, Interior appropriations. The House agreed to the conference report on the measure making appropriations for the Department of the Interior and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1980, "yea";

Rollcall No. 648: H.R. 4930, Interior appropriations. The House agreed to the motion that the House recede from its disagreement and concur with amendment, in Senate amendments, Nos. 1, 3, 17, 24, 30, 37, 38, 40, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 56, 58, 59, 67, 74, 91, 94, 107, and 108, "yea"; and

Rollcall No. 649: Legislative program. The House agreed to a motion that the

House adjourn from Friday until noon on Tuesday, November 13, "No."●

THE "SECOND SOCIETY" IN COMMUNIST-DOMINATED EUROPE

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, there is one irrefutable and well-documented lesson that can be learned from this century: A Socialist economy simply does not work. There is no nation with a Socialist economy that has a higher standard of living, better productivity, and better quality and quantity of consumer products than nations with free enterprise economies.

These are facts that are so well known that we tend to forget them. But the people forced to live under socialism cannot forget the shocking failure of that kind of economic system. They have to live every day with the disasters of centralized planning and Socialist production methods.

How do they cope? They form what is called a second society just below the surface of the official society in which private initiative and freedom of expression substitute for Socialist planning and state control of media.

How successful are these second societies? To judge from a recent New York Times article they are quite successful and offer the citizens of Socialist countries the chance to use their talents and their energy to beat the system.

At this time I wish to insert in the RECORD "Second Society Grows in Europe," from the New York Times, November 2, 1979:

SECOND SOCIETY GROWS IN EAST EUROPE  
(By David A. Andelman)

BUDAPEST.—On Garay Terrace in the heart of this Hungarian capital, small knots of people gather in the morning around poorly dressed and unshaven men who furtively display shopping bags containing cheap rings, trinkets, cigarettes and embroidered blouses.

The vendors are Poles, eager to earn forints that can be used to buy Hungarian rock records, shoes or dresses for resale for dollars on Poland's black market.

The Garay Terrace gathering is called "the Polish market," one of the unauthorized "gray" enterprises winked at by the Hungarian Government. In Poland, there is a black market in everything from Western currency to automobiles, refrigerators and even apartments.

Whatever it is called, it is part of a network, a second society that has arisen in the Soviet-bloc countries to fill the economic, social and cultural gaps that the hard-pressed official economic systems have been unable to close.

SOCIAL MOBILITY HAS DIMINISHED

The second society has developed as social mobility, the opportunity to move from countryside to city or from one occupation to another, has diminished. Prague, which is officially closed to migrants unless they have assured jobs and housing, is the most spectacular example of a freeze affecting all six East European countries—Hungary, Poland, East Germany, Rumania and Bulgaria as well as Czechoslovakia.

To a degree, the second society, which includes underground publishers, unauthorized theaters in living rooms and unofficial

university and high school classes in blacked-out apartments, provides a means of spreading Western ideas and life styles. Increasingly, it is also used to develop indigenous economies and cultures differing from the Soviet model.

In the improved climate of East-West exchanges, some Western music, magazines, art and fashions have been accepted across Eastern Europe. But local, less orthodox forms of expression are still not accepted and are closely monitored by the authorities.

SOME SUBJECTS ARE STILL TABOO

"I can subscribe through official channels to Time magazine," said a Rumanian historian. "It is much more difficult to learn about a strike in the Jiu Valley coal mines within Rumania itself."

A 20-year-old economics student at the University of Warsaw observed that his teachers were happy to talk about the Israel-Egyptian peace treaty but that he must visit a clandestine university to learn about such historical events as the Katyn Forest massacre of Polish officers by Soviet troops during World War II.

There have been crackdowns against dissidents, but the fact that such repressive measures are not more widespread underlines what even officials appear to recognize as the important role the second society has achieved in satisfying the needs of the people.

"Certainly they know what we are publishing, where we are printing and how we are distributing each of our publications," said an editor of an underground Czechoslovak publishing house that has issued more than 100 typewritten or mimeographed books over the last two years. "But they know that the consequences of a serious crackdown are far graver than whatever damage may result from ignoring us."

VARIETY OF INFORMATION SYSTEMS

Underground publishing is only a small part of the unofficial information network. This system, which involves cassette tapes, short-wave radios, and Western newspapers and magazine passed from hand to hand, is providing an increasingly open window on the West.

When Pope John Paul II visited Poland in June, his pronouncements were preserved on hundreds of cassette tape recorders, and pilgrims from across Eastern Europe carried the tapes back home, duplicating them and passing them from parish to parish.

Precisely how large a role the second society plays in the lives of people is difficult to gauge. In the case of Poland it is "staggering," according to Prof. Andrzej Korbonski, the Polish-born chairman of the Political Science Department of the University of California at Los Angeles.

Contributing last year to an anthology titled "Social Deviance in Eastern Europe," he wrote: "One can make the generalization that everybody in Poland who has the chance engages in a good deal of stealing, cheating and supplementing his or her income by illegal means."

The system involves second and third jobs, many performed for Western currency, which in turn may be used to buy luxuries. In Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia, the second economy has grown so dominant that many workers have come to devote more of their time and energy to that sector than to their regular jobs.

Construction workers in Czechoslovakia and Hungary are rarely found on their regular jobs past the noontime lunch break. They are off on their second or third jobs.

Complaining about the second society, Sandor Gaspar, the Hungarian union leader, who is a member of the ruling Politburo, said in an interview: "It is draining our economy, we must put a stop to this."

A Hungarian economist who is a member of the Central Committee disagreed. "We will never be able to replace this private sector

entirely," he said. "It has become an integral part of our economy."

ABSENTEEISM CONCEDED IN PRAGUE

Last month, in a rare acknowledgment, the Prague radio said that the loss of time in Czechoslovak industry was 15 to 30 percent and on construction sites up to 40 percent. Most economists consider Czechoslovakia one of the more efficient East European industrial nations.

Professor Korbonski, estimating private hard-currency deposits in Polish banks at \$150 million said: "It may be assumed that a sizable portion of that was acquired illegally. It may also be presumed that individual cash hoardings are considerably larger."

The second economy in most of these countries is perhaps the oldest and most developed of the unofficial networks. The efficiency of the supply system on the black market is astonishing when compared with the outdated, creaky methods of the official economy.

For example, a housekeeper in a Budapest hotel told how, despite recent police crackdowns, she was still able to order a new-model Soviet-built Lada automobile from a local underground supplier, delivery in one month, for a price 50 percent higher than the official price, cash in full on delivery.

A DEAL FOR WAITING LIST

Her supplier, to whom she cautiously introduced a Western correspondent, said that the system operated with the connivance of official dealers. They find customers who have been on a waiting list for two or three years, but who are willing, for a price, to give up their new car and begin the wait again.

To be able to pay as much as \$15,000, say, for a Lada, a medium-sized Fiat, many take on several jobs or, perhaps, charge large sums under the table for their marketable skills. An American medical student in Bucharest, who worked closely with a leading Rumanian surgeon, told last year of having watched patient after patient slip thick envelopes to the surgeon for critical operations.

When consumer prices rose 50 percent or more in Hungary this summer, a carpenter in a tractor factory said he could easily cope. His salary went up less than 10 percent, but his fees for the fine cabinet work he produces nights and weekends doubled.

"No one concentrates on his job at hand," said a Warsaw streetcar driver. "We're always thinking, planning, how we will get ahead."

COMPLEX EXCHANGES ARRANGED

In the field of housing, complex apartment exchanges are arranged overnight in cities where the official wait is 10 to 12 years, often longer, for a government supplied apartment.

In Budapest, a retired streetcar worker made an arrangement with an elderly, infirm acquaintance to move into her apartment. The retired worker cared for her for two years until she died and then inherited the apartment in a private arrangement that was ratified by the housing office, bypassing the waiting list.

Then there are the "sparrows," a term used in Hungary for the highly skilled workers who flit from job to job, increasing their wages by steady increments as demand shifts from one enterprise to another. Rarely are the best of such jobs formally advertised. Word spreads through the informal communications network.

Underground publishing flourishes in Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, countries with long literary traditions; elsewhere in Eastern Europe, the authorities have been more successful in suppressing it.

UNDERGROUND PUBLISHING PROSPERS

In recent years, such ventures have moved away from a simple transmission of Western news and literature into more substantial production of works that cannot be published through official channels. Ludvik Vaculik, the Czech writer who is the chief

editor of what is known as the Padlock Press, has a spring and fall list and, sitting in his study, surrounded by manuscripts, he says he has to reject some fine efforts. Some are rewritten, but others are scrapped.

"The quality of our literature is constantly rising," he said. Western editors looking for Czech manuscripts are said to stop by his home before talking with official publishing houses.

Besides books, self-publishing involves typed or mimeographed monthly and weekly periodicals, with popular issues running into thousands of copies passed from hand to hand.

Travelers to the West, whose numbers are increasing each year, frequently return with magazines, newspapers and books still considered contraband and subject to seizure by customs. They often consist of underground books or magazines written in the East European countries, smuggled abroad for printing, then smuggled back.

#### SOME MAGAZINES PRINTED IN LONDON

A London publisher has printed 10 issues of *Zapis*, a Polish underground literary magazine, and is now printing *Spektrum*, edited in Prague.

Some border crossings are known for the leniency of customs inspectors. Two Polish students returned by Baltic ferry from Scandinavia recently with a copy of Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn's "The Gulag Archipelago," an account of the Stalinist labor-camp system in the Soviet Union. One slipped the customs officer a few packages of cigarettes while the other chattered away, and they were able to take the book in without incident.

Advances in television technology are also spreading Western ideas to broader areas of Eastern Europe. Border areas of Hungary and Czechoslovakia are already within reach of Austrian television, and some 80 percent of East Germany is covered by West German transmitters.

A newspaper reporter in Szombathely, Hungary, when asked why townsfolk buy the local paper rather than the national dailies, said, "We're the only ones who print the Austrian television listings."

East European television executives fear the day when satellites of Eurovision, the West European network, will carry programming that housetop antennas throughout Eastern Europe will be able to pick up.

Two years ago, the first underground universities began in Poland, offering courses for several hundred young people in areas of history, political science, economics and sociology that the official institutions carefully avoid.

This trend is catching on. In Poland it has taken on a new dimension, with what are known as "flying high schools" spreading forbidden subjects. These range from the rule of terror by Poland's Stalinist-era leader, Boleslaw Bierut, to the economics of Milton Friedman and Paul A. Samuelson.

While such lectures may reach only a few thousand of Poland's 100,000 or more university students, the influence of these ideas is much wider.

Several young men and women were taping a lecture by an underground historian, Adam Michnik, held at a blacked-out suburban Warsaw apartment.

"My roommates are too scared to come," one of them said. "But they want to hear it, so I tape it and they listen later." ●

#### A TRIBUTE TO HENRY L. HOFF

### HON. IKE SKELTON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, it is with great sadness that I inform my

colleagues of the recent death of a special friend of mine, Henry L. Hoff, the sheriff of Saline County, Mo. Sheriff Hoff would have been 53 years old today, and is survived by his father, his wife, and seven children. His mother and one son preceded him in death.

Henry Hoff served his county as sheriff for 11 years, and was a member of the Missouri Sheriffs Association. He was a veteran of the U.S. Navy, WWII, and was also a member of the American Legion No. 197, VFW 2646, the chamber of commerce, Livestock Feeders Association, Saline County Pork Producers, the Farm Bureau, the Optimist Club, and the fourth degree of Knights of Columbus. His devotion to his country was reflected in his continued membership in the Missouri National Guard through the years.

Henry Hoff devoted his life to public service, and he will be greatly missed by his family, his friends and his community. His death marks a great loss for the State of Missouri. ●

#### A GUIDE TO SUCCESS—THOMAS B. SHROPSHIRE

### HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, we always hear a lot of "success stories." These tales are usually about some energetic person who has worked hard and despite seemingly insurmountable obstacles, has accumulated a fair amount of wealth and a good job. Not minimizing this, we hear so many carbon copy success stories until they often become dull.

What makes this often repetitive success formula unique is an individual who succeeds by this country's standards but maintains a keen sensitivity and commitment to the less fortunate people in our society. I am not speaking of a sense of commitment in terms of a financial contribution to a charity but rather personal time and hard work in helping others "make it."

My long time friend, Mr. Thomas B. Shropshire, senior vice president and treasurer of the Miller Brewing Co. and corporate vice president of Phillip Morris, Inc., is a member of this rare breed.

Born in Little Rock, Ark., Mr. Shropshire combined the American philosophy of hard work and perseverance to forge a noteworthy business career for himself. Now that he has achieved a brilliant career and all the prestige that goes with it, he has not turned his back on other members of his race.

When he was young, being black and ambitious was not always compatible. Yet, as he completed school and started his business career, he established a formula for success. He shares this formula readily with people, especially our younger black citizens. His message to them is to complete school and become affiliated with a profitable business. He is always delivering this message and passing on words of encouragement.

In summary, his success is not only based on his own achievement but on his

ongoing ability to act as a positive catalyst to the less fortunate who are trying to climb the ladder of success.

Therefore, at this time, Mr. Speaker, I would like my colleagues to join me in saluting Mr. Thomas B. Shropshire in his unfaltering commitment to excellence within the business community. He has neither lost sight of his goals nor his roots.

I would like to submit an article written on Mr. Shropshire in the September 1979 issue of the National Black Monitor:

#### THE THOMAS B. SHROPSHIRE SUCCESS STORY

"No people has ever gained a strong foothold in any society without a strong economic power base. This power is measured in more than the size of the salary and the length of a person's title. Real power means ownership—and accumulation of wealth and investment of resources in income-producing ventures that add to that wealth. In other words, you need to have dollars working for you while you are asleep at night."

If there ever could be a short summary of the economic and racial philosophy and of the prescription for human success of Thomas B. Shropshire, these few powerful and well-chosen words tell, in large part, his eloquent and compelling story.

#### ORIENTATION TO SUCCESS

Thomas B. Shropshire, Senior Vice President and Treasurer of the Miller Brewing Company and Corporate Vice President of Phillip Morris, Inc., is in every respect a giant of a man who has pulled himself up highly, even with "limited bootstraps." He is a successful businessman—a black man as highly placed functionally as any in the business world, who has not forgotten his black roots. His abiding concerns for and commitment to the black community are inescapable in practically all that he says and does.

But there is more. There is vision, insight and determination. Shropshire sees as clearly as any American the route which Black America must go to achieve what he calls "parity," a condition marked by equity in every area of our nation's life. Then, there is the driving will on Tom Shropshire's part to see his vision of what is required come true. He believes that blacks must own and control resources, and have them work in concert with our own energies night and day. He demonstrates this "around the clock" principle in his own life.

The inclination toward success always has been a mark of Thomas Shropshire's life. Whenever he is asked about the time of his decision in life to make a success of himself, Shropshire generally laughs, with the observation: "I am not sure that I made that decision as much as my mother made it for me." He adds: "I had a fantastic mother, I really did. I guess she spent the largest part of her time fighting the system in Little Rock."

Shropshire was born in Little Rock, Arkansas in the mid-1920's. His mother was a school teacher. His father was first a train porter and later a salesman for the railroad company . . . both big jobs at that time. The parents' determination that their three sons become successful paid off, with Shropshire's older brother becoming a lawyer after being—as his mother would have it—the first black to finish the University of Arkansas Law School.

#### MOVING AHEAD

"Mother always told us she would rather see us dead than see us as bums," Shropshire notes, further explaining, "and it was never questioned that we would all go on to college."

The interpid spirit of his father and mother are clearly evident in their second businessman son. Shropshire tells of his having graduated from the segregated black

high school in Little Rock before he ever used a school gymnasium. When he arrived at Lincoln University in Jefferson City, Missouri, and he was told that he would be taking "physical education," he said, "What's that?" Despite his lack of acquaintance with a high school gymnasium, the strongly-built Shropshire became a college football tackle. His playing football enabled him to meet a portion of his college expenses. Moreover, he has found that working overtime has paid off ever since.

In speaking to a group of business-oriented black college students, Shropshire stressed the theme of putting in extra time and of making the constant extra efforts. He said: "Obviously, we can't all end up as president of General Motors, or of the Miller Brewing Company. But we can start moving into decision-making positions by preparing for the job—by getting involved in the total marketing effort of one's company, and having an overall knowledge of the industry's product and the other companies with which it is involved.

"This requires initiative on the part of the individual—to learn not just the tricks of the trade, but the trade itself. It requires a willingness to put in extra time working at the office, reading trade journals, news magazines, books and newspapers at home, and attending seminars on your own time that relate to your company and your field.

"But most importantly—for blacks it means working together to support each other by giving help and encouragement to other blacks who are trying to make it, and pooling resources and talent to start a business."

In his quest for employment, an Urban League official suggested to Shropshire that he get experience as a salesman. He was referred to a company long known for its liberalism—Phillip Morris, and became their Brooklyn sales representative in 1952. With the help and encouragement he received at Phillip Morris, Shropshire has been putting in overtime and forging steadily ahead ever since. In regard to facing problems, Shropshire is as surefooted and as forthright as he was on the Lincoln University football team. Let's listen to his words of wisdom culled from a rich and varied experience: "I don't go into a situation expecting to have problems. But if it happens, then I believe you react to the situation very strongly and very firmly. I don't believe in taking a back seat. I believe in meeting prejudice head on."

#### HELPING OTHERS

Shropshire continues philosophically: "If there's any satisfaction at all, it's the satisfaction of knowing you're in a position to help eliminate prejudices and discrimination for people that are coming up behind you . . . It's not possible to be the top black individual within a company and divorce yourself from (minority) problems . . . there's a satisfaction in knowing that you have enough muscle to keep (others like yourself) from being discriminated against, and to see that they're treated fairly."

Thomas Shropshire was soon confronted with his major opportunity to put together an operation which would help others to help themselves and to change the way of life for infinitely greater enrichment among literally tens of thousands of black people.

Shropshire makes clear that he is proud of all his efforts to help all others who are downtrodden, disadvantaged or oppressed. But he does not hide from his special obligation—and opportunity—as he sees it, to help black people in this country and abroad. The signal opportunity which Shropshire faced and fielded with consummate skill to a brilliant and far-reaching success came in 1967, in West Africa. He tells his own story in the following way.

#### BUILDING BLOCK ABROAD

"In 1967, a large manufacturing company purchased a small, antiquated factory in a

village in West Africa. The factory had about 200 employees—28 of whom were European managers and the rest, African laborers. The majority of the laborers had to walk five or six miles to work each day, and earned less than \$1.00 a day.

"The American company immediately began a recruiting and training program for supervisory and management positions. In addition, the company began teaching the native farm population how to improve their agricultural products, so that the company could buy its raw materials from the local markets. The result of this agricultural assistance was an elevation in the living standards of 19,000 farm families.

"The manufacturing facility now employs 1,200 Africans, 83 of whom are in managerial positions. Those who once walked to work bought bicycles with the additional money they earned by working for the company; and later, the company had to build racks for the motor bikes. Recently, the company had to build a parking lot for the cars that employees are now using to get to work!

"The country was Nigeria; the company is Phillip Morris; and at the time the story was unfolding, I was chief executive officer of the operation."

#### BUILDING STEADILY AT HOME

In a speech before the Urban League of Albany, Georgia, Shropshire spoke of the good, neighborly attitude to which the Miller Brewing Company—now owned by Phillip Morris—is committed. Shropshire explained: "We at Miller share Phillip Morris' commitment to being a good corporate neighbor, and we encourage our employees to be involved in the activities that benefit the community."

Referring to the Miller Brewing Company's new facility in Albany, Georgia, Shropshire continued: "Miller is . . . committed to affirmative action, and I take personal interest in seeing that this policy is carried out.

"In the eight years since Miller was fully acquired by Phillip Morris, the number of blacks has increased more than 4,300 percent, while the total number of employees has grown about 400 percent. Blacks at Miller are not only brewery and clerical workers, but also the director of research, purchasing officer, industrial relations representatives, field sales supervisors, brewery manager, regional sales manager. In other words, blacks are now at every level of the company's employment.

"In Albany, we will follow a procedure that has proven successful in the past—that is, to work with the Urban League and her minority organizations to help fill the job vacancies we will have. We will keep the League and others informed of the job openings and the qualifications for those positions, so that they can refer qualified applicants to us . . .

"Miller has banking relations with minority banks, uses the services of minority employment firms, minority-owned agencies, minority-owned public relations companies, and insures that minorities get a share of the construction dollars when we build a new facility . . .

"In addition, minorities are well represented in the labor force on the site, and non-minority owned firms are buying supplies from minority companies."

#### "THE SAME BOAT"

A great story teller and enthusiastic public speaker, Shropshire's remarkable powers of conceptualization, and of making crucial ideas crystal clear, are especially evident in his almost-impassioned discussions of the need for black Americans to cooperate, to work together. "As a minority people in this country, we will probably have to work harder than most to get what we want. We, as blacks, are in the most crucial phase of our three-hundred year struggle for equality.

"It has been said that we are in the period of the second Reconstruction. If we are to avoid losing nearly everything we have gained, as blacks did at the end of the first Reconstruction, we must band together to become a truly strong economic force for the good of our entire nation. We cannot afford to let petty differences turn our attention away from the goal which we as a people have yet to achieve, with deserved compensatory assistance—that of parity with others in the life of our nation. As Whitney Young once said, 'Our ancestors may have come over on different ships, but we're all in the same boat now.'"

"Those who would deny us our rights are all around us. The Klan is regrouping; they have just stopped wearing sheets because they cost too much. The Nazis are trying to storm troop around the country . . .

"But the real danger is not so much the enemy without, but the enemy within. In the final analysis, if we fail to achieve our goal, it will be because we are not strong enough and united enough to withstand the assault from outside and to push forward.

"Like a solid oak tree, we need to be firm in our commitment to each other and to our common goal. You can squeeze a piece of solid oak and not make an indentation in it. But if that piece of oak becomes riddled with holes and canals, you can crumble the wood in your hands. If we, as a people, do not stand together, then, like that piece of rotten oak, we will crumble in the hands of our enemies."

#### NEW OPTIONS FOR BLACK YOUTH

Ever alert to fresh opportunities for black Americans and deeply sensitive to the needs of our long-beleaguered black youth, Shropshire has some advice in this acute area of our racial life.

He speaks to black youth in this way: "In a degree-oriented society where employers want their custodians to have at least a high school diploma, the future is not bright for anyone who is not properly trained . . . Education was, is, and will continue to be the key that unlocks the door to opportunity. Therefore, you should stay in school and learn as much as you can; and you should not let anyone shortchange you through such techniques as 'social promotions.'"

"You should insist on getting those skills that you will need to survive. Half-stepping on education now can sentence you to a lifetime of playing catch-up—and playing catch-up is what has kept us far behind for so many years."

Noting that blacks should become self-employed and should seek many of the lucrative blue collar jobs, Shropshire notes: "Many skilled jobs pay more than white collar jobs. I once heard a story that illustrates my point. A white doctor had a leak in one of the faucets in his laboratory and called in a plumber. A black plumber came in, fixed the leak in a few minutes and handed the doctor a bill for \$50.00. The doctor said: '\$50.00 for three minutes work! I'm a doctor, and I don't make that much.'" And the plumber said: "Neither did I when I was a doctor!"

#### "IT'S PEOPLE TOO . . . ALONG WITH PROFITS"

A truism in nearly every segment of American life is that we may see some problems—and learn how to deal with them most strategically—as these problems emerge in a clear-cut fashion in the black community. Hence, market developers who have had a firsthand experience of minority markets may be among the most insightful business developers for corporate America. This is the path which Thomas B. Shropshire followed. Many others will follow him, if the leadership of corporate America is wise.

Shropshire, in speaking before an annual meeting of the black-oriented National Association of Marketing Developers, noted: "Being aware of the need to advertise our product and company in black-owned or

black-oriented media is nothing new to this association. Being aware of using black models—being aware of the need to advise the public and have community relations directed toward the black sector of our society are not new . . . We cut our teeth on these things and have been preaching them for years. We know what would happen on the bottom line if responsible management would hear our cries.

"Well, thank God, some of them did hear us—and not only listened but provided the resources to place some of our ideas into effect—not only in black areas but other markets as well . . . Such pioneering and also well-rewarded and highly successful companies have recognized that the business of the most richly successful business is not only profit . . . it is people, too."

#### QUESTIONS FOR REFLECTION

(1) What, in Thomas B. Shropshire's view, is the real source of power in America? In what ways does he suggest that black Americans may move toward that power? What 3 or 4 suggestions would you add?

(2) What seem to be the principal influences in terms of "success orientation" in Thomas Shropshire's life? Would those same influences be operative and effective today? What fresh ingredients do we need in order to inspire "success orientation" among the masses of our youth?

(3) Shropshire believes firmly that blacks must enter the business world, and preferably start their own. What means do you feel can or should be employed to build a bent toward business in our black youth? Do you feel Shropshire's assessment is a wise or practical one? In either case, why?

(4) We have seen the word picture of a truly great and heroic figure in the American business world. What specific elements in Thomas Shropshire's life and character have marked him as a man of greatness?

(5) What lessons can be learned from Shropshire by black youth? By blacks as a whole? By corporate America?●

#### INFLATION

### HON. JAMES M. COLLINS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. COLLINS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, inflation continues to be No. 1 in the minds of Americans from coast to coast. The Carter administration sinks deeper and deeper into the causes and lacks the courage for the solutions. Last month inflation was at a 17 percent annualized rate.

America can anticipate that President Carter and his liberal majority in the Democrat Party will recommend price controls next spring. By tying price controls on in April, they can hold the line until the November 1980 election. This temporary lull will have a backwash of tidal wave proportions as price control never works in peacetime.

You will be interested in an editorial in the Dallas Morning News on inflation. With its keen insight, the Dallas Morning News sums up well the subject of inflation:

What would the last week of the month be without a jump in the Consumer Price Index? The latest is 1.1 percent, which translates into a 13.2 percent annual rate. 'I see no short-term relief in sight,' says Alfred Kahn, sure to go into the Guinness Book of Records as the world's most punchless inflation fighter.

. . . Inflation is caused exclusively by the

federal government's perennial deficits, which are generally financed by printing money. (Inflation is not caused, as the administration asserts, by OPEC; Germany and Switzerland, which buy much more of their oil from OPEC than we do, have far lower inflation.)

. . . Whenever pollsters compile the nation's burdens and concerns, inflation is rated Public Enemy No. 1. And small wonder: Inflation has eroded everyone's savings, forced women into the job market, dimmed the glow of retirement.

The issue poses an excellent opportunity for Republicans, who can point to the modest 4.5 percent inflation rate in Gerald Ford's last year as president. But much more than electoral politics is at stake here: The economic solvency of the Republic is involved.

Let us hope that the campaign will bring forth relatively few calls for the wrong kind of medicine, wage and price controls, which everywhere and always fail to do the job. Cut federal spending, free up the private enterprise system: Such, in broad outline, is the proper prescription, the sooner administered, the better for all concerned, politicians as well as their constituents.●

#### ENCROACHMENT UPON AMERICAN SHIPPING LIFELINES

### HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. RHODES. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago I received a copy of one of the most remarkable discourses I have ever seen on the dangerous extent of the encroachment upon American shipping lifelines by the Soviet Union and other nations in the Western Hemisphere aligned with it.

It is the text of a speech given recently to the Arizona Breakfast Club by Prof. Lewis A. Tambs of the department of history at Arizona State University, a distinguished scholar on Latin America, who has testified before Congress.

In his essay, "Crisis in the Closed Sea of the Caribbean: A Geopolitical Overview" Professor Tambs delineates the importance of the Caribbean as a "chokepoint" for critical American shipping, particularly petroleum, and the manner in which control of avenues into the Caribbean, and thus the Panama Canal, are being taken over by nations that are socialist or socialist oriented.

I urge my colleagues to read this important speech, and to ponder its implications:

#### CRISIS IN THE CLOSED SEA OF THE CARIBBEAN: A GEOPOLITICAL OVERVIEW

(By Lewis A. Tambs)

World War III is coming to a climax in the Caribbean. The first two phases of World War III—Cold War and Détente—have been succeeded by the Soviet scenario of double envelopment. Soviet Russia is seeking to isolate the People's Republic of China by geographical encirclement and to strangle the industrialized nations of the Western Alliance—particularly the United States—by choking off their access to strategic minerals and petroleum supplies.

The current crisis in the Caribbean is merely one manifestation of the grand geopolitical game plan of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). The objective is to seize the storehouse of strategic minerals in Southern Africa and throttle

the Sea Peoples of the Western Pacific, Western Europe and the Western Hemisphere by acquiring control of the Sea Lines of Communication (SLOC) which carry the hydrocarbons vital to their advanced economies. For the United States, which is dependent on other lands for 93 out of 95 strategic minerals and which imports over 40% of its energy the Caribbean is critical.

The Caribbean is a closed sea. The number of entrances and exists is limited. The Bahamas, Puerto Rico, the Leeward and Windward Islands encircle the eastern edge. North, Central and South America ring the rest. The only Pacific passage is the Panama Canal. The center of the circle is dominated by the Greater Antilles—Puerto Rico, Hispaniola, Jamaica and Cuba which also form a barrier between North and South America. Only three channels, Mona, Windward and Yucatan cut through the Antillian island chain which lies athwart the sea lanes connecting the two continents. The warm tropical waters also wash Venezuela and Mexico, two of the world's major oil exporting nations. Thus, the Caribbean rim and basin is a petroleum focal point.

Through Caribbean channels, Antillian passages and the Panama Canal pulses the petroleum of the Middle East, Ecuador and Alaska. The Middle East may be the petroleum pump, but the New World Mediterranean is the nozzle. Super tankers sailing from the Persian Gulf around Africa do not dock directly in U.S. Atlantic or Gulf ports. These vast vessels transfer their cargoes at the Virgin Islands, Trinidad, or Curacao into standard size tankers which then sail on to the eastern or southern seaboard of the United States. Venezuelan oil also moves northward through the Yucatan, Windward and Mona Channels.

Not all of this oil is crude. Since the U.S. has not completed a refinery in seven years much of this imported petroleum is finished product having been processed at off shore locations. The Panama Canal also plays an important role in U.S. energy supply. Oil from Alaska and Ecuador passes through the Pacific-Atlantic pipeline at David in the Republic of Panama or by tanker through the Canal Zone. Thus, whoever controls the Caribbean can strangle the United States by choking off the petroleum life line.

"History passes, but geography remains" is a basic theme of geopolitics. The closed sea of the Caribbean has been the scene of strife since the emergence of modern Europe. All of the great maritime nations—Spain, the Netherlands, Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union—have striven for supremacy in the New World Mediterranean. Nevertheless, only men make history.

The U.S.S.R., operating under the nuclear balance of terror, is applying the classical principals of geopolitics—encircle, isolate and over run. During the first two phases of World War III, Cold War and Détente, the Soviet Russians prepared their grand design; first to gain nuclear superiority and then, shielded by an atomic umbrella, launching a high seas fleet and winning the world's waterways by supporting subversion and wars of national liberation in critical areas.

Since 1959 the Soviets have intruded into the world's fourteen major maritime choke points: Five inland seas—South China Sea, Mediterranean, North Sea, Norwegian Sea, and Caribbean; two interoceanic canals—Suez and Panama; and seven crucial passage points—Malacca Straits, Sri Lanka (Ceylon), Horn of Africa, Mozambique Channel, Cape of Good Hope, Gibraltar and Cape Horn.

Cuba has always been the key to the Caribbean. Fidel Castro struck around the rim of the inland sea between 1959 and 1965. The Dominican Republic, Haiti, Venezuela, Colombia, Panama, Nicaragua, Guatemala and Mexico were targeted. Nevertheless, local nationalism supported by United States counter insurgency suppressed these subversive

strikes. Direct action having failed the Communists shifted temporarily to their other traditional tactic—the popular front. However, in 1968 a new technique was also initiated—infiltration of the armed forces. The results, aided by a general loss of will and purpose by the United States and abetted by an alarming decline in Yankee shrewdness and sense of strategy, were revolutionary.

The Caribbean has been an American Lake. Now it is becoming a Socialist Sea. Guyana moved toward Marxism. Castroite General Omar Torrijos reigns in the Republic of Panama. President Jimmy Carter, apparently following the ideas advanced by the Institute of Policy Studies in "The Southern Connection," deeded away the Panama Canal, destabilized Nicaragua and is contemplating giving away Guantanamo and granting independence to Puerto Rico.

Withdrawal of the U.S. from the Caribbean and the Canal Zone—a Trans-Isthmian passage upon which not only the U.S. but also the Spanish speaking republics of Central and South America depend for their sea borne commerce—further upset the situation.

Pushed by popular front governments and shaken by subversion several of the former British Colonies in the West Indies—Dominica, St. Lucia, Grenada and Jamaica collapsed into Castroism. Then, with the Atlantic approaches of the Leeward Islands and the Pacific passage of the Panama Canal within their grasp the Cuban Communists and the Panamanian Partido del Pueblo using neutralist Costa Rica as a sanctuary concentrated on Nicaragua—the only other feasible route for a Trans-Isthmian Canal.

The agony of Nicaragua, which was exacerbated by the dispatch of U.S. arms to Panama for trans-shipment to the Sandinistas, the U.S. interdiction of Israeli weapons destined for Anastasio Somoza and by the U.S. embargo of munitions for the Nicaraguan National Guard, is, however, only the beginning of the evisceration of Central America.

Nicaragua is a Central American beachhead for the eventual Castroite conquest of the petroleum fields in Southern Mexico. El Salvador is under siege; Guatemala targeted. Using a combination of ardent nationalism and socialist slogans, a future People's Republic of Guatemala may call for the recovery of the lost provinces of Chiapas and Soconusco which were ceded to Mexico in 1882.

The question is one of timing. The Sandinista Simón Bolívar Brigade is ready for action. The Soviets have sufficient airlift capacity to move the 3,000 Russian combat troops in Cuba to any area in the Caribbean. Debate over the date rages in Moscow, Habana and Managua. The controversy centers over the next president of the United States. If a hawk seems likely to win the White House the move into El Salvador will be soon. If a dove appears likely to prevail, El Salvador and Guatemala have about fourteen months of grace to get ready. Of more immediate import was the transfer of the Panama Canal Zone to the Republic of Panama on Monday, October 1, 1979.

Carter-Torrijos Treaties and DeConcini Reservations notwithstanding, loss of the Trans-Isthmian Canal by the United States long before the year 2000 is accepted in many Latin American circles. President Aristides Royo in his letter of July 11, 1979 to Jimmy Carter made it abundantly clear that there are numerous areas of disagreement over interpretation of the treaties.

In Panama as in El Salvador the question of a Castroite take over is not if, but when. Dispute over some minor point in the Carter-Torrijos Treaties can be escalated into a contrived confrontation between the Panamanian National Guard and the U.S. Army. Deaths will follow. Panama will nationalize the Canal under eminent domain and call upon their Socialist brethren in Nicaragua and Cuba for support. Humberto Ortega Saavedra, Commander-in-Chief of the San-

danista Armed forces told Panamanian officials on September 22, 1979 that his troops would fight along with the Panamanian National Guard against the U.S. "If there is imperialist aggression.

Faced with a fight the U.S. will probably back down and withdraw. U.S. evacuation of the isthmus will be followed by an astronomical hike in Canal transit tolls and eventually the closure of the Canal to U.S. shipping and vessels carrying cargoes to or from U.S. ports as well as interdiction of the Pacific-Atlantic pipeline. Simultaneously with terrorist attacks on U.S. tankers, labor strife may erupt at the oil loading facilities and refineries in Curacao, Trinidad and the Virgin Islands. Aroused, as its industries grind to a halt, the U.S. will prepare armed intervention.

At this juncture the Soviet Union, confident in its newly won, but long planned nuclear superiority, will come to the defense of the various People's Republics in the Caribbean. In this eyeball to eyeball confrontation, reminiscent of the Cuban Crisis of 1962 when the US had an eight to one nuclear advantage over the USSR, it will be the US which blinks and stands aside. Shorn of imported strategic minerals, deprived of petroleum and unable to sail from coast to coast without permission of a Soviet surrogate, the US will withdraw into a vulnerable Fortress America—a third class power with a Third World standard of living. The Soviets, with a good grasp of geopolitics, proper application of sea power, and by fomenting subversion in strategic areas, will have triumphed.

History passes, but geography remains. The current crisis in the Caribbean is phase three of World War III. Soviet strangulation of the Free World's economies and energy supplies is well underway. The closed sea of the Caribbean is already spotted with Soviet surrogates and ringed with Socialist states. Interdiction of US energy imports—75 percent of which either trans-ship or transit the Caribbean—from the Middle East, Venezuela, Ecuador and Alaska is well begun. Even the oil fields of Mexico are under long range attack.

Nevertheless, though inland seas, inter-oceanic water ways and passage points along with islands, channels and canals influence history, they do not determine the future. Only men make history. There is still time for the United States and the Western World to recover its instinct for survival and its sense of strategy and turn the Red tide which is engulfing the Caribbean. ●

#### LAST F-100 RETIRED; AIRCRAFT'S CAREER SALUTED

### HON. JOHN T. MYERS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. MYERS of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, it was my honor this last weekend to participate in ceremonies marking the end of the long and distinguished career of the F-100 tactical jet aircraft. Officials from all levels of government gathered at the Indiana Air National Guard base at Hulman Field, Terre Haute, Ind., to pay tribute to the last operational F-100 fighter plane.

The Super Sabre played a major role in the U.S. Air Force defense system for 25 years. The plane retired in the ceremonies Saturday was the last of more than 1,200 such aircraft which served so well the needs of the Air Force and Air National Guard.

The honor of piloting the historic last operational sortie went to Lt. Bill Layne of the 113th Tactical Fighter Squadron,

the son of a pilot, Maj. William J. Layne, who was fatally injured in the crash of his fighter plane during a practice run at Hulman Field in August 1959.

The retiring aircraft was officially named "The City of Terre Haute" thus assuring that the last stop in its distinguished career will have a place in the records of military history.

The list of achievements of this aircraft includes 1,100 Thunderbird shows between 1956 and 1968 and over one-half million combat sorties in Southeast Asia from 1963 to 1971. It also has several "firsts" to its credit as the first supersonic century series aircraft, the first antisurface-to-air missile aircraft (December 1965) and the first jet forward air controller (November 1967).

Saturday's flight marked the end of an era in the HUN's history, but not the end of the HUN. It will continue to serve the United States as a full-scale drone aircraft and will remain in service with Turkey, Denmark, and Taiwan. ●

#### JANE FONDA NEEDS AN ECONOMIC LESSON

### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is unfortunate that the media tends to draw attention to the misdirected, ill-advised, antifree enterprise thinking of certain notorious individuals, instead of more legitimate reporting to the public of the respectability and mutual benefits that flow from our free enterprise profits system.

In the perspective section of the Chicago Tribune of November 8, Michael Novak comments on the flaws in the theories espoused by Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda on our economic structure. His commentary follows:

JANE FONDA ON AN ECONOMIC LESSON

(By Michael Novak)

WASHINGTON.—Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda took their show on the road last month. They were trying to sell socialism under the name "economic democracy."

The world has had 40 years to observe the empirical results of socialism in a majority of nations. It is getting harder to sell socialism straight. Thus the need to package it as "economic democracy."

Their aim, Hayden and Fonda say, is to destroy "giant corporations." Hayden and Fonda want to bring the economic system under the political system. This will enlarge the power of the state—of politicians, bureaucrats, and social science managers.

Take the word "economic" first. Should economic acts between consenting adults be repressed by the state? One of the purposes of good and limited government is to create a climate favorable to industry and general prosperity. Many of us believe in a limited but necessary amount of regulation. We also believe in spreading the benefits of prosperity through social welfare to the unfortunate and the disabled. But Hayden and Fonda are repressive.

Then take the word "democracy." Democracy is a way of legitimizing and checking government. It is an inefficient method for making most sorts of practical decisions. Hayden and Fonda want corporations to become as efficient as Congress.

Corporations are cooperative enterprises be-

tween mutually consenting individuals, under charters legally arrived at, independent of state control. Corporations are mediating institutions necessary to the functioning of a free society. They are essential counterbalances to the voracious power of the state apparatus.

At a minimum, printing presses must be free of state control. Total state management of an economy subjects every citizen to daily economic reprisal. That is why no socialist nation ever has gone democratic. The only social democracies that remain democratic are those that retain a large component of private ownership and private self-determination, such as Sweden and Israel.

Hayden and Fonda say they approve of "small businesses" and "family farms." But a family farm nowadays must earn more than enough for lodging and food. Farmers need an income for education and many other purposes. The annual budgets of family farmers in a state like Iowa—including investments in land, buildings, help, and equipment—run into hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Tom and Jane oppose "giant corporations." Do they also oppose giant unions, giant government, giant newsgathering agencies, and giant international organizations like the United Nations? Their proposals to place private corporations under governmental control won't reduce the size of the apparatus of control. They will enlarge the state.

Corporations have grown since World War II because markets have grown, technology has grown, and needs for creative investment have grown. Tom and Jane can appear in 28 cities in 30 days because of airplane travel. A typical Boeing aircraft costs \$39 million. In which mom and pop store can Tom and Jane buy a Boeing? Pilots and stewardesses, mechanics and ticket agents, and service and administrative personnel can be organized only through large enterprises. This is as true in socialist as in democratic capitalist nations.

Tom and Jane are naively nostalgic. And they are ideological. They only mind giants—relatively small ones, compared to government agencies—if they are private corporations, cooperatively arrived at. And their program lacks compassion. The real effect of Tom and Jane's statism would be to impoverish the planet, to condemn the poor to lower living standards, to turn out the lights on all our better hopes.

Consider their efforts to shut off the 11 per cent of all energy sources now supplied—originally at the government's behest—by nuclear energy. Private corporations did not seek to go into nuclear power. The federal government invited the utilities to find peaceful uses for atomic power. The Labor government in Great Britain built the British nuclear grid. Statist influences in the U.S. persuaded utilities to abandon coal and even oil to switch to cleaner, safer, cheaper nuclear energy.

Meanwhile, as 11 per cent of the nation's lights wink off one by one, we can thank the Prince and Princess of Darkness for leading this nation backward. The little world of Tom and Jane perished with the stagecoach. ●

#### HELP IS AVAILABLE FOR BATTERED WOMEN

### HON. GEORGE MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, today the Education and Labor Committee filed its report on H.R. 2977, the Domestic Violence Prevention and Services Act. This bill, cosponsored by 105 of my colleagues on both sides of the

aisle, will soon come before the full House for final passage. H.R. 2977 is a very modest proposal to provide assistance to the millions of families in this country which are torn apart by violence. The legislation reflects a growing recognition, nationwide, that victims of domestic violence need immediate protection and refuge as well as long-term services for all members of the family. The Subcommittee on Select Education heard testimony this summer from police, physicians, shelter operators, representatives of the military, and victims themselves about the human and financial costs that are a direct outcome of family violence. A recent article from the Washington Star, by the well-known financial expert, Sylvia Porter, describes in detail the staggering loss to the economy incurred by abuse within the family. The article follows:

[From the Washington Star, Nov. 1, 1979]

#### HELP IS AVAILABLE FOR BATTERED WOMEN

(By Sylvia Porter)

#### Beatings. Kickings. Extreme abuse.

At least 1.8 million women are known to suffer from wife-beating in the United States each year—a statistic stunning in itself but representing only the reported physical attacks and thus merely the tip of the iceberg.

And this total, appalling though it is, hides the fact that in one-third of these reported incidents, the battered women are attacked an amazing five or more times a year, according to research funded by the National Institute of Health.

Even more mind-boggling, law officials estimate that the reported cases account for only 10 percent of the total number of beating incidents. That suggests that the wife-beatings in this nation are running into the many millions annually!

It is not in my sphere as a reporter to analyze to what extent such abuse destroys the human spirit. But it is within my sphere to emphasize that the loss to our economy from this horror reaches staggering proportions.

Abuse-related absenteeism results in an estimated economic loss to the nation of a minimum of \$3 billion to \$5 billion annually!

Medical bills can easily total \$100 million or more annually.

And a corollary to these shocking figures on battered women is that the acts of violence frequently are coupled with beatings of children by husbands and boyfriends.

Domestic violence has soared to epidemic proportions, including abuse between spouses, child abuse and abuse by children of their parents. With the exception of an occasional dramatic headline, we, the American public, have been mostly unaware of abuses of the American woman in all economic groups. But now, the Manhattan-based AWAIC—Abused Women's Aid in Crisis, Inc., a non-profit organization founded in 1975 by Maria Roy, then consulting social worker for the Cardinal Spellman Headstart Center in New York—is spearheading efforts to help the battered woman.

The AWAIC handles 4,000 hot line calls of distress each year in New York alone, reports its executive director, Dr. Doris Moss, and is involved in several projects which well may serve as model guideline programs involving millions of Americans the nation over. For instance, its work in New York includes:

Working with men who are coming to AWAIC for counseling on how to stop victimizing their mates and children.

Helping children who witness battering in their homes through an art therapy program.

Providing counseling in prisons to inmates who are batterers and who want help in curbing their aggression before returning to society.

Working with the families of alcoholics. (Many alcoholics are batterers.)

Wife abuse is not a category in which reporting is widely required and in which statistics are gathered by the police. Even in New York City, with a higher social service consciousness than most other U.S. cities, statistics are slippery. In 1978, three shelters for battered women and their children served 1,300 families. The Borough Crisis Centers, operated in four hospitals, helped roughly 2,800 battered women between mid-1977 and fall 1978. AWAIC provided hotline and counseling to more than 4,000 women.

More revealing is the 81 percent upsurge in the number of family offense petitions filed by wives and the 143 percent jump in the number of assault petitions in the past couple of years alone.

Meanwhile, Boston City Hospital reports that a growing percentage of its emergency room assault victims have been battered women. Oakland, Calif., has counted 6,000 cases of battered wives in one year. Kansas City, Mo., notes that a startlingly high percentage of all police calls involved wife abuse. And again, this is just the tip of the iceberg.

It was only two years ago that New York state passed a law allowing married women to decide whether to bring charges against an abusive husband in either Family or Criminal Court. New York City now also demands that police answer a domestic dispute call promptly and forbids refusal to make an arrest because the persons are married. It is only now that the police must inform the abused woman of her court options and make an arrest if a felony is committed.

And federal legislation is only now being proposed to require states to establish citizens panels to concentrate on domestic violence.

This report just touches the surface. Now it's up to you. ●

#### REPORT ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN ARGENTINA BY THE ASSOCIATION OF THE BAR OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

### HON. S. WILLIAM GREEN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. GREEN. Mr. Speaker, human rights violations are occurring throughout the world, and it seems that our Nation's commitment to fundamental human rights meets new challenges daily. However, it is heartening to note that the Congress and the executive branch are working with concerned private citizens in this regard. The Association of the Bar of the City of New York has issued a report on the independence of lawyers and the administration of justice in Argentina.

As one who has long been concerned about the horrible abuses of human rights in Argentina, I would like to insert into the RECORD, for my colleagues' interest, a letter I received from the president of the association as well as excerpts from this informative and important report.

The letter follows:

THE ASSOCIATION OF THE BAR OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK,  
New York, N.Y., September 14, 1979.

HON. S. W. GREEN,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE GREEN: In April of this year, The Association of the Bar of the

City of New York sent a mission of five distinguished lawyers to Argentina to inquire into the treatment of lawyers and the administration of justice in that country. The Association's decision to sponsor the mission was in response to reports of widespread imprisonment, disappearance and torture of lawyers and others in Argentina. The mission was headed by Orville H. Schell, a former President of this Association. It was co-sponsored by the Union Internationale des Avocats and was endorsed by the American Bar Association.

After its return, the mission submitted a report of its findings to the Executive Committee of the Association. In view of the importance of the subject matter, I have enclosed a copy of the mission's report for the information of you and your staff.

Sincerely yours,

MERRELL E. CLARK, Jr.

On March 24, 1976, a military Junta, consisting of the Commanders of the Army, Navy and Air Force, assumed control of the government. Upon taking power, the Junta announced that the state of siege would remain in effect and that a major objective of the new government would be a frontal attack on "subversion" and the causes for its existence.<sup>22</sup> The Junta initiated a "Process of National Reorganization" and, in a series of decrees issued between March 24 and 26, 1976,<sup>23</sup> assumed the principal powers of the Executive and Legislative branches of the Argentine government. Congress was dissolved and the Junta declared itself the supreme organ of the nation, with the power to appoint the President, who was in turn granted the principal legislative powers formerly exercised by Congress. Acting pursuant to this power, the Junta on March 26, 1976 appointed General Jorge Rafael Videla as President of the Republic.

The Junta was also empowered to remove and appoint new members of the Supreme Court of Justice, while the President was empowered to appoint judges of the lower federal courts. By decree issued on March 24, 1976, the Junta relieved all judges of the Supreme Court and of the superior provincial courts of their duties and suspended the tenure in office of all other judges. All judicial activities were suspended for 13 days; when the courts reopened, 24 judges had already been replaced by the Junta.<sup>24</sup> Equally important, the Junta suspended the "right of option" granted by Article 23 of the Constitution, so that persons arrested by the President could no longer elect to leave the country.<sup>25</sup>

At the same time as it was restructuring the national government, the Junta commenced what its own members describe as a "dirty war" against all types of "subversion." In this war the country's security forces adopted many of the clandestine tactics previously used by the terrorists.<sup>26</sup> Thousands of Argentine citizens suspected of having "terrorist" or "subversive" connections were arrested; many thousands more simply "disappeared" after having been abducted by persons claiming to be members of the government security forces. Those formally arrested, and some of those who initially "disappeared," were detained pursuant to Article 23 at the disposition of the National Executive Power (Poder Ejecutivo Nacional or PEN), and are known as PEN detainees or "detenidos." Those who have simply "disappeared" are called "desaparecidos."

#### II. THE DETENIDOS

For the first year and nine months of the "dirty war," the Junta refused to provide reliable public information as to the identity of persons formally held as PEN detainees. However, in January, 1978, following public calls for such information, the Argentine government announced that it was holding

3,472 persons under PEN detention,<sup>27</sup> and thereafter began publishing periodic lists of PEN detainees. According to information provided to date by the government, approximately 2,500 people are currently being held under PEN detention.<sup>28</sup>

With respect to detained lawyers, our concern was—and continues to be—the process by which these and some 2,400 other persons have been detained without charges or trials, many for three years or more. While our human concerns extended to all detained persons, our mission focused particularly on the detention of lawyers because of the effect of such detention on the independence of the bar, which we believe to be critical to the rule of law.

Three questions emerged in the course of our visit: (i) what were the grounds for the widespread and prolonged detention of lawyers and others, and have they been adequately tested in the courts; (ii) have the limits on the Executive's Article 23 power been effectively observed; and (iii) can there be any justification at this time for continuing PEN detentions?

#### THE BASES FOR DETENTION

In our interviews with General Viola, Minister of Justice Rodriguez Varela and legal advisors to President Videla, we were offered no information about the process through which particular individuals are singled out for detention, other than the fact that such decisions are made by the security forces on the basis of information available to them that a given individual is "subversive" or is linked in some unspecified way to "subversion." We were given no reason to believe that "subversion" in the lexicon of the Argentine security forces is limited to the use, or even the advocacy, of violence against the established order. Indeed, President Videla stated in January, 1978, "A terrorist is not just someone with a gun or a bomb but also someone who spreads ideas that are contrary to Western and Christian civilization."<sup>29</sup>

Not surprisingly, most of the lawyers in PEN detention have been defense lawyers, advocates for political dissidents or labor unions, or have represented detenidos or desaparecidos; a few are former judges who are thought to have dealt too leniently with accused terrorists. We are disquieted by the ease with which government representatives seem to blur the distinction between those who use force in opposing the existing government, and those whose "crime" is merely to be associated with currently disfavored, i.e. "subversive," ideas: the journalist who criticizes the government in print, the former labor union activist, or the lawyer who has represented unpopular clients or causes. Although the absence of either formal charges or trials prevents us from evaluating the validity of the government's "subversion" claim for each detained lawyer, one is led inevitably to the conclusion that at least some lawyers have been detained as a result of their activities in defending clients and causes unpopular with the present government.

The inevitable result of such policies in any country is to intimidate other lawyers from risking their own practices, if not their own liberty, by representing officially disfavored clients. Indeed, in examining whether the detention of 99 lawyers without charges affects the independence of the legal profession, the perception of why lawyers have been arrested is perhaps as important as the reality. And the perception is widespread in Argentina that lawyers under PEN detention are being punished for having represented political prisoners or other clients unpopular with the Junta.

#### III. THE DESAPARECIDOS

If gradations of this kind are utterable, the cases of the "disappeared" persons, including

a large number of lawyers, constitute the most starkly brutal human rights violations in Argentina or, indeed, almost anywhere in the world that seeks to be civilized.

There is no question that since March 24, 1976, groups of armed people serving in military, police or other state security forces have abducted thousands of people, subjecting most of the victims to torture, killing many, holding others in concentration camps or other secret places, and withholding from their families and all the world word either of their whereabouts or of whether they remain alive. While thousands of these cases are precisely documented, the total of the disappeared, or desaparecidos, is not publicly known or knowable.

In early 1979, the Permanent Assembly for Human Rights submitted to President Videla a list of 4,881 persons who disappeared between 1975 and October, 1978. The Permanent Assembly claims to have sworn statements supporting each disappearance on this list. While this list is probably quite accurate, many informed Argentine citizens believe it is incomplete. One respected conservative columnist, writing in the Buenos Aires Herald on April 5, 1979, stated that "the real total of 'disappeared' must be much greater, at the least 10,000."<sup>30</sup> Given the undoubted reluctance of many to report the disappearance of family members to human rights groups such as the Permanent Assembly, this higher estimate is probably much closer to the truth and, in the opinion of some Argentines, may still be too conservative.<sup>31</sup>

The grim and familiar pattern of these disappearances, with variations in detail, was recounted to us by relatives of desaparecidos, as well as by some who disappeared and were lucky enough to "reappear." A group of armed people in civilian clothes arrives in unmarked automobiles at the home or office of the person or persons to be abducted. Others may be taken from the streets or from other public places. The armed assailants often identify themselves as security officers. No uniformed police or military personnel makes any pretense of interfering with the abductions.

In some cases husbands and wives have been taken together, sometimes with their young children, sometimes leaving young children alone to be taken in by neighbors, concierges or relatives. It appears that there is a substantial number of unaccounted for children who have been abducted or born in captivity to pregnant kidnap victims. It is widely thought, and there appears to be substantial evidence, that such children have been turned over to adoptive parents with no color of consent from any relative and without informing their families where they are or whether they are alive.<sup>32</sup>

As a frequent incident or sequel to the abductions, the homes or offices of the victims are pillaged or destroyed. Armed groups turn up with moving vans and proceed swiftly to strip the home or office. A few places have been destroyed by fires deliberately set. The looting and destruction seem never to be impeded by uniformed law enforcement authorities, who, in one account we heard, chatted briefly with the looters before departing the premises. It appears that the booty serves as a form of added compensation for the abductors.

As is the case with detained lawyers, a very high proportion of the disappeared lawyers on our list have been involved with the defense of political dissidents, of people critical of the government, of labor organizations, of individual workers and of others who previously disappeared. While it must be said that the basic evil of disappearances is not uniquely awful for lawyers, lawyers are, in practical effect, a category of special concern for human rights purposes. With-

Footnotes not printed.

out any doubt, the risk of disappearing, along with the risk of a PEN detention, has chilled the willingness of lawyers to represent the unpopular and made the process of repression of rights far simpler for the government.

From things that were said both outside and within the government (including General Viola's assurance that there are no—or substantially no—*desaparecidos* now in custody), we were led powerfully to the appalling inference that most of those who have disappeared are dead. . . .

The courts have proven essentially powerless to deal with the *desaparecidos*. After a person disappears, his family typically files a habeas corpus petition demanding that the government supply information as to his whereabouts and condition. The court, in turn, asks the Executive and the armed forces for such information. In virtually all cases, the Executive and each of the services replies that it has no record of the person's being detained, after which the court disclaims jurisdiction and dismisses the petition. We were advised that in excess of 10,000 petitions have been dismissed for this reason alone.

#### IV. PRISON CONDITIONS AND TREATMENT

Argentina is a signatory of the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man, both of which prohibit torture and inhumane confinement of individuals. Furthermore, the Argentine Constitution specifically states that "the prisons of the nation shall be hygienic and clean, for the safe custody and not for the punishment of the prisoners confined therein."

Notwithstanding these safeguards, the available evidence leads inescapably to the conclusion that persons operating under the authority of the Argentine government or armed forces have systematically abused, tortured and, in many cases, killed thousands of "disappeared" persons.

Although our stay was limited, we did meet with Argentine residents, including at least one lawyer, who had been, for periods of time, among the *desaparecidos*. These persons stated they had been abducted by military groups, taken blindfolded to military or police facilities and tortured by their military interrogators.

After interrogation, a number of these persons were placed, along with others who had been similarly tortured, in narrow and unventilated pens in which the prisoners were individually chained, in rows facing each other, to cement walls and kept blindfolded or hooded with little or no water, food or medical attention. Others, more fortunate, were detained in pairs in minute (4 x 6 ft.) cells with sealed metal doors, no windows and minimal ventilation.

Other persons familiar with the condition of the *desaparecidos* advised us that the conditions and treatment described above have been confirmed to them by many others and that the most common forms of torture—severe beatings, intentional near-drowning of hooded prisoners and repeated electric shocks with cattle prods over all parts of the body—were routinely inflicted on disappeared men and women shortly after their abduction.

The information we received concerning the treatment and condition of PEN detainees—as opposed to disappeared persons—did not indicate the presence of widespread torture or conditions such as those endured by the *desaparecidos*. Nevertheless, we were advised by family members of PEN

prisoners that in some prisons such prisoners are routinely paired in tiny, cramped cells (to which they are typically confined for 22-23 hours each day), permitted only the most minimal exercise, prohibited from conversing in groups larger than three, punished severely for violation of arbitrary rules and, in general, treated far worse than ordinary criminal defendants or convicts.

#### V. THE ROLE OF THE BAR AND THE JUDICIARY

We nevertheless believe that, whatever the past provocation or the present fears, the legal profession can—and must—stand unequivocally for the rule of law and against the practices described in this Report.

Some in Argentina have done so. A small number of individual lawyers, almost exclusively in Buenos Aires, have represented aggrieved families in filing habeas corpus proceedings or have spoken, publicly or privately, against governmental lawlessness. Within the organized bar, the Asociación de Abogados de Buenos Aires, has tried, with little success, to secure the release of lawyers (including its own members) arrested or abducted for representing disfavored clients. And a number of lawyers within FACA, a federation of 51 local bar associations throughout Argentina, have either striven for the release of individual lawyers or condemned specific acts of violence against the bar.

The ingredients for progress are present in Argentina. The Supreme Court, the Minister of Justice, the President's aides, the President (in his response to the Court in *Perez de Smith*) and the Commander of the Army have all pledged themselves to fair treatment for and lawful (or at least better) conduct toward the *detenidos*. Whether they will honor these pledges—and also confront the issue of the *desaparecidos*—will turn in part on the future role of the bar.

When governments brutalize their citizens, depriving them of life, liberty and even the pretext of due process of law, lawyers must stand with those deprived of their rights, regardless of our agreement or disagreement with their political or social views. Where the bar most directly involved is itself too threatened to act, lawyers elsewhere must speak for their colleagues and remind those responsible that humanity is extinguished, not advanced, by murder, torture and imprisonment without trial. If, in a different time and place, our circumstances were reversed with those of our Argentine colleagues, we would expect no less of them.

Respectfully submitted,

ORVILLE H. SCHELL, Jr.  
MARVIN E. FRANKEL  
HAROLD H. HEALEY, Jr.  
R. SCOTT GREATHEAD.  
STEPHEN L. KASS. ●

#### REPUBLIC OF CHINA: THE "MIRACLE" CONTINUES

#### HON. STEVEN D. SYMMS

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. SYMMS. Mr. Speaker, despite President Carter's cancellation of the Mutual Defense Treaty with Taiwan, that country (formerly, the Republic of China) has continued to outpace all of its Marxist competitors in economic growth. Indeed, Taiwan has been referred to as the Asian economic "miracle" of our time, surpassing in some respects the achievements of Japan.

With a free enterprise system based upon the American model, and with one of the world's most industrious populations, Taiwan symbolizes the spirit of economic liberty and self-help.

I want to insert into the RECORD an account of Taiwan's economy by Herman Kahn of the Hudson Institute, one of the most important economic and strategic thinkers of our generation. As Mr. Kahn points out, the achievements of Taiwan are not accidental or isolated. They are directly related to the American protective shield which helped the country get back on its feet after the Second World War. I think it is important, Mr. Speaker, to remind ourselves that our associations with allied countries have been decisive in spreading economic and political freedom around the globe. Andrew Young and the Carter administration notwithstanding, the United States can be justly proud of its allies and the achievements which they have made with our help. Taiwan is a lasting example of this, and, I fervently hope, will continue to remain so, despite the worst efforts of Jimmy Carter.

This article appeared in Time magazine on October 8, 1979:

REPUBLIC OF CHINA: THE "MIRACLE" CONTINUES

(By Herman Kahn)

In recent years, much attention has been given to the Republic of China, otherwise known as Taiwan, first as one of the "economic miracles" of Asia, in the normalization of relations between United States and the People's Republic of China (PRC).

Taiwan's spectacular economic success since 1949—averaging 8.4 percent real annual GNP growth—has made it an especially attractive country for foreign investment. However, U.S. normalization of relations with the PRC, coupled with derecognition of the Republic of China on Taiwan, has created a certain degree of uncertainty and anxiety about the security of current and future investments in Taiwan. A careful analysis of the issues involved, and of Taiwan's economic performance since normalization, indicates that for all practical purposes Taiwan is as safe an investment environment as ever; in fact, the change in U.S. diplomatic policy may in some ways have made Taiwan even more attractive to foreign investment.

The rate of foreign direct investment in Taiwan for the first half of 1979 has more than doubled since the same period in 1978. In the first six months after U.S. recognition of the PRC, total foreign direct investment in Taiwan totaled US\$185.2 million, compared with only US\$72.5 million for the first half of 1978. Such a large increase hardly suggests that businessmen are having serious second thoughts about the security of their investments in Taiwan; on the contrary, it suggests that faith in Taiwan's ability to continue its outstanding economic performance may, if anything, have increased.

Industrialization started in the West, and remained in almost exclusively Western phenomenon until the end of World War II. The rapid Japanese industrialization proved, however, that countries with a non-Western cultural tradition can be equally—if not more—successful at achieving rapid economic growth. Nevertheless, the "economic miracles" in Taiwan and South Korea still came as a great surprise. In fact, the recent success of those Asia-Pacific countries that have either a large Chinese influence or large Chinese populations can be attributed at least in part to their neo-Confucian cultural heritage.

Neo-Confucian culture breeds a set of per-

sonal and social values that appear remarkably well-suited to economic growth. Thus, one can speak of a "Confucian ethic," much as one used to speak about the "Protestant work ethic," as a set of cultural traits that greatly facilitate industrialization and modernization. First, and perhaps foremost, neo-Confucian societies uniformly promote, in the individual and the family, a sense of sobriety, a high value on education, a desire for accomplishment in various skills (particularly academic and cultural), and seriousness about tasks, jobs, family and obligations. Smoothly fitting relationships within an organization are greatly encouraged in most neo-Confucian societies and represent the second major strand of the Confucian ethic.

It seems likely, under current conditions, that both aspects of the Confucian ethic—the creation of dedicated, motivated, responsible, and educated individuals and an enhanced sense of commitment, organizational identity, and loyalty to various institutions—will give neo-Confucian societies great potential for rapid growth. This can already be seen in the three most prominent neo-Confucian societies—Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan—all of which have generally done very well indeed, even if for somewhat different reasons.

#### MAJOR ISSUES FACING TAIWAN

Taiwan's excellent economic performance since World War II, along with a cultural and political heritage that lends itself to rapid economic growth, encourages optimism about Taiwan's future prospects. But, as in any country, there are certain issues facing Taiwan that, with bad management or bad luck, could work to limit the success of further efforts at industrialization. While none of these issues necessarily poses insurmountable problems, each of them is potentially disruptive and thus should be taken into account in looking at the future of Taiwan.

**Political Derecognition.** Normalization of relations between the U.S. and the People's Republic of China will have both positive and negative effects on future economic growth in Taiwan. At first, many Americans and many Chinese on Taiwan seemed to fear that derecognition of the government of the Republic of China might spell the end of Taiwan's economic success. Further analysis yields a different story. Certainly the severing of formal diplomatic ties could have made Taiwan's international relations more difficult. However, as demonstrated by the Canadians and the Japanese, when they recognized the PRC, there are ways of maintaining trade and cultural relations with Taiwan that can work almost as effectively as full diplomatic ties. Japan's success in maintaining friendly relations with the governments in both Beijing and Taipei—one formal, the other informal—was one reason why the U.S. felt it could normalize relations with the PRC without hindering the economic development of Taiwan.

And within Taiwan itself, business was back to normal within months. Diplomatic issues were soon eclipsed by concerns over inflation control and the possibility of protectionism. Derecognition has, of course, brought with it many obstacles less easily crossed than when Taiwan had full diplomatic ties with the U.S. and most other countries in the world. For example, Taiwan can no longer enter into trade negotiations as an equal partner. The inability to negotiate directly and officially could pose problems, especially with protectionist sentiments rising in both Western Europe and the U.S.

Interestingly, there is now a surprising degree of opposition in the U.S. to measures that would discriminate against Taiwan. This has arisen in part because some members of Congress were affronted by the way the executive branch seemed to them to have slighted Congressional prerogatives during

the normalization negotiations. Others both in and out of government were antagonized by the resulting agreement. Even people normally indifferent to, or even hostile to, Taiwan have spoken up for Taiwan's interests, at least to the extent that Taiwan should not be further hurt by U.S. diplomatic or trade initiatives, and certainly not singled out. At the same time Taiwan now has a strong incentive to make concerted efforts to avoid policies or actions that might give the advanced countries grounds for protectionist measures. Such conciliatory efforts can often do more to assure harmonious trade relations than whatever limited influential activities are pursued in international conferences.

Derecognition can even have positive effects, of which perhaps the most obvious is an added incentive to achieve economic success. The people and government on Taiwan will be working harder than usual simply to assert their independence and prove to the world that they are a success. With foreign businessmen expressing concern about the safety of investments and the long term viability of doing business in Taiwan, the Taipei government is now going out of its way to provide an exceptionally favorable investment climate. Fears concerning security of investments are likely to be more than compensated for by such efforts.

So long as Taiwan has limited external guarantees of its security, its primary strength lies in economic growth. Growth demonstrates strength in the international arena while maintaining independence from the mainland. Historically, exactly these pressures, derived from urgent national security considerations, have often facilitated rapid economic development. Thus, derecognition could provide a stimulus to investment, both in terms of domestic projects and in terms of policies to attract foreign investments to build up infrastructure and to produce vital goods and services that will assure domestic security.

#### A POSSIBLE PRC CONFRONTATION?

Perhaps the most discussed fear, stemming from a worst possible case analysis, is the possibility of military attack by the PRC. Both the PRC and ROC governments claim to be the true representative of the Chinese people. The overwhelming size of the PRC, and its insistence on international recognition that Taiwan is a part of China, has caused many foreign observers to believe that the PRC intends to assert its authority over Taiwan, perhaps by means of military force.

The status of the PRC's military forces, however, is such that, at least for the next decade, they could not achieve such a goal with an ease or certainty. For one thing, the common image of an "aging army on Taiwan" is totally divorced from reality. The military on Taiwan has been supported and supplied by the U.S. for over 25 years, and it now represents a force superior to the PRC by almost every criterion except total size. Even if the PRC were to succeed in its modernization plans, and were to increase substantially the strength of its military forces, it would take at least a decade before most of those forces were comparable—on a unit basis—to those of Taiwan. But during this same decade, Taiwan's economy will continue to grow at rates roughly comparable to those of the past ten years—permitting its own military forces to improve, in terms of size and technology.

In economic terms, foreign and domestic observers have expressed concern that as the PRC develops it will start producing a bill of goods competitive with goods currently produced in Taiwan. This analysis presumes, however, that Taiwan continues to produce the same bill of goods it is currently producing—clearly an unlikely case. Taiwan has already moved toward producing increasingly higher value-added goods. If Taiwan continues to pursue industrial structure shifts

as it has in the past, it is most unlikely that the PRC will displace Taiwan in the marketplace to any significant degree.

#### TAIWAN'S GROWING DEPENDENCE ON WORLD TRADE

The conventional view of the rapid growth of the neo-Confucian countries—particularly Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan—has been that it was based primarily on a continued and relentless export drive, and that these countries are therefore more dependent on the world trading system than most nations. In the case of Japan, this view is inaccurate; Japan exports some 10-12 percent of GNP, as compared to about 7 percent for the U.S. and 22 percent for West Germany. In the cases of Taiwan and Korea, however, this view is much more accurate. Korea has been exporting an average of about 35 percent of its GNP since 1976, and Taiwan even more, reaching nearly 59 percent of its GNP in 1978.

Clearly, an increasing dependence on the world economy makes Taiwan more vulnerable to some external economic shocks. Furthermore, Taiwan's trade dependence is heavily concentrated in its two major trading partners: Japan and the U.S. These two countries absorb more than 50 percent of Taiwan's total exports. In view of the recent U.S. derecognition, such a high degree of dependence encourages Taiwan to diversify its export markets further in order to reduce its vulnerability to political and economic changes in these two countries. Still, while Taiwan would certainly feel more comfortable if it were less dependent on Japan and the U.S., for a number of reasons this dependence does not appear particularly disturbing or frightening; after all, both the U.S. and Japan have important commitments to Taiwan, in part as result of this same trade.

There is, however, a growing protectionist mood in the West. As the United States goes into recession during the second half of 1979, combined with continued slow growth in Western Europe, the danger of widespread protectionism increases. If a large-scale increase in protectionism were to materialize, Taiwan would have more difficulty achieving the high rates of economic growth on which it has been relying for its security. Yet Taiwan's only sensible policy, in the event protectionism increases, is to continue efforts to limit the damage such measures would cause.

#### BARRIERS TO ECONOMIC GROWTH

Several problems have emerged that could limit Taiwan's economic growth potential. Possible increases in protectionism and slow growth in major markets have already been noted. Other economic problems, perhaps offering greater chances for resolution through domestic policy changes, are inflation, shortages of skilled labor, and infrastructure bottlenecks. The government is acutely sensitive to inflation, and it may respond with a significant tightening of economic policies that will limit growth, despite the fact that much of the current pressures toward inflation can be traced to various external forces such as oil and raw material increases common to almost all nations.

Taiwan's labor force is relatively inexpensive, but well-trained and with good experience, up to and including highly-skilled managerial personnel. Nevertheless, rapid economic growth in recent years has created shortages of skilled labor. As a result, wages have increased rapidly and will continue to do so. This will intensify pressure to invest and to shift production to higher value-added products.

Taiwan retains a relatively large source of untapped labor in the agricultural sector. Although the share of labor in agriculture has dropped remarkably (from 60 to 37 percent between 1950 and 1976), the absolute numbers working in agriculture have not de-

clined. Mechanization, the introduction of new farming techniques, and changes in agricultural policies could free up a significant portion of this agricultural labor force, thereby helping to maintain higher than average growth rates. However, to make such changes will require considerable political skill and courage. The land reforms of 1953 were extremely popular and successful, both in terms of starting the economy off on a good footing and in terms of achieving a more equal income distribution. But now that the economy on Taiwan has moved into a more advanced industrial stage, it may be appropriate to restructure its agriculture once again. It is unlikely that significant increases in output per person can be achieved unless average farm size is greatly increased. In other words, Taiwan has outgrown its earlier land reform program and must now initiate a movement toward larger holdings—and eventually to large-scale highly-technical "business" farms.

#### OUTLOOK

Despite great concern about the effects of U.S. derecognition, the outlook for future economic growth on Taiwan is very bright, and it would be difficult to write a plausible scenario for a collapse of the economic or political system. Rather, a greater threat to the economy comes from the possibility of increased protectionism in the West—and even this could be countered to some degree by an ever greater focus on sales to the Third World, and perhaps to mainland China. All things considered, real growth should continue slightly in excess of the current government estimate of 8.5 percent annual GDP growth between 1979 and 1981.

A major factor that could influence the direction and pace of future growth in Taiwan is the changing relationship between government and private economic activity. Taiwan began its industrialization with a large degree of centralized government planning, much in the manner of Japan and South Korea. For a small, relatively unsophisticated economy, central government planning can often be extremely successful; however, as the economy becomes increasingly sophisticated, it becomes more and more difficult to plan from the center. Increasingly private initiative must be used if productivity is to increase. This is now widely recognized in Taiwan, although heavy reliance on centralized planning and centralized management of big projects continues. Indeed, the government sometimes appears to fear that the formation of large private companies might challenge, rather than augment, the effective power of government.

It would probably be in Taiwan's best interest to permit—indeed, to encourage—development of large companies that can make use of Taiwan's plentiful entrepreneurial skills more effectively than has been the case in the past. For example Taiwan does not yet have any really large transnational trading companies as are found in Japan and South Korea. The authorities have encouraged the formation of a government-run trading company, but a public corporation is unlikely to be as successful as a private company in something that requires the kinds of quick decisions and flexible thinking that go hand-in-hand with the trading function.

Especially in the current environment of uncertainty, greater reliance on private initiative might improve the international effectiveness and stability of Taiwan's economy, and at the same time provide extensive opportunities for foreign firms. Large domestic trading houses, or producers in general, have the resources and the incentives to go into joint ventures with foreign multinationals both at home and abroad.

Joint ventures with such companies could expand Taiwan's unofficial liaisons with foreign governments, and allow companies from Taiwan to enlist the support of their partners

in pursuing common interests. At the same time, joint ventures would facilitate technology transfer, which would in turn support Taiwan's effort to upgrade production into high value-added domestic industries.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Although the U.S. has now officially withdrawn recognition of the government on Taiwan, its long alliance with the government of the Republic of China and the people it represents contributed significantly to the economic development that has occurred in Taiwan and to the strong commitment to the capitalist system that exists on Taiwan today. The U.S. can take pride, along with Chinese on Taiwan, in Taiwan's economic success. Although political and strategic considerations have now led the U.S. to establish official diplomatic relations with the PRC, the U.S. remains no less committed to the free-market system and to the security of countries that support that system. Just as the U.S. played a significant role in bringing Taiwan to its current level of economic development, it will continue to support Taiwan as Chinese on Taiwan continue to pursue economic progress on their own. Indeed, Taiwan is now on a sufficiently secure footing that, with or without U.S. support and assistance, it should continue to be one of the most dynamic economies in the world. As such, it will be an increasingly attractive environment for foreign investment, despite whatever temporary difficulties derecognition may bring. Indeed, the recent political shocks should hasten its *de facto* integration into the international business community, and its emergence as a major actor among the newly industrializing countries. ●

#### THE QUESTION OF A FEDERAL LOAN GUARANTEE TO CHRYSLER CORP.

### HON. JAMES J. BLANCHARD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. BLANCHARD. Mr. Speaker, over the past several weeks my colleagues on the Banking Committee and I have wrestled with the question: "Is Federal financial assistance to the Chrysler Corp. in the national, public interest?" Having had the opportunity to study this question in depth and to hear testimony from a variety of informed witnesses, I have strengthened my conclusion that it is in the national and public interest to provide assistance. I would like to share with you some of the facts that support this conclusion.

Let us first look at the problem in human terms. If Chrysler were to fail, as many as 545,000 persons nationwide who are dependent either directly or indirectly on Chrysler for their livelihood would be thrown out of work. Of this number, at least 38,000 would be minority workers. Of course, some of these workers would be able to find other jobs. But the vast majority would have difficulty finding new employment since, in many cases, they would be forced to learn new skills or to move their family across the country. It is simply unrealistic, for example, to expect a Chrysler worker in Kokomo, Ind., to become an insurance salesman in Houston.

Further, it has been estimated that the national unemployment rate 1 year after a Chrysler shutdown would be 0.5 percent higher than it would be otherwise. The

loss in revenue to State and local governments could be as high as \$266.6 million annually. Such a scenario would severely impact cities large and small from Detroit to Huntsville, Ala., from Newark, Del., to St. Louis.

There are those who would suggest that the unemployment impact of a Chrysler shutdown would be less dramatic since Ford and General Motors would simply rehire laid-off Chrysler workers. A Department of Transportation study indicates otherwise. The simple fact is that, even if Ford and GM were to pick up all of Chrysler's sales (an unlikely eventuality since foreign imports would pick up a substantial share of this market) they would be drawing from their own rolls of laid-off workers. Also, those Ford and GM plants which might experience a production increase as the result of a Chrysler failure are not located in the same sections of the country as the Chrysler plants that would be closed. Consequently, Ford and GM would have either no need or no access to Chrysler labor.

The national economic effects of a Chrysler shutdown demand serious consideration. Such a shutdown would place the entire burden of assistance to affected employees on Government organizations. Again according to DOT, the cost of unemployment benefits could exceed \$30 million per week or \$1.5 billion over 1 year. Other welfare payments to as many as 1 million affected family members would add to this figure.

Additionally, the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation, in testimony before the Economic Stabilization Subcommittee on the Chrysler matter, indicated that the cost to the Federal Government of making good on pension guarantees to affected Chrysler workers could exceed \$1.1 billion. This would come as an additional tax on present pension programs throughout industry.

There are other national economic consequences of a Chrysler failure that have not received serious consideration in the public debate over this issue. For instance, in response to governmental regulation and the demands of the marketplace, Chrysler currently in 1979 holds the highest corporate average fuel economy rating of all domestic automobile companies. The Department of Transportation estimates that a Chrysler shutdown would remove approximately 500,000 units of small cars from the American production base by 1981. That is because Chrysler is the only domestic car manufacturer that would be equipped over the next 2 years to produce as many as 500,000 front-wheel-drive, four-cylinder, fuel-efficient cars. The consequence to the United States of losing this production capacity would be twofold.

First, we will be diminishing our capacity as a nation to respond to the energy challenge of producing and driving fuel-efficient cars. Second, since neither of the other two domestic carmakers will be able to fill this production gap immediately, a large percentage of these sales will go to foreign competitors. The result will be an estimated \$3 billion balance-of-trade loss, that figure also provided by DOT testimony.

Some have suggested that the answer

to Chrysler's dilemma is to restructure and operate as a limited-line producer, building only smaller cars. The Department of Transportation indicates that this is not a viable alternative for two reasons. First, Chrysler's production facilities are totally integrated; that is, designed for multiple-model production. This is illustrated by the fact that 10 Chrysler plants and over 1,000 different suppliers contribute to the production of every Omni or Horizon. For Chrysler to disintegrate these facilities and switch to limited production would require an investment of external capital estimated to be as large as \$4 billion.

Second, the thin profit margin on smaller cars would not be adequate to finance Chrysler's planned shift to this type of production. The profit earned on large- and mid-size sales is as much as 10 times per unit more than the profit earned on small cars. This is simply a fact of life in the automobile business, and it applies to each domestic company. The profits from the larger cars are needed to enable Chrysler to meet its retooling and downsizing costs, or in other words to build its new smaller cars. Therefore, the above reasons demonstrate that a partial shutdown of Chrysler's facilities is impractical and might actually require more money than is currently needed.

In this connection it should also be noted that Chrysler's long-term corporate product strategy already calls for a reduction in the number of car platforms or "families" from the present number of five to three by 1985. This voluntary reduction comes as a result of Chrysler's need to provide smaller, more fuel-efficient automobiles while working with more limited financial resources than its competitors. Chrysler will spend \$13.6 billion from 1979 to 1985 to complete its shift to gas-saving front-wheel-drive cars. By 1985, 71 percent of Chrysler's engine production will be of the four-cylinder variety. All this is to say that Chrysler has already taken steps to insure that their future automobile production will be of the fuel-saving nature that both the marketplace and our national interest require.

Others have suggested that lifting the Federal regulatory burden relating to fuel efficiency, safety and auto emissions standards from Chrysler will return the corporation to profitability. Clearly the task of raising or generating the capital necessary to meet these standards placed a heavy strain on all of the domestic automobile companies. A 1976 report by the Banking Committee's automobile industry task force points out that Chrysler was faced with an even "greater proportionate cost burden" in conforming to these standards because of its smaller size.

However, in testimony before the Economic Stabilization Subcommittee, DOT representatives revealed another phenomenon relating to these same Federal standards. Since they were introduced, public acceptance as demonstrated in the marketplace has been high. DOT's conclusion is that lifting these standards now would result in a very minimal per car cost savings and that a modification of Federal regulations would not be the answer to Chrysler's problems. Chrysler

executives also agree that regulatory relief is not a solution to the immediate financial crisis.

Another solution that has been advanced suggests that Chrysler should file for a chapter XI bankruptcy proceeding. In theory, this measure might ease the pressure on Chrysler's cash flow by allowing a rescheduling of debt payments along with a partial liquidation of unprofitable assets. I must point out, however, that the testimony that we have heard before the Economic Stabilization Subcommittee suggests that this theoretical solution may, in fact, be the most direct route to disaster.

The purchase of an automobile is generally the second largest investment a consumer makes next to buying a home. How many consumers would be willing to make a major investment in a new car whose manufacturer has filed for bankruptcy? Unresolved questions relating to warranty protection, future availability of parts and service as well as resale value would ruin Chrysler's viability in the marketplace. In fact, the mere possibility of bankruptcy is hurting Chrysler's sales right now. If this arrangement were formalized, Chrysler would experience an immediate halt in cash flow as customers cancel orders, suppliers demand payment for goods on a cash on delivery basis, and dealers lose the ability to finance purchases from the factory. Consultants from Booz, Allen & Hamilton have predicted an almost immediate drop in Chrysler's market share if they went into bankruptcy.

Nor is Chrysler in its present condition a likely candidate for a merger or a buy out. This is evidenced by the fact that no other corporate entity has shown interest in such an arrangement. Any possibilities along this line center around Chrysler's few profitable operations; mainly, the Huntsville Electronics Plant, Chrysler Finance and New Process Gear. However, I do not believe that we enhance Chrysler's prospects for returning to profitability by suggesting that they divest themselves of profitable enterprises that could help to insure their future.

Mr. Speaker, when the Chrysler issue first arose, many of my colleagues reacted initially by opposing any type of Federal rescue effort. Over the past 3 weeks, however, in hearings before the Economic Stabilization Subcommittee, we have had an opportunity to do something that had not been done—to take a look at the impact that a Chrysler failure would have on our national economy. When it was discovered that we are facing the risk of losing half a million jobs and boosting the national unemployment rate by 0.5 percent; of paying out close to \$3 billion in pension guarantees and unemployment benefits; of providing public assistance payments to a million affected family members; of upsetting the balance of trade deficit by an additional \$3 billion; of removing \$266.6 million in annual revenues from State and local coffers—once these and other documented risks were assessed, many Members of Congress decided to take a second look at the issue. Several have expressed to me that, if a \$1.5 billion Federal loan guarantee has a rea-

sonable chance of staving off the kind of dire economic consequences described above, then such a loan guarantee should be enacted by Congress. This is especially true when we consider Chrysler's contribution to making an increasing number of fuel efficient cars to meet the energy challenge.

I would like to conclude by explaining why it is imperative that the Congress deal with the Chrysler issue in a substantive way before the adjournment of the first session of the 96th Congress. First, it is the determination of consultants from Booz, Allen & Hamilton and other respected, independent automobile industry analysts that unless Chrysler receives a strong indication of support from Congress very soon—certainly prior to adjournment in December—later attempts to rescue the corporation could be futile. Commitments that have been secured from banks, labor unions, States, municipalities, dealers and suppliers were, in many cases, made contingent upon the receipt of a similar commitment from the Federal sector. Unless Congress provides a clear and immediate signal of support, many of these commitments could be lost. Now is the time to act if we are to prevent the serious national economic consequences of a Chrysler Corp. failure.

In summary, Mr. Speaker, we must all remember that we are not simply reviewing a balance sheet, but rather we are considering whether we can afford to expose our Nation's economy to the devastating consequences of a Chrysler failure. I believe that an objective analysis of this issue by my colleagues will lead to the conclusion that it is most certainly in the national and public interest to lend Chrysler a helping hand.●

EAGLE SCOUT JOHN A. WELLINGTON TO BE COMMENDED

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. THOMPSON. Mr. Speaker, scouting is one of the most important aspects of American life as it prepares and encourages our young people to become leaders in their communities. It demonstrates that outstanding accomplishments can be won by hard work and concern for our society.

Citizenship, valor, compassion and integrity are but a few of the characteristics possessed by those who achieve scoutings highest distinction. John A. Wellington III, of Ewing Township, N.J. has proven himself worthy through years of hard work and dedication of deserving that distinction. On November 18, 1979, Boy Scout Troop 26 will recognize his advancement to the level of Eagle Scout.

John A. Wellington III has reached the pinnacle of scouting and for that he deserves our admiration and most certainly our congratulations. It is with great pleasure for me to ask my colleagues to join with me in wishing John well on November 18, and in all his future endeavors.●

WHAT THE VIETNAM VETERAN  
NEEDS

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to my colleagues' attention the following excellent commentary from the Marine Corps Gazette.

Its author, James Webb, a former counsel on the House Veterans' Affairs Committee, is a highly decorated veteran of Vietnam, and the author of a best selling novel on the war.

His assessment is insightful and the comparisons he draws are accurate, shattering the various myths that have grown entrenched about the men and women who chose the path of duty and responsibility in those troubled times.

I would hope that all of us will read and consider Mr. Webb's thoughts. The job of changing the abundance of misconceptions concerning the Vietnam veteran should most properly start here, with us.

The article follows:

WHAT THE VIETNAM VETERAN NEEDS

(By James Webb)

I am often asked by interested citizens what the Vietnam veteran needs in order to fully assimilate back into the mainstream of our society. I am usually expected to name some new veterans' benefit, or an improvement to an existing one; a psychological readjustment program, perhaps, or maybe a new employment package.

But, while such quantitative offerings might be helpful to some veterans, these are not the most urgent need for any of them: Our Vietnam veterans have simply never been accorded the dignity of their experience, and in my opinion, most of their substantive difficulties stem from this one spiritual failing of society in general.

Even the most materially successful Vietnam veterans still carry around a piece of hurt from not having had their combat sacrifices recognized by the nation that sent them off to fight.

As for the others, I wonder how many psychological problems would exist if our government and populace had allowed those troubled veterans to look positively on their contributions. I wonder what sort of employment programs would be needed if prospective employers recognized the essential honor of combat service, as opposed to combat avoidance, during the most politically troubled war in our history.

It is amazing to see the many misperceptions that continue to abound with respect to Vietnam and the people who fought there. Vietnam is remembered as a dirty little war, hardly a war in the traditional sense at all. And yet, even though there were no Iwo Jimas or Guadalcanals, Vietnam produced more combat casualties for the Marine Corps than World War II.

Vietnam is remembered as a war of the unwilling, conjuring visions of draftees being dragged kicking and screaming into uniform; and yet, two-thirds of those who served during the Vietnam era were volunteers, while two-thirds of those who served during World War II, the great "patriotic war," were drafted.

Vietnam is remembered as a political issue that pitted youth against age, widening the so-called "generation gap," while in reality it was an issue that pitted culture against culture within various age groups. Neither Abbie Hoffman nor Dr. Spock spoke for me, or for the people I served with.

It was a war where people my age could gain political credentials for the rest of their lives by taking a few weekends out of their college careers and marching against it, while those who gave years, and often portions of their bodies, gained no more than stigma.

In this context, it is interesting to note that, during all of Vietnam, only some 13,800 men actually refused the draft; for every man who actually refused to serve, four others died in Vietnam and more than 6,000 chose to serve.

It is also interesting to remember that, during the 1976 presidential campaign, when amnesty became such a hot issue, only some 2,000 draft evaders still remained in Canada—fewer men than those still missing in Southeast Asia.

Why did the media give so much play to the few who committed antisocial acts, and ignore the many who put their lives on the line?

We have never really put the Vietnam veteran himself into proper focus. He is viewed largely as a draftee who put his 18 months in and got his early out and was not in need of significant readjustment help. In fact, he spent more time in uniform than even his World War II counterpart, during a period when our society was undergoing so many changes that the whole era was characterized as the "Future Shock" syndrome. As such, the Vietnam veteran probably needed more readjustment help than the World War II veteran, and many Vietnam veterans no doubt continue to have problems that could have been eliminated or reduced by such help.

The Vietnam veteran is often still viewed as a habitual user of dangerous drugs. When I was on my nationwide tour promoting Fields of Fire, one of the most frequently asked questions from interviewers was whether I had ever used heroin, as if we all had walked around with a needle hanging out of our arms.

In fact, hard drugs never emerged on any scale at all until the very end of the war. As for other drugs, I find it incredibly ironic that marijuana use became a dangerous act when soldiers indulged during leisure time, yet the males and females of their peer group who stayed behind in college could and often did blow their minds every weekend on dope, mescaline, LSD and other drugs, with absolutely no stigma once they graduated.

I can honestly say that drug usage was much more prevalent at Georgetown Law School when I studied there than it ever had been while I was in the Marine Corps. Where did the law school graduates go? To prosecute drug cases. Where did the veterans go? To the unemployment lines, stigmatized by someone else's habit.

People too often remember the Vietnam veteran for the aberration of My Lai, rather than for the incredible courage and sacrifice that went into Khe Sanh, Hue City, Dak To and a thousand other places that never made the papers but caused all the frustration and fear and misery of every other war our countrymen have fought.

The Vietnam veteran is often characterized by bureaucrats as an "employment problem," on the same scale as ex-offenders. As a matter of fact, that has been one of the employment slogans for some time: Hire the veteran and the ex-offender, as if both need to be forgiven.

There has been an employment problem, but it has been caused in too many cases by events beyond the control of the veteran.

First, he was taken into the service right out of high school, for the most part, and had never begun a profession. Consequently, he had no reemployment rights when he returned, as did so many veterans of other wars. Second, there was a recession, and he had no seniority, so he was the first man out the door when a cutback occurred—last in, first out. Third, affirmative action programs gave court sanctions to employment

of women and minorities, so that employers were often reaching over the heads of the veterans to fill quotas. Fourth, because of the misperceptions about the nature of the war and of his service, too many people were afraid of him. As a result the Vietnam veteran too often found himself, and continues to find himself unemployed or underemployed.

What can you do to help the Vietnam veteran fit himself back into society on the terms of his experience?

First, understand the nature of the war, and of his part in it. Then, buy him the beer you owed him 10 years ago, and let him talk about it. You'll find out that he is by and large a class act, much tougher than his non-veteran peers, much more used to hassle and disappointment.

You'll also find out that he's probably the best patriot this country has ever produced, because he's had to think about his decision to serve for years, and despite what Jane Fonda and her friends might want you to believe, he doesn't feel like apologizing for having served. I have a feeling you'll be pleasantly surprised.

And you may end up offering him a job, or at least another beer. ●

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

HON. BO GINN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. GINN. Mr. Speaker, too often when the Congress wrestles with the problems of national economic health, tax policy, and inflation, we lose sight of the human dimension of the problems reflected in the national statistics.

This was brought home to me recently when I heard from my constituent, Mrs. Angelia H. Walker, of the small town of Twin City, Ga. Mrs. Walker is a single-parent homemaker, and also a teacher in the public school system of Georgia since 1967.

Mrs. Walker has devoted her professional life to the youth of her community, and I am sure she began her career as a teacher with no illusion that it would lead to a life of luxury. However, I believe she had a right to expect that her vocation would provide her a living sufficient enough to provide for her needs.

But in the turbulence of our national economy, in the wake of devastating inflation, and in the grip of an outmoded Federal tax program, she has lost that faith. I submit for inclusion in the RECORD at this point a letter which Mrs. Walker sent to me and to other elected officials.

SEPTEMBER 9, 1979.

GEORGE BUSEBE,  
Governor,  
Atlanta, Ga.

MR. GOVERNOR: This is in regard to my income tax which seems to be extremely inequitable. Let me first explain that I am a single parent school teacher and that I earn \$676.91 take home pay. Last year we received a 6 percent increase in pay to my astonishment, when my first check arrived, it was \$3.81 less than my take home pay for the last year. I fully realize that my raise placed me in a higher income bracket, but how can I maintain any decent standard of living when inflation is running at 13 percent and my real income is actually dropping.

This situation must be shared by millions of other taxpayers. It should point out to you the inequitable of the present tax structure and hopefully you will make some kind of effort to correct this intolerable situation. This is a plea for some kind of rational consideration by our lawmakers and leaders.

I am enclosing a copy of my August and September check stub for comparison.

Respectfully,

ANGELIA H. WALKER.

P.S. I have been teaching for 12 years.

Mr. Speaker, at about the same time I received Mrs. Walker's letter, I noticed a column by Ellen Goodman which appeared in the October 17 edition of the Washington Post. I believe it is relevant to this issue I raise, and I ask that it be included in the RECORD at this point.

JUST WOMAN'S WORK?

(By Ellen Goodman)

BALTIMORE.—The young woman stood up before the college audience and talked earnestly about her new job and her new confusion.

A June graduate, she was now a teacher. She was lucky and she knew it. Yet each day she carried a sheaf of self-doubt to school along with the ditto papers and work-sheets.

The women her age, you see, have been encouraged to become astronauts and senators, corporate vice presidents and assorted firsts. Though she had elected to go through the more traditional door, somehow she couldn't shake the feeling that she was "just" a teacher.

As a parent seated with her on the the podium, I felt a wave of concern. There are no outsiders more important to our children's lives than their teachers, no job that we weigh more heavily in cost-accounting their futures. We want our children to be taught by the best, the brightest, the most lively and sensitive. To us, there is no such thing as "just" a teacher.

Yet in her era of change, when the status and stroking of society has gone to the innovators, how many others have felt left behind? "Just" a teacher, nurse, secretary, homemaker. And what effect does that have on the choices that young people are making?

I know it isn't popular to talk about this, even in an era when everyone is worrying about teacher "competency," but we are witnessing a young brain-drain from the old "women's jobs."

The young people planning to be teachers don't rank as high scholastically as they did. Dr. Timothy Weaver of Boston University studied this decline and it's a substantial one. In 1970, the high school students planning to be education majors tested in the top one-third of all students on their English boards. Six years later they were found in the bottom one-third.

On the graduate record exams taken by college seniors in the same time period, the scores of education majors dropped 18 points in verbal aptitude.

There are other reasons for this decline. The teaching job market isn't what it used to be. Neither are the salaries. In 1972, teaching salaries were about 25 percent above the national average. Now, says Weaver, they are just about on a par.

But 70 percent of the teachers in this country are women. Their test scores were typically higher than those of men, their salaries relatively higher than those of other women. Now the opportunities for young women are greater and the decline in the test scores of women planning to teach is sharper.

Teaching isn't the only job or the best job for the ambitious and academically talented young women today. As Weaver put it: "Women do have more opportunities. They are encouraged to feel they have more oppor-

tunities in higher-paying professions and that is reflected in the data."

It isn't just teaching that's been affected. In nursing, where there are many jobs, the scores have also declined. And in clerical work, employers continually moan to each other, "We just can't find the same kind of young secretaries anymore."

But this isn't just a case of Liberation Chic. It isn't just the lure of the new and the prestige of the different. The fact is that a rise in status for women is associated, for better and for worse, with entry into the male world. That's where the prestige has always been.

We have simply done a better job at letting some women into "men's" jobs than at raising the status of "women's" jobs.

The care-takers—those who are helpers, nurturers, teachers, mothers—are still systematically devalued. As Rep. Barbara Mikulski (D-Md.), who shared the same podium, likes to say: "In this society we implicitly deny what we explicitly claim to value—especially children." We don't put our money where our mouths are.

Now the job market competes for the brightest women as well as the brightest men. If the projections are right and we have a teacher shortage, not a surplus, by the mid-1980s, we'll have to do some fancy status shuffling.

Competency tests are nothing more than the last resort of despairing parents. There's no real secret to attracting and keeping the highest-caliber applicants for any job. They need the rewards of independence, growth, initiative, respect, personal satisfaction and money. With these, no one is a "just."

Mr. Speaker, I have no magic answers to the questions raised by Mrs. Walker or Ellen Goodman. I do know, however, that the issues they present should be moved to the top of the national agenda and the agenda of the Congress.

Teachers, retired persons, blue collar workers and professionals are all victims of inflation. In each case, the impact is different. But each time the quality of life diminishes for an American, our entire system suffers.

With our teachers, the impact means that our finest teaching prospects and experienced teachers will abandon their profession.

Mr. Speaker, I submit that we face a crisis on a scale greater than the headlines of economic problems would show. The Congress must respond, and respond without delay. ●

WILLIAM K. WYANT, JR., CONSERVATION PIONEER OF SIERRA MADRE, CALIF.

HON. JOHN H. ROUSSELOT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, today Secretary of the Interior Cecil D. Andrus will award one of the Department's highest honors, the Conservation Service Award for outstanding and direct service to the Department in the field of conservation, to one of my constituents, journalist William K. Wyant, Jr. of Sierra Madre, Calif. Mr. Wyant is being honored in recognition of his early support of the environmental movement and for the inspiration he has provided over the years to other journalists advocating the conservation of our Nation's valuable natural resources.

Through a distinguished career of 27 years with the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Mr. Wyant achieved widespread recognition as one of our Nation's foremost writers on the safeguarding of the American environment. Now in retirement, Mr. Wyant is currently completing a book on America's westward expansion and the conservation movement. Mr. Wyant is a pioneer supporter of this movement, through which millions of Americans have developed a concern for the careful protection and wise use of our Nation's natural resources. Mr. Wyant recognized early on that the awakening of a strong environmental ethic needed sustained advocacy, and in 1960 was successful in convincing the editorial board of his paper, the Post-Dispatch, to support such a policy.

In 1971 Mr. Wyant toured the Western States and produced a series of syndicated articles on the conflict between mining and conservation interests. The series was subsequently honored in the Thomas L. Stokes competition for environmental journalism. In 1973 he was again sent through the Western States for a series of stories on coal and the energy crisis and the importance of the consideration of environmental safeguards in the future development of that resource.

Mr. Wyant later cast new light on the need for enlarging and safeguarding the Redwood National Park in California, and in July of 1978 was one of a small group of influential correspondents who accompanied the Secretary of the Interior on a tour to the proposed new national parks, wildlife refuges, forests, wild and scenic rivers, and wilderness areas of Alaska. His subsequent articles did much to awaken public opinion to the values of conserving natural resources in Alaska.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to join with Secretary Andrus and the Department in congratulating Mr. William K. Wyant, Jr. for his dedication and contribution to the American conservation movement. I am certain that my constituents in the 26th District will agree that it is an honor to count an individual of such accomplishment among the citizens of our community. ●

A TRIBUTE TO FRANK FARMER

HON. IKE SKELTON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, a good friend of mine, Frank W. Farmer, was killed on November 2 in a freak accident on the Missouri Pacific Railroad crossing in his hometown of Sweet Springs, Mo. Frank Farmer was a 50-year veteran of the newspaper business, who devoted himself to safeguarding this country's first amendment and the freedom of the Press.

Farmer was a graduate of Richmond High School, but he took his first printing job at the age of 13 at the Richmond-Missourian. He later worked for the Warrensburg Star Journal, the Lexington Advertiser-News, the Sedalia Demo-

crat-Capitol, the Kansas City Star-Times, and the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, as well as several other newspapers in the Midwest. He worked in practically all capacities on the various publications.

In 1941, he married Hazel I. Ott of Sedalia, Mo., and she became his partner when they purchased the Sweet Springs Herald in 1948. He and Mrs. Farmer have published the paper ever since.

Among the organizations to which he belonged were: Sweet Springs Chamber of Commerce, American Legion Post 279, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and Saline County Central Democratic Committee. He was committeeman from Salt Pond township, and he was a charter member of the Optimist and Lions Clubs in Sweet Springs. He was a member of the International Typographical Union for 40 years, maintaining his membership during the years of self-employment. In addition, he served as Methodist Sunday School superintendent and belonged to the Men's Fellowship.

He was involved in various community projects such as helping to organize the auto racing association, which built and operated a quarter-mile dirt oval Memorial Race Track in Sweet Springs. He was active in the Industrial Development Committee, and served as chairman of the fund raising drive to provide a site on which to build a new factory building for International Shoe Co. He spearheaded the city recreation program and supported the schools in a variety of ways. He was a member of the Marshall Eagles Chapter, and, under Governor Blair, he was made an honorary colonel. He lent active support for the building of Sweet Springs Community Hospital, and he was also active in SLRAC, a committee to prevent the abandonment of the Missouri Pacific branch from Myrick that serves Sweet Springs, Emma, and Concordia, Mo.

Mr. Speaker, as you can tell, Frank W. Farmer was a man of action and a man of many accomplishments. I would like to share with my colleagues in Congress a tribute to Frank Farmer that was written by another newspaperman, Bill Roscher of the Kansas City Star, and which was published in the Sweet Springs Herald on Thursday, November 8, 1979. It reads as follows:

IN TRIBUTE

(By Bill Roscher)

A Tribute to Frank Farmer, a Newspaperman. Yes, that is what he was all of his life.

He lived and taught that the word of the press is the only thing that keeps this country free.

He carried on a tradition and was one of the best in his field. He knew that the pen was mightier than the sword. He had strong feelings of right and wrong. He was never lukewarm about anything; for this he was both cursed and praised, but never ignored.

As an ending you will find a -30-, which to us means story complete.

He has covered the When, Where, Why and How. He was a Newspaperman.

Aside from being a newspaperman, however, Frank W. Farmer was a fine family man, a true friend, a tremendous asset to his community, and a great patriot. His death will be felt as a tragic loss by all who knew him.●

A NATIONAL DAY OF FASTING

HON. JOHN H. ROUSSELOT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 13, 1979

● Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, recently I received a letter from Mr. Richard Viguerie, president of the noted direct mail firm, The Viguerie Co. In his letter, Mr. Viguerie proposed that we set aside the Sunday before Thanksgiving as a national day of fasting, prayer, and atonement for our sins.

As I reflected on his letter, I found myself deeply moved by his proposal that Americans not only celebrate our blessings on Thanksgiving Day, but that we should also take time to meditate, atone for our sins, and ask God's direct guidance and protection as we lead our national and individual lives.

The idea of a national day of fasting is a worthy one, and I would like to share with my colleagues an article by Mr. Viguerie on this subject which appeared in the October issue of the Conservative Digest:

A DAY OF FASTING

(By Richard A. Viguerie)

I recently took a vacation out West with my teenage daughters, Renée and Michelle. And when we weren't shooting rapids, sleeping under the stars, or climbing mountains on horses or foot, I read a book that a friend gave me last year.

I have seldom been so moved by one book. The theme of *The Light and the Glory* by Peter Marshall and David Manuel is that God actively intervened in the discovery and formation of America.

The authors point out that when Americans remembered to ask for God's help, and also remembered to give thanks and credit to God for what was accomplished, then America prospered and was protected.

Christopher Columbus was a devoutly religious man. His belief and faith in God were strong. But he apparently also had a lot of pride and a strong ego.

He demanded 10 percent of all the gold found in the new world. He also demanded the highest ranking title of the navy—Admiral of the seas. Plus he insisted that he be made Governor of all of the lands he discovered.

He prayed mightily for the success of his efforts.

But when he had success, probably beyond his own wildest dreams, it appears that Columbus very quickly forgot to give the credit to God.

Columbus's public actions and statements indicate that he took personal credit for his accomplishments.

And Columbus experienced in the last 13 years of his life an enormous amount of suffering, disappointment and failure.

Marshall and Manuel believe Columbus suffered so because he failed to give credit to God for his accomplishments.

How many times in our own lives have we failed to give public credit and thanks to God for our successes?

Like Columbus, most of us are quick to go to God when we're faced with problems, but very seldom do we publicly give credit to God for success.

That brings me to some thoughts about 1979.

Many of us are worried about the Senate passing the SALT II treaty. We worry when we see the Communists gaining military

strength daily, and when our President seems uninterested in opposing the Communist conquest of country after country.

But instead of worrying, why don't we as individuals and as a nation go to God and ask Him for forgiveness for our sins?

Instead of worrying, why don't we pray that He protect America from its enemies and give us the strength and will to protect ourselves? Why don't we thank God for the benefits He has bestowed on us as individuals and as a nation?

Perhaps many of our personal and national problems have developed because we have forgotten to thank God for our blessings, our opportunities, our freedoms and our great country.

Some of our Presidents did this. George Washington set aside a day for fasting and prayer when he was President.

Also Abraham Lincoln, twice during the storm of our tragic Civil War, designated "a Sunday for prayer and fasting."

Twice during some of the darkest days of the American Revolutionary War, the Continental Congress declared a day of Fast and Repentance.

Indeed even Christ, when He knew He was soon to be tempted by the devil, fasted for 40 days.

We Americans today need to pray together in the same spirit.

I recommend that we set aside November 18, the Sunday before Thanksgiving, to pray, fast, meditate and atone for our sins.

I suggest this particular day because this is traditionally a time when Americans give thanks to God for all the blessings that we enjoy.

It will be a true and appropriate commemoration of the Thanksgiving season. And I feel it will make the spirit of Thanksgiving more meaningful to us. Hopefully, we can encourage enough others to join us and it will meet with such success that it will become an annual event.

I personally plan to send letters to thousands of other conservative leaders, journalists, priests, rabbis, ministers and others, asking them to urge their readers, members, or congregations to set aside Sunday, November 18, as a day to abstain from all food . . . a day to devote completely to prayer, meditation, thanks, and repentance for our sins.

Two hundred years ago Dartmouth's minister, Samuel West, preached in Boston:

" . . . Our cause is so just and good that nothing can prevent our success but only our sins. Could I see a spirit of repentance and reformation prevail throughout the land, I should not have the least apprehension or fear of being brought under the iron rod of slavery, even though all the powers of the globe were combined against us."

We, as a nation, need collectively to get down on our knees and acknowledge our God and ask for His guidance and blessings, for forgiveness for our sins, and for deliverance from our enemies. We need to give credit to God for all the good in our lives.

There are so many things that could be done to bring this to the attention of all Americans.

Why don't we all, each one of us, call and write our congressman and senators and urge them to help promote a national day of fasting and prayer?

Why not call in to talk shows, write letters to the editor, bring up the subject at our religious, business, fraternal and social meetings?

You could work to have your own city or town council pass such a resolution for your own community.

This is an idea that I feel strongly about, and I wanted to share it with you. I would be pleased to hear from you, if you have any thoughts on this subject.●