

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

CHIPOLA JUNIOR COLLEGE 4-E
CONFERENCE AT MARIANNA,
FLA., TREMENDOUS

HON. DON FUQUA

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, If ever this Nation comes to grips with the increasing problems we face in providing energy for future generations, it will be because the American people are convinced that it is a real and serious problem. I am convinced that realization will only come about because of events such as one in which I have just participated in Marianna, Fla.—the 4-E Conference held April 14-16, 1983.

This conference grew out of the concern of a few people in the area who joined together in a committee to seek ways to address the problems of their community in the field of energy. Out of this concern came an idea to have a seminar or program at the Chipola Junior College in Marianna and out of this idea grew the 4-E Conference.

To quote one participant: "It might have been bigger; it could not have been better."

Members of my staff and myself joined with this committee to discuss ideas and out of those conversations came the idea for a student science fair, a symposium, an exposition by those involved in conservation and development of energy sources, and a meeting of a subcommittee of the Science and Technology Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives.

One of the more remarkable aspects of this community effort, and that is exactly what it was, is that it was done with no budget. The fees of the exhibitors helped to defray a part of the cost, and everything else was contributed by the community.

I want to pay special tribute to the 19 members of the steering committee who were primarily responsible for the inception and successful implementation of this project:

Al Barrs, director of vocational education at Chipola Junior College; Leonard Cobb, county agent; Paul Coley, environmental education for the State Department of Education, Tallahassee; Dr. Don Dellow, academic dean at Chipola;

Billy Demmon, Florida public utilities official; Ollie Ellis, manager of the neighboring Washington County Chamber of Commerce, Chipley; Dr.

Albert Folds, medical director at Sunland Training Center;

Bill Holmberg, U.S. Energy Department; Mrs. Merle Houston, public affairs for Chipola; Norwood Jackson, manager of the Jackson County Chamber of Commerce; David Nicholson, instructor at Chipola;

Dr. Dale O'Daniel, dean of business at Chipola; Mike Peacock, Florida public utilities; Pete Pylant, Commerce Department of the State of Florida, Tallahassee;

Dr. Joyner Sims, dean of students at Chipola; Ken Stoutamire, director of vocational training at Sunland; Tom Thayer, Governor's Energy Office, Tallahassee; and Charles Thibos, manager of the West Florida Electric Cooperative.

Involved was a week of alternative energy activities which was truly inspired by local concern and broadened by the contagious enthusiasm of the tiny group which first conceived the idea to incorporate involvement by government agencies from three States, the Federal Government, schools from throughout Florida, and private entrepreneurs from across the Nation.

To say that I was pleased and impressed by the dedicated work and imaginative organizational ability of these constituents would be an understatement of the first magnitude.

Marianna, Fla., is the county seat set among the rolling hills of Jackson County in northwest Florida in that frequently ignored area of pastoral beauty known as the Florida Panhandle. Its economy is based on agriculture and, more particularly, on soybean and peanut production. The Census Bureau reported a population of 39,154 in the county in the 1980 census.

While I will be praising the work of many who made this week such a resounding success, I would like to highlight the efforts of the few who started it all and Chipola Junior College, which provided the physical facilities and much of the administrative effort required in such a major undertaking.

Particularly, I do want to mention Dr. James R. Richburg, president of Chipola Junior College. In spite of a busy schedule in leading Chipola to excellence and revitalization, he chaired the committee and kept the program moving.

The 4-E Conference drew its title from the four areas on which the group wanted to concentrate—energy, education, ecology, and economy.

Perhaps the centerpiece of the program was the student science fair, which drew 156 entries from our great State. Particular credit is due Paul Coley, Dr. Sims, and Paul Huang for making this such a tremendous success.

Scott Crossfield, one of the world's greatest test pilots and aeronautical engineers, who now serves on our committee staff, went down as a special guest to talk to young people and judge the exhibits.

The West Florida Electric Cooperative provided a fried chicken dinner for over 1,100 young people who attended the science fair.

I think it would be appropriate to list the award winners. These bright and innovative young people will be the leaders of tomorrow in finding solutions to our energy problems.

Grand prize winners of the fair were: junior division—Christopher Gibbs, Alachua County, physics; senior division—Stacy Peacock, Marianna High School, Jackson County. The awards were presented by Dr. Richburg.

First runnersup in the grand prize category were Leon Couch, Alachua County, junior division; and Wendy Manger, Jackson County, senior division.

The Publishers Award, presented by Dr. Elizabeth F. Abbot, executive secretary of the Florida Foundation of Future Scientists, went to Michael Clark of Bay County.

First place recognition in the junior division went to the following:

Behavioral and social science—Leon Couch, Alachua; biochemistry—Douglas Hodges, Alachua; botany—Christie Cage, Alachua; chemistry—Stan Young, Marianna High School, Jackson; engineering—Evan Carter, Alachua; Earth and space science—Robby Whitesell, Wakulla; mathematics and computers—Scott Dunbar, Leon; microbiology—Jay Thrash, Alachua; medicine and health—Richard T. LaSalle, Leon; physics—Christopher Gibbs, Alachua; and zoology—Jill Bushong, Polk.

Second place recognition in the senior division went to:

Behavioral and social science—Charlie Davidson, Marianna High School, Jackson; biochemistry—Jay Shively, Marianna High School, Jackson; botany—Angela Spikes, Gulf; engineering—Joseph Hornsby, Malone High School, Jackson; Earth and space science—Danny Kilgore, Leon; mathematics and computers—Stacy Blane, Bay; microbiology—Myla Sims,

Marianna High School, Jackson; medicine and health—Joe Hsu, Leon; physics—Ashley Albright, Polk; and zoology—Grace Culley, Leon.

First place recognition, senior division, went to:

Behavioral and social science—Katie Rudden, Polk; biochemistry—Stacey Peacock, Marianna High School, Jackson; botany—Jennifer Clark, Bay; chemistry—Daryl Givens, Leon; engineering—Randy Anderson, Holmes; Earth and space science—Matt Austin, Sneads High School, Jackson; mathematics and computers—Todd Fuder, Bay; microbiology—Kayte Jean Fuqua, Madison; medicine and health—Wendy Manger, Marianna High School, Jackson; physics—Andrew Martin, Polk; and zoology and Michael Bennett, Sneads High School, Jackson.

Kathryn Stoutamire of Marianna High School was presented the showstopper award in the senior division.

Top awards included computers, monetary prizes, and certificates.

Awards presented by others than those named above were: Crossfield; Mrs. Leila McMullian, founder of the Florida Science and Engineering Fair and former teacher at Marianna High School; Optimist Club president Dub Stear; Demmon and various college officials.

Particular credit is due the Marianna Optimist Club and the Optimist clubs of north Florida, who provided the original money necessary to initiate the student science fair and carry it off so successfully.

The symposium was a great success and the speakers excellent. They included Holmberg and Thayer, members of the steering committee.

Also on the program were: Roy Thompson, Jr., Florida economic development at Florida State University, Tallahassee, Dr. Wayne Smith, director of the center for biomass energy, Gainesville; J. Fred Allen, chief of forest research, Georgia Forestry Commission; Eddie Sokol, head of government affairs, Russell Corp., a company with a major plant in Marianna; and Dr. J. R. Orsenigo, vice president, Florida Sugar Cane League, Clewiston.

Symposium participants discussed more completely later were: Peter Widner, Bill Ayers, Al Simpler, and Ted Keehen.

Seven witnesses appeared before our congressional hearing which was entitled "Energy and Rural Development: What is Needed? What is Being Done."

Heading off the proceedings was my long time friend, Florida Lt. Gov. Wayne Mixson, who is from Marianna. In concise language, he pointed out the massive problems facing our State and rural America and what we, as Floridians, are trying to do about them.

Testifying on two panels were Thayer and Dr. Wayne Smith, mentioned earlier; Ms. Victoria Tschinkel, Florida Department of Environmental Regulation, Tallahassee; Dr. Charles Kidd, dean of the College of Engineering, Florida A&M University, Tallahassee; Dr. Robert San Martin, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Energy for Renewable Energy, Washington, D.C.; and John T. Shielf, director, division of agricultural development, Tennessee Valley Authority, Muscle Shoals, Ala.

The printed report of these hearings will reveal an enormous quantity of information regarding our accomplishments and our needs. Let me say that out of the symposium and the hearing, we heard the need for conservation, a desperate need for development of alternate sources of energy, and for the wise use of present fuels so that they do not foul the environment and are used to their maximum potential.

Many companies, individuals, and agencies of Government participated in displaying the latest technologies. I personally visited each exhibit and, with the expert information furnished by Dr. Folds, found it fascinating.

On behalf of all those who made this program successful, we want to thank them for participating.

They were:

Bill Paynter, president, Union Flights, Sacramento, Calif., alcohol fuels in aviation. Modified a company aircraft and piloted a transcontinental flight on methanol;

Dr. Max Shauck, president, Flight Research, Inc., Waco, Tex., alcohol fuels in aviation. Modified a company aircraft and piloted a transcontinental flight on ethanol;

Jack La Mothe and Lawrence Matt, division of aeronautics, Illinois Department of Transportation, Springfield, Ill., alcohol fuels in aviation. Modified an Illinois State aircraft and piloted the plane on a cross-country flight—Springfield, Ill., to Marianna, Fla., and return;

George W. Thomas, Jr., Agri-Fuel Systems, Inc., Cleveland, Tenn., pioneer in the production of ethanol from animal waste;

Al Mavis, president, Alenco, Rockchester, Ill., recognized expert and pioneer on the small to medium-scale production of ethanol and the utilization of alcohol fuels;

Peter Widner, president, Agro Gas, Cresco, Iowa, internationally recognized expert and pioneer in anaerobic digesters—the production of methane gas from animal wastes;

R. L. Bibb Swain, president, Enerdyne Corp., Manchester, Tenn., recognized expert and pioneer in the field of vapor recompression and low-energy conversion of starch crops to ethanol;

Raymond Rissler, president, MGS, Inc., California, Mo., recognized expert

and pioneer in the field of sawdust gasification. Also designs and builds small-scale gasifiers using wood chips and blocks;

Bill Ayers, vice president, Buck Rogers, Inc., Kansas City, Mo., manufacturers and markets small- and medium-scale gasifiers representing the state-of-the-art technology.

Ted Keehen, vice president, Farmers Group Purchasing, Kansas City, Mo., identifies state-of-the-art technology in farm energy systems, upgrades the engineering and arranges for manufacturing where necessary, and markets these systems with needed performance guarantees;

Dr. Harry La Fontaine, consultant, Miami, Fla., recognized international expert on wood gasification.

Willis Wittmer, distributor, Conklin Co., Minneapolis, Minn.; Conklin manufactures and markets turnkey, small-scale—35,000 to 70,000 gallons a year—ethanol plants;

Dave Keenan and Ward Forquer, wood energy, Morbark Industries, Inc., Winn, Mich.; Morbark is in the forefront in designing, manufacturing, and marketing wood energy equipment and systems;

Alan Morrow and Vivian Dungan, Alabama Power Co., Ashford, Ala., computer display and nuclear power story;

Boyd J. Atterberry, Atterberry Enterprises, Ashford, Ala., solar-vac stills and energy management systems;

Robert C. Whorton, Automatic Switch Co., Mobile, Ala., Pneumatic solenoid valves and energy metering systems;

James H. Blubaugh, Blubaugh & Associates, Pensacola, Fla., energy management systems;

John S. Brewer, Marianna, Fla., wood burner systems;

Forrest M. Bridges, Bridges Enterprises, Philadelphia, Miss., Hardy home heaters;

Julius Sullivan, Chipola Soil Conservation, Marianna, Fla., soil conservation;

Jane R. Burgess and Leonard Cobb, county extension agents, Marianna, Fla., farm home energy;

Ernie Brookins, E. E. Bentley Insulation Co., Dothan, Ala., fiberglass insulation;

Greg Peterson, Energy, Engineers, Pensacola, Fla., energy management systems;

Janet McMullan, Florida Electric Power Coordinators Group, Winter Park, Fla., watt counter;

Tom McFalls, Florida GO-Between, Cantonment, Fla.;

Fran Marinelli and Morris J. Fisher, Florida Power & Light Co., Miami, Fla., motorhome display, energy;

C. Thomas Thayer II, Florida Solar Center, Tallahassee, Fla., solar energy display;

Bobby Richardson, Georgia Forestry Commission, Macon, Ga., wood energy program;

G. Ballard Simmons, General Electric Co., Jacksonville, Fla., motorhome display, energy;

G. R. Fell, GTE Products and Sylvania, Atlanta, Ga., energy-conserving fluorescent light bulbs;

Don Anderson, Gulf Power Co., Pensacola, Fla., electricity exhibit;

Curtis Hardy, Lewis-Smith Supply Corp., Dothan, Ala., heat pumps;

Frank Duquette, McDonald Douglas Astronautics Co., Huntington Beach, Calif., photos/words on solar energy;

Merle Williams, Northwest Florida Water Management, Havana, Fla., water resources;

Tommy Belk, Pfiffer-Wire Products, Tuscaloosa, Ala., energy shading panels;

Wally Houston, Radio Shack, Marianna, Fla., computers;

Harry Daggett, Rockwell Energy Corp., Canoga Park, Calif., pictorial display of Rockwell Energy Systems Group;

Al Simpler, Simpler Solar Systems, Inc., Tallahassee, Fla., solar van, photovoltaics;

Ronald Stephens, Southern Solar Distributors, Marianna, Fla., solar equipment systems;

Larry Spivey, Spivey Buck Stoves, Marianna, Fla., wood-burning stoves;

L. M. Shaw, Agricultural Engineering Department, Roger Webb, Forestry Conservation, and Martin Lorber, University of Florida, Gainesville, Fla., gasifiers, computer-biomass, and watershed model;

Ed Collins, Andrea Santos and Linda Wilson, Westinghouse Electric Corp., Madison, Pa., modules with graphics (Island);

Wood Chip Truck, Kansas City, Kans., ethanol still/wood chip power.

We had two excellent social events. A reception was hosted by the Jackson County Home Builders Association and the Chipola Board of Realtors for all those participating, followed by a tremendous barbecue dinner at the Sunland Environmental Park.

Music was provided by the Ivey Brothers Band, a group of Jackson County musicians who are making a name for themselves, and they were tremendous. A delightful show included singers, dancers, and cheerleaders from the community in what turned out to be a thoroughly delightful evening.

These things just do not happen. Interested and dedicated individuals make them happen. I think it is appropriate to quote from an article by Brenda White, managing editor of the Jackson County Floridian, when she wrote a story that appeared March 27, 1983, regarding the conference and how it got started:

A group of men, mainly members of the Marianna Optimist Club, began pin-pointing

energy as they put together ideas for the Marianna Educational Recreation Expo (MERE). A group labeled SEEK—Solar Energy Ecology Knowledge—consisting of Dr. Al Folds, Bill Demmon, Dr. Joyner Sims and Ken Stoutamire begin pooling their resources, knowledge and ideas on energy. As part of the MERE project, they hoped to develop an energy component at the project to tie into the vocational department at Chipola. All of this, of course, was part of a long range plan.

Ideas kept falling into place and on July 23, 1982, a steering committee consisting of Paul Coley, Leonard Cobb, Don Dellow, Bill Holmberg, Albert Folds, Norwood Jackson, David Nicholson, Dale O'Daniel, Mike Peacock, Joyner Sims, Ken Stoutamire and Dr. Bob Richburg met at CJC and plans were sketched for a conference.

Task forces were also derived at this meeting to deal with the areas of conservation and energy efficiency, passive solar, active solar, photovoltaic and biomass. This was done so that energy education would be an ongoing process at Chipola, thus serving a five-county area.

Bill Holmberg, a former official with the Department of Energy offering his technical assistance to the group, presented estimates of an expenditure of \$80,000,000 for energy in Jackson County alone. By 1995, \$120,000,000 quickly moves the issue of energy into the realm of economic development. If a portion of energy could be produced locally, then dollars which flow out of the area could be used here for further development.

The group agreed that biomass technology had the greatest potential in the rural area.

As the brainstorming continued, the steering committee increased in numbers. As people would hear about the developments of an energy conference they would volunteer their assistance. One of the people throwing his hat in the ring was Congressman Don Fuqua. His aid, Herb Wadsworth, also began to be a tremendous source of information.

The culmination of almost a year of planning, scheduling and rescheduling is almost at hand. What seemed like a monstrous undertaking then has almost come into being step by step. The then monthly meetings are paying off and all of the "homework" done by the various committee members is about to bring forth one of the biggest events ever in this county.

Rural areas with foresight have an opportunity to lead the Nation in the development of alternative energy sources through application of technology involving agricultural wastes, forest waste, wind, solar, and other technologies now demonstrating their viability.

In conclusion, let me say that a spark has been ignited. This is not the end of the story in Marianna and Chipola Junior College. It is only the beginning.

It has been wisely said: "A journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step."

A magnificent community, a dedicated group of individuals, have made that first step. ●

RALPH T. CASTEEL

HON. G. V. (SONNY) MONTGOMERY

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, Ralph Casteel, a very able member of the staff of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, is retiring from Federal service. Ralph has served his Nation well for more than 42 years. He has been a member of the staff of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs since 1976.

Ralph served his country during World War II. He entered the military service in February 1941 and remained until September 1946. He was discharged as a lieutenant colonel, U.S. Army, with the Office of the Surgeon General in the European Theater of Operations.

Ralph was a member the U.S. Army Reserve from September 1946 to November 11, 1978. He retired from the Reserves as a full colonel.

After leaving the military he served for more than 30 years with the Veterans' Administration, starting as an administrative officer of the Special Boards of the Department of Medicine and Surgery in May 1946. In April 1948, he became executive officer of the Research and Education Service of the Department, and in September 1955 was named special assistant to the Chief Medical Director of the Department of Medicine and Surgery. As personal representative of the Chief Medical Director, Ralph participated in the establishment and implementation of all policy involving operational and management activities of the Department.

In October 1966, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs sent Ralph to Vietnam. He was adviser to the U.S. Mission in South Vietnam where he helped establish a program for South Vietnamese veterans. The mission he performed for the Administrator there was an overwhelming success. He stayed in Vietnam until February 1967.

In August 1968, at the request of the Appropriations Committee of the House, Ralph was detailed to the committee and did investigative work for the committee through October 1969. Ralph participated in three major investigations conducted by the committee to determine, first, the effectiveness of the American Indian health program conducted by the Division of Indian Health, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; second, the scope and effectiveness of the American Indian education program conducted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior; and third, the participation of the executive branch of the Federal Govern-

ment in pollution abatement and its effect on the ecology.

Throughout his career with the VA, Ralph served as the executive assistant or special assistant to several Chief Medical Directors.

In 1976 he moved from the Veterans' Administration to become a member of the staff of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs where he has headed the committee counsel's work in the area of health care. He served as counsel to the Subcommittee on Hospitals and Health Care for a number of years. In addition, he served for 2 years as counsel to the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations.

Mr. Speaker, I know of no individual in the U.S. Government who has contributed more to his country than Ralph Casteel. He has been a tireless worker as a key member of the committee staff. He has gained the respect of every member of the committee and is held in the highest esteem by those who know him both in and out of Government. He has been a tremendous influence in helping establish the policy of the committee in the health care field during the past 7 years.

Mr. Speaker, I take this time to recognize the outstanding career of this good man. He is a professional in every sense of the word, and I want my colleagues to know how much the committee appreciates the great work he has done.

I know my colleagues will join me in wishing Ralph and his lovely wife Elva continued good health and happiness always. We shall miss him. ●

SOVIET HELSINKI MONITORS: 7 YEARS LATER

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, expressing their profound faith in the human rights pledges of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act, 11 Soviet citizens in Moscow on May 12, 1976, formed the Public Group To Promote Observance of the Helsinki accords in the U.S.S.R. Despite repression, the Moscow Helsinki Group publicized various human rights violations in the Soviet Union: official Soviet policies of discrimination against religious and national groups such as Evangelical Protestants, Jews, and Crimean Tatars; the official campaign against fledgling independent labor unions in the U.S.S.R.; and the imprisonment of many Soviet citizens who advocated civil and political rights recognized under international law.

People throughout the Soviet Union responded to the positive spirit of the Moscow Helsinki Group civic initiative. Many people made long journeys

to Moscow Group members to describe their human rights problems. Other citizens decided to form their own Helsinki Groups in Ukraine, Lithuania, Armenia, and Georgia which expounded enhanced cultural and national rights. Religious believers organized the Christian Committee To Defend the Rights of Believers, the Catholic Committee in Lithuania and the Adventist Rights Group. People concerned with health issues formed the Working Group on the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes and the Invalids' Rights Group.

From the start, however, the Soviet authorities feared the groups' peaceful public pleas that the Soviet Union live up to its Helsinki commitments. Under threat of arrest of 75-year-old retired lawyer, Sofya Kalistratova, the Moscow Helsinki Group announced on September 6, 1982, that it was calling a halt to its activities. Despite this Moscow Helsinki Group announcement, the Soviet Government continues its campaign against the Soviet Helsinki monitors:

Recent trials: Father Alfonsas Svarinskas, a founder of the Catholic Committee and the first Lithuanian priest to be sentenced since 1972, was sentenced on May 6, 1983, to 7 years camp plus 3 years exile for anti-Soviet agitation.

Recent arrests: Eduard Arutunyan of the Armenian Helsinki Group was arrested on November 10, 1982—in 1979, he got a 2½-year term for his Helsinki activities. Ukrainian monitor, Olha Heyko, serving the end of her 3-year camp term, was arrested in March 1983 and now reportedly faces charges for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda with a possible 12-year term.

Valentina Pailodze, Georgian monitor, was arrested on March 14, 1983, on charges of giving bribes—in 1977 she was given a 3-year term of imprisonment.

Transfers from camp to prison: Moscow Helsinki Monitor, Viktor Nekipelov, was transferred in October 1982 from camp to a 3-year term in Chistopol Prison. Other Helsinki monitors imprisoned in Chistopol Prison include Anatoly Shcharansky (Moscow), Myroslav Marynovych and Mykola Matusevych (Ukraine), and Robert Nazaryan (Armenia).

Punishment in camp isolation cells: Moscow Helsinki Group leader, Yuri Orlov, was sentenced to his sixth term of 6-month isolation in late 1982 and Christian Committee leader, Father Gleb Yakunin, was also given a 6-month term in isolation in late 1982.

Interrogations: Refusenik scientist, Naum Meiman, 72, of the Moscow Helsinki Group was detained on April 19, 1982 for 1 day of KBG questioning, after his apartment had been searched.

Today, as a result of this relentless Kremlin campaign, there are 52 imprisoned Helsinki monitors from the U.S.S.R. and Lithuania. It is all these Helsinki prisoners who have tried to make the Helsinki Final Act a living document. It is all these Helsinki prisoners who must be remembered as the Madrid CSCE meeting goes into its final deliberations. ●

CAPITAL TARIFF REPEAL ACT OF 1983

HON. SAM GIBBONS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to repeal the 30-percent tax on interest received by foreigners on certain portfolio debt investments which operates as a tariff to prevent such investments from entering the United States.

This bill would amend the Internal Revenue Code to exempt from both U.S. income and withholding taxes the interest—and any original issue discount—on certain debt obligations of U.S. corporations held by nonresident aliens and foreign corporations if such interest was not effectively connected with a U.S. business of the holder.

Under current law income tax at the rate of 30 percent must be withheld on interest paid by U.S. corporations to nonresident aliens and foreign corporations not doing business in the United States. No significant exceptions permit, as a matter of practice, a domestic corporation to sell its debt obligations abroad. The exemption enacted in 1971 in connection with the Interest equalization tax lapsed when that legislation expired in 1974. Although a number of U.S. tax treaties with other countries eliminate the withholding tax on interest paid to residents of the other countries, these provisions are of little use for broadly distributed issues because such treaties do not cover all foreign countries.

It is not practical for U.S. corporations to assume the cost of the U.S. withholding tax by increasing the rate of interest, and foreign capital markets will not buy obligations if interest payments are reduced by withholding taxes. In order to eliminate the U.S. withholding tax, U.S. corporations that have borrowed abroad in foreign capital markets have done so through finance subsidiaries, usually formed in the Netherlands Antilles. Some use has also been made of domestic finance subsidiaries. The obligations of these finance companies are guaranteed by the U.S. parent. Although prior to July 1974, the Internal Revenue Service approved such issues by advance letter rulings, that is no

longer the case. Approximately \$5 billion of debt obligations have been sold in this way since June 1974.

It is questionable, as a matter of tax and economic policy, whether U.S. borrowers in foreign capital markets should be required to use financing subsidiaries. Moreover, foreign finance subsidiaries involve unnecessary costs and may interfere with the stated U.S. objective of renegotiating treaty arrangements with the Netherlands Antilles. It is important, however, to permit U.S. corporations to continue to have access to foreign capital markets, which are important to financing domestic investment. The U.S. Government's access to foreign capital market is also limited by the 30-percent withholding tax on interest.

The bill will eliminate the need to use Netherlands Antilles and other finance subsidiaries and permit obligations of U.S. issuers to be sold directly to foreign persons. Obligations of all U.S. borrowers will be covered, including obligations of domestic corporations, the U.S. Government, its agencies, and corporations created or reorganized by acts of Congress. The bill will apply to interest on three categories of obligations of such U.S. issuers:

First. Interest paid on obligations sold to foreign persons by finance subsidiaries prior to enactment of the bill and assumed by a domestic corporation thereafter. This will permit U.S. issuers to collapse existing Netherlands Antilles and other finance subsidiary arrangements. Because these obligations have for the most part been issued under instruments that require the payment of interest without withholding, the restrictions, discussed below on payments to controlled foreign corporations and to 10-percent or greater shareholders will not apply to those obligations.

Second. Interest paid on new obligations which are sold, directly or through underwriters, under arrangements reasonably designed to insure their initial sale only to foreign persons. Restrictions on sales to U.S. persons that are designed to avoid registration under the Securities Exchange Act of 1933 would satisfy the bill's requirement that the obligations be sold under arrangements reasonably designed to insure their sale to foreign persons. This part of the exemption could, however, apply where only a part of an issue was sold under such arrangements. Obligations sold directly to foreign persons in a private placement would also be covered.

Third. Interest paid on obligations not in bearer form where the withholding agent has received a statement to the effect that the beneficial owner of the obligation is a foreign person. This would cover obligations in registered form as well as other obligations not in bearer form such as mortgages. A statement would be ac-

ceptable for this purpose where it was represented to be from the beneficial owner or where it was from a clearing organization (such as CEDEL or Euroclear), a bank or other financial organization (for example, a brokerage house) that in the ordinary course of its business holds customers' securities. A statement from a clearing organization, bank or financial institution would not have to identify the owner, but simply to state that the owner was not a U.S. person. Withholding agents would not be entitled to rely on statements from a clearing organization, bank or financial organization if, in the period ending 1 month before the payment of interest, the Secretary had published a determination that statements from such a person, or class of such persons, were not acceptable.

Generally, the bill will not apply to interest paid to a controlled foreign corporation, to a bank on an extension into in the ordinary course of its banking business entered into in the ordinary course of its banking business (other than an obligation of the United States), to a holder of 10 percent or more of the issuer's voting stock, or to a 10 percent or greater partner of the issuer. Such a person will therefore be subject to U.S. tax on interest otherwise covered by the bill, subject to any applicable tax treaty. However, the withholding agent will not be responsible for withholding on interest paid to controlled foreign corporations, and withholding will be required in respect of an interest paid to a 10 percent or greater stockholder or partner of the issuer or to a bank on an extension of credit made pursuant to a loan agreement entered into in the ordinary course of its banking business only where the withholding agent knew, or had reason to know, that the interest was not eligible for the exemption. The elimination of withholding on interest paid to controlled foreign corporations, and the relaxed standard for withholding on interest paid to 10 percent or greater shareholders and partners and to banks on certain extensions of credit, are necessary in order for these restrictions not to interfere with the effectiveness of the exemption provided by the bill. The exclusion of interest paid to banks on certain extensions of credit will not apply to interest paid on securities offered through underwriters or in the normal private placement.

A number of restrictions in the coverage of the bill—for example, the requirement of a statement of beneficial ownership—are intended to insure that the exemption does not permit U.S. persons to avoid U.S. income tax. In exemption, the Secretary is authorized to terminate the exemption, on a prospective basis, as to payments made to a foreign country when he determines that the exchange of informa-

tion with that country is not adequate to prevent U.S. persons from avoiding U.S. tax on interest covered by the exemption.

The bill provides that the gross estate of a nonresident alien decedent does not include an obligation, the interest on which is exempt from tax, and for this purpose eligibility for the exemption is determined without regard to whether a statement had been received that the obligation was beneficially owned by a foreign person.●

IN SUPPORT OF H.R. 1624

HON. DOUG BARNARD, JR.

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. BARNARD. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 1624 would remove the distinction currently being made by the U.S. Customs Service between plastic ropes of identical characteristics and use. This distinction permits identical importations to be classified under different item numbers in the Tariff Schedules at substantially different duty rates. Specifically, if the strips from which the rope is made are wider than an inch, then the rope is imported under reduced rates of duty and without any limits on the quantity that may be imported.

This circumstance is the result of a fairly recent ruling by the Customs Service—a ruling made, I would add, without benefit of a public hearing to determine the effects on the domestic cordage industry. Those effects have the potential to be disastrous. In my home State of Georgia, 6 manufacturing operations employ about 800 people—650 of whom live or work in my district. If this loophole is not closed, as many as 200 people, or 25 percent of those employed, may lose their jobs.

H.R. 1624 is simple in its application and would affect only two item numbers in the Tariff Schedules. It would permit all rope manufactured of man-made materials to be entered under the cordage items in the Tariff Schedules, and it would permit the Customs Service to classify a piece of rope as rope without sending it to a laboratory to determine whether it is made of strips greater or less than 1 inch in width.

I urge my colleagues to end this anomaly in the Tariff Schedules and support H.R. 1624.●

ALL SEASONS ACADEMY

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, June 18 the All Seasons Riding Academy in Fremont, Calif., will hold its Fourth Annual Equestrian Show. The show will have the usual presentation of awards, parade, and pageantry. The All Seasons Academy itself, however is far from usual.

The proprietors of All Seasons, Stel and Laurel Papadopolous, provide a unique and therapeutic program for the handicapped. The academy uses its horseback riding programs to develop self-esteem in handicapped youth. Using a horse as a vehicle for therapy has shown remarkable results by giving mobility and pride to those who are usually confined to a wheelchair or bed. Young people who have never walked or talked have, through this therapy, begun to become mobile and initiate communication.

The academy is a nonprofit organization supported by community contributions. Over 400 students take classes each week, assisted by 180 volunteers. Stel and Laurel have also developed a National Resource Center, available to train instructors from all over the world in their unique method of therapy.

I commend the fine achievements of Mr. and Mrs. Papadopolous, and congratulate them on the occasion of the academy's fourth successful year of operation. I wish them every success in the years to come.●

AMERICAN INDIAN DAY

HON. MARTIN FROST

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1983

● Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join my colleague from New Mexico, BILL RICHARDSON, and others as we pay tribute to Native Americans.

There are approximately 20,000 American Indians living in an 11-county area in the northern part of Texas, and 60 percent of that number is in my district. This is a significant segment of the Nation's urban Indian population, a group that is often forgotten when we consider the special needs of their brothers and sisters living on reservations. What is more, urban Indians are also often overlooked in any assessment of the needs of the Nation's cities and their residents.

Thus, although urban Indians find it increasingly difficult to find work in these days of double-digit unemploy-

ment and a very tight job market, they may not be included in the statistics on the problem that many of us see every day. They depend a great deal on basic medical services, including prenatal and child nutrition, and alcohol treatment that are provided in community health programs. These programs, along with education and housing, have been a primary source of budget cuts in the current administration.

These recent changes seriously threaten the advances made by Indian people during the past decade. They must not continue and, thus, American Indian Day is a chance to reaffirm our commitment to implement programs which address the needs of American Indians—wherever they may live. I appreciate this opportunity to participate in the special order.●

WEST VIRGINIA'S "ALMOST HEAVEN" BECOMES A NIGHTMARE

HON. ROBERT E. WISE, JR.

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. WISE. Mr. Speaker, at the beginning of our session today I took the floor of the House to again call attention to the Members that, while some economic indicators may be up, West Virginia remains entrenched in the depths of a virtual depression.

To shed additional light on this, Mr. Speaker, I submit for the RECORD yesterday's Washington Post business section piece on the economic nightmare from which West Virginians suffer. I urge my colleagues to take a few minutes to read it.

Thank you.

WEST VIRGINIA'S "ALMOST HEAVEN" BECOMES A NIGHTMARE

(By John M. Berry)

BECKLEY, W. VA.—The West Virginia slogan, "Almost Heaven," stands these days as a sad, defiant cry against the economic disasters that have struck the state.

In March, by state estimates, the unemployment rate was above 20 percent in nearly a fourth of the counties across the state and above 30 percent in one, McDowell County, where a depression has hit the coal industry.

Like their counterparts throughout the Midwest, the old industrial cities along the Ohio River—Weirton, Wheeling, Parkersburg, Huntington—have been hard hit by a recession that has taken a particular toll among the smokestack industries such as steel, metal fabricating, foundries, and machinery manufacturing.

Production is also down sharply at most of the plants of DuPont and the host of other chemical companies that line the Kanawha River up and down stream from Charleston. As their markets dwindle, portions of the plants have been shut down, some permanently. Even some of the highly trained staff at a major Union Carbide research facility has been unnerved by fear of layoffs.

To the east, many of the lumber mills tied to the timber of private mountain land and that of the Monongahela National Forest have closed or laid off workers. The Pardee & Curtin Lumber Co., for instance, shut its hardwood mill in Webster County for good. The mill, which had 50 employees, was the county's only large private employer outside of coal, and the unemployment rate in the county in March stood at 28.7 percent.

But coal is West Virginia's true disaster. It was the collapse a year ago of the metallurgical coal market, and to a lesser extent that for steam coal for electric utilities as well, that turned this state's economy into what arguably can be called the most depressed in the nation.

Nearly 18,000 coal miners have lost their \$90- to \$100-a-day jobs in the last year and their ranks are still growing. With them have gone thousands of other who were employed by companies that serve the industry with everything from mine roof bolts to Joy loaders.

According to the U.S. Labor Department's figures, the state's unemployment rate in February reached 21 percent, not seasonally adjusted. That was far above the rate for the next highest state, Michigan's 16.5 percent. Moreover, the West Virginia figure was up nearly seven percentage points from February 1982 to February 1983, also by a wide margin the largest increase for any state.

Officials at the West Virginia Department of Employment Security reject the federal figures as invalid. They say their more broadly based estimates indicate the February rate was 14.6 percent, down slightly from 14.9 percent in January. The state officials say the March rate was still lower, 13.6 percent.

But as has been the case nationally, most of the improvement in the rate has been more the result of a shrinking labor force than of higher employment. If the labor force had not shrunk, the rate would still be about 15 percent, even by the state's estimates.

There are a few signs here and there that the slide may have hit bottom. Housing sales are picking up, as is the value of building permits in some parts of the state. Some workers at steel and aluminum plants have been recalled. For most of the unemployed workers, however, a job remains an uncertain prospect for some time in the future.

Meanwhile, the cold statistics of unemployment rates hardly depict the damage to families and individuals that are flowing from the hard times. The safety net of social programs—unemployment benefits, welfare, Medicaid and extensive public and volunteer efforts to distribute free food and clothing—have helped. In some areas they are nearly all that is keeping the economy afloat.

Anxieties and fear take their toll. Welfare authorities say drinking problems abound, and have led to a significant increase in physical abuse of wives and children. Health problems are going untreated until they become acute and hospital care is needed.

Family assets, particularly cars, are going by the boards as the unemployed owners can't make the payments. Only a few houses or mobile homes have been foreclosed because the lenders know they can't resell them. Some finance companies are letting people keep their mobile homes if they can pay even half the interest due on their loans each month, never mind the principal.

Ernie Moore, vice president of District 29 of the United Mine Workers and a member

of the state legislature, is saddened by what has happened to his state and most of all to the miners.

At the District 29 headquarters here—where everyone has taken pay cuts and the workweek cut to four days—Moore says that recently a woman called his wife in tears. Her husband had lost his job at a U.S. Steel Corp. mine and had begun to drink heavily. The couple, in their early 30s, have two children.

"They had lost their trailer and had to move into an apartment in Welch. They were on welfare and they were behind on their utilities," Moore recalls. "Then the physical abuse started.

"My wife urged me to try to help, so we invited them to come out to our house to talk about their troubles. They came and the wife said one thing was that they never did anything as a family any more.

"Well, at that the man started crying, and he said they can't afford to do anything and that his wife is always nagging him," Moore says. "My wife and I couldn't sort out everything, and we urged them to get counseling. I think I found some money to help on the utilities.

"You know, these men have been able to give their families most of what they needed and most of what they wanted. Now they can't, and they just can't deal with it. The children can't either. They were used to doing what the other kids did, and now they can't. They keep asking dad for money, he doesn't have any, and he gets aggravated. That can lead to physical abuse," Moore says.

And he adds, at the McDowell County mental health clinic "the case load is way up."

So is the welfare case load, the number of food stamp and Medicaid recipients and the lines of elderly, poor and unemployed who line up when they can for a free handout of butter, cheese and other food.

In McDowell County, says Betty Jo Jones, area administrator for the state's Department of Human Services, "everything depends on coal." When the mines are shut, there is nothing else.

"First, the miners can get a maximum of \$211 a week in unemployment benefits," Jones says. When those run out, they can't qualify for welfare payments if they have many assets beyond a house or mobile home or a car worth less than \$1,500. Also depending on their assets, they may qualify for food stamps and Medicaid.

The maximum monthly welfare payment is \$254 for a family of five or more. And while living up a hollow in the mountains may be cheaper than living in an urban area, Jones agrees, "I don't see how anybody makes it on \$254, even with food stamps."

Other things do help. Some families set up roadside flea markets, trading and buying and selling clothing and other small items. If they have a piece of land, there is usually a garden on it.

And then there is the volunteer help. "There are more people giving things than ever before," says Jones, "even low-income people who didn't before."

In Charleston, the United Way board has set up a regional network of free-food distribution points. Donald Withrow, a fiercely bearded Steelworkers member who is a mechanic at an FMC Corp. chemical plant and a member of the board, is the driving force behind the project.

Withrow, with the help of other union members at the C&P Telephone Co. and

other firms, caddies food and money wherever he can. Once each weekend, a large cadre of volunteers turns out at a local warehouse to help sort the food, pack it in boxes and send it on its way by truck. Most of the transportation has come from the U.S. Army Reserve units.

"We are creating something this valley will reap for years to come, volunteerism," says Withrow. "It hasn't really been needed for 20 years. Now it is. People will help if you give them a simple, honest system. Maybe I'm prejudiced as hell, but I think the people of West Virginia have just a little bit bigger heart."

The turn in West Virginia's fortunes really began in 1979 following a decade-long economic boom. During the deep recession of 1974-75, unemployment rose, but so did employment. Since September 1979, the slide downward has been unremitting.

Since the fall of 1979, non-agricultural employment has dropped 13.9 percent, from 675,800 to 581,700. Nationally, over the same period, such employment is down only 2.4 percent.

In West Virginia, the number of manufacturing jobs is down a huge 28.2 percent, to 91,700. In non-manufacturing, where 490,000 people are still employed, the decline is much smaller, only 10.6 percent, but much of that drop is concentrated in coal, according to the Department of Employment Security. In coal, the number of jobs has fallen over 3½ years by more than a third, from 68,800 to 44,700.

Not long ago, about 4,000 of those miners including some in nearby Virginia, were working for Consolidation Coal Co., a subsidiary of Conoco and now also part of DuPont. Only about 2,000 are at work now, says Eustice Frederick, a senior vice president who is in charge of Consol's southern Appalachian region.

Consol has only 11 mines operating, down from as many as 45, all working the Pocahontas No. 3 seam, known as the best metallurgical coal in the world. Its high carbon content makes it ideal for producing coke for use in making steel. There is no shortage of coal or people to mine it, only a dearth of markets.

Australians have captured much of the Japanese market, and the South Africans and the Poles much of that in Europe. Domestically, the market collapsed along with steel.

When will coal pick up again? Frederick isn't sure. Officials at U.S. Steel, which operates a number of large mines in the area, have told union leaders those mines should reopen in either the third or fourth quarter of this year.

As in any state, even one as depressed economically as this one, there are some brighter spots.

Charleston, the capital, has a mixture of government, trade, service and industrial jobs and has not been nearly as hurt as most other parts of the state. A new \$150 million shopping mall at the edge of downtown is on the way. This Town Center will include a performance center that will seat 12,000. Across the street from Town Center, a new Marriott Hotel opened a few months ago.

Similarly, outside Huntington, a major new regional shopping mall opened not long ago, though in one stroke it wreaked havoc with downtown Huntington stores.

Meanwhile, construction of new or expanded facilities is underway at several ski resorts in the mountains. At Snowshoe, atop Cheat Mountain in Pocahontas County,

close to \$50 million worth of new ski lifts, condominium units, private homes and other facilities will be added to the tax rolls in the year ending this July, according to tax assessor Dolan Irvine.

As a result, Snowshoe, which costs the county little in the way of services, will boost the country's tax base by nearly 20 percent in a single year. In addition, peak winter employment at the area is close to 1,000, with about half the jobs held by people from the county.

And in the state's eastern panhandle, from which several thousand residents commute daily from Jefferson and Berkeley counties to work in the Washington area, the recession has been much less severe. In Charles Town and Jefferson County, the March unemployment rate was 5.7 percent, by far the lowest rate in the state. Berkeley County and Martinsburg had a 9.6 percent rate, still one of only nine counties in which the rate was below double-digit range.

William N. Shearer, chairman of the Kanawha Banking & Trust Co. in Charleston, thinks the state capital will prosper again, and that it will be "the key to the economic future of the state.

"I'm bullish on Charleston. It's the center of government, and its becoming a medical center for the state, too. And now that the law has been changed to allow banks to expand through bank holding companies, it can become a larger financial center as well," declares the KB&T chairman, who recently gave the go-ahead on a \$27 million new headquarters building for the bank.

Moore says loan losses at his bank are up only slightly, with only about 3 percent past due. "Our collectors are on the phone more," he adds, "but that's our job." The loans that have been written off generally have been larger commercial loans, not personal loans.

Unlike some states in which older industries are shrinking, West Virginia is making no bold claims about how new high-technology industries will arrive to take up the slack. There are no well-known university research centers around which such industries might cluster. Nor is there a large pool of highly educated workers to fill jobs in them. West Virginia ranks near the bottom among all states in terms of the proportion of the population who are high school graduates.

Despite spending immense—for West Virginia—amounts of money on highway projects, many parts of the state are still remote and can be reached only over narrow roads that twist along narrow stream valleys or lift across a ridge.

For all the difficulty of traversing the state, it is centrally located relative to a large part of the populous Northeast and Midwest. As the state's network of interstate and Appalachian Regional highways moves forward, warehouses are springing up in Charleston to serve as distribution centers for a much larger region, according to Shearer.

Historically, West Virginia's economic growth was tied to development of the Ohio and Kanawha river valleys, with their ease of transportation, and to coal. The northern panhandle, including Wheeling and Weirton, is of a piece with neighboring Pennsylvania and Ohio—and in just as much economic trouble.

Several thousand jobs remain at stake at National Steel Corp.'s Weirton Steel division, where employees will vote soon on whether to buy the plant and try to make it

profitable by accepting about a 20 percent cut in pay and benefits.

At the DuPont chemical plant in Belle outside Charleston, plant manager Robert Porter says that since the beginning of last year, employment has shrunk by about 150, to 1,550, entirely through attrition. Now about 15 more face layoffs.

Porter says the number of jobs at the plant, which was first built in 1926 to make ammonia from coal gas, will continue to go down. Today, the Belle plant, which once employed nearly 5,000 workers, still produces about half of DuPont's line of agricultural chemicals with raw materials from outside West Virginia. Its location makes it a good distribution point for the farm markets in the Southeast and in the Midwest.

For the plant to survive, Porter has had to oversee a fierce cost-cutting campaign that literally has involved tearing down part of the facility. "I can't wait for the economy to make the recovery for me, and one of the things you do is, if you have excess, you get rid of it," he declares.

Since the state's economy soured, governments at all levels have felt a pinch, too. Spending has been cut and new state taxes were passed to close a budget gap of more than \$90 million, with most of the revenue coming from higher income taxes on people with above-average incomes. At the local level, the squeeze has sometimes been severe.

In Webster Springs, county seat of Webster County, where the unemployment rate in March was 28.7 percent, mayor R. J. Jorishie has watched the city's revenue-sharing money drop and the disappearance of some federal jobs money that was helping pay the police.

"Without revenue sharing, these towns can't exist," Jorishie declares. This coming fiscal year, spending will be lower for several things, with the big saving being elimination of the \$10,000-a-year job held by the mayor's secretary. The secretary does not know where she can find another job when this one ends next month.

Jim Mattingly, manager of Cutlips furniture and hardware store, a business operated for years by his wife's grandfather, is wondering what will happen when the miners' unemployment benefits run out.

Mattingly, who does much of his business on credit, says he doesn't sell his accounts receivable to a bank or finance companies.

"These folks live high on the hog when they are working. I'll get paid when they get back to work. Almost all of them pay their debts when they can," Mattingly says.

One of the reasons that the economic decline in West Virginia has been so steep likely is the fact that many of those who have lost their jobs were indeed making high wages in their industrial jobs when they were working. Average weekly earnings in coal mining in March were \$557.69. In December, the average employee in the primary metals industries was even higher at \$573.75. In chemicals, weekly pay averaged \$518.78 at year's end.

Unemployment benefits for about 20,000 workers expired last year and many more will drop off the rolls when the latest 10-week federal extension of benefits begins to run out for some as early as next month. At the Employment Security office here, job service supervisor Helen Johnson says, "Some of these people are just desperate. They are coming to us losing their cars and homes, and they will take any \$3.35 minimum wage job they can get."

"Of course, people used to be reluctant to hire miners because they knew they would

go back to the mines," Johnson explains. It's different now because the mines have been down so long, and some of the miners are looking for something they can stay with."

At the other end of the Employment Security building, where claims for benefits are filed, Gillis Cornette was waiting. Until last year, he was a mine foreman for the PG&H Coal Co. in Cabin Creek. Now his benefits are nearly gone and he has no hope of being called back to work. "I don't look for the company to last," he says in a gentle voice. "They cut back prices until they are just about giving it away."

Cornette's Beckley home is paid for, but his savings are just about gone. Neither he nor his wife, who had not worked before, can find even a minimum wage job.

"Just about every classification in the world is out there walking the street lookin'. I'm 48 and I'm taking a lot of steps backward. Assets? They say sell'em, but they don't want to buy them."

"What'll I do? I don't know," he says with a small smile and a shake of his head. "I just don't know."●

JIM DONOVAN RETIRES

HON. CARLOS J. MOORHEAD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, on June 7, 1983, the employees of the city of Glendale, Calif., will be having a special retirement dinner in celebration of an unabashed favorite, Jim Donovan.

Mr. Donovan began his career with the city in 1970. In the succeeding years, he has developed one of the most successful municipal safety operations in the State of California.

Repeatedly, the city has received awards from the National Safety Council because of his superlative efforts. He has made safety a practiced byword in all of the city's operations.

He has accomplished this rather remarkable task not by nagging or nit-picking, but by showing an undeniable concern for the health and happiness of his fellow employees.

They, in turn, have responded with a good deal of affection and admiration for him.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to wish for Jim Donovan in retirement what he has daily wished for his fellow workers—physical, emotional, and spiritual well-being.●

RICHLAND SESQUICENTENNIAL

HON. JOHN P. MURTHA

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. MURTHA. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, May 19, the citizens of Richland Township will join in cele-

brating their community's sesquicentennial.

The record of their community is impressive. In the last 10 years, its population has soared 26 percent. In a 5-year period, building permits totaled more than \$57 million. Two industrial parks employ about 1,500 workers in 30 firms. Retail sales in a year in the community total nearly \$200,000. It is at the center of a transportation network, and is an area that promises continued growth and progress.

But what is most significant for me is the people who stand behind those numbers. Those economic achievements would have been impossible without dedicated, talented people. Richland is an area that has spirit, and the progress shown in those numbers indicate what can be accomplished by people who care and are concerned.

I vividly remember in 1977 when the disastrous flood hit the city of Johnstown. Richland was not affected directly, but indirectly its people showed the compassion and concern that was vital in pulling the entire community together in the harrowing days that followed the flood and its devastation.

In its 150 years of development and progress, Richland has shown its ability to grow. More important, it has shown the quality of people who have developed the area, but who have made it into the true meaning of the word "community," with its concern for people, for a strong education system, for a sound religious base, for a system of community services and sharing, and for its recreational facilities.

Richland is a model; not simply in its progress but in its citizens and their community spirit. It is a pleasure to join in honoring them on this sesquicentennial, and to join in the praise of their past and the promise for a strong, growing, community-oriented future.●

HOUSE MEMBERS NOTE DEATH OF FORMER REPRESENTATIVE E. ROSS ADAIR

HON. PHILIP R. SHARP

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 11, 1983

● Mr. SHARP. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in noting the passing of former Representative E. Ross Adair.

Mr. Adair had a long and distinguished career, including 10 terms in the U.S. House of Representatives from the Fourth Congressional District of Indiana from 1951 to 1971. Although he served in the House prior to the beginning of my service in 1975, those of us from Indiana know his accomplishments and long record of service to those he ably represented.

Mr. Adair developed expertise in international relations through years of work on the House Foreign Affairs Committee where he served as senior Republican of the committee. His expertise, knowledge, and experience were recognized by former President Nixon in his appointment of Mr. Adair as U.S. Ambassador to Ethiopia during difficult and unsettling times in this country.

I would like to join with my colleagues from Indiana and from many other States in extending my sympathy to his wife, Marian, and to their children.●

THE PLIGHT OF OSIP LOKSHIN

HON. SAM GEJDENSON

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Speaker, it is with great dismay that I must today remind my colleagues of the plight of Osip Lokshin, as we in Congress continue our "Call to Conscience for Soviet Jews."

Mr. Lokshin, a lawyer from Kishinev, Moldavian S.S.R., applied to emigrate to Israel in 1980. Authorities at first refused even to accept his papers, then denied his application on the grounds of "insufficient kinship." On May 30, 1981, Osip Lokshin was arrested for participating in a peaceful demonstration against arbitrary Soviet emigration policies. He was tried in September of that year, and, after a 3-day trial at which only close relatives were allowed in the courtroom, was found guilty of organizing a mass disturbance. No appeal was allowed. Osip Lokshin is currently serving a 3-year sentence in a labor camp for his alleged offense.

It is clear that Osip Lokshin is one of many victims of the current Soviet crackdown on would-be emigrants. Because of his attempts to secure freedom for himself, his wife, and son, he is now serving an unjust sentence under brutal conditions. Arbitrary arrest and imprisonment have become commonplace treatment for those who are courageous enough to apply for exit visas. Many more do not even apply, fearing that they, too, will be targets of official retaliation, facing the loss of their jobs, arrest, and protracted separation from their families.

The Soviet authorities continue their oppression of those wishing to leave, in flagrant violation of the Helsinki Final Act and the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, documents to which the U.S.S.R. is a signatory. Soviet policy in this area, which so openly ignores the mandate of its international agreements and the humanitarian spirit which is at the heart of those agree-

ments, does much to exacerbate the already strained relations between our two nations. It is my hope that those in authority will take steps to reverse the recent escalation of persecution against Soviet citizens wishing to emigrate. It is my belief that a reconsideration of this policy and a more open attitude toward the issue of human rights in general, would constitute a significant step toward the relaxing of tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union.●

MAY 17: WORLD COMMUNICATIONS DAY

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, 40 years ago, Arthur C. Clarke stretched our imaginations with a description of how communications satellites might someday be used to make the world a "global village." That vision of the future is now becoming a reality—or at least can become a reality if we so choose. To highlight the potential advantages of international telecommunications, May 17 has been designated as World Communications Day, with Arthur C. Clarke as the keynote speaker at the United Nations global telecommunications ceremony.

In the last 20 years, the United States and other countries have made tremendous strides in understanding and making use of space. We now have a responsibility to determine the best use for our knowledge and power. The Congress and the President will be faced with a number of important decisions over the next few years: Do we want to extend the arms race into outer space? What are the proper roles for the public and private sectors in the commercialization of space? Into what sort of international cooperative agreements should the United States enter in telecommunications?

Along with a number of colleagues in the House of Representatives and the Senate, I am especially concerned about pursuing peaceful rather than military uses of space. Peaceful uses, such as global information systems, could lower the likelihood of international conflicts rather than raising the likelihood, as will surely result from the militarization of space.

Global Communications Day, May 17, should remind all of us of the nobler and more humane possibilities for the use of space. The following article suggests one way that the United States could take the lead in this effort, by establishing a global information complex. I hope that this vision of the future, which was first presented in hearings during the 94th

Congress, will be considered in the 98th Congress as one of a number of possible alternatives to the "space wars" vision of President Reagan. I commend the article to my colleagues.

[From the IEEE Aerospace & Electronic Systems Society Newsletter, May 1983]

A GLOBAL INFORMATION COMPLEX

(By Howard and Harriet Kurtz)

(The following are excerpts from testimony prepared for the House Subcommittee on Space Science and Application of the 94th Congress. In view of impending space legislation, they are presented to spark creative ideas and suggestions from IEEE membership.)

EXPANDED GODDARD SPACE CENTER: WINDOW TO THE FUTURE

Goddard Space Center in the Maryland outskirts of Washington, D.C. already is the nerve center through which global remote sensing space technology data are transformed into information serving the needs of an increasing number of world-wide users.

Although thousands of creative persons in NASA and in the other government department and agencies as well as in corporations and research centers working under contract to NASA have for more than ten years envisioned and developed the awesome and unprecedented capabilities of earth-orbiting meteorological and communications and earth resources survey and other humane applications satellites, the leadership to these new realities has emanated from the scientists, engineers and experts at Goddard.

We are suggesting now that the size and the facilities and the mission of Goddard Space Center be greatly expanded to provide the same leading edge for a new generation of all-nation, or global, research, development, testing and evaluation (and eventual shared operation with other nations) of space systems and institutions serving the common needs of all nations, large and small. This center should coordinate the facilities of other government departments and agencies dealing with space applications.

The President and Congress could focus world attention on Goddard as the coordinating center for a historic commitment of the American people to a new American purpose . . . a decade of gradual redirection of American creativity and power to the pioneering of global systems and structures to serve the basic needs of all nations for progress and independence and security.

As its function expands Goddard will be opened up to the people of the world. All work will be conducted with information which is in the public domain. No classified information or national secrets of any nation will be allowed into the new Global Information Complex. On a large scale the activities of the new complex will with its many layers comprise a center of concern for humanity.

1. Continued research and development

Budgets for pro-human applications satellite development will be increased to four or five times the present modest amounts, as a validation of the American national commitment. Goddard will continue to set the forward creative pace, not only for American research and development in this area, but for the creative people of all nations who will be invited and welcomed.

Governmental or independent research organizations of all nations will be invited to establish their own subsidiary groups of their own research centers located in or near the Goddard Global Information Complex, to work cooperatively in joint or common new directions with the scientists, engineers and professional experts of all pertinent disciplines from all interested nations.

Facilities will be maintained to bring in experts from anywhere in the world for shorter periods of consultation.

Facilities will be maintained for representatives of scientific and professional societies in all pertinent fields, from all nations, to maintain liaison offices within the complex. Science advisors from all embassies in Washington will be welcome.

2. Storage of scientific information

At the present time at Goddard there is a National Space Science Data Center, where refined basic scientific information and data are stored for reference and future use for all outer-space science activities.

On a far larger scale a new Earth Applications Space Data Center will be created to become the central reservoir of accumulated knowledge relating to space programs and applications directed toward the earth and its populations. Libraries and universities and laboratories of all nations will have access to this reservoir of knowledge, and ways will be developed to create similar satellite data centers in other regions of the planet, linked to the central information storage.

A technical information facility will be maintained to assure maximum cooperation with all other channels for the communication of technical information to scientists and engineers and professional specialists and individuals, world-wide, as an expansion of the present NASA Technical Information Facility.

3. Active interface with users

The breakthrough technologies to serve the needs of nations and people are of little value, until the organizations and nations and people who could use the new intelligence understand what new services are within their reach, and they learn how to make maximum utilization of the services. This involves a world-wide two-way continuous communications network (1) with the creative research center understanding the needs of potential users everywhere, and (2) the potential users everywhere learning how to take maximum advantage from the services.

This back and forth dependence upon each other will require continuing active interface and liaison between the Goddard Global Information Complex and local governments, state governments, regional institutions, national governmental departments and agencies, universities, high schools, corporations, and individuals within the United States . . . and through proper channels with the same sectors of all other nations around the world . . . and through other channels with the pertinent structures within the United Nations and other world institutions (such as, for example, the World Court in relation to future litigation). All of these activities are being pioneered on small budgets by NASA, by the Agency for International Development, by the Department of the Interior, by the Department of Agriculture, etc. . . . but the nations of the world have become confused and discouraged in the last year as they learned that the Office of Management and Budget in

the White House was threatening to kill all budgets for future LANDSAT satellite development. The new Goddard Complex and be evidence before the world that the United States and the American people have made a long range, sustained, continuing national commitment to the welfare of humanity.

Experts and students will be brought in from other nations, sent by their own governments, to study the uses and the new techniques continually being developed . . . and experts and teachers will be sent out at the request of other governments to conduct training and education in the areas of the users.

Two-way communication will bring all complaints and inadequacies from the users around the world to the creative center at Goddard, with answers or improvements flowing back to the users.

Nations or organizations will be expected to pay their expenses and the costs of training, but policies will be developed for those deserving but unable to pay, with the provision of fellowships and other aids.

4. The Global Information Sciences Institute

Universities and institutes within all nations will be invited to assign advanced students and professors to study or to instruct at a new Global Information Sciences Institute at Goddard, and to work cooperatively with the research centers of the Global Information Complex to both lead and follow the creative pioneering probes into future prohuman and life-supporting space systems.

5. Global Information Conference Centers

Facilities will be created at Goddard where multinational or all-nation symposia and conferences may be held at regular intervals to clarify and communicate the latest developments . . . where policy review conferences may be held among the governments of the world and the space information experts . . . where conceptual conferences can call upon participants to project the future operational requirements for as-yet-unthought-of future space projects . . . where experts in space information services for the planet may work in frequent interface with experts in many other fields of the emerging world community of nations.

6. The public experience

A very, very large exhibition hall and information display center will be built which might become the greatest tourist center in the world. The creative imagination of the public information professionals already translating space efforts into visual displays, if invited to offer ideas, could make the public rooms at Goddard more exciting than any world's fair.

Large and vivid audio-visual displays will give the public the vicarious experience of looking down upon mankind on the Space Ship Earth, and experiencing the almost-impossible-to-describe realities of what can be "seen" and discerned and recognized to serve the needs of humanity on the Earth below.

Large information display walls will allow the public to look (in real time or in later replay from computers) down upon events unfolding on the Planet Earth.

The press corps, with journalists from all nations, will have full access to the inflow of open-to-the-public global intelligence. Television networks and stations of the world will have direct electronic connections to the satellites in orbit, so that world events or disasters or dramatic rescues or battle-

fields or earthquakes or just the awesome and wondrous beauty of the Earth from space may be seen in real time on the TV screens of the world.

Students with dreams of future careers committed to making the Earth a safe and decent place to live will come to the visual experience center and may see openings for their own personal career commitments . . . taking home the preliminary literature and elementary books on sale at the In Orbit Book Store connected to the looking-down-on-planet-earth public experience center.

Students at the Global Information Sciences Institute might earn tuition by answering questions from the peoples of the world moving through the exhibit and taking home a picture postcard or their own home town, anywhere, taken from outer-space.

7. New ideas . . . new opportunities . . . new hope

Throughout the ages whatever people have been able to envision, eventually they have been able to create. The shocking new reality of modern creative research and development power is that humanity for the first time in history can create any kind of future world order it can envision, and is willing to make the massive commitment to achieve. Looking at humanity and looking at the Planet Earth from the new vantage point of instruments in outer space, one's imagination is released to begin envisioning dozens of hundreds or thousands of new ways to help all humanity live through crises and develop unprecedented well-being, as readily as military planners can envision new ways to kill more people in less time over a greater distance.

As at first hundreds, then thousands, then millions of people encounter the personal experience sensations of the Goddard audio-visual information display complex, the creative imaginations of human beings will be released and humanity gradually will envision, and then create, institutions, the systems the structures, the devices, the tactics, the jobs related to a safe and decent future for humankind, trapped and forced to live on Planet Earth. There is valid reason for hope, but too few people are able to experience this reason for hope.

The great global defense/space/communications/command control and other systems teams will be put to work on an unprecedented scale, doing what they do best . . . pioneering utterly complex global systems.●

PHOSPHATE WORKERS LAID OFF; NO NEED TO MINE FOREST

HON. DON FUQUA

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, I am submitting for the record today a news article from the Lake City, Fla., Reporter about layoffs at the White Springs phosphate mine just a few miles west of Osceola National Forest.

Within a few weeks, I anticipate that this House will have for consideration H.R. 9, legislation much like H.R. 9, which passed last year without opposition, which passed the Senate last year, and which was ultimately vetoed by the President.

H.R. 9 is the Florida Wilderness Act, but one of its most vital provisions is to declare a congressional prohibition on mining phosphate in the Osceola National Forest.

Four companies have preferential lease rights for mining in the Osceola. The Department of the Interior last year rejected their applications for mining leases and one of the companies has since filed litigation challenging that action.

If this mining is permitted, one-third of the 157,000-acre Osceola National Forest would be subject to strip mining, destroying forever a large area of wetlands and denying effective public use of much of the forest to a large segment of the population of north Florida, south Georgia, and others from elsewhere who use it for boating, fishing, hiking, camping, hunting, and other recreational pursuits.

To protect this natural area from needless and even uneconomic exploitation, we need a congressional determination that such mining will not take place.

There are abundant sources of phosphate rock in private hands throughout Florida which, testimony has shown, will provide the Nation and the world with sufficient phosphate until at least the middle of the next century.

There is also a longstanding glut of phosphate on a depressed market, accounting for this latest in a series of layoffs in the industry.

The following news article provides an insight into the current state of the phosphate market and argues against any need to permit mining in the Osceola National Forest.

[From the Lake City (Fla.) Reporter]

OXY LAYOFFS: SLUMPING MARKET BRINGS MORE LAYOFFS AT OXY
(Bill Graf)

Occidental Chemical Co. of White Springs laid off 30 employees this week, saying a continually slumping fertilizer market forced the company to do so.

Thirty employees at Occidental Chemical Co. lost their positions this week, according to Occidental spokesman Ray Kirkland, who added "it's business as usual" at the chemical company now and the most recent layoffs are just part of the weekly staffing changes dictated by fertilizer market conditions.

Kirkland said, however, some of the 30 people involved could be re-employed in different jobs at Oxy. He would not commit to whether more lay-offs are forthcoming—it all depends on the phosphate and fertilizer markets.

Fourteen permanent positions were terminated in mine services work and 16 others were indefinitely laid off when one of Oxy's Suwannee River chemical plants shut down its operations for an undetermined length of time, he said.

However, he added, those losing jobs in mine services will probably be hired to do plant "turnaround" work, which will last four to six weeks. Plant turnaround is regular maintenance done on plant equipment

on an annual basis, depending on the operation, he said.

Plants going into and out of production, Kirkland said, are something that happens almost on a weekly basis.

"This is a routine adjustment to the changing conditions of the market," he said of the layoffs.

"There have been no large-scale layoffs since last year," Kirkland added. In April and May of 1982, Occidental had major employee reductions, sending nearly 400 of its then 2,100 workers to unemployment lines.

Occidental, which has employed more than 2,200 people in the past, currently has 1,790 working at its White Springs area operations.

The effects of the latest terminations of job positions "will be nil for all practical purposes," Kirkland said. "But that's not to say another plant won't close next week. Our crystal ball is not that good."

"The bottom line numberswise is that there are 30 less jobs than five days ago. But that could change just as rapidly of the market changes," he added.●

COMPULSORY CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS REFORM ACT

HON. WILLIAM L. DICKINSON
OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. Speaker, despite all of the Federal legislation enacted in recent years to regulate the election process in the United States, Congress has failed to limit one of the most blatant abuses of the American political system—the use of compulsory union dues for political purposes. As a result, millions of American voters are forced to support political causes and candidates which they might otherwise oppose.

Of all private organizations in this country, only labor unions can require a person to pay money as a condition of getting and keeping a job. Under this special privilege, unions collect about \$3 billion a year from individuals who have to pay up or be fired. The Federal Election Campaign Act, as amended in 1976, prohibits the use of compulsory dues for direct cash contributions to candidates. This appears to restrict the use of compulsory dues for political purposes. However, the law specifically permits union officials to use money taken as a condition of employment to finance the operation of union PAC's and provide extensive in-kind political services such as mass mailings, phone banks, precinct visits, and voter registration drives. This in-kind spending is neither documented nor reported to the FEC.

Today I am introducing legislation, the Compulsory Campaign Contributions Reform Act, which would guarantee the right of voluntary participation in the election process. This bill would close the current loophole in the FEC law by requiring that all moneys used for political purposes—

not just direct contributions—be derived from voluntary contributions. It will protect the political freedom of the working man and woman.

I believe that congressional action and support would be especially timely now. On April 18, the U.S. Supreme Court agreed to hear appeal of a lawsuit to determine whether union dues can be used for anything other than negotiating and administering collective bargaining agreements. The case, Falls/Ellis against Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, present a unique opportunity for the Court to establish national criteria for the proper use of compulsory union dues and remedy the violation of constitutional right of employees.

We must not permit any man or organization to force any person to make political contributions against his beliefs or convictions. I hope that every one of my colleagues who share this view will actively support my bill, and I invite your cosponsorship.●

MAKING THE INCREMENTAL R&D INVESTMENT TAX CREDIT PERMANENT

HON. FORTNEY H. (PETE) STARK
OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, today a number of us are introducing legislation to make the incremental R&D investment tax credit, established for a 5-year period in the 1981 Tax Act, permanent.

Joining me in this effort are Messrs. VANDER JAGT, PICKLE, SHANNON, HEFTEL, and ZSCHAU. This bill is a "simplified" version of a bill several of us had introduced earlier making permanent both the incremental R&D provision and the 2-year "moratorium" on the IRS's 861 R&D allocation rules. We are introducing this separate bill so that each issue can be examined on its merits.

I believe increased R&D is one of the keys to restoring the Nation's productivity and international competitiveness. It is important to encourage long-range, basic research by industry, and thus it is important to make this incremental R&D provision permanent as soon as possible.

Personally, I would like to note, however, that as chairman of the Select Revenue Measures Subcommittee, I am concerned about some R&D tax partnerships which have come to my attention. The most creative thing about these research projects is the work of the tax lawyers involved. When the Congress examines the R&D incentive issue, I believe we should look closely at some of these schemes. Basic research and applied research must be encouraged; research

on how to drill new holes in the Tax Code must be discouraged. I have requested hearings on these issues as soon as possible.●

**HONORING EDWARD R. ROINA,
EDUCATOR**

HON. ROBERT J. LAGOMARSINO

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. LAGOMARSINO. Mr. Speaker, I invite you and my colleagues to join me in commending a constituent of mine from Santa Paula, Calif., Mr. Edward R. Roina. Mr. Roina has been a fine educator in the Santa Paula School District for 33 years and well deserves our appreciation, as well as that of the community. This commendation is given upon the occasion of his retirement in June 1983.

Mr. Roina received an associate of arts degree from Ventura College in 1949, a bachelor's degree in music from University of California, Santa Barbara, in 1951; he later completed postgraduate work at Columbia Teachers College in New York. He then began teaching in the Santa Paula elementary school system. He now retires from his position as music instructor at Santa Paula High School, where he has also served as musical coordinator and director in presenting years of concert programs. His service to the Santa Paula community for musical activities beyond the campus boundaries is indeed noteworthy.

Mr. Speaker, I ask that Mr. Roina be recognized for the contribution he has made to the Santa Paula community and the fine work he has done as an educator. We thank Mr. Roina for his many years of dedicated service.●

**CLARK DRANE HONORED AT
TESTIMONIAL DINNER**

HON. CARLOS J. MOORHEAD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, on June 4, 1983, Mr. Clark Drane, a good friend of mine and a fine man, will be honored at a testimonial dinner in Sunland, Calif.

For more than 30 years, the San Fernando Valley has benefited because of his drive, dedication and talent. Clark Drane has been a force for good because he accepts responsibility with ease and gladness. He works for causes with intelligence and conviction. He gives of his energies, his time and his resources without qualm or qualification.

Mr. Drane's accomplishments are too numerous to mention as are his affiliations, suffice it to say that his in-

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

fluence has been felt in business, government, politics, education and the arts.

Many people, many organizations are the better for his efforts. He is a sterling example for anyone who wishes to get involved in promoting the well-being of the human family.

Mr. Speaker, Clark Drane is a special man who richly deserves this special tribute. I am pleased to play a small role in that endeavor.●

A TRIBUTE TO BEN FELDMAN

HON. DOUGLAS APPLGATE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. APPLGATE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues in the House of Representatives a remarkable constituent of mine. This special person is Ben Feldman, a resident of East Liverpool, Ohio, and a sales representative for the New York Life Insurance Co.

Mr. Feldman, who could be the world's greatest life insurance salesman, has sold more than \$800 million worth of life insurance during his career with New York Life. In 1946, just 4 years after joining New York Life, Mr. Feldman reached his first million-dollar sales year. Since then he has been a member of the Million Dollar Round Table for 36 consecutive years. This is the international organization of the life insurance industry's most successful salesmen.

In an effort to commend him, the East Liverpool Area Chamber of Commerce has selected Mr. Feldman as its "Man of the Year for 1983." Other achievements of this insurance pioneer include being a past New York Life club president and chairman emeritus of the advisory board of directors. Mr. Feldman has also been featured in such books as, *The Feldman Method*, by Andrew H. Thompson; *The Incomparable Salesman*, by Perrin Stryker; and *The Supersalesman*, by Edwin P. Hoyt. The latest book is *Creative Selling for the Seventies*, written by Mr. Feldman himself.

Life insurance industry researchers have not been able to find any records that come close to those of Ben Feldman's. From 1960 through 1982 his sales have averaged \$36.2 million per year, climaxing in 1982 by reaching \$87 million for the year. Together with his two sons Rich, and Marv, the total volume for the three Feldman's including brokerage, is \$851 million from 1975 through 1982.

Ben Feldman stands as an example of both the hope and initiative of America and its future.●

**TRIBUTE TO VICTOR LARA
ORTEGON**

HON. SOLOMON P. ORTIZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. ORTIZ. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to bring to the attention of this body a radio broadcaster from Corpus Christi, Tex., who has devoted his career to enriching the quality of life for Hispanics in the south Texas area. Victor Lara Ortegon has used the radio as a vehicle for promoting the advancement of Hispanics through education and active involvement in our democratic process.

His own personal pursuit of education and political expression has guided Mr. Ortegon since he was a young boy growing up in Mexico. Mr. Ortegon was born in Candela, Mexico and lived his first 5 years there. Candela is a secluded town, lacking many of the amenities and services of urban areas, or even most rural ones. So when he was 5, Mr. Ortegon's family decided they must move so their children might receive a good education.

While attending high school in Nuevo Laredo, Mr. Ortegon's interest in radio was spawned. There was a station across the street from his home and it was at this studio, a few years later, that Mr. Ortegon made his broadcast debut.

In 1950, having married and started a family, Victor Lara Ortegon decided to cross the border and immigrate to the United States so that he and his family might have an improved quality of life. A Spanish-speaking radio station was about to go on the air in Pasadena, Tex., and Mr. Ortegon became one of the first broadcasters. He worked here until 1953, when he moved on to radio station K-UNO in Corpus Christi, Tex. Mr. Ortegon continues to work at this station and is one of the most popular broadcasters in the area.

As Mr. Ortegon would say, the secret to success is to discover one's self. It was at K-UNO that he realized his own ambitions, and the community discovered and embraced him.

As Mr. Ortegon's convictions on the importance of education and democratic expression crystallized, his broadcasting took on a different tone. He realized the special role he could play through this access to the airwaves. Mr. Ortegon has used the radio as a pulpit for inspiring his Hispanic audiences to seek high levels of academic achievement. His experiences as an immigrant highlighted the opportunities afforded Hispanics in this country, foremost among them the opportunity for a good education, so often unavailable in Mexico.

The centerpiece of Mr. Ortegon's broadcasting career is his talk show, "Comentarios." The show began informally 25 years ago and has since become an institution of radio. Mr. Ortegon's broadcast activities also include a morning air check, where community concerns and educational matters are spotlighted. He also serves as a reporter, covering the police beat and city hall.

Mr. Ortegon has led intensive, on-the-air voter registration drives. Through interviews with public officials—Presidents, State and local elected representatives—the power of the vote has been stressed and how that power can be used to advance Hispanics.

Throughout his years in broadcasting, Victor Lara Ortegon has received no less than 60 prizes, awards, and recognitions in appreciation of his service to the community. The Corpus Christi Caller Times has published many articles about his radio work. A December 1982 article on the community influence of "Comentarios" calls the show the conscience of the community.

Victor Ortegon's involvement in community life extends beyond the studio and airwaves. He serves on the advisory boards of the adult education center and the Spanish textbook committee. Mr. Ortegon is active in the Boy's Club, Red Cross, and the Blood Bank. Through all these activities, Mr. Ortegon has borne in mind the interests and development of the Hispanic community. He has inspired pride in the heritage of the Hispanic and the role the Hispanic has to play in American life.●

A TRIBUTE TO DR. E. A.
SEAMANDS

HON. HAROLD ROGERS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, there are few of us who are fortunate enough to enjoy the fruits of life until age 91. Yet in my district, there is someone who cannot only make that statement, but can still, even at that ripe old age, have a positive influence on the lives of thousands of people.

I am speaking of Dr. E. A. Seamands of Wilmore, Ky., who just returned a few weeks ago from his latest missionary work in India. Dr. Seamands spent many years in India with his wife, Yvonne, before retiring in 1958. But every year since then, with a single exception, Dr. Seamands has made his way back to India to work with the peasants there whose lives he has touched.

While in India, Dr. Seamands would preach and minister, but he also worked with local communities, and

would return to the United States each year with applications for assistance in building new churches and schools. In fact, Dr. Seamands has built more churches since his retirement, then he did during his entire career as a full-time missionary.

This past year, Dr. Seamands took part in the Dharur Jungle Jatre, a massive camp meeting. In 1923, when Dr. Seamands first organized the gathering, only 175 Indians attended. This time, a crowd of 80,000 was on hand. This speaks not only of Dr. Seamands' hard work, but of the profound impact he has as a religious leader in a land faraway.

Mr. Speaker, I commend the attention of the House to Dr. E. A. Seamands, and ask you to join me in congratulating him for his outstanding service to humanity, and wishing him well as he continues his ministry in the future.●

THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE: A
VIEW FROM CITY HALL

HON. JERRY M. PATTERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, the escalating arms race and, correspondingly, the increased danger of nuclear war threatens the survival of every citizen in every city of this country. As a former mayor of the city of Santa Ana, I am especially aware of the negative impact the ever-spiraling arms race has on local communities. Excessive buildup of nuclear weaponry drains this Nation of its monetary and intellectual resources.

Mr. Larry Agran, mayor of the city of Irvine in Orange County, Calif., has recently written an article outlining the serious problems the arms race poses for local governments. I would like to share this perspective from city hall with my colleagues.

Mr. Speaker, I offer Mayor Agran's statement at this point:

MAYOR AGRAN'S STATEMENT

What does nuclear war have to do with local government? Quite simply, everything. If nuclear war comes, it will be the cities and towns of America that are blown to pieces. It will be the families living here who, in an instant, are turned to dust. It will be we who pay the ultimate, obscene price for the failure of national and international leadership.

My colleagues and I—mayors of large and small cities across our Nation—share a sworn duty to protect human life. We know that when parents send their children to school in the morning, they have every right to expect the path will be safe. To assure this, we appropriate millions of dollars to provide stop signs and traffic lights, playground supervisors and crossing guards, paramedics and neighborhood police patrols. These are the symbols and the substance of the life-affirming responsibility that is ours as local elected officials.

Like other mayors in other cities, I have given a great deal of thought to the unusual hazards, as well as the common dangers, that threaten a community and its citizens. In my own city of Irvine, population 75,000, we now are reasonably well prepared to cope with the brush fires and floods that may sweep through our hillsides and canyons. Our police force is increasingly skilled at dealing with toxic chemical spills. And, with intense and costly planning, we soon may be able to withstand the "killer" earthquake that geologists insist is destined to strike Southern California.

But can we survive a thermonuclear blast? The Reagan administration says yes. I say no. The pandemic devastation of nuclear war almost defies human comprehension. That's why those of us who seek the truth about this matter are appalled at the utter ignorance of the President and his subordinate officials, who talk seriously of waging a "protracted" nuclear war; "surviving" a nuclear exchange; "winning," and then "rebuilding" society after the holocaust.

Those in high places who cling to the notion of "surviving" a nuclear war, curiously enough, find hope amid the ashes of Hiroshima. They point to the Hiroshima survivors as evidence of human resilience and note that the Japanese city was rebuilt. What they ignore, however, is the difference between a 1945 atomic bomb and a 1983 thermonuclear weapon. The single bomb that killed and maimed 130,000 people and leveled 90 percent of Hiroshima was, by today's standards, very tiny device. Consider this: Just one U.S. Trident submarine is armed with 408 independently targetable thermonuclear warheads, each warhead more than 70 times as powerful as the bomb dropped on Hiroshima. This means that aboard this single vessel is a nuclear explosive force equivalent to more than 30,000 Hiroshimas; a nuclear force equal to a Hiroshima-sized calamity each and every day for more than 80 years.

The terrifying reality is that the Soviet Union and the United States have managed to stockpile 50,000 nuclear bombs. In an all-out nuclear war, an estimated 160 million Americans would die, roughly three-quarters of our entire population. Virtually every American residing in a metropolitan area would perish. As a mayor, familiar with the practical limits of local disaster preparedness, I categorically can state that no system of bomb shelters, no plan of evacuation, no degree of preparation could possibly enhance prospects of surviving the lethal horrors of a thermonuclear war. The only policy that makes any sense is to urge the steadfast pursuit of peace * * * and the early control and ultimate elimination of all nuclear armaments.

In growing numbers, local elected officials understand that the destructive effects of nuclear weapons are not just physical in character. These terrible weapons, even if never used, are inflicting massive economic damage. Unlike the President and those in Congress who mindlessly add tens of billions of dollars to an already bloated military budget, we at city hall every day bear witness to the true costs of the nuclear arms race. Nuclear weapons—the driving force behind the more than \$200 billion that we are spending annually for military purposes—are robbing our cities and towns of the resources essential to growth, development, and progress.

Much has been said about our Nation's deteriorating infrastructure—the roads, bridges, sewers, and dams so desperately in

need of repair and rehabilitation. But, beyond this essential hardware, the intellectual and biological underpinnings or our Nation also suffer from neglect. Who is tending to the minds and bodies of our children? Funding for nutrition and health programs is slashed. Our investment in education—the one sure pathway to enhanced knowledge and ingenuity among all our people—dwindles. Measured in terms of aggregate resources and income, we remain the wealthiest Nation on the face of the Earth. And yet we feel so poor. We suffer from a poverty of priorities that, I believe, is more easily seen from city hall than from the cloistered confines of Washington. We watch in disbelief as the President searches for a multi-billion dollar home for 100 MX missiles while here, in Orange County, entire families sleep in cars or in vans; they huddle under tents and bridges.

Even in Irvine, an affluent master-planned city that is only 11 years old, we are struggling to find the local resources to meet our near-term commitment to construct 725 units of low-income housing. Without these dwellings there is no hope for people of modest means to live in Irvine and contribute to the betterment of our new city. As we strain to provide affordable housing opportunities, with waiting lists now numbering in the thousands, the Pentagon in a single day spends more than \$600 million. It is a source of personal despair to consider that if this 1-day's military spending could somehow be captured and redirected to my city, it would be enough to fund the construction of more than 10,000 low-income and moderate-income housing units, meeting Irvine's affordable housing needs for at least 100 years.

I have heard it said that, sitting here at city hall, mayors lack a proper perspective of the nuclear arms race. My hunch is just the opposite. Mayors and local elected officials, I think, have a clear and undistorted view of this matter. My colleagues and I see the unmet needs of our people. We gaze upon a barren political landscape devoid of innovative leadership. We watch a handful of seemingly power-crazed national officials who daily risk our lives and squander our resources in their reckless pursuit of a deadly delusion.

Washington needs to understand that here at city hall and on Main Street, we still are able to make a series of fundamental distinctions. Death is not life. War is not peace. And preparation for war is not the path to peace. Security—whether it is personal security or national security—requires a future that promises to be better than the past. I believe this is only possible in a world free of nuclear weapons and similar instruments of mass destruction.●

TRIBUTE TO EVELYN B. KIPP

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, it is my great pleasure to bring to the attention of my colleagues the accomplishments of Evelyn B. Kipp, superintendent of the Newark Unified School District in Newark, Calif. Mrs. Kipp will be honored at a retirement dinner on June 30, 1983.

Mrs. Kipp is one of the most distinguished women in education in the State of California. She has spent almost 40 years in the education field, beginning as a teaching principal in New York. For the past three decades, the people of the city of Newark have benefited from Evelyn's talents as she worked her way up through the ranks from a classroom teacher and music specialist to assistant superintendent. In 1964, she was appointed superintendent of schools, the first woman superintendent in Alameda County.

Evelyn's tenure as superintendent has coincided with tremendous growth in enrollment in the district. She has dealt effectively with the issues presented by this growth, with changing attitudes toward education and with the problems cutbacks in education funding have created for the school district. Because of her capable leadership, Newark Unified School District continues to rank among California's best.

Mrs. Kipp has been an active member of many national, State, and community organizations. She has been the program presenter of the American Association of School Administrators' 1979 and 1980 national conferences, chairperson of the State comparable work task force, and for the past 6 years, chairperson of the Alameda County Association of School Administrators Superintendent Committee.

Mrs. Evelyn B. Kipp has made an impact on the Newark Unified School District that will not be forgotten. She will be greatly missed, but her many accomplishments will continue to enrich the education of students in Newark's schools.

I know my colleagues join me in congratulating Evelyn on her outstanding contributions to the education of young people. I hope her retirement years are as rewarding to her as her years of service have been to the people of Newark.●

NORSKEDALEN—THE NORWEGIAN VALLEY

HON. STEVE GUNDERSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. GUNDERSON. Mr. Speaker, located in the heart of my congressional district near Coon Valley in western Wisconsin is the largest concentration of Norwegian Americans in the United States.

On this day, Norwegian Independence Day known as Syttende Mai, I am pleased to call to the attention of my colleagues a unique project that was dedicated last Saturday in the Coon Valley area.

Norskedalen, which means the Norwegian Valley, is a 400-acre tract of

land set aside to preserve, protect and interpret Norwegian culture as well as provide a glimpse at the natural beauty of an unusual part of our country.

Beginning in the 1840's, Norwegian immigrants started making their homes in the hills and coulees of this 25-mile stretch of land in southwestern Wisconsin. The area was very similar to the steep-walled valleys found in their homeland. The area is rich in Norwegian customs and crafts.

But the area is also unique in its geological formations. When glaciers moved across the upper Midwest, this small portion of Wisconsin was spared, leaving an ecological museum unique in Northern America.

The Norskedalen project began in 1977 when Dr. Alf Gundersen and his wife willed their 112-acre farm to the University of Wisconsin, La Crosse, with the wish that an arboretum be developed.

Soon after the Gundersen gift, the Thrune Nature Center was established by Mrs. Ethel Thrune of Midland, Mich. In 1982 Mrs. Thrune made another gift in the form of a visitor's center building.

A fourth element of the project is a restored homestead that demonstrates how a pioneer Norwegian family lived. Groups of volunteers are working to restore the buildings to their original appearance, while others have donated antique artifacts to furnish the buildings.

The Norwegians have a word to describe what has been taking place at Norskedalen, and that word is "dugnad." Dugnad means community effort, working together on a voluntary basis without outside support. In the immediate post World War II period, many outstanding examples of dugnad could be seen as the people of Norway banded together.

Norskedalen in western Wisconsin stands out as a modern-day example of dugnad. It is significant that at this time of important national needs and severely limited national resources, no Federal or State tax dollars are involved in Norskedalen. All of the support has come voluntarily through private donations from individuals, organizations and corporations.

As the three Members of Congress and one Member of the other body who are of Norwegian ancestry join with millions of Norwegian Americans in celebration of Syttende Mai, I salute the Norskedalen Project Steering Committee headed by Jon Thalaug for their excellent work in preserving this Norwegian Valley for our citizens today and tomorrow.●

DOUBLE STANDARD IN FOREIGN POLICY

HON. GEORGE MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, in President Reagan's address to a joint session of Congress, he decried a "new dictatorship" being created in Nicaragua and asked whether, " * * * after all these acts of repression by the (Nicaraguan) Government, is it any wonder opposition has formed?" I commend the President for his concern about democracy in Latin America but believe that our policy would be more credible if our criticism were focused where human rights abuses are truly awesome.

Last weekend, according to press reports, approximately 1,000 persons were summarily rounded up in Chile allegedly in connection with protests against the Government's policies. And on May 17, 1983 Amnesty International reported that the Chilean secret police, the CNI, systematically torture political detainees in facilities specially equipped for the infliction of torture.

In late April, moreover, the military high command in Argentina released a report on the disappeared which stated that acts of duty committed during the antisubversive campaign would effectively not be prosecuted.

To the best of my knowledge, the administration has remained silent on these actions by friendly allies, while using the banner of human rights and democracy to justify a policy aimed at the violent overthrow of a neighboring Central American state. Foreign policy does not seem to be a matter of high principle, but rather one of convenience.

I am including for the record an article by Mary McGrory from the Washington Post of May 15, 1983. I believe that it speaks well to some of the inconsistencies in the administration's approach.

[From the Washington Post, May 15, 1983]

TORTURING LATIN FACTS

(By Mary McGrory)

If you listened closely to Ronald Reagan's bill of particulars against the Nicaraguan government during his joint address to Congress, you might have thought it deserved to be overthrown. And you might also have thought that he should be launching secret wars against two other Latin American regimes who are committing all the crimes he charged and more and have been for a long time.

He said, for instance, that the Nicaraguan regime came out of the "barrel of a gun."

So, for that matter did Argentina's and Chile's. He noted that Nicaragua has not held elections. Nobody has seen the inside of a polling booth since the generals shot their way to power in Buenos Aires and Santiago, either.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

He said that the Sandinistas had abused the Miskito Indians—driven them from their homelands, forced them into internment camps.

For many Argentines and Chileans, an internment camp might look like a resort. Hundreds and thousands of them have been put through interrogation centers, where they were subjected to brutal tortures which many of them did not survive.

The Reagan administration quivers with rage over the Miskitos. The Nicaraguan Minister of Justice Carols Arguellos came through Washington recently, claiming that the Sandinistas were simply trying to remove the Indians from harm's way—out of reach of CIA recruiters looking for soldiers to sign up in its secret war. That may be neither here nor there.

No one has charged that the Sandinistas are systematically torturing, kidnaping and murdering their dissident fellow citizens, which practices are the official state policy in Chile and Argentina. Their human rights violations have been copiously documented by human rights and church groups by the unimpeachable Amnesty International. The valiant Argentine women, the mothers of the Plaza of May, who march around the government square every Thursday demanding to know the whereabouts of their "disappeared" children have not let the world forget that even babies are not safe under the provenance of the generals.

The Chilean Commission on Human Rights reports that 1982 was the worst recent year in the bloody history of the junta, which overthrew the government of Salvador Allende 10 years ago this September.

In its latest grisly report, Amnesty reports that hundreds of Chileans have been tortured in a secret center, with trained Chilean medical personnel participating.

One instance: "A 33-year-old human rights worker being treated for epilepsy said he was electrically tortured after being tied naked to a metal bed and that a doctor examined him in between torture sessions."

But we have not said a word or dispatched a single helicopter or sent a single spook to mobilize counterrevolutionaries to topple the torturers.

On the contrary, we are doing everything we can to keep them going. President Pinochet is in terminal economic trouble. Although once hailed by his great friend, U.N. Ambassador Jeanne Kirkpatrick, as a "model" which shared our economic goals, the Chilean economy is barely breathing.

Presented with a perfect opportunity to give the coup de grace to the illegitimate tyrant regime, the Reagan administration has rushed forward to lift it from its knees.

When the Chileans applied for a \$400 million emergency loan, the Treasury granted them a \$144-million Commodity Credit Corporation guarantee. The Federal Reserve Board assured the private U.S. banks from which Chile borrows millions that Chile's credit was good and put in a word for it with the IMF.

Sens. Edward Kennedy and William Proxmire protested that this is in violation of the law that curtails assistance to Chile. They pointed out in a letter to Treasury Secretary Donald Regan that Chile has made no progress in human rights, and refused to find and charge the government thugs who killed Orlando Letelier and Ronnie Moffit in Washington in 1976.

And while he burns at the injustices to the Miskitos, Reagan has not even noticed that the military dictatorship of Argentina

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recently exonerated itself from any blame in the disappearance of as many as 15,000 Argentines during the 1970s. In an obscene report, the generals called the secret mass murders "a service to the country" in its "dirty war against the left."

The Spanish, Italian and French governments and the Vatican issued furious statements of condemnation. The United States is still thinking of what to say.

What are the Nicaraguans doing wrong? Why do they get machine gun fire and mercenaries while Chile and Argentina get money and "silence." They are Marxists, and to the Reagan administration to be a Marxist is the only actionable human rights violation on the books.●

HONORING ROBERT RAITT, EDUCATOR

HON. ROBERT J. LAGOMARSINO

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. LAGOMARSINO. Mr. Speaker, I invite you and my colleagues to join with me in commending my constituent, Robert Raitt, an educator from Santa Paula, Calif., who has served the community for 33 years. This commendation is given upon the occasion of his retirement in June 1983.

Robert L. Raitt of Santa Paula High School did his undergraduate work at Stanford and Redlands Universities, earning a political science degree with honors. He later received a masters degree from Redlands University and completed graduate work programs at U.S.C., American University, and the University of London.

Because of his 33 years of service to Santa Paula High School and extensive involvement in community affairs, Bob is a revered citizen of the Santa Paula community. His leadership has been recognized as Rotary Club president, church trustee and deacon, Citizen of the Year in 1977, and Educator of the Year in 1982, to mention only a few. But his service to the students of Santa Paula High School is even more lasting and pervasive through his teachings in government, history, economics, and public speaking, and in student body advisory roles.

Mr. Speaker, generations of students in this community have benefited from the work of Mr. Raitt. For his outstanding dedication and involvement to the youth and community of Santa Paula, I ask you and my colleagues to join with me and his community in honoring this fine gentleman and extending our gratitude for his many years of dedicated service and the difference he has made.●

THE CONGRESS AND CENTRAL AMERICA

HON. JACK FIELDS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. FIELDS. Mr. Speaker, along with many other Americans, I am becoming increasingly concerned over the strange actions of some Members of Congress relating to the struggles taking place in Central America.

On the one hand, there are an increasing number of disillusioned Sandinistas joining in the fight against the Communist dictatorship in Nicaragua, yet some in Congress labor to curtail aid to them.

On the other hand, these same Members of Congress are frustrating the efforts of the administration to aid the freely elected Government of El Salvador in defending its citizenry from Soviet, Cuban, and Nicaraguan-backed insurgents. These pro-Marxist insurgents are seeking through terror and bloodshed to overthrow the nation of El Salvador.

So bizarre and blatant is this pro-Communist activity that one of the anti-Communist "contras" fighting in Nicaragua wonders aloud at what sort of reasoning inhibits the Congress from acting in the clear interests of the United States, liberty, and democratic processes.

I offer to my colleagues two excellent op-ed pieces by Georgie Anne Geyer and Patrick Buchanan which address this perplexing behavior and its dangerous consequences for not only Latin America, but the entire hemisphere.

The two articles follow:

[From the Washington Times, May 13, 1983]

THE ANTI-SANDINISTAS—A LEGITIMATE LIBERATION FORCE

(By Georgie Anne Geyer)

Behind the strange scenes in Congress over Central America policy this last week, a story is quietly unfolding that is changing the entire equation. The "Somocista" forces everyone is criticizing are rapidly becoming a legitimate and democratic liberation force in Nicaragua.

When the Reagan administration began supporting the followers of the late and hated dictator Anastasio Somoza—followers who had fled in 1979 into Honduras—these rightly hated "Somocistas" were the major force fighting the Marxist Sandinistas. This is no longer the case.

My sources on all sides confirm that of the two major groups now fighting the Sandinistas in both the north and the south, only about 15 percent are now ex-Somocistas (and perhaps fewer). This is because in the last few months so many others, including large numbers of disillusioned Sandinistas, have joined the fight.

Moreover, the leadership of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force, the larger of the two groups, operating from the Honduran side, is now totally non-Somocista.

On the NDF's seven-person directorate, there is only one member, Enrique Bermudez, who was a Somocista—and he was exiled by Somoza near the end of the dictator's life. Most are members of the former highly respected Conservative Party established by the great, assassinated anti-Somoza editor, Pedro Joaquin Chamorro.

On the southern front, the forces are fervently anti-Somoza. There, Eden Pastora, the famous "Commander Zero," who was a wildly popular Sandinista commander, now has entered the anti-Sandinista fight with his Costa Rican-based Democratic Revolutionary Alliance.

Pastora is unquestionably the most beloved leader in Nicaragua. When I was in Managua last year, poor peasants and city workers were always siding up to me on the streets of that now-gray Eastern-Europeanized city, saying things like, "Do you know where Commander Zero is?"

What does this mean—for the congress, for the Nicaraguans, for American policy? Can these two anti-Sandinista groups work together? Are they already?

We are dealing with quite a different—and new—situation from the one that Congress is responding to. It presents us with the exorbitant irony that Congress, which is being lobbied these days by all the Central American Marxist groups in the most extraordinary manner, is turning its back on a democratic movement and embracing movements clearly backed by the Soviet Union through Cuba.

For the Nicaraguans, the situation is confused. Even the anti-Sandinista NDF, by far the largest group, says it does not believe it could overthrow the Sandinistas and that is not its intention. Adolpho Calero, the NDF spokesman and a Conservative, was recently in Washington and told me the NDF wants to "pressure the Sandinistas to fulfill their original promises—pluralism, free elections, a mixed economy.

One has to wonder about this. Calero also said that his group is now within 65 miles of Managua—and the fact is that while it is difficult to topple a highly organized government, the Sandinista government is also unpopular and ineffective at this point.

The NDF and Pastora's Democratic Revolutionary Alliance are working together, but they are not as yet unified. Speaking of Alfonso Robelo, one of the original and most respected Sandinista commanders who is now with Pastora, Calero said, "Robelo and I are here together in Washington. We are appearing together."

Then this attractive gray-haired man shook his head. "We are winning on the battlefield," he said, "but we are losing in Washington. There is some kind of a mea culpa attitude, some kind of a complex, some kind of a syndrome that does not allow the United States to act in its own interest and in the interest of democracy."

So, we may be coming to an extraordinary turn where Congress is refusing to help just the kind of movement it says we should have been supporting in Central America in the past. I have myself been bitterly critical, first of Somoza himself and our support of him, then of our initial support in Honduras for what were then the Somocistas. But when the world changes, perceptions and answers should also change.

The anti-Sandinistas are at least Nicaraguans fighting for their own country. Before he (apparently) committed suicide, Cayetano Carpio, the top leader of the Salvadoran Marxist guerrillas, said in Nicaragua, "After the victory in El Salvador, Nica-

ragua and El Salvador would then unite in the fight for the total liberation of Central America." That is what we are dealing with.

[From the Washington Times, May 13, 1983]

NATIONAL DEMOCRATS OPT FOR STRATEGIC DEFEAT

(By Patrick Buchanan)

Since the establishment of the U.S.S.R., the great antagonist of the Soviet Communist Party has been the Democratic Party of the United States.

Far-seeing men recognized at the close of The Great War that the decisive struggle for the world would eventually be waged between the heirs of Lenin and the heirs of Woodrow Wilson. It was FDR, not the isolationist Republicans of the '20s, who framed America's response to Depression and Hitler. It was Harry Truman who led the reluctant Republicans into the Cold War, and took the United States into Korea. It was John F. Kennedy who took up the challenge of Khrushchev and led America into Southeast Asia.

Today, the national Democratic Party—its Jackson-Stennis-Nunn wing strangely silent—is betraying this tradition and surrendering its birthright for the temporary applause of the pacifist left. Led by such as Sen. Chris Dodd of Connecticut, and Rep. Stephen Solarz of New York, the party is emerging as the relentless saboteur of Reagan's policy on Central America, the indispensable collaborator of the Soviets, the Cubans, the Sandinistas. If Central America is lost, the national Democratic Party is setting itself up as legitimate scapegoat for the worst strategic defeat of the United States in the 20th century.

Given the certain consequences of a communist victory, it is almost mystifying to see the enthusiasm with which liberal Democrats are voting to cut off aid to the anti-Communist "contras" in Nicaragua, and slashing below survival level the military rations for the army in El Salvador.

Absurd, comes the riposte. Polls show the American people want no part of the war in Central America; the Democrats are on the side of peace. But that is a superficial reading of American opinion.

True, the American people are currently opposed to deeper involvement in El Salvador and Nicaragua, but if "peace" in Central America entails an American defeat, there will be a backlash unlike any seen in the postwar era, including the aftermath of the fall of China in 1949.

The first certain consequence of a collapse in El Salvador will be the beginning of the Great Exodus north to the United States.

When Castro took power in 1959, few Cubans suspected he would convert the island into a colony of the Soviet Empire. Yet, fully a tenth of his population, over a million people, managed to escape before the drawbridge was lifted and the Cubans were penned up by 90 miles of open sea. When Castro inaugurated the Mariel boatlift, another 1 percent of his population fled within a week.

In Central America, there is no ignorance of what a communist victory means: a police state modeled on Castro's Cuba, the militarization of society, the persecution of the church, an end to any hope for a better life for their children. If El Salvador goes under, the handwriting will be on the wall for Costa Rica, Honduras and Guatemala; the great trek north will begin, not in the

tens of thousands, but in the hundreds of thousands.

Unlike the Vietnamese boat people, a million of whom risked their lives to communist patrol boats, Thai pirates and the storms of the South China Sea, to reach Malaysia, the "boat people" of Central America will be risking nothing, to gain everything. The victorious communist regimes using emigration as a safety valve for their revolution will encourage the exodus, and the Mexicans will steer it toward the Rio Grande. As with the "Marielitos," this overland freedom flotilla will be seeded with saboteurs, intelligence agents, sleeper agents and all the dreck of Central America's prisons and asylums for whom the new regimes will have no use. Just as Miami was used as a garbage can by Fidel Castro for the refuse of his jails and loony bins, so San Antonio, Houston, Dallas, Phoenix, San Diego and Los Angeles will become Miami to the unapprehended psychotics and criminals expelled from Central America.

Given the political explosion in South Florida over a few thousand Haitians seeking work and opportunity in the States, reaction to this flood of illegals will dominate the politics of the Southwest and West for a decade.

Ideology aside, have the national Democrats gone insane? If the president prevails in El Salvador and Nicaragua, he can claim the first American victory over the Soviet Empire in decades, while accusing the Democrats of faintheartedness, malingering and sabotage. If Central America is lost—as it could be with a handful of votes before summer—the Democrats will be charged by Reagan with direct responsibility for the greatest defeat suffered by the United States in the 20th century.

"The Party of Treason" was the brand placed by the epigones of Joe McCarthy upon the Democrats for the loss of China, the stalemate in Korea, the lingering presence of communists and fellow travelers at the Department of State. If the end of this decade sees Russian MiGs flying patrol over the Gulf of Mexico out of Central American bases, the Democratic Party will not survive as a political option in the next. ●

THE ECONOMY AND MINIMUM WAGE LAWS

HON. LARRY McDONALD

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. McDONALD. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Hans F. Sennholz, a distinguished economist, effectively and accurately explains in the following article how our minimum wage laws adversely affect our economy. As Dr. Sennholz states, the Fair Labor Standards Act, of which the mandated minimum wage is a part,

... has grown into the most calamitous instrument of government intervention that denies productive employment to millions of willing and able Americans. No other policy conducted by the U.S. Government has more tragic effects on the daily lives of so many people than does this legislation.

I commend the article to the attention of my colleagues.

Federal minimum wage legislation had its beginning more than forty-five years ago as

part of the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act. From its very inception it erected insurmountable barriers to the employment of unskilled workers, especially in the South and in Puerto Rico. Since then it has grown into the most calamitous instrument of government intervention that denies productive employment to millions of willing and able Americans. No other policy conducted by the U.S. government has more tragic effects on the daily lives of so many people than does this legislation.

Several amendments to the Act not only pushed the rate to ever more restrictive levels, but also extended the coverage to include even more employees. At the beginning the basic minimum as a percentage of average manufacturing wage was estimated at 41.7 percent; for 1981 it amounted to 51.9 percent. In 1983 the percentage of covered workers stood at 43.4 percent; in 1981 it was estimated at 83.8 percent. If the coverage provided by various state laws is added to the federal coverage, the combined rate may exceed ninety percent of all non-supervisory workers.

It is rather natural for government to expand its sphere of control and power. If it is called upon to secure minimum wages for some workers it may want to extend the benefits to all workers. If government can serve the public good by setting the wage rates for some workers it may serve it better yet by setting the wage rates for all workers. The ninety-percent coverage, therefore, can only be an interim step on the way to total coverage.

Unfortunately, this gradual extension of coverage tends to multiply the unemployment effect until, with full coverage, it invokes the maximum rate of unemployment. As long as the minimum applies only to a small number of occupations, the workers displaced from covered jobs can seek employment in uncovered production. They shift to uncovered industries and employers, which tends to depress those wages through increased job competition. When the coverage is extended, the shift accelerates from covered unemployment to uncovered jobs, which widens the wage differential in direct proportion to the coverage. A small coverage generates a small difference in wage rates, a large coverage brings forth a large difference. Total coverage obviously eliminates the difference, but creates maximum unemployment.

Minimum wage legislation provides a beautiful example of the principle that government intervention not only makes matters worse, but also tends to breed ever more intervention. The minimum wage covering a few workers causes wage rates to decline in uncovered employment, which invites the extension of coverage to more workers, which in turn brings forth ever wider wage differences calling for more coverage, until all workers are covered and the difference is eliminated. Unfortunately, total coverage guarantees maximum unemployment, which brings forth the greatest conceivable income difference—between the workers still employed and the army of unemployed.

INDEXING THE MINIMUM

Minimum wage legislation can be harmless if the rates are set below the unhampered market rates. But that, after all, is not the intent of its political sponsors who seek to interfere with the market process. And yet, the ominous effects of minimum wages set above the rates established by the market may be alleviated by two other factors: rising labor productivity which may lift more workers above the minimum barrier,

and soaring inflation which lowers minimum wages in terms of purchasing power. The former may have lessened the impact of the legal minimum during the 1960s when labor productivity managed to rise a little. But it began to aggravate the restrictive effect of the legal minimums during the 1970s when U.S. government deficits consumed productive capital en masse and real labor incomes began to decline.

Throughout this period soaring inflation greatly lowered the real costs of labor, including the real minimums, which permitted the temporary employment of some workers who previously had been unemployable. The opposing effects of legislative mandates raising the minimum and the inflation depreciating it, is causing large swings in the effective minimum. According to Finis Welch, they ranged between 30 percent of the manufacturing-wage average in 1949 and 55 percent in 1968.

Observing the depreciation of their mandated minimums the sponsors deem it necessary frequently to readjust the minimum to soaring goods prices. From 1961, when inflation began to accelerate in earnest, until 1981 Congress enacted eleven adjustments which raised the minimum from \$1 per hour to \$3.35 an hour. To simplify the adjustment process and prevent the silent nullification of Congressional efforts by inflation, some sponsors propose to index the federal minimum by tying it permanently to the average industrial wage. The 1977 amendment, which established a Minimum Wage Study Commission, therefore called for an investigation of minimum wage indexation.

Indexing wages, rents, interest rates, and goods prices obviously means government control over wages, rents, interest rates, and prices. It aims at freezing present conditions, preventing all future changes and adjustments unless approved by political authority. Minimum indexation would seek to preserve the Congressional effort by freezing the real minimum at 55 percent and thus eliminating the inflation swings. This means, unfortunately, that unemployment would be stabilized at its highest possible rate determined by the minimum. It would permanently deny millions of unemployed workers a longed-for reprieve provided temporarily by inflation.

OFFSETS

In a sagacious monograph Walter J. Wesels makes the cogent point that employers tend to react to minimum wage increases by seeking to offset the added expenditures through reductions in other labor costs. They may cut year-end bonuses, re-define the worker's share in profit sharing, and reduce commissions and work guarantees. They may moderate non-wage expenditures, commonly called "fringe benefits" such as paid vacations and sick leave, pensions and other retirement benefits, life, accident and health insurance, or training programs and educational allowances. They may even reduce expenditures on proper supervision and management, which tends to impair and aggravate working conditions. They may insist on more effort and application. As fewer jobs are available, employers may exact greater production from their minimum-wage workers. They may assign less desirable working hours and conditions for which they otherwise would pay higher rates. In short, they can be expected to react by making adjustments in order to offset the minimum-wage boost.

But even if some employers should be able to offset the higher costs of a mandated

minimum, Wessels argues, it nevertheless impairs the conditions of all covered workers. They may have preferred the fringe benefits over the pay boost, the paid vacations or the major medical insurance over the cash payment mandated by Congress.

Where employers are unable to offset fully a minimum wage boost, which tends to lead to disemployment, the idled workers will seek jobs that are not covered by the minimum wage. Or they may join the "underground economy" where labor summarily ignores the law by working for wages below the minimum. But their appearance on the uncovered labor market or the underground market, which economists estimate to exceed 30 percent of minimum wage labor, tends to reduce further those wages. All affected labor, therefore, tends to be worse off than before.

Surely, employers do react to mandated minimum wage increases. But we must not underestimate the great difficulties they encounter in lowering other labor costs. Once benefits have been granted, it is nearly impossible to rescind them. To reduce benefits is to invite universal resistance and hostility, which may impair labor productivity and thus raise production costs. Moreover, it is virtually impossible in the allocation of fringe benefits to discriminate against minimum wage labor: This is why most employers offer identical benefits to all their workers regardless of position and income. To ignore minimum wage labor, or even slash its given benefits, is to invite resentment, conflict and strife. It is generally much easier and also more economical to dismiss the labor made submarginal by the mandated minimum boost than to seek adjustment through fringe-cost economies.

INSPIRING PERFORMANCE

For superior management it may be possible to lead and exhort labor to higher productivity. There is an untapped reservoir of productivity even in the best-run office and plant. Brilliant management seeks to tap this reservoir through guiding and teaching by example. It imparts the love of work and inspires enthusiasm for work well done. And, above all, it exemplifies that there is no work so base that man may not exalt it, no work so dull that he may not enliven it. There is no minimum labor that may not lead to maximum position and income.

Most business managers, unfortunately, are incapable of exacting more effort and application from their employees, which is casting doubt on their ability to offset mandated wage boosts. But even if they were able to adjust, the number of affected workers would be rather small. Offsetting adjustments cannot create jobs for those millions of unskilled workers whose usefulness and productivity lie below the legal minimum. The high school dropout from The Bronx who may contribute one dollar per hour of work remains unemployable at \$3.35 per hour no matter how diligently employers are readjusting their labor expenses.

Offsetting adjustments do not affect the vast majority of American workers who are presently earning more than the minimum. They may at best involve only a small number of people who are presently earning the legal minimum and are contributing an amount sufficient to cover this minimum and other employment-related costs. In many cases these other costs are also mandated, which clearly makes them unadjustable. In fact, they actually rise together with the minimum wage.

Employer contributions to Social Security and Workmen's Compensation do rise and

further raise the costs of the minimum wage boost. They may also add to the administrative expenses of accounting, withholding, declaring and disbursing the additional funds to the appropriate government authority. While such costs may be negligible in a smoothly functioning accounting department, they are very burdensome and highly disruptive for a small businessman considering the employment of a few minimum-wage laborers.

The offset possibilities must not be overstated. They are narrowly limited to contractual benefits that may be adjusted by agreement between the contract parties. But in some cases these benefits are negligible. They may be less valuable than a mandated wage boost together with the mandatory fringe adjustment, which precludes any offset. If they are equal to the ordered raise, all contract fringes would have to be eliminated in order to effect any offset. But such a withdrawal of all contract fringe benefits would be even more detrimental to amicable labor relations than their mere reduction. It surely would impede labor productivity and raise production costs.

FROM THE WORLD OF POLITICS

Every well-known economist has voiced his concern about minimum wage legislation, and yet, it is surviving sober reasoning and cogent arguments and living on in the sphere of political incentives. Few Americans actually believe that minimum wage legislation is truly in the workers' interest, that it increases purchasing power and reduced poverty. And yet, many support it for political reasons. Labor unions and their members benefit significantly from a legal elevation of wages paid by competing industries using low-productivity, low-wage workers. It hampers their competition with union labor and limits consumer preference for goods produced and services rendered by low-wage labor. Similarly, capital-intensive industries using relatively skilled labor may want to redirect consumer choices by raising the costs of low-wage industries.

Most of the support for minimum wage legislation comes from groups that are fully aware of its unemployment effects. Many Americans in the industrial states of the North and Northeast use it knowingly as a barrier to the industrial migration from their states to the South. Since World War II many companies have left the North to take advantage of lower labor costs and other advantages in the South. To prevent this industrial migration and to stifle emerging Southern competition the Northern politicians usually favor high minimum wages.

Other supporters who are aware of the harm done to unskilled workers are convinced that the beneficial effects, as they see them, tend to outweigh the ill effects. Their blind faith in political action leads them to believe that the ill effects can be alleviated by new governmental efforts, such as neighborhood youth corps, job corps, public works programs, and the like.

But the most vociferous support of minimum wage legislation comes from the professional spokesmen of the poor. Some may actually welcome unemployment among minorities because it breeds other political and economic effects and, above all, creates a political power base for the minority champions. When jobs are scarce they are likely to be rationed and allocated according to government plans and programs. Rationing bestows benefits to political constituents and thus confers prestige and power to the program proponents. Some are also aware

that unemployment tends to give rise to new demands for radical government intervention, for central control and planning, which may pave the way for an all-round political command system, called socialism. Mass unemployment, they are hoping, will lead voters to support their ultimate objective. ●

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

HON. BEN ERDREICH

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. ERDREICH. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, May 12, 1983, I had to be in my home district for a previously scheduled meeting in Birmingham, and unfortunately this prevented me from attending the entire session of that day. In addition, due to the results of the votes taken and listed below, I was unable to be paired as I had intended. Therefore I request that the following be entered in the record as a statement of my position on all the recorded votes that I missed on Thursday, May 12, 1983:

Rollcall No. 110, "no."
Rollcall No. 111, "aye."
Rollcall No. 112, "aye."
Rollcall No. 113, "aye."
Rollcall No. 114, "no."
Rollcall No. 115, "aye."
Rollcall No. 116, "aye."

I was able to make all the previous votes of the day. Therefore only these are included herein. ●

TRIBUTE TO HENRY B. GONZALEZ

HON. PAUL SIMON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. SIMON. Mr. Speaker, by the time I got to looking at my mail I realized I had missed the chance to join in paying tribute to our colleague, HENRY B. GONZALEZ.

Long before I was a Member of Congress, I used to read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and among the people who strongly opposed actions which would raise interest rates were two outstanding champions: Wright Patman and HENRY GONZALEZ.

HENRY GONZALEZ has been fighting for good causes ever since, and I am sure long before he came to Congress.

I am proud to have him as a colleague. And this Nation is a richer nation for having had HENRY GONZALEZ in a position of leadership here in the House. ●

BLACKS DO COUNT

HON. JAMES J. FLORIO

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. FLORIO. Mr. Speaker, an article in last Friday's Washington Post provides convincing evidence that the White House has no further intention of trying to reach out to black Americans, or to consider them when making policy decisions.

The reason cited was entirely political. The administration has decided that blacks will not turn out to help reelect President Reagan in 1984 and, therefore, it feels that it is no longer necessary to count them in now.

Of course, as many black leaders have been saying for some time, this is really not news. The administration's now substantial record on the budget, taxation, and civil rights points to a glaring insensitivity, at best, to the needs and desires of blacks.

No group should be excluded from the White House because of differences of opinion. This is especially true in the present case since this decision apparently was totally political.

I would urge the White House not to close the door to any group of citizens, particularly this group that already has reason to believe they have never had an effective pipeline to the President.

The article follows:

[From the Washington Post, May 13, 1983]

BLACKS WRITTEN OFF FOR 1984 CAMPAIGN, REAGAN AIDES ASSERT

(By Juan Williams)

Several black appointees in the Reagan administration said this week that the White House has written off blacks politically for the 1984 campaign.

They cited as one example the fact that the White House office of public liaison has had no one dealing with blacks for more than two months.

One senior White House official said the administration has decided that no effort in the next 17 months would be sufficient to moderate the opposition of blacks to President Reagan and capture a sufficient amount of the black vote.

He said most of the White House staff, including Faith Ryan Whittlesey, assistant to the President for public liaison, have made the same assessment.

Whittlesey's public liaison office, which is preparing a political operation to try to win key blue-collar, female and ethnic votes for President Reagan in 1984, also has had no representative to Hispanics since she took over the office in March.

Whittlesey said last week that the absence of blacks and Hispanics on her staff is only temporary and said allegations that she personally advocates ignoring black voters are "ridiculous."

Whittlesey said Mel Bradley, a black special assistant to the President for policy development, will join her office soon and part of his responsibility will be liaison with blacks.

She said no decision has been made on a liaison with Hispanics.

In talks with The Washington Post, about a half dozen black appointees in the Reagan administration said Whittlesey has argued that there is little political benefit for the president in dealing with blacks. They declined to speak on the record for fear of re-terminations by the administration.

Several pointed to Whittlesey's public fight with the NAACP in Chester County, Pa., when she was a county official who opposed government aid for day-care facilities and was a critic of county welfare policies.

"Faith Whittlesey has a shrewd, tough intelligence but she uses it to the disadvantage of the poor and needy and most of the poor and needy here were black," said Mary Edwards, a board member of the Chester NAACP.

Whittlesey, who fired six members of the liaison staff—including a black and a Hispanic—the day after taking over the office, has hired all whites so far, mostly women.

Administration officials, troubled by opinion polls that show Reagan with a lower approval rating with women than men, have made female voters a priority for 1984.

Two of the women hired by Whittlesey have been assigned to deal with women's issues, assuming primary responsibility for that area from Dee Jepsen, the wife of Sen. Roger W. Jepsen (R-Iowa).

"Whittlesey has argued that they can make peace with women in time for the election, but she told them there is nothing they can gain by patching up with blacks," said one black appointee. "She wants us out. Mel [Bradley] is a band-aid, he's being the good soldier so they'll have a black face . . . that's all it is."

"That's absurd," Whittlesey responded. "The goal of the president is to unify all groups, to deal with minorities . . . there will be a second round of hiring. Our first concern was to get top women on the staff."

Vice President Bush said last week that he doubts that the Republican Party or the administration can win a significant portion of the increasing number of blacks registering to vote in 1984.

"All we can do is make the economic argument that a strong economy will help everyone, rich and poor, black and white," a senior administration official said yesterday. "That hasn't worked so far and every poll I've seen shows it hasn't got much of a chance of working."

He added that Reagan will not be "racist or antagonistic" toward blacks but sees no need to "play to that audience."

Bradley, who will be the liaison to blacks, entered the Reagan administration as a senior policy adviser who said he did not want to be identified as the black in the administration or exclusively handle black issues.

However, last April, as the president's standing with blacks sank from an already low level, Bradley was named a special assistant to the president and empowered to attend all Cabinet Council meetings to bring a "black perspective" to all administration decision-making.

Despite Bradley's promotion, leaders of black groups continue to complain that there is no contact for them in the Reagan White House.●

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

HON. WILLIAM LEHMAN

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. LEHMAN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, last week, I unfortunately had to miss a number of votes due to medical checkups that I had scheduled a month in advance.

As many of my colleagues are aware, I underwent tumor surgery last November. On Tuesday, May 10, while I was at George Washington University Hospital for a followup appointment on my radiation oncology therapy, I missed five votes. On Thursday, May 12, I had to be in New York for a followup appointment with the chief of head and neck surgery at Memorial Sloan Kettering, and I missed 10 votes.

The good news is that the doctors found no evidence of any reoccurrence of cancer.●

THE WESTFIELD FOUNDATION

HON. MATTHEW J. RINALDO

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. RINALDO. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to call the attention of the Members to the Westfield Foundation, whose work upholds the spirit of selfless public service to the community of Westfield, N.J. The Westfield Foundation possesses the capacity to offer grants to a variety of philanthropic community causes, and it has used its flexibility to benefit a host of scholarship programs, local arts exhibits, child care and youth activities, health care and senior citizens' programs, as well as educational activities for children and adults.

It is an explicit purpose of the Westfield Foundation to fill gaps in the local community's needs which are not otherwise being met. Thus, the foundation is a model of the volunteer spirit President Reagan has been trying to encourage.

The Westfield Foundation is a tribute to the generosity of Westfielders. As difficult as our economic situation was in 1982, the public-spirited people of Westfield were not deterred from continuing to support the efforts of this fine institution.

I would especially like to recognize the president of the Westfield Foundation, Mr. H. Emerson Thomas. His work has fostered the growth and diversity of the organization he so ably heads.

The Westfield Foundation has clearly taken root in its community. I cannot recommend it too highly for

imitation by generous-minded citizens across the country.●

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

HON. BOB EDGAR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. EDGAR. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, May 11, I was unavoidably absent while the House was considering H.R. 1983, the Emergency Housing Assistance Act.

On account of my absence I regret that I missed several rollcall votes. Had I been present, I would have voted as follows on the amendments offered to H.R. 1983:

Rollcall No. 102; "nay."

Rollcall No. 103; "nay."

Rollcall No. 104; "nay."

Rollcall No. 105; "nay."

I feel strongly that the current high rate of mortgage foreclosures justifies Federal assistance for families who might lose their homes. Therefore, if I had been present, I also would have supported final passage of H.R. 1983 by voting aye on rollcall No. 106.●

FAIR HOUSING

HON. ROBERT GARCIA

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. GARCIA. Mr. Speaker, 15 years ago, the Congress passed the fair housing law as title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968. This act was an important step toward fair housing practices in the United States. Yet it was only a first step. This legislation has proved to be insufficient to guarantee fair housing for all Americans.

Not only is the present legislation lacking in essential substance, but the present administration is lacking in essential guidance. The Reagan administration appears to have abdicated its responsibility to insure fair housing for America. In 1981, the President recalled the fair housing regulations proposed by the Carter administration. Although he promised to replace them after a review, we are still waiting 2 years later.

Moreover, the Justice Department has drastically reduced its actions against violators of fair housing laws. The Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department has filed only 5 cases over more than a 2-year period compared with an average of 20 to 30 cases a year under prior administrations.

In addition, HUD has not put a lot of energy into fair housing. Of course, in fairness, the present law does not give HUD the power to force the parties into arbitration. However, HUD has stressed voluntary compliance,

and in some cases, they have deferred responsibility for grievance procedures to the States. Unfortunately, many States have little interest in guaranteeing fair housing.

Mr. Speaker, this administration's actions on fair housing are extremely disheartening. Minorities, women, handicapped, and families with children all suffer. Three of every four black and Hispanic Americans will be victims of discrimination when they seek rental housing.

In the Senate, our colleagues, Senator CHARLES MATHIAS and Senator EDWARD KENNEDY have introduced the Fair Housing Act of 1983, along with 35 cosponsors. This legislation is similar to that which the House passed in 1980. Unfortunately, similar legislation was killed by a filibuster in the Senate. We need to give this legislation high priority.

Such legislation should include a Fair Housing Commission and a system of administrative judges to rule on discrimination cases. Administrative enforcement is a last resort, but it does provide complainants with a speedier and less costly resolution of their problem than through the already crowded courts if other routes prove unsatisfactory.

This bill should also extend protection to the handicapped and to families with children. The omission of the handicapped from the Civil Rights Act of 1968 was a serious oversight. Their inclusion in this act is essential, as the rights of the handicapped have been overlooked for too long.

Mr. Speaker, new fair housing legislation with provisions for enforcement is long overdue. Fair housing must be more than a law; it must be a reality.●

REAUTHORIZE CPSC

HON. RICHARD C. SHELBY

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. SHELBY. Mr. Speaker, last Friday, Mr. BROYHILL and I introduced H.R. 3015, legislation to reauthorize the Consumer Product Safety Commission for a period of 3 years, at funding levels which keep pace with inflation and represent a 15 percent aggregate increase over the fiscal years 1984-86. This identical measure was offered as a substitute to H.R. 2668 in the Health and the Environment Subcommittee and in the full Energy and Commerce Committee. That bill, H.R. 2668, calls for a 5-year reauthorization of the CPSC at funding levels representing a 58 percent aggregate increase over the next 5 fiscal years. Our substitute was defeated in subcommittee and full committee by a very narrow margin, and the Energy and Commerce Committee eventually

reported out H.R. 2668 to the floor on May 3.

By way of background and review, the CPSC, created in 1972, has been granted broad powers to deal with hazards associated with thousands of consumer products. In this regard, it is estimated that 15,000 consumer products are subject to the agency's jurisdiction and that in excess of 2.5 million manufacturers, distributors, retailers, and importers—approximately one-half of all businesses in the United States—are within the ambit of CPSC responsibility.

While the scope of its jurisdiction is vast, the CPSC's statutory mandate is ambitious. To fulfill their goals of consumer protection, the Commission has the authority to force manufacturers to recall, repurchase, repair, or replace defective products; the authority to ban and seize hazardous products; the authority to issue mandatory standards; and the authority to impose civil and criminal penalties for violations of the various acts CPSC administers.

Since 1972, the Commission has had a mixed success rating. Reflecting certain criticism from consumer groups, industry, other Government agencies, and Congress, in the 1981 reauthorization of the CPSC, several significant changes were made to the statutes within CPSC jurisdiction, all of which were intended to deal with perceived regulatory excesses which accumulated over the years since the establishment of the Commission. In fact, concern over the way the Commission had performed was so great just 2 years ago that an amendment to abolish the CPSC and transfer its functions to the Department of Commerce came within one vote of passing in the Health and the Environment Subcommittee.

Perhaps in reaction to its rather traumatic reauthorization in 1981, the Commission has made some progress in developing cooperative relationships with industry to address unsafe products in the marketplace, instead of pursuing adversarial relationships which serve no ones interests and, in particular, those of the consumer. We want to stress, that we continue to support the need for a strong CPSC. We support the goals and purposes first enunciated in CPSC's enabling legislation, as well as the regulatory tools available to the Commission, so long as they are wisely and judiciously applied.

We believe that our bill is a responsible means by which the Commission can achieve these ends. We do not believe that the substantive changes embodied in H.R. 2668, nor the increased funding levels provided in that bill are prudent or practical. Our colleagues in the other body are in the midst of considering a 2-year reauthorization measure, which is much less inclusive than H.R. 2668 and contains consider-

ably lower funding levels than either H.R. 2668 or our bill. We submit for our colleagues' serious consideration H.R. 3015, a more reasonable approach to the CPSC reauthorization; a simple 3-year authorization, with funding increases that are fiscally sound and without excessive changes in current statutes. ●

**PUERTO RICO: THE SEARCH
FOR A NATIONAL POLICY**

HON. BILL RICHARDSON

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, the political future of Puerto Rico is an issue which will confront the Congress in the coming years. Once the people of Puerto Rico have spoken, the Congress will be called upon to make the ultimate decision on what this island's political relationship with the United States will be in the decades ahead.

In connection with this pending policy question, I would like to call my colleagues' attention to a conference entitled, "Puerto Rico: The Search for a National Policy," which will be held in Washington, D.C., in September. The conference will be sponsored by the World Peace Foundation, a nationally respected foreign policy institution under the able leadership of Ambassador Richard Bloomfield, a former U.S. Envoy to Portugal and one of our Nation's leading experts on relations between the United States and Latin America.

Mr. Speaker, in preparation for this conference, which I plan to attend, I urge my colleagues to take a moment to review the following materials, which I include at this point in the RECORD.

**PUERTO RICO: THE SEARCH FOR A NATIONAL
POLICY
PURPOSE**

The World Peace Foundation conference on Puerto Rico is designed to examine the public policy issues involved in the U.S.-Puerto Rico relationship from the viewpoint of the national policymaker.

Puerto Rico, like the proverbial sleeping dog, is a problem to which no one is paying heed, but which one day may wake up and bite us. The awakening may not be far off. Puerto Ricans are increasingly unhappy with the chronically depressed economy and frustrated by the lack of decision on the island's political status. The foreign relations aspect of the status issue is becoming less manageable. Puerto Rico's importance in national politics is growing, however. As a result, Puerto Rico will demand more attention from Washington, which is ill-prepared to deal with the problem.

The conference will bring together for two days of intensive discussions members of Congress and their staffs, senior officials from the Executive Branch, other national political figures, experts on Puerto Rico, members of previous administrations and

Congresses, and business and labor executives.

The conference will not attempt to go over ground previously covered. It will not, for example, debate the merits of the various proposals for a change in juridical status. Instead, the conference will provide an opportunity to hear what special conditions and arrangements the proponents of each of the three alternatives (statehood, improved commonwealth, and independence) would request from the U.S. Government to make possible the transition to a new status.

THE PROBLEM

The situation in Puerto Rico is threatening.

The Puerto Rican economy is in bad shape. Unemployment is at 23 percent and more than half the island's families are on food stamps.

These economic and social ills only make the question of Puerto Rico's juridical status more acute; everyone, including the pro-commonwealth forces seems to believe that a profound change in the status quo is needed.

The Puerto Rican economic model once helped the U.S. to legitimize the Commonwealth relationship before the rest of the world. Now that the island's economy has gone sour, it has become increasingly difficult for the United States to defend itself against the charge that Puerto Rico is simply a colony by another name.

If Washington continues to neglect the status issue and the economy, Puerto Ricans themselves, regardless of political stripe, will be increasingly tempted to confront the U.S. in international fora to try to get action in Washington—as they have done at least once in the past.

THE ISSUES

Economic

Is there a way in which federal assistance to Puerto Rico, i.e., transfer payments, tax concessions, and other federal programs, could be better utilized to promote the economic development of the island, regardless of eventual decisions on status?

Should these disparate programs be integrated into a comprehensive economic policy adopted by the federal government, or is that infeasible or undesirable?

How can the legislative process better take account of the probable impact of proposed legislation on Puerto Rico?

Political

Successive Administrations have gone on record on favor of "self-determination". This has a somewhat hollow ring, however, when it is realized that there is no Puerto Rican majority on the island's future, no planning has been set in motion to determine how self-determination should be implemented, and no one has faced up to the issue of whether Congress would agree to any of the special arrangements that each faction says are necessary to realize its preferred status outcome.

Times are changing, however. The Puerto Rican issue will be receiving increasing national attention. For example, Puerto Rico will have the twentieth largest delegation (53 votes) to the 1984 Democratic Convention. Leading Democratic candidates are now including Puerto Rico in their travels. The problems of the island were recently covered on CBS's "60 Minutes" and a national weekly is planning a feature article on Puerto Rico.

Should the Congress set in motion a process by which both it and the Puerto Ricans

could come to grips with the specific issues involved in each proposed status outcome?

International

A number of friendly countries have begun to question the U.S. position that Puerto Rico is not a colonial issue. For example, in Venezuela, perhaps the most important Caribbean power after the U.S. sentiment is clearly turning against the U.S. on Puerto Rico.

Conceivably, Puerto Rico will become as large an issue as the Panama Canal was in the seventies.

Is our present posture that Puerto Rico is a domestic matter and therefore not within the purview of the United Nations still a viable one or should it be changed?

Conference format

The conference is being held in Washington facilitate attendance by busy policymakers and other politically influential actors. No papers will be read or delivered at the meeting; instead, papers will be circulated well in advance.

The first day will be devoted to a discussion of the most pressing current issue: what to do about the economy. The meeting will examine some recent cases of legislative changes that will have a significant impact on the Puerto Rican economy. Some proposals will be examined for better ways of dealing with economic policy on Puerto Rico in Washington.

On the second day, the meeting will examine the status issue in terms of the U.S. national interest, including the international implications. The conference will culminate in discussion of the pros and cons of proposals as to how the status issue might be managed in Washington.

**PUERTO RICO: THE SEARCH FOR A NATIONAL
POLICY**

A CONFERENCE OF THE WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION IN COLLABORATION WITH MERIDIAN HOUSE OF WASHINGTON, D.C., SEPTEMBER 19-20, 1983

Thursday, June 16

8:30-9:15

Registration.

9:15-9:30

Opening Remarks.

9:30-11:00

The Economy—What Went Wrong?

Discussion leader: Bertram Finn, vice-president of A.G. Becker of Puerto Rico and former economic adviser to the Governor.

11:15-1:00

Making Economic Policy—Some Cases.

Recent Changes to Section 936.

Discussion leader: Nelson Famadas, Office of the Governor.

Foodstamps.

Discussion leader: A Member of Congress.

1:00-2:15

Luncheon—Speaker.

2:30-4:00

Making Economic Policy on Puerto Rico—What Should Be done?

Discussion leader: Randolph Mye, Department of Commerce.

Friday, June 17

9:00-10:45

Puerto Rico as an International Issue.

Discussion leader: Robert Pastor, former member of the NSC staff and Director of the Caribbean Program, University of Md.

11:00-12:30

The Status Issue—What the Parties Want From the United States Government—A Panel.

Panelists: Representatives of the Statehood, Commonwealth, and Independence Parties.

1:00-2:15

Luncheon—Speaker.

2:30-4:00

Managing the Status Issue in Washington and San Juan—Some Proposals.

Discussion leader: Juan Manuel Garcia Passalacqua, attorney and political columnist.

4:00

Conference Adjourns.●

NATIONAL TRANSPORTATION WEEK

HON. CLAUDINE SCHNEIDER

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mrs. SCHNEIDER. Mr. Speaker, National Transportation Week has been designated as May 15-21, 1983 in recognition of the vital role transportation plays in our daily lives. Americans have conquered vast distances and enormous topographic challenges by constructing a magnificent transportation network that links the most remote corners of this country. Americans can be proud of our transportation network, one of our Nation's most valuable assets.

Our transportation network is comprised of highways, flight paths, subways, railroads, waterways, and ports essential to the efficient and reliable flow of commerce, travel and our national defense. It is people that make this system work. National Transportation Week has been set-aside to honor the men and women who have participated in building a transportation system in the United States that is unparalleled through the world.

Our Nation's eighth Secretary of Transportation—and the first woman to hold that position—chose to begin the celebration of National Transportation Week by addressing the Women's Transportation Seminar (WTS) in Washington, D.C. I urge all my colleagues to read carefully and consider her remarks, which are printed at the conclusion of my statement.

WTS is a national organization of transportation professionals, founded in 1977. Today WTS has nearly 1,000 members with 10 chapters in Atlanta, Boston, Cincinnati, Denver, Miami, Minneapolis-St. Paul, New York, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C., with two chapters forming in Baltimore and Seattle.

WTS provides a neutral forum for business and Government leaders to discuss transportation issues. This young organization constantly strives to advance the knowledge, training, and professional development of its

members. Recently, WTS initiated an Outreach program to inform young people of transportation career options and to encourage appropriate preparatory training. I commend WTS for the excellent service it provides to the transportation industry by fostering the development of a pool of skilled professionals.

From the early seafarers to today's astronauts, women have participated in building, operating, and safeguarding our national transportation system. Of course, transportation is not a traditional career choice for women. Many of the first women in transportation succeeded their husbands into the field.

In 1856, 19-year-old Mary Patten had little choice but to take command of the clipper ship—*Neptune's Car*—when her husband, the captain, became seriously ill. Normally the first mate would have taken over; but news reports indicate that he was bound in irons, arrested for insubordination. For 52 days, Mary guided the 1,800-ton ship around Cape Horn to San Francisco.

In 1901, Sara Kidder became president of the Nevada County Narrow Gauge Railroad when her husband died and left her 1,800 shares of stock. This must have caused quite a stir in an era when railroad presidents had male secretaries and women were not permitted in the corporate suite.

Today, women are entering and excelling in the transportation field on their own merits. As a member of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, I am particularly pleased to see increasing numbers of women enter this exciting and growing industry. I would like to take this opportunity, during National Transportation Week, to pay tribute to the women and men that assist in providing safe, efficient, and dependable transportation services to our Nation's businesses and travelers every day.

PREPARED REMARKS OF SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION, ELIZABETH HANFORD DOLE, TO THE WOMEN'S TRANSPORTATION SEMINAR

It's a delight to begin my participation in National Transportation Week by accepting your kind invitation to address this group. Over the years, the Women's Transportation Seminar has developed a sterling reputation, not only for its leadership in promoting the cause of women in transportation, but also as an impressive forum for the public discussion of transportation issues in general.

It was a woman, Charlotte Woods of Houston's Women's Traffic Club, who first conceived the idea of National Transportation Week. This year is the tenth anniversary of females on the flight decks of U.S. airlines. And 1983 is also the centennial of the famed Brooklyn Bridge, an engineering marvel made possible, at least in part, by Emily Roebling, who shared her husband's battles with dishonest contractors and a legion of so-called best minds. Their skepticism about Roebling's masterpiece carried over to the role of women in all aspects of transportation.

Even now, it's no secret that women form a small minority within the transportation field. As of 1980, they comprised about 16 percent of the overall workforce. Yet as old as the challenge may be, still older are the precedents for overcoming it.

They read like an honors' roll, both social and scientific. From Susan Morningstar, the first woman railroad employee in 1885, to Evelyn Newell, the first woman railroad engineer in 1974. From Mary Patten, who took command of a clipper ship in 1856 to the first eight female graduates of the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy in 1978. And from Phoebe Omlie, a wing walker in a flying circus in 1920 and the first woman to get a transport pilot's license, to Dr. Sally Ride, a physicist who will become the first American woman astronaut in space aboard the seventh flight of the space shuttle challenger next month.

These are just some of the women who have cleared a path for all of us to follow. As the first woman Secretary of Transportation and the first woman to head a branch of our armed forces—the United States Coast Guard—I feel a keen debt to each of them.

I know breaking into the field wasn't easy, and, by explanation, I would like to tell you a personal story. I trust you'll forgive me if I look back over my shoulder—to a day in September 1962 when I entered Harvard Law School, one of 25 women in a class of 550 eager students. I'll never forget being accosted by a male classmate on my very first day at Harvard, who demanded to know what I was doing there.

"Don't you realize," he said in tones of moral outrage, "that there are men who'd give their right arm for your place in law school? Men who would use their legal education?" The inference was that I was taking a man's place. And come to think of it, some may have felt that way when I became Secretary of Transportation.

Yes, much has changed since then. Much of the change has been dictated, not by government edict, but by the marketplace. For instance, the double digit inflation of the 1970's forced many women into the labor market for the first time. Divorced women joined the economy at the same time, until we reached the point where 63 percent of women with children between the ages of six and 17 were in America's labor force in 1982. During the last decade alone, the number of females receiving masters in Business Administration has soared by nearly 800 percent.

And more of the same is in store. For as our economy evolves from its traditional reliance on smokestack industries, as we come to place our faith in services and communications and managerial skills, then women who were previously barred from steel mills and auto factories will find themselves in ever greater demand. In the foreseeable future, we will hopefully even graduate from the misguided perfectionism best described by author and social critic Marya Mannes, who put it best, I think, when she wrote the following: "Nobody objects to a woman being a good writer or sculptor or geneticist if, at the same time, she manages to be a good wife, a good mother, good-looking, good tempered, well-dressed, well-groomed and unaggressive."

Over the years, women have been required to be all this and more. The members of this organization offer living proof that women have the skills needed in transportation. But we also have our work cut out for us in getting that idea accepted.

A few numbers will help. For instance, women today make up 33 percent of the aviation workforce, 28 percent in transit. Unfortunately, they are the high points. For the trucking and maritime trades, the figures drop to 13 percent. And in railroads, women comprise only 8 percent of the workforce.

Clearly, there is substantial room for improvement. And the place to begin is at the Department of Transportation itself. And I want to lead the way for greater opportunities for women throughout the field. Already, we are working to bolster women's ranks in the transportation workforce and at the management level. When the Department was established in 1967, 18.5 percent of its total workforce was female. Today, 16 years later, women still represent less than 20 percent of our personnel strength. Some gains at management levels have occurred, but women in grades GS-13 and above still make up only one percent of the total. I cannot believe that qualified candidates, female candidates, to fill professional positions are lacking. As a result, we are now developing specific recommendations to improve the status of women in the Department. These are just some of the options we are looking at:

Increasing the opportunities for women to enter professional and technical occupations at the entry level;

Preparing women in mid-level grades for more responsible management positions; and,

Providing opportunities for women who are already in management positions to improve their skills and move into the Senior Executive Service.

I asked in the first weeks of my tenure at the Department for a program addressing the needs of women employees from entry level jobs through senior management positions—a program which cuts across the Department's organizational lines.

In early May I attended a Cabinet Council meeting chaired by the President to discuss ways to improve the status of women in Federal government management positions. Needless to say, I was delighted to report that we were already developing a program at DOT. I have been asked to brief the Council, which I will do in the near future. I look forward to the briefing because I am very enthusiastic about our program and anxious to present a model which other departments can follow.

The Federal government sets the standards that govern much of our lives. It should set an example of increased opportunities for working women. I expect that quite a few of you here will become involved in our program. I welcome your input. In the past, you have been active in promoting educational opportunities for women, especially at the college level.

Another area where we share mutual interests is that of transportation legislation. We succeed or fail in our transportation objectives by how effectively we persuade the Congress of the merits of our proposals.

This is never easy. Fortunately, we have come a long way from the days when ancient Greeks decreed the custom that when a man proposed a law in the popular assembly, he did so on a platform with a rope around his neck. If his law passed, they removed the rope; if it failed, they removed the platform.

Right now, we think we're gaining ground in Washington. We're even so bold as to believe the noose of national decline no longer weighs heavy on our neck. And Transporta-

tion is only one field where the old ways are yielding to new ideas, and a steady stream of fresh solutions are fueling our system.

Indeed, change is the order of the day at my Department. One of the priorities of my 102,000-person staff is the modernization of our air traffic control system, which has been described as the biggest government undertaking since the Apollo man-on-the-moon program. The new system will eventually double our capacity in the air through the year 2000. It will cost \$9 billion but save \$25 billion through the end of the century. It will weather-proof our airways and through the most precise landing systems, and equipment to prevent mid-air collisions, provide us the safest possible air system.

While this modernization program will be costly, the money will come from user fees, not the general taxpayer. The user fee principle is not new—our highways are literally built on it. But the extension of that principle to other means of transportation does represent a change in policy, one that is fully consistent with the Administration's position that those who benefit from government-provided services should pay a fair share of their costs. To give you an idea of how far we have come in our user fee philosophy, fully 69 percent of our Department's 1984 budget will be financed by user fees rather than general revenues. That's up from 45 percent in 1981, when this Administration took office.

There is another significant change affecting transportation in America. We are in the beginning phases of a nationwide program to rehabilitate and preserve our highways, bridges and public transit systems. No patchwork project, this extensive rebuilding program will assure that the high quality surface transportation system we enjoy today will endure for future generations. The resources for this program come primarily from the recent nickel a gallon increase in the Federal gasoline tax, revenues that are already being put to work. Although the additional tax only went into effect April 1st, we awarded \$2.9 billion to the states in the first quarter of this year and will fund more than \$12 billion for bridges and highways over the full year—the highest levels in the history of our highway program.

That same legislation—the Surface Transportation Assistance Act—increased user fees on the heaviest trucks using our nation's highways. The extensive cost allocation study completed last year showed that heavy trucks have not been paying anywhere near their fair share of highway costs. The higher fee schedule set by the new law is being phased-in over a five-year period so that truckers and the small independent operator in particular are not hit with a sudden increase. Even with the new fees, however, they will still pay less than their fair share—an estimated 69 percent by 1985 and only 73 percent when the tax is fully implemented in 1989.

The law also permits the use of tandem trailers in all states, on the Interstate system and on primary roads designated by the states.

We had hoped that the states would be responsive to the use of double trailers on qualifying routes. A number of states, however, registered objections to the sections of non-Interstate roads added by the Federal Highway Administration to provide a system of connected routes. The problem was that, while some states came in with a good system, carefully thought-out and designed to assure route continuity, others

sent in maps with bits and pieces of routes that left gaps you could drive a truck through but, unfortunately, not over. The Federal Highway Administration tried to amend those proposals to produce a workable route system but several states challenged those additions, so we temporarily withdrew permission for double trucks to operate on the Federally-designated roads in those states. We will continue to work with the states to reach agreement on a route structure that is mutually acceptable and provides adequate access to freight centers.

It is our feeling that new truck taxes are offset by the increases in productivity the new law permits. Our best rule-of-thumb calculations show an annual net gain—by 1985—of \$3.2 billion of benefits over costs for the industry as a whole.

These are just some of the winds of change blowing across the landscape of American transportation. Another is deregulation. I recall that in the early 1970's, when I was serving on the Federal Trade Commission, we were among the first in Washington to question the merit of continued government economic regulation over industries that had long ceased to be monopolistic and were, in fact, naturally competitive. Since then, we have come a long way in putting this deregulation philosophy to work. And, while some dissenting comments can still be heard from time to time, I think there is a broad consensus that regulation has been good for the industry and the public alike. It is clearly transforming the way airlines, railroads, intercity bus operators and trucking companies do business. And it suggests just how central a role competition plays in the Reagan innovations. Under the restraints of federal regulation, none of these freight or passenger carriers could compete on price. None could set its own routes. None could enter or leave a market without government approval.

All of that may have made sense at one time, but it is clear today that transportation is no longer a natural monopoly—it is, in fact, a naturally and increasingly, competitive group of industries.

Obviously, in any particular mode deregulation might cause temporary dislocations during the transition to a more competitive world and we will be sensitive to those dislocations.

Overall, we firmly believe that deregulation has served the best interests of the public. In the long run, we are convinced it will prove equally beneficial to the industries involved. In aviation, for example, the major airlines have been able to restructure their routes to make more efficient and productive use of their equipment. They have vacated markets better suited to the regional and commuter carriers. Contrary to the fears expressed before deregulation, this has not generally caused small communities to lose service. In 74 communities where the major carriers eliminated service between November 1978 and May 1981, total departures actually increased by 26 percent, as smaller, more competitive operators moved in or expanded existing service. According to a CAB study, convenience of service—times of departure, number of flights and availability of connecting flights at hub airports—generally improved in those communities.

In intercity bus transportation much has been said about the possibility of abandonment of service since President Reagan signed the Bus Regulatory Reform Act. What has not been generally noticed is the

other side of the coin. In the first four months after passage of the Act, the ICC received 85 applications for new or expanded service. We thought that was encouraging. We find now that eight months after the Act was passed, some 137 applications for new or expanded service have been made. This compares to an average of 40 applications per year during the five years before regulatory reform. Greyhound alone is preparing to serve 138 new communities, including some not previously served by any carrier.

Regulatory reforms also have enabled our nation's railroads to compete more effectively, operate more efficiently—and generate the best profits the industry has seen in years, even in the face of a poor economy. In trucking as well, rate reductions today are widely available along with a variety of new types of price and service options. As a matter of fact, we are preparing to proceed with "phase two" of the surface transportation deregulation program which would, in effect, eliminate most of the remaining Interstate Commerce Commission regulatory authority over the motor carrier industry and the domestic water carriers and freight forwarders.

We are also encouraged by the prospects for maritime reform. I have testified before the Congress in support of deregulatory legislation which will minimize the Government's intervention in maritime affairs, strengthen our merchant marine and help to put U.S. carriers on an equal footing with foreign carriers. The Senate has approved a bill similar to our proposal, and we are hopeful for early action in the House. If we get the maritime legislation we want, and believe the nation needs, it will mark the first regulatory reform of the industry in 67 years.

Another area getting a great deal of our attention is Conrail. The government has invested substantially in Conrail and it is today a much-improved, well-performing railroad, and has begun to show some operating profits. We will continue our efforts to return it to the private sector where it properly belongs. I have met with Goldman, Sachs and Company, the investment broker advising us on the sale, and their representatives are now calling on prospective purchasers. If any of you know of someone who might like to buy a railroad, please let me know.

In my book, there is no more important responsibility for the Secretary of Transportation than safety. I referred to it briefly a few minutes ago, but, its importance bears elaboration.

Highway traffic deaths last year numbered 44,000. Tragic as the toll was, it was still 5,000 fewer than in 1981. There were more cars and trucks on our roads. Total driving was up, not down. But lives were spared, as fatalities declined by more than 10 percent.

There are probably a variety of contributing causes to this trend, but we certainly can't overlook the correlation between fewer fatalities and the growing crackdown on drunk driving. It all began, as I'm sure you know, with a groundswell of public opinion deploring ineffectual laws, lax enforcement and lenient judges which together had led us to believe that death was something we had to learn to live with, almost as a price of our mobility.

Recently, a young boy, waiting for the ice cream truck, was killed by a drunk driver with six prior convictions for driving while intoxicated.

One young boy was killed and his twin seriously injured by a motorist who had been arrested seven times in four years for drunk driving—but had never spent a day in jail.

And a man who killed a 23 year-old college student, riding her bicycle in a bike lane, was on probation from a prior drunk driving conviction.

With those and many other tragedies in mind, aroused citizens groups, led initially by Candy Lightner and women and men united under the "Mothers Against Drunk Drivers" organization, have lobbied forcefully and turned a host of state legislatures around. Last year alone, drunk driving laws were tightened in 20 states. Thirty-eight new laws were enacted. Forty states this year either have already enacted tougher drunk driving laws or have such laws up for consideration. The Presidential Commission on Drunk Driving, appointed early last year to focus public awareness on the extent of the problem, has made a number of very solid recommendations and the Commission's term has been extended. Women concerned about transportation-related deaths and injuries have made—and are making—tremendous contributions in the areas of safety and driving responsibility.

We know now that we can make a sizeable dent in the fatality rate and in the number of serious injuries. Along with an aggressive drunk driving program, we are engaged in a nationwide effort, with private sector support, to encourage greater use of safety belts. And we're seeing some encouraging results. According to our latest survey we have gained more than two percentage points in compliance—no small achievement when you consider that every one percent increase means 200 lives saved and 3,000 injuries prevented.

I am also encouraged about a place for air bags in our safety program.

We are arranging to equip 5,000 cars in the Federal government's auto fleet with air bags. We are also negotiating with three or four state police departments to retrofit 500 more cars with driver-side air bags. A contract was signed two weeks ago with a firm in Arizona that will design and produce the air bag retrofit kits. The State of Arizona has agreed to equip 130 of its cars with the air bags. We will encourage the private sector to make air bag cars available to the public. Mercedes Benz and now BMW, for example, already have indicated they will make air bags optional on some models of their cars exported to the United States. I also expect to be talking to major fleet operators in the business community to urge them to experiment with air bags, and I am hopeful that the insurance industry will work with me to take a more active role in safety matters.

In New York, they are celebrating the 100th anniversary of the Brooklyn Bridge, which was built with the help of Emily Roebling, who acted as chief engineer when her husband became ill. And today there's Brooke Knapp who flew a Lear jet around the world in 50 hours, breaking the record for light business class jets by more than half a day. She now runs her own charter airline company in Los Angeles.

As evidence of their participation, women's professional associations in transportation are increasing. There's the Ninety Nines, the International Women Pilots Association, the Whirly Girls, the association of women helicopter pilots and the National Association of Railway Business Women. But the Women's Transportation Seminar is unique because it crosses all modes. I am

glad to note that you are an equal opportunity group—that many men can and do join to take advantage of your excellent programs. Because of this and because of your continual commitment to the advancement of your profession, I would like to follow the example of the junior Senator from Kansas, Nancy Kassebaum, and accept your invitation to become a member of the Women's Transportation Seminar.

One of the country's greatest poets was a woman who never left her home in Amherst, Massachusetts. She never worked in an office, never raised a family, never won a headline. The only power she wielded lay in her poetry. But her artistry and her vision have inspired millions.

"We dwell in possibility," Emily Dickinson wrote nearly 150 ago.

For most women, success today still is achieved by dwelling in the improbable, by challenging the odds and overcoming the conventional wisdom.

Surely it was a combination of possibility—and reaching for the improbable—that led Rosa Parks to claim a seat at the front of a Montgomery bus, and thus launch a peaceful revolution a hundred years overdue. Surely it was brush with the improbable that raised Golda Meir to the Premiership of Israel—or suggested that Mother Teresa's responsibility to a hungry world involved far more than mere obedience to the rules of her Order.

So today let us continue to strive for the day when the improbable becomes the probable. Back in June 1965, I was welcomed somewhat uneasily into a circle still known as "the fellowship of educated men." I've seen enormous progress since then. I've seen the circle expand, and opportunities open up.

And I am convinced that today's women stand in the reflected light of a rising, not a setting sun. Our day has barely dawned. Our dreams are just beginning to be realized. We dwell in possibility—but we challenge the improbable. ●

EL SALVADOR

HON. ROBERT J. LAGOMARSINO

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. LAGOMARSINO. Mr. Speaker, despite what critics may say, the rightist forces in El Salvador do not have a monopoly on human rights abuses.

Newspaper reports in the Los Angeles Times and the Washington Post last week describe in vivid detail the destruction and death of a town in north-central El Salvador. The execution of 18 civilians and soldiers in the town of Cinquera cannot be justified under any circumstances. This is in addition to the more than 30 soldiers killed as guerrillas overran the town's garrison with a barrage of mortar and machine-gun fire.

If past experience is any guide, we are not likely to see these abuses attributed to the left in any report of human rights violations.

While we recognize the need for improvement in human rights conduct by the rightist forces in El Salvador,

the mistake should not be made of depicting the leftist guerrillas in El Salvador as the good guys and the Government forces as the bad guys.

The articles follow:

[From the Washington Post, May 13, 1983]

SALVADORAN GUERRILLAS EXECUTE 18

(By Sam Dillon)

CINQUERA, EL SALVADOR.—Guerrillas, many of them embittered former residents of this mountain hamlet, executed 18 captured soldiers and civilians during a two-day occupation, residents said Wednesday.

An insurgent force of several hundred overran the town's 40-man Army and National Guard garrison Sunday morning, killing 30 soldiers in the fierce mortar and machine-gun attack.

Breaking with their widely publicized "humane treatment" prisoner policy, the rebel forces summarily executed 10 soldiers and eight other men they accused of collaborating with the Army, residents said.

"They said they couldn't pardon the soldiers, because many of their own people had died fighting for the town," said 47-year-old Julia Tomasino as she packed her belongings to flee with her two children Wednesday.

"It was as if it were a crime to live here," Tomasino said.

Cinquera's political history is a microcosm of the fratricidal divisions that have wracked this country since the mid-1970s.

The local priest organized the town's farmers during the last decade into a "Christian peasants' union" demanding improved wages and living conditions. A string of killings and disappearances—believed to be the work of rightist landowners—occurred after the peasants seized a nearby ranch.

The polarization culminated in 1980, when the priest and hundreds of the town's poor fled to the surrounding hills to join the developing armed rebellion.

Many of the residents who remained were members of the now-disbanded paramilitary organization ORDEN, and the town, since considered a rightist stronghold, has been briefly occupied at least twice by insurgents.

The executions unleashed here during the weekend reflected this legacy, Salvadorans familiar with the town said.

Late Saturday night, guerrillas launched coordinated attacks on the town and the Army's three mountain outposts that control its main access road. Nearly 55 soldiers died in fighting outside the town, according to Lt. Col. Roberto Rodriguez Murcia, commander of Cabanas Province.

"Here, the soldiers didn't all die in their respective trenches," said 22-year-old Antonio Bonilla, who was visiting relatives in Cinquera Saturday when the fighting began. "Here, some surrendered wounded and were killed as they bled.

"See that wall? That's where a sergeant surrendered, and that's where they shot him," Bonilla said. Pointing down a cobbled street littered with spent rifle shells and bloody clothing, Bonilla said 10 captured soldiers were killed by the rebels. He indicated the spots where each one fell.

Across town, Bonilla pointed to a puddle of dried blood where, he said, the commander of the local civil defense force was executed. Bonilla named seven other civilians executed by the rebels. Some were paramilitary fighters like the civil guard commander.

Scores of women, children and old men died in the mortar bombardment that pre-

ceded the storming of the town's trenced perimeter and the hall of bullets that followed, numerous residents said.

[In Washington, a State Department spokesman, citing reports from the Salvadoran armed forces and from the representative of the U.S. military group attached to the U.S. Embassy who visited Cinquera, confirmed "at least" 16 executions. The spokesman added that "based on reports from Salvadoran authorities on the scene, there were an undetermined number of civilian deaths including several small children."]

By Monday morning, many of the rebel combatants had left. But at least 10 guerrilla supporters—the "masses" who live and move with rebel columns—came out of the hills to Cinquera to commandeer supplies and visit old acquaintances, Bonilla said.

"The women came in to see their sisters," he said. In several cases, the rebel supporters interceded to save former friends from being executed as government informers.

A force of nearly 1,000 Army troops drawn from three provinces dislodged the guerrillas in heavy fighting in the surrounding hills Monday evening. Wednesday, trucks loaded with refugees carrying their battered furniture and hungry livestock rumbled out of the town, and it appeared that within days Cinquera would be uninhabited.

The Associated Press reported the following from San Salvador:

Two young Salvadorans said they were abducted north of the capital Saturday night by uniformed death squads, shot with automatic rifles and dumped along a shantytown road where Red Cross workers found eight bullet-riddled bodies.

"When they went away I rolled into a ditch to escape the dogs," said one of the survivors Wednesday.

It wasn't possible to verify the stories independently. Western diplomatic and human-rights sources agreed the case appeared to have the markings of an attack by death squads, who have been blamed for most of the 42,000 deaths in El Salvador over the past 3½ years.

The two men said they had been abducted separately in the rough Mejicanos neighborhood north of the capital by armed, uniformed men, presumably from a right-wing group.

International Red Cross officials said they found the men along a road three miles north of San Salvador where eight corpses had been dumped. The road is frequently used as a dumping ground for victims of political killings.

The survivors said their assailants called them "subversives"—a term the government uses for leftist rebels—and ordered them to board open-bed trucks of the type the Army uses for transport. They said the trucks drove north of the capital to the area where the bodies were found. They said they were ordered off the trucks, and the gunmen started shooting.

A western source said the bodies of two former political prisoners freed earlier this year, Manuel de Jesus Orellana Moran, 24, and Pedro Antonio Chamul Montano, 24, were among those found on the road. The source said the two were released earlier this year after military judges dropped subversion charges.

[In Washington, a State Department spokesman said, "This is a matter of serious concern. We are looking into the matter further."]

[From the Los Angeles Times, May 12, 1983]

DEATH OF TOWN: SALVADORAN REBELS SETTLE A SCORE

(By William Montalbano)

CINQUERA, EL SALVADOR.—Mayor Cordelia Avalos survived the death of her town by hiding in the woods. Wednesday, she lay on a scrap of canvas in a dirty pink and orange dress, cupping a hand over her eyes, unwilling to watch the funeral rites.

Around her, like sleepwalkers, townsfolk lugged valuables from shattered adobe houses into the plaza, where a flowering royal poinciana mocked their agony with orange fire. There were goats, bullocks, tethered pigs, religious pictures, beds, rickety tables, sacks of rice and, in a cardboard box, a 12-day-old girl aptly named Dolores. Sorrow.

Near the church, too poor to have a name, where the steeple clock was stopped at some far away 10:30, an army lieutenant looked up from the April, 1964, Spanish edition of Reader's Digest to say that trucks would come soon. By nightfall, Cinquera would be just a place on the map. No more people, except those who rest in fresh, shallow graves.

A DUSTY MICROCOSM

Guerrillas came to Cinquera before dawn Sunday with a score to settle. By Monday, when they withdrew, the town was dead, a dusty red-tiled, nowhere microcosm of the violence that wracks El Salvador.

Cinquera, a nasty two hours by car northeast of the Salvadoran capital, is one of those places of more tears than facts, a town-in-a-hollow where surrounding hillsides were once planted with beans and corn.

Electric lights went out more or less for good two years ago. It has been a year since any bus would brave the rocky tract from Tejutepique to the southeast. Once, several thousand people lived around Cinquera but, as the troubles worsened, many left and others moved from the countryside to the town. Mayor Avalos thinks there were 104 families in Cinquera when the guerrillas came or, perhaps, she said, it was 145.

Around 1977, according to Salvadorans familiar with the town, a priest whose name is not remembered politicized the poor and formed them into Christian communities and peasants' leagues of the sort common in Latin America but which always excite rightist alarm.

Landowners and the town Establishment, traditionalists who had historically supported whatever military government held power here, struck back. Killings and disappearances began.

In 1980 the priest and some of his peasant followers went into the hills as guerrillas. At least twice since then the guerrillas occupied the town briefly, fueling the flight of its people.

Around 1 a.m. Sunday the guerrillas came back in force, striking from all sides in a coordinated attack against a 30-man army garrison supported by civilian defense forces.

The garrison surrendered around 8 a.m. On Wednesday, the leveled, blue-sided military headquarters and the debris from overrun strongpoints around the plaza bore mute testimony to the ferocity of the struggle.

When the garrison fell, Cinquera discovered that the guerrillas were not just any guerrillas, but some of the same people who had followed the priest into the mountains three years before.

With the town secure, the guerrillas began exacting specific vengeance, witnesses said Wednesday.

"They robbed everything, destroyed my house, killed my husband," said Avalos, who fled in the confusion.

"My husband was the mayor's assistant, 61 years old," said a new widow standing amid the wood framing that was all that remained of the front of her house. "They came and got him and led him away with his hands tied. He is buried over there. Please do not publish my name or they will kill me too."

"They killed people they said had cooperated with the government," said Julia Tomasino, whose house fronts on the plaza. "The guerrillas said they could not pardon the soldiers who surrendered because too many of their friends had died. They tied them up and shot them."

A mustachioed farm worker, Jose Antonio Arias, sat on the steps of the church Wednesday, favoring a leg he said was wounded by a guerrilla grenade.

"I saw them take away seven soldiers and six civilians. They didn't come back. The guerrillas dragged people out of their homes and made them lie down in the street. They took food and clothes and told us if we didn't leave they would kill everybody."

In all, perhaps 40 civilians died in the town, together with the 30 soldiers. Another 60 soldiers are said to have died when a relief column was ambushed Wednesday, and estimates of dead civilians in the countryside run as high as 80. Guerrilla casualties in the fighting in and around the town are estimated to be about 50.

Numbers never tell the story, though, and are almost never right. A more accurate reflection of the Salvadoran reality Wednesday was the pathetic emptiness of Cinquera and its survivors; open doors to empty houses, a skinless bass drum rocking on cobblestones, a schoolgirl's essay entitled "Art in the Middle Ages," forgotten under fleeing feet. ●

U.S. PUSH IN WORLD MARKET URGED

HON. TIMOTHY E. WIRTH

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. WIRTH. Mr. Speaker, for some time now many of my colleagues in the Congress have shared a concern about this Nation's ability to compete successfully in the international market and during the past year, we have seen many leaders from business, industry, and labor voice that same concern.

Yesterday, the Business-Higher Education Forum released a report that formally addresses this critical concern. I would like to share one quote from this report:

Other nations have recognized the new economic imperative and have integrated their domestic and foreign policies into aggressive, coordinated national strategies to meet the challenge of international competition. The United States has not.

As a nation, we must develop a consensus that industrial competition is crucial to our social and economic well-being.

I fully support the fundamental premise of the above quote and hope in the near future to introduce legislation which will address this problem, so vital to our economic interests. I would like to submit the story on the report, which appeared in yesterday's New York Times:

[From the New York Times, May 16, 1983]

U.S. PUSH IN WORLD MARKET URGED COMPANIES' EXECUTIVES AND EDUCATORS STRESS ABILITY TO COMPETE

(By Edward B. Fiske)

Leaders of 16 major universities and corporations called on President Reagan yesterday to put the full weight of the White House behind a new national program to restore the nation's ability to compete with other industrial nations.

Such a restoration must become the country's "central objective" for the rest of the decade, the members of the task force of the Business-Higher Education Forum said in a letter to Mr. Reagan. Their letter accompanied a report urging changes in trade, taxation, investment and educational policies to solve "deep-rooted and structural" economic problems.

"Other nations," the report said, "have recognized the new economic imperative and have integrated their domestic and foreign policies into aggressive coordinated national strategies to meet the challenge of international competition. The United States has not."

PATIENCE, SACRIFICE, VISION

The first thing to do, they said, is this: "As a nation, we must develop a consensus that industrial competitiveness is crucial to our social and economic well-being."

The task force cautioned: "Strengthening America's ability to compete will require exceptional resources, patience, sacrifice and vision. It will require avoiding the twin pitfalls of protectionism and increased government intervention into private sector activities."

Among the changes recommended by the task force are modification of antitrust laws so companies may cooperate in sponsoring basic research, further reductions in the capital gains tax on long-term investments, Federal loans for graduate engineering students who agree to become teachers and development of a "displaced worker program modeled after the G.I. Bill."

The task force said that restoring the ability of American industry to compete in international markets would require "the same national consensus that allowed the United States to land men on the moon."

Because of the magnitude of the proposed changes, the task force declared, leadership must begin with the White House. It urged President Reagan to take these immediate steps:

Make a major public address describing the "nature and severity of the competitive challenge" and suggesting ways of dealing with it.

Appoint a Presidential Adviser on Economic Competitiveness similar to those in fields such as national security and science.

Staff a previously announced National Commission on Industrial Competitiveness that would coordinate national efforts in this area.

Establish an Information Center on International Competitiveness in the Commerce Department to facilitate the flow of information relating to economic growth.

"Despite the fact that the United States has the world's largest capital base, the world's most advanced technology and a highly educated and skilled work force," the report said, "there is disturbing evidence that the nation is failing to utilize these strengths fully."

Earlier this month the National Task Force on Education for Economic Growth, a group of 41 state governors and corporate and educational leaders, called for "deep and lasting change" in the American educational system to put the country on a par with Japan and other industrial nations.

Many American corporations have begun to aid local school systems with financial support and the time of executive personnel. In New York City, for example, at least a dozen companies have developed ties to elementary schools through a program known as Adopt-a-School.

The Business-Higher Education Forum was established five years ago to promote cooperation between corporations and institutions of higher education on issues of mutual concern. Its 78 members, all of whom are senior executives of industrial or academic institutions, meet twice a year. It has a permanent staff that operates under the sponsorship of the American Council on Education, the principal umbrella organization of American colleges and universities.

The 51-page report released yesterday, "America's Competitive Challenge: The Need for a National Response," was signed by the task force consisting of 16 forum members. The co-chairmen are Robert Anderson, chairman of the Rockwell International Corporation, and David S. Saxton, president of the University of California.

The task force was created last spring when President Reagan, in response to an overture from the American Council, indicated that he would be receptive to such an analysis from corporate and educational leaders. Representatives of the group are scheduled to meet with the President later this month.

In its letter to Mr. Reagan, the task force said: "Unless the United States improves its ability to compete, unless we develop a comprehensive, coherent, long-term approach and unless we address our problems from a broad perspective, we fear that domestic economic revitalization will remain an elusive goal."

"And unless we rebuild the American economy and strengthen our educational system, it will be increasingly difficult—if not impossible—to maintain a just society, a high standard of living for all Americans and a strong national defense."

The report noted "the decline of U.S. economic competitiveness," adding that "unemployment persists at near-record levels." It said, "The fiscal strength of all levels of government has been weakened, forcing reductions in public services that affect the quality of life."

A wide variety of reasons for the decline were cited, including a decade-long decrease in capital investment as a percentage of the gross national product, shortages of engineers, scientists and other technical workers and "the absence of unified U.S. foreign economic policy."

American business, according to the document, has compounded the problem through policies that favor "the short term over the long term." And colleges and universities, it added, have been "responding too slowly" to changing manpower needs.

In its deliberations, the task force evaluated more than 200 suggestions, made by vari-

ous groups in recent years, about how to improve economic competitiveness.

"Our ideas are not new," said John W. Peltason, president of the American Council on Education and a member of the group. "What we tried to do was to say that the country needs a process for constantly reviewing such ideas and that the need is sufficiently urgent to require Presidential leadership."

The dozens of recommendations endorsed by the task force range from changes in trade and tax policies to basic reforms in the educational system. Among the proposals are these:

Revision of the Freedom of Information Act to protect proprietary information that is sent to Government agencies and could be useful to foreign companies.

Liberalized tax deductions for corporations donating scientific equipment to colleges and universities.

Tax incentives to corporations for retraining workers displaced by technological change.

Additional support to both public and private organizations for training high school mathematics and science teachers.

The task force said that companies and universities must take a number of steps on their own to increase American competitiveness. Corporations, it said, must emphasize long-run growth rather than short-term profits, while universities must develop "more competitive salaries for engineering faculties." The report added that industry and higher education must find new ways of collaborating on "problem-oriented research."

In addition to Mr. Anderson, Mr. Saxon and Mr. Peltason, the members of the task force are Derek C. Bok, president of Harvard University; Phillip Caldwell, chairman of the Ford Motor Company; Edward Donley, chairman of Air Products and Chemicals Inc.; Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of the University of Notre Dame; Gerald D. Laubach, president of Pfizer Inc.; James E. Olson, vice chairman of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company; Wesley W. Posvar, chancellor of the University of Pittsburgh.

Also, John F. Burlingame, vice chairman of the General Electric Company; Richard M. Cyert, president of Carnegie-Mellon University; Paul H. Henson, chairman of United Telecommunications; Matina S. Horner, president of Radcliffe College; Robert Q. Marston, president of the University of Florida, and Clifton R. Wharton Jr., chancellor of the State University of New York.

William O. Baker, retired chairman of the Bell Telephone Laboratories, served as special adviser. ●

SEX DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION EQUALS NATIONAL DISGRACE

HON. FORTNEY H. (PETE) STARK

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, I wish to reaffirm my support for equal educational opportunities for women and men alike by cosponsoring House Resolution 190.

Mr. Speaker, this administration's attempts to turn the clock back to an era when the Federal Government tac-

itly accepted the denial of equal education for both sexes is not only reprehensible but a national disgrace and tragedy which will surely result in negative consequences for us all. While the advancements of women in education cannot be attributed solely to Federal programs and regulations that protect equal educational rights, there has been an undeniable link between these strides and the passage of key legislation, particularly title IX.

As you know title IX was enacted in 1972 with the clear intention of withholding public funds from any institution engaging in sex discrimination whether the funds were program specific or not. The Education Department's failure to appeal last July's Federal district court ruling in University of Richmond against Bell, which states that title IX covers only programs that receive direct Federal aid, has now resulted in confusion regarding the scope of title IX. Mr. Speaker, worse than the confusion engendered by the Richmond decision, the failure to appeal this case sends a powerful message to the schools and colleges across this country that they can discriminate with impunity—without fear of vigorous enforcement.

Despite President Reagan's campaign rhetoric that he has "been working to promote women's rights since long before it became fashionable," his administration has attacked and undercut educational equity for women at a rate unmatched by previous administrations, either Democratic or Republican.

Given that this Nation is already at risk with regard to its educational system, we cannot further afford the price of sex discrimination in education at any level. So too, at a time when we are seeking avenues to put this Nation back on the road to economic recovery, we cannot afford to deny women educational opportunities that will enable them to enter a wider variety of fields, especially the higher paying technical fields.

I hope that those of my colleagues who have not joined in cosponsoring House Resolution 190 will do so in order that this Congress will send a clear message to the administration that we will not accept discrimination on the basis of sex by any educational institution. ●

THE MILITARIZATION OF SPACE

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, concern is growing about the President's proposed plan to militarize space. In this respect, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues

an article on the frightening implications of space-based weapons by Prof. Michio Kaku which appears in the June 1983 Progressive magazine.

WASTING SPACE—COUNTDOWN TO A FIRST STRIKE

(By Michio Kaku)

The "space wars" speech delivered by Ronald Reagan on March 23 may represent the most enormous gamble of his Administration—and of our lives. In committing the United States to the development of massive space-based antiballistic defense systems, Reagan raises the stakes of the contest between American and Soviet weaponry to a level all but unimaginable.

One possible outcome, offered by Reagan, is attractive: This country will be perpetually protected from nuclear devastation by Soviet missiles. Another possible outcome, feared by many scientists and strategic thinkers, is disastrous: The arms equilibrium between the two superpowers will be disturbed to the point where a nuclear first strike becomes inevitable.

In either event, Reagan's laser-beam proposal, which the Soviet Union immediately denounced as a violation of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, must be understood as a profound departure from the balance-of-terror doctrine that has prevailed for the past three decades. Reagan's speech sets the arms race on a wholly uncharted course.

The strategic rationale underlying the space wars proposal can be found in a glossy, 175-page document called *The High Frontier* (published last year by the right-wing Heritage Foundation). Here, retired Lieutenant General Daniel O. Graham, former director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, advocates a policy of "ensured survival" to replace the current doctrine of "assured destruction," which leaves the United States vulnerable to wholesale destruction by Soviet nuclear warheads.

To ensure survival, Graham recommends a system of 400 satellites that would constantly circle the globe, armed with a lethal array of energy beams capable of shooting down Soviet missiles within five minutes of their launching. The energy beams would consist of light (driven by hydrogen fluoride lasers), particle beams (of charged or neutral subatomic particles), X-rays (driven by an atomic explosion and focused by lasers), microwaves, and EMP (electromagnetic pulse generated by a nuclear detonation).

In addition, Graham would have the Pentagon deploy killer satellites capable of blinding or destroying Soviet satellites in outer space, as well as ground-based "energy cannons" capable of knocking down enemy missiles before they reach their targets in the United States. A massive civil defense program would also be developed, just in case any Soviet missiles managed to penetrate the antimissile arsenal.

The U.S. military point with pride at the advances in laser technology that have supposedly placed satellite antiballistic missile systems within reach—at a research cost of about half a billion dollars. They cite a test conducted five years ago in San Juan Capistrano, California, where a hydrogen fluoride laser was used to blast three antitank missiles traveling through the air at 450 miles per hour.

However, the military efficacy of space weapons, let alone their advisability as a new stage in the arms race, is a matter of much dispute. It is no great feat, critics note, for ground-based lasers to shoot down

airborne antitank missiles. It is much easier to destroy a slow-moving, preprogrammed missile that is easily tracked by radar than to intercept from outer space thousands of Soviet missiles launched simultaneously and speeding at thousands of miles per hour over a vast area. The feasibility of space wars weapons against targets of this sort has never been demonstrated.

It took an entire building to house the 300-watt power supply for the San Juan Capistrano tests. A genuine laser cannon could require from 100 billion to one trillion watts, and might entail placing several nuclear power plants in orbit—an impractical assignment at best.

Furthermore, the space-based beams can easily be neutralized by inexpensive countermeasures. Warheads coated with highly reflective paint can diminish the usefulness of laser beams. Decoys and chaff can confuse radar. For every ruble the Soviets might spend on such cheap diversions, the United States would have to spend millions of dollars on devices that can differentiate between real warheads and duds. And there is always the possibility—some would say the likelihood or even the certainty—that the Soviets would destroy U.S. satellites with killer satellites or space mines of their own.

Finally, it may be that the laws of physics simply rule out the successful development of space weaponry. Because a satellite takes ninety minutes to complete an orbit around the Earth, only a fraction of the laser fleet would be in position to act in case of an enemy attack. Within a few minutes, the small number of satellites must locate enemy missiles with pinpoint accuracy, separate out the decoys and dummies, focus the destructive beam long enough to destroy a warhead, confirm the kill, and repeat the process hundreds or thousands of times. It may be impossible to do all that.

What makes the new space war strategy such an ominous development, though, is not the high cost, dubious effectiveness, or great vulnerability of the weaponry, but the potential escalation of the arms race to a new, destabilizing level.

The mere perception by one side that the other has achieved a first-strike capability or a foolproof ABM system may suffice to provoke nuclear war. The Soviet Union, understandably fearful that the United States is preparing a knock-out first strike, could decide to jump the gun and fire first. Former U.S. strategic arms negotiator Paul Warnke has said, "There is no question in my mind that we could have a war in space within a decade unless we devise a treaty that will stop it." And a war in space would inevitably become a war that devastates the Earth.

Neither the skepticism of most scientists nor the profound misgivings felt by many strategic analysts seems to have had any impact on President Reagan. His preoccupation is with the Soviet Union and the possibility that it may forge ahead in the arms race. For him, the space wars scenario seems to hold out the hope of perpetual, foolproof protection for the United States.

The Soviet military might entertain similar visions. For decades, both superpowers have secretly studied the black arts of anti-satellite (ASAT) and ABM warfare, hoping to find security on the ground by placing the proper weaponry in space.

When the Soviets launched their first Sputnik in October 1957, the United States immediately embarked on a crash program called SAINT (for satellite interceptor). SAINT was abandoned in 1962 only because

nuclear-tipped ASAT missiles based on Kwajalein Atoll and Johnston Island in the Pacific seemed to offer a more promising way of attacking Soviet space satellites. Though the use of such missiles was explicitly banned by the Outer Space Treaty of 1967, they were kept in place until 1975, when the Pentagon came to the embarrassing realization that the electromagnetic pulse generated by nuclear detonations would wreak indiscriminate havoc among American as well as Soviet satellites.

Today, the U.S. ASAT program calls for use of an F-15 fighter jet equipped with a miniature rocket that is capable of soaring 200 miles into outer space and homing in on Soviet satellites. The rocket, called the MHV (miniature homing vehicle), is now undergoing final flight tests.

In addition, the Space Shuttle has increasingly taken on a role as a space war weapon. Its heavy involvement in military applications dates back to May 13, 1978, when President Carter signed Presidential Decision Memorandum Thirty-seven, calling for "activities in space in support of [the U.S.] right of self-defense, thereby strengthening national security, the deterrence of attack, and arms control agreements." With substantial funding from the military budget, the Space Shuttle now serves as a vehicle for beam-weapon experimentation. The Soviets have protested, to no avail, that this violates existing treaties.

ASAT systems will be ready for deployment in the 1990s, but beam weapons are at a less advanced stage and their current status is shrouded in secrecy. We do know that the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) set up Project See Saw as long ago as 1958 to investigate particle beam ABM systems. After more than a dozen years of exploratory work, See Saw was abandoned in 1972 when researchers concluded that the costs of such weaponry would be prohibitive.

In the 1970s, the Army started its own program, first called Sipapu (a Native American word for "sacred fire") and later renamed White Horse. The Navy set up the mysterious Chair Heritage Project, which runs a test series called Dauphin at the Lawrence Livermore weapons laboratory in California.

Three years ago, Dauphin dispelled the long-held assumption that it was impossible to generate X-ray lasers. In the first successful test of its kind, Dauphin demonstrated that a small underground nuclear charge could be used to pump an X-ray laser at a wavelength of .0014 microns. This breakthrough helped persuade the Pentagon and the Reagan Administration that an elaborate space war program might be feasible. In X-ray laser, a nuclear detonation creates huge numbers of soft X-rays that can be channeled through hundreds of laser tubes into directed X-ray beams. When used in space, however, the nuclear explosion kills the satellite itself, so a laser cannon of this sort can be used only once.

Predictably, we know even less about the Soviet Union's space war efforts than about our own Government's, but there is no doubt that the Russians, too, have explored techniques of destroying enemy satellites. Instead of using conventional jet fighters to launch ASAT weapons, the Soviets have been experimenting since 1968 with maneuverable satellites capable of firing conventional charges to destroy enemy vehicles in space.

On April 13, 1976, Cosmos 814 was borne aloft on an F-1M missile launched from the

sprawling Tyuratam space port. After only one orbit, Cosmos 814 maneuvered within striking distance—one kilometer—of the previously launched Cosmos 803. It was a stunning display of satellite virtuosity, and it prompted President Ford to approve funding for the Pentagon's MHV program.

Still, Soviet ASAT efforts cannot be construed as a serious threat to the security of the United States. The Soviet weapons can effectively be directed only against low-altitude satellites in orbit at 200 miles or less, while most important U.S. communications satellites are in synchronous orbits at 20,000 miles—beyond the reach of either Cosmos or MHV. What's more, Soviet Killer satellites are unsophisticated machines, able to home in only on carefully preprogrammed dummy satellites locked into special orbits.

Soviet efforts to manipulate satellites in outer space can easily be tracked on radar, but the progress of space beam research on the ground is a matter of speculation and interpretation of aerial reconnaissance.

The Reagan Administration's claims that the Russians are "ahead" in laser ABM technology rests almost exclusively on a single scrap of disputed evidence. In 1972, Major General George Keegan, then in charge of the \$3 billion-a-year U.S. Air Force intelligence apparatus, alleged that satellite photos of a Soviet base sixty kilometers south of Semipalatinsk proved beyond doubt that the Russians were out in front in development of particle beam weaponry. Keegan cited four large holes in the ground and two spherical structures that he described as energy storage tanks for particle beams.

Keegan's assertions were investigated by the Central Intelligence Agency, which decided his evidence was marginal and inconclusive. The CIA skeptics designated the Soviet facility as URDF-3, for "unidentified research and development facility number three," leaving Keegan virtually alone in insisting that the Soviets had a twenty-year jump on the United States. It was only with the advent of the Reagan Administration that Keegan's charges started receiving a respectful hearing, and the retired general recently put in a return appearance on the CBS Television *Sixty Minutes* program.

The hard-line scientists who have played a role in persuading the Reagan Administration to commit itself to space wars are no fools. They are aware of the doubts voiced by their colleagues and they understand the formidable obstacles that stand in the way of effective satellite weapons. They surely realize that no laser ABM system will ever be able to destroy all Soviet missiles immediately after launch, and that a failure rate of even 1 percent would inflict catastrophic damage on targets in the United States.

Why, then, are they pushing the ABM system, and why is the Administration heeding their advice? The answers are to be found in the arcane theories and peculiar ratiocinations of the Nuclear Warfighting strategists.

The laser ABM, with all its limitations, may have effective applications in conjunction with the launching of a preemptive first strike.

The Nuclear Warfighters reason that an American first strike, no matter how successful, could never destroy all of the Soviet retaliatory force. That's where the space weapons would come into play: The 10 to 20 percent of Soviet missiles that might manage to escape a U.S. first strike could be shot down by a laser ABM system. In Nucle-

ar Warfighting jargon, this is called Strategic Defense.

The arithmetic is simple: The Soviet Union has about 8,000 strategic warheads aimed at targets in the United States. In the near future, the land-based MX missile and the submarine-launched Trident II will be accurate enough to drop two hydrogen bombs on each of the Soviet SS-18 and SS-19 missile silos.

Still, there are some uncertainties: To what extent will magnetic and gravitational anomalies over the North Pole divert the attacking U.S. missiles from their flight paths? Until the missiles actually are sent on their course, no one will know. It must also be assumed that at least 10 percent of the Soviet nuclear submarine fleet will survive a first strike. In sum, there is a likelihood that about 1,000 of the 8,000 Russian warheads would still be available to retaliate against the United States.

With all its faults, the laser ABM system can reasonably be expected to handle most of these remaining 1,000 Soviet warheads. The few missiles that might elude both the first strike and the laser ABM provide the rationale for the Administration's new emphasis on civil defense and relocation plans; the purpose of such programs is to preserve U.S. industrial capacity for the "post-attack era."

State Department consultant Colin S. Gray, one of the Nuclear Warfighters, has neatly summed up the doctrine:

"The United States should plan to defeat the Soviet Union and to do so at a cost that would not prohibit U.S. recovery. Washington should identify war aims that in the last resort would contemplate the destruction of Soviet political authority and the emergence of a postwar world order compatible with Western values. . . . A combination of counterforce offensive targeting, civil defense, and ballistic missile and air defense should hold U.S. casualties to approximately 20 million, which should render U.S. strategic threats more credible."

The objective, in other words, is not merely a first strike—though that is an essential component—but a comprehensive mix of first-strike targeting, antimissile weaponry, and civil defense measures that will guarantee, in the Administration's view, that the United States will "prevail" in a nuclear exchange.

That is the "security" promised by Reagan's space wars program—not the security of peace, but the security of American victory in a nuclear war rendered all but inevitable.

(Michio Kaku, professor of nuclear physics at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, is director of the Institute for Peace and Safe Technology. He is coauthor, with Jennifer Trainer, of "Nuclear Power: Both Sides," published last year by W. W. Norton.)

THE MURDERS OF TURKISH PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND DIPLO- MATS

HON. CHARLES WILSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, international terrorists continue unabated in their vile deeds of murdering public officials and diplomats of our most

faithful NATO ally, the Republic of Turkey.

The terrorists are often neglected in our studies, and there are few experts who are familiar with their objectives and modus operandi. Under Secretary of Defense Fred W. Ikle, testifying before a Senate committee, described them as "one of the most dangerous and most neglected of the terrorist movements" in the world.

Who are these terrorists and whose interests are they promoting by killing 26 Turkish diplomats and their families and conducting 60 bombing attacks in 19 countries, including our country, Canada, Australia, the states of Western Europe, and now even a nonaligned Communist country? For a long time, people resisted the idea that they are masterminded, directly or indirectly by the KGB. No; they are only fanatical nationalists trying to "revenge" the Turkish killings of Armenians during World War I; just like the Chinese Communists were described to be agrarian reformers in the 1940's.

Nicholas S. Ludington, writing in the Los Angeles Times on March 15, 1983, asserted:

The stated goal of the Armenian Secret Army (which has mounted most of the attacks) is to "liberate" Turkey's easternmost provinces where a large number of Armenians once lived. They would be united with the neighboring Armenian Soviets Socialist Republic, where 3.2 million Armenians now live. The aim is to break off territory that would be highly strategic to NATO to counter a Soviet move to the Middle East oil fields and to give it to the Soviet Union.

Ludington, a senior associate of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, also states that the agents for the Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA) have proven ties to the most radical pro-Soviet Palestinian guerrilla group, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, under Mr. George Habash.

We do not have to rely, however, on the Los Angeles Times. In April 1979, the ASALA held a press conference in Beirut—recounted in the Armenian Observer—in which they stated their Marxist philosophy and beliefs, denounced the United States as an imperialist power, and praised the Soviet Union as the true friend of the Armenians. In February 1981 in their publication Armenia in an article on "What the U.S. Means to Us," they described the United States as the main enemy of Armenian nationalism and called for an armed struggle against it.

It is true that the overwhelming majority of the American Armenians denounce the horrible crimes of the terrorists, who infiltrate as "immigrants" fleeing the war in Lebanon.

Mr. Chairman, we need more research and surveillance by our law enforcement agencies of both the ASALA and the Justice Commando Group—the latter is more akin to the

New Left, nationalist Montoneros of Argentina—to prevent further terrorist acts in the United States. We already have had four murders and eight bombings. Last year in two instances, however, the terrorists were caught before being able to carry out the bombings they had planned.

May I call also on the State Department and the INS to exercise increased caution about the true identities and political background of Armenian immigrants to this country and also about the increasing ties—cultural, travel, social—between the Armenian community and the Soviet Union. We must stop the Soviet attempts to infiltrate the Armenian community and prevent the terrorists from committing more outrageous activities in the United States. ●

A TRIBUTE TO HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

HON. IKE SKELTON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1983

● Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to pay tribute to our distinguished friend and colleague, the Honorable HENRY B. GONZALEZ. HENRY'S outstanding record in the House of Representatives over the past 22 years is an inspiration to all of us here. He is a perfect model of a public servant, forsaking jobs in the private sector in order to dedicate himself to his work in the Government.

I am pleased to join in the honoring of HENRY GONZALEZ for both the anniversary of his beginning work in an elected office, and the event of his 67th birthday. I wish him all the best for the years ahead. ●

JULY TAX CUTS AND INDEX- ATION: GOOD AS GOLD FOR MIDDLE-INCOME AMERICANS

HON. JACK FIELDS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. FIELDS. Mr. Speaker, I submit for the RECORD today an outstanding publication by the Heritage Foundation entitled "Tax Cuts: The Lower the Incomes, The Better It Looks."

I would urge my colleagues to review this publication closely because it confirms what those of us who strongly supported the Economic Recovery Tax Act have been arguing for 2 years.

This conclusion, which was substantiated by a nationwide Sindlinger poll, was that poor and middle-income Americans most strongly support indexing the tax tables and keeping the July tax cut. Of those earning over

\$15,000 a year, over 64 percent of those interviewed indicated they recognized the economic benefits of these provisions and they wanted to keep both the tax cut and indexing on schedule.

Mr. Speaker, if this Congress is serious about insuring long-term economic prosperity for all Americans, then we must not tamper with either the 10-percent July tax reduction or the long overdue indexing of our tax brackets.

The text of this publication follows:

TAX CUTS: THE LOWER THE INCOMES, THE BETTER IT LOOKS

Is Ronald Reagan a rich man's President? Yes, say his critics, arguing that his tax cut program benefits and is supported only by upper-income Americans. Low-income and even average-income Americans, the critics claim, are bitter that tax breaks are going to the rich.

The trouble is that these critics, champions of the people, never bothered to consult poor and middle-income Americans before speaking for them. Had they done so, they would have discovered that grass-roots America better understands and appreciates the Reagan tax policy than do the upper-crust, insular critics. This is revealed by the results of a new nationwide Sindlinger and Company, Inc., poll, commissioned by The Heritage Foundation. Those who charge that Ronald Reagan's tax cut philosophy draws its support mainly from rich and upper-income Americans could not have it more wrong.

Poor and middle-income Americans, according to the poll, most strongly support indexing the tax tables and keeping the July tax cut. Upper-income groups, by contrast, weakly favor—the richest actually oppose by a significant margin—the scheduled tax reduction.

If it were up to the wealthy, the poll shows, the July ten percent tax cut would be eliminated entirely. Of those earning over \$50,000, 57.3 percent want to scrap the third stage of the tax cut, while only 32.8 percent want to keep it. Those earning less than \$15,000 a year, on the other hand, are for keeping the tax cut on schedule by a whopping 64.1 percent. Among the total population, 54.9 percent want taxes cut on schedule.

Why does the tax cut appeal so much to average- and lower-income Americans, but not to the affluent? The answer: average Americans told the Sindlinger pollsters that they fear that eliminating the tax cut will hurt the economic recovery and reduce the chances for long-term economic growth.

A 46.1 percent plurality of all Americans believe that eliminating the tax cut will hurt the economy (only 18.7 percent think that it would help—the rest have no opinion or believe that it would make no difference). But those earning below \$15,000 a year agree by a 52.7 percent majority that eliminating the tax cut would damage the economy. Once again, it is upper-income Americans who break the consensus. Of Americans making more than \$50,000 a year, 44.2 percent actually believe that eliminating the July 1 tax cut would benefit the economy.

Average- and lower-income Americans also show much stronger support than the affluent for the inflation-indexing of tax brackets, scheduled to take effect in 1985. Though upper-income groups back tax in-

dexing more strongly than they do the July tax cut, their support is far below that among lower-income groups. The population as a whole supports indexing by a 54.2 percent. But support from those with incomes of \$15,000 and below is an impressive 64.8 percent. Those earning \$50,000 and above do support indexing by 50.9 percent, but this is still less enthusiasm than is expressed by lower-income groups.

Support for indexing, like the tax cut, seems to be rooted in the positive effects it is expected to have on economic growth. And again, it is the wealthy, not the poor, who are the most skeptical. While 55.7 of those earning \$15,000 or less believe that eliminating indexing would hurt the economy, only a 37.8 percent plurality of \$50,000 and above incomes agree.

The verdict from grass-roots America is that the Reagan economic strategy is far from being a rich man's program. The poll reveals that indexing and the July cut are supported most vigorously by lower-income Americans. And middle- and low-income people, not the rich, have the greatest confidence in the central thesis of Reaganomics—the power of tax cuts to spur recovery and sustain long-term economic growth. The rich, on the other hand, have the least faith in the tax aspect of Reaganomics. If anything, Reaganomics is a boon for the little guy—and the little guy seems to know it. Those who charge that Ronald Reagan's constituency is the board room and the country club must now admit that they have been dead wrong.

POLL RESULTS

[In percent]

	Income level				Total
	\$0-15,000	\$15-29,999	\$30-49,999	\$50,000+	
Support for statement:					
Keep tax cut on schedule.....	64.1	61.5	40.5	32.8	54.9
Eliminating tax cut will hurt the economy.....	52.7	53.3	38.8	20.9	46.1
Retain indexing.....	64.8	54.5	49.0	50.9	54.2
Eliminating indexing will hurt the economy.....	55.7	40.9	34.4	37.8	42.3

¹ Minority opinion.

² Plurality.

Source: Nationwide poll conducted March 31-April 27, 1983, for the Heritage Foundation by Sindlinger & Co., Inc.

Those expressing "no opinion" amount to less than 5 percent on the tax cut questions, but approximately 20 percent for the questions on indexing. Among those actually expressing an opinion, therefore, support for indexing is even higher than the figures given in the table.

For further information: Thomas M. Humbert, "Tax Indexing: At Last A Break For the Little Guy," Heritage Foundation Background No. 255, March 22, 1983; Thomas M. Humbert, "Seven Reasons for Saving the Tax Cut," Heritage Foundation Background No. 260, April 12, 1983; The Inflation Tax: The Case for Indexing Federal and State Income Taxes, Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, January 1980.●

WATCHING AMERICAN JOBS FLEE TO JUAREZ

HON. RONALD D. COLEMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. COLEMAN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, today I am submitting an article which recently appeared in the Washington Post concerning in-bond industries or maquiladoras as they are popularly known in my district. This concept is unique to border regions and lately has generated national interest. I believe it underscores some important economic issues along our southern border with national and international implications for my colleagues to consider.

WATCHING AMERICAN JOBS FLEE TO JUAREZ

(By Dan Balz)

CIUDAD JUAREZ, MEXICO.—William Mitchell is an ex-Army lieutenant colonel with the aggressive optimism of a good salesman. He spent almost 30 years in the military before ending his career at Ft. Bliss, across the Rio Grande River from here in El Paso. Now he is helping to turn his adopted home into the North American Hong Kong.

Each morning, he leaves El Paso and drives into Mexico over one of the bridges that links the twin cities. From atop that bridge, you can watch the daily traffic—legal and illegal—between cities that have been artificially separated by the imposition of a national border and which now have a symbiotic relationship. Mitchell's office looks out over an oasis of green grass and cool shade trees in a modern industrial park that belies the sun-baked poverty of the city around it.

"My job," Mitchell said on a recent spring afternoon, "is to go out and attract companies to the Juarez-El Paso area." Mitchell works for a Mexican company called Grupo Bermudez. It specializes in attracting mostly American corporations to set up assembly plants in tailor-made industrial parks in Juarez.

Given Mexico's current economic problems, it would seem to be a difficult time to be recruiting companies to the U.S.-Mexican border, but Mitchell says business has rarely been better.

The peso devaluation has made the pool of cheap labor here even cheaper, and with favorable tariff treatment, U.S. companies looking for an overseas operation are increasingly looking closer to home.

"We're talking to people every day who are thinking about moving out of Hong Kong, out of Taiwan, or out of Korea," Mitchell said.

What has happened here is clear evidence of how companies in a high-wage economy like the United States' instinctively seek out low-wage alternatives in the less-developed world.

Not everyone in El Paso believes the factories across the border are helpful either to the U.S. economy or to the city itself, but the movement of companies into Juarez continues regardless of the controversy it creates.

There is no easy way to stop it—nor is there agreement that it should be stopped. This movement of jobs to low-cost labor markets is a reflection of today's world

economy, which is not just interdependent but often oblivious to national borders.

The range of businesses that have set up operations here in Juarez and El Paso is impressive: television sets, advanced circuit boards for computers, hospital gowns, automobile seats, toy trucks, recording equipment and blue jeans. Included here are some of the biggest names on the Fortune 500: General Motors, General Electric, Westinghouse, RCA. Increasingly, the El Paso-Juarez area is becoming a home for high tech—General Instruments, AMF and Atari.

Some of these companies are based in El Paso, which during the 1970s was the fastest-growing major city in the nation. But increasingly, it is the tail of Juarez that wags the dog of El Paso. As city leaders here look into the future, it is the economic potential of Juarez that makes them optimistic.

The reason is a curiously named phenomenon called the "maquila" company. The rough translation for "maquila" is gristmill, according to the corporate types here. And that is, in simplified form, what the institution of the maquila is all about. In the old gristmill, a farmer brought his grain to the mill, where it was processed and returned to him. Here in Juarez, American and other companies bring their materials to Mexico, assemble them in industrial parks of the kind offered by Lt. Col. Mitchell, and then send them back to the U.S. for either further assembly or distribution.

The maquila plants have a special prominence in Mexico's economy because of the special tariff treatment the materials receive. Alternately known as the "twin-plant concept," or "in-bond companies," the maquila plants provide American companies an opportunity to obtain cut-rate tariff treatment on products that are assembled "overseas" without having the problems of putting an assembly plant thousands of miles and an ocean away from home.

In simplified fashion, this is how it works. An American company manufactures the parts to, say, an outdoor speaker for a public address system, in its factories somewhere in the United States. The parts are shipped to another factory here in Juarez. The company pays no duty on the parts when they are brought into Mexico, although it must put up the value of the parts in bond in an account in Mexico. In Juarez, the parts are assembled into the finished speaker and, often, packaged for shipment to distributors around the U.S. or the world. When the speakers are shipped back into the United States, the U.S. company pays duty on the value of the finished product, minus the value of the American parts. This is roughly the equivalent of paying a tax on the value added, but in practice it is not quite the same thing.

RCA, for example, ships the parts of a color television chassis to Juarez, where they are assembled, and shipped back to the United States. There, the chassis and tube are fitted into a cabinet, and the TV is ready to be sold.

The maquila concept was started in the mid-1960s by the Mexican government as a way of stimulating economy growth along the continually depressed U.S.-Mexican border, and, according to one businessman here, to compensate for the loss of jobs in the United States that occurred when the old Bracero program was ended.

Today there are about 600 such plants stretched along the nearly 2,000-mile boundary. But the greatest concentration is here in Juarez, which has about 125 maquila plants, employing about 45,000 workers.

After oil, the maquila plants are Mexico's largest source of valuable American dollars.

"Peter Drucker calls this production sharing," Mitchell said as he described the process. "Most of the jobs here are jobs of the lowest skill that most Americans won't take. They are the most labor-intensive part of the product. If you didn't have these plants, nearly everything on the shelves in the United States would be made in Japan."

Chuck Parks skillfully navigates his old, full-sized American-made car through the chaotic midday traffic on the streets of Juarez, when suddenly he makes a hard right turn into what appears to be a deserted, dirt-covered alley.

Parks grew up in New York State, the son of a stockbroker, and a few years ago, after graduating from college, migrated to El Paso. He rode horses for a while, trying to figure out what to do with himself, and then went on to acquire a graduate degree in business administration in Mexico. He devoted his energies in graduate school to studying the maquila industries, and he soon landed a job as marketing manager for Elamex, S.A., a Juarez company that does contract work for American companies who don't want to start their own maquila.

The alley he has turned into is lined with concrete fences hiding the small backyards of the homes of Juarez residents. A block or so down, there suddenly appears a larger building, one of the Elamex factories. As he pulls to the curb, Parks remarks that most students of Mexican business concentrate on other types of ventures in their country, mostly ignoring the maquila plants. "They call them monkey business," he says.

Inside, the factory is humming with activity. The building is old, but it is clean and well-lighted, and there is a fair amount of space between the assembly lines. Many of the maquila plants, especially in the newer industrial parks, are even more modern. Despite charges that the companies are exploiting the workers in 20th-century sweatshops, a brief tour of this one, at least, suggests otherwise. It is hardly glamorous, but neither is it particularly onerous.

Most of the work in this plant involves electronics. Parks describes the operations in crisp detail, explaining for the untrained eye the difference between a relatively simple and a more sophisticated circuit board.

One assembly line is particularly interesting. A group of young Mexican women are putting together boards that will go into sophisticated disc drives for computers. There is a significant amount of handwork to do on each board: the women must carefully insert a variety of small parts into tiny holes, and then the entire board is soldered from beneath as it moves along a conveyor.

But what is most interesting about this particular line is its history. The boards once were made in a partially automated San Antonio plant. But Control Data, the company for which Elamex is making them, decided it needed to reduce costs on the line and shifted production to Mexico, where it is now being done totally by hand—and without loss in quality. A Control Data spokesman said the move enabled the company to save about 10 percent in production costs.

The shift to the Juarez plant is an ironic reversal of the standard evolution of manufacturing, where production went from human hand to machine at lower cost and higher quality. It is the clearest example of why the large pool of cheap labor in developing countries has attracted an increasing share of the world's production.

Elamex is the brainchild of Charles Dodson, a stocky, friendly fellow who first came here to help set up a maquila plant for an American electronics company. Sensing the potential of maquilas, he went into business for himself. He now does about \$6 million in sales annually, employing about 900 people. The only Americans in the company are himself and Chuck Parks.

Many American companies with operations in Juarez are reluctant to allow reporters inside their factories, fearing publicity about slave labor, poor conditions and the like. Dodson was quite the opposite, willingly agreeing to open his facilities and to describe in some detail the way he does business.

Elamex does a variety of assembly work for a variety of companies. Much of it is electronics-related, but not all. In one room in the main factory building, about 200 women sit in rows with stacks of grocery coupons on their desks. No machine has been invented to sort and count the coupons collected by the grocery stores in America. So the only way to do it is by hand. All day long, the women separate coupons into stacks and record the numbers that are then entered into a computer. The "export" is two computer tapes daily to an American company, which then credits the accounts of the stores that have submitted the coupons. "The duty is 18 cents on each tape," Parks said.

While the operations of Elamex are more varied than in other maquila plants, the company is typical in most other respects. Most of its employees are women in their 20s, most of them single who live at home, most with less than a high-school education. They were in Juarez for about two years before being hired. For many, this is their first job. The typical worker has been employed in the same plant for a little less than two years. They arrive by bus at 6:30, six mornings a week, and work a 48-hour week.

That so many of the workers are women is controversial in Mexico, where society is male-dominated. Because of the maquila plants, an increasing number of women are now the major breadwinners in their families.

About two-thirds of the jobs in the factories are minimum wage jobs, Dodson said, and in Mexico the minimum wage is currently 455 pesos per day. Including all fringe benefits, labor costs for these employees run about 85 cents an hour. That includes wages for 365 days each year, a vacation bonus, a Christmas bonus, social security taxes which cover medical care, an education tax, an employe-housing-fund tax, a nursery tax and other costs.

"They are no more capable than the American worker," Dodson said. "But they're no less capable."

The companies who operate here deny they are exploiting the Mexican workers, arguing that the 45,000 jobs created through the maquila plants are additional jobs for a city of 900,000 people that has always known poverty. "It is exploitation based only on the U.S. wage," said Lt. Col. Mitchell. "But that does not take into consideration real benefits they receive. It's not exploiting them. The government sets the wage."

Tony Sanchez began his working career as a presser in a Los Angeles clothing factory. But he soon became active in his labor union, rising to shop steward and then a business agent. Today he is the manager of the El Paso joint board of the Amalgamated

Clothing and Textile Workers Union, and unlike most of the business leaders in the El Paso-Juarez area, he opposes the growing movement of production facilities into Mexico.

He is sitting in his office along the interstate highway running east out of El Paso on a bright and clear morning, a discordant voice in the chorus of support for the future economy of the area. "The El Paso Chamber of Commerce has always said that the [maquila] plants were good for the economy . . . because people would come in from Mexico and purchase products here," he said. "I didn't believe it then and I don't believe it now. The facts are to the contrary."

What Sanchez sees is a rising tide of cheap imports flooding out American-made products, not just in apparel, but in autos and steel and electronics and even in computers. He believes the operations in Juarez, far from being helpful to El Paso, are fundamentally changing the city's character by lowering its wage levels and taking away jobs from American workers.

Thomas F. Lee, an El Paso business consultant sees the same kind of changes occurring here. Asked if the future of the area is as a new Hong Kong or Taiwan, he replied, "Honestly, I do think so. Our future may be much more tied to Juarez than people think."

What Lee has seen in his years in El Paso is the gradual elimination of locally owned businesses, the arrival of outside firms with operations on one or both sides of the border, and a growing blue-collar work force. "The growth here has been in the low-wage jobs," he said. "We show a real decline in median family income."

Lee sees troublesome consequences for the city as it follows this course: a poor tax base, declining amenities such as parks and museums, increased tax burdens on the middle class and a smaller and smaller pool from which to draw community leaders.

An almost entirely opposite view comes unsurprisingly from the leaders of the El Paso Development Corp., a private firm that recruits industry both for El Paso and Juarez.

"It's a unique situation here," said Sam Drake, the corporation's executive director. "You can put your management structure in [El Paso], deal with U.S. banks, have your kids go to U.S. schools and still deal internationally."

He and his industrial director, Fred Mitchell, see Juarez-El Paso not as an alternative to Detroit or Cleveland but to Indonesia or Hong Kong. "If these companies were not in Juarez, they would not be in Detroit," Mitchell said.

To Drake and Mitchell, there are three choices for an American company facing competition from production facilities overseas: one is to stay in the United States and go out of business; two is to go offshore completely, with no jobs remaining in the United States; three is to manufacture its materials in the United States and assemble them in Mexico. "From Juarez alone, this [process] provides American jobs in 39 states," he said.

The maquila plants have mistakenly been known as "twin plants," on the theory that a company would have a plant in El Paso doing part of the work on a product—generally the part that requires capital and few people—and the assembly—or labor-intensive—part in Juarez. In practice, there are few truly twin plants, which is what makes people like Tony Sanchez suspicious about the spinoff benefits for El Paso.

But Drake and Mitchell contend that the proximity of Mexico makes El Paso an increasingly attractive city for U.S. companies. Drake cites the example of Tonka Toys, which first established a beachhead in Juarez and recently decided to move its headquarters from Minnesota to El Paso, citing lower labor costs in the Texas city and the ability to stay close to its assembly plant in Juarez.

Both men say other companies are sure to follow that example and expect 1983 to be a record year in the recruitment of companies to the two cities. "We've gotten a tremendous increase in people looking at the maquila program," Mitchell said. In 1982, 27 companies either moved to El Paso and Juarez or expanded existing facilities. "We should top that in 1983," Mitchell said.

But already there are signs of a still further evolution of El Paso and Juarez. What El Paso today is to Juarez—which is a management center and an area of more sophisticated assembly and production—Juarez is slowly becoming to other parts of Mexico. Apparel manufacturers report they are sending an increasing amount of work into the interior of Mexico, where production costs are even lower. Chuck Dodson says that as the workers in Juarez gain experience, they are taking on jobs requiring higher skills at higher pay.

Tony Sanchez believes that only the government can halt Juarez's expansion. But there is little likelihood of that, even with the talk of protectionism and trade wars. As Lt. Col. Bill Mitchell put it in the quiet of his office, "These jobs that have to be done by hand are going to be done in countries where there is a pool of low-wage labor." ●

POLYGRAPH EXAMINATIONS

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, recently, the President issued a directive purportedly aimed at stemming the flow of "leaks" of classified information. Under the directive, Federal agencies will be authorized to require polygraph examinations of any employee—or contractor—who has access to classified information as part of a "leak" investigation. "Adverse consequences" will follow if there is a refusal to take the examination. Currently, only the intelligence agencies, CIA and NSA, use polygraphs on a wide scale. The Department of Defense and the Department of Justice also administer polygraphs under certain situations.

In addition, a practice used currently only by the CIA will be expanded to cover employees in other agencies. Currently, all CIA employees are required to sign agreements under which they promise never to disclose classified information without specific authorization by the Agency. As part of this agreement, employees also promise to submit all writings and speeches, basically for the rest of their lives, to the CIA prior to their publication. The President's directive will now require

specifically that employees, in other agencies, with access to highly sensitive information also sign agreements promising to make such submissions. This requirement must be met regardless of whether or not the material submitted contains classified information.

While at first blush, these requirements may appear reasonable, on further examination it has become clear that this directive is part of the administration's attempt to intimidate Government employees so that further, embarrassing revelations can be minimized.

On April 19, the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner printed an editorial on the serious problems raised by the directive. The editorial follows:

[From the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner, Apr. 19, 1983]

AN ORWELLIAN REAGAN PLAN

HOW NOT TO STOP LEAKS

It isn't 1984 yet, but President Reagan has already donned his big Brother costume. In the name of protecting "national-security," the President has ordered the most sweeping expansion of government censorship in this country's history.

Last month, Reagan ordered that the strict censorship rules employed in such highly sensitive agencies as the CIA and the Department of Defense be extended to all federal workers with access to classified information. Specifically, the order would require those employees—and there are many, many thousands of them—to agree not to disclose any classified information. In the event of an unauthorized leak, those to whom the information had been available would be required to submit to lie-detector tests as part of an investigation to discover the source of the leak. Anyone who refused would risk vague "adverse consequences."

For higher-level bureaucrats—those with top security clearances—the censorship would be still broader. For the rest of their lives, they would be required to submit all memoirs, lecture notes, texts of speeches, even letters to the editor and fiction drawn from their government experience to federal censors for clearance. It is not difficult to imagine the potential abuses this power of prior censorship can and undoubtedly would invite, if this pernicious new policy were adopted.

The government already has protection against leaks of actual national security secrets. But a great deal of government information is classified not to protect the nation's security but to protect politicians and bureaucrats from embarrassment, and many leaks come not from some anonymous little troublemaker, but from cabinet-level officials. As nettlesome as such leaks may at times be, they are one way in which a free people gain the information necessary to informed debate on matters of national policy. Prior censorship and forced lie-detector tests are the kind of measures that should be reserved for times of grave national peril, and we see no such peril now.

Even if tighter security measures were needed, the Reagan measures are deeply flawed. Lie-detector tests, for instance, are notoriously unreliable. The General Accounting Office last year conducted a study of all Defense Department investigations into "national-security leaks" from 1975 to

1982, and found that not one—with or without the polygraph—was able to identify the leaker. The GAO also found, incidentally, that the "national-security" shield is often used as a ruse. One Defense Department investigation last year, for example, involved a leak about how the department had underestimated the costs for a certain new weapons system—information the public had every right to have.

Fortunately, Congress is reviewing Reagan's plan. This Thursday, California Rep. Don Edwards is scheduled to hold the first of two subcommittee hearings on the directive. Edwards hopes to get answers to some hard questions and to bring a little "inform persuasion" to bear on an administration that wants for itself and its successors unprecedented power to control the flow of information. If the president won't back off the proposal voluntarily, Edwards says he will attempt to force a retreat legislatively. Either way, the congressman can count on us for support.

President Reagan, seeking to curb what he thinks is a danger to this society, has issued a directive that is a much greater danger. We urge him to consider how such a directive might be abused by some future administration, less benign than his own.

On May 2, William Safire wrote an essay which focuses on the polygraph provision of the directive. I believe my colleagues will find the following article by Mr. Safire enlightening:

[From the New York Times, May 2, 1983]

REAGAN, FLUTTERING

(By William Safire)

WASHINGTON.—Lie detectors do not detect lies or determine truth; they merely indicate when you are relaxed or tense about giving an answer. A smooth or psychopathic liar can beat the machine; a truth-teller, intimidated or nervous about being hooked up to the machine, can often be branded a liar.

When a member of President Reagan's National Security Council was given a test, he was asked, "Have you ever been blackmailed?" The polygraph's needle fluttered widely, which could be interpreted as "here comes a whopper"—and the official said no. Afterward, he explained why the question threw him; he had remembered all the times he had said "This is blackmail!" without literally having been the target of the crime of extortion.

A similar reaction was described in a memo, obtained by George Wilson of The Washington Post, from the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Health, John Beary 3d, a physician, to his boss, Caspar Weinberger: "No machine can only detect stress; however, the stress may result from several emotional causes other than guilt, such as fear, surprise, or anger." Although recognizing the Government's desire to plug leaks, Defense's doctor added: "The polygraph misclassifies innocent people as liars. In one study, 49 percent of truthful subjects were scored as deceptive. In another study, 55 percent of the innocent were misclassified . . ."

For that reason, Federal courts and many state courts do not admit lie-detector results as evidence. A polygraph is not a drunkometer; judges know that innocents can flunk and liars can pass. I have sources who have been whistle-blowing about scandalous defense weaknesses for years; they are regularly "fluttered" and just as regularly get away with declaring that they do not know me from Adam.

Yet most Americans believe that technology cannot be defeated. A syndicated television show, "Lie Detector," hooks up its guests to a polygraph as F. Lee Bailey deems the profession of defense counsel by asking the questions. The machine is not as accurate as the "laughmeter" on radio's old "Can You Top this?" but most viewers accept the polygraph's judgments as proof of a human being's veracity.

Comes now Attorney General William French Smith and his mentor in plumbing, genial Ed Meese, with a directive issued in the name of the President of the United States that enshrines as official policy this often inaccurate and always antilibertarian investigative practice.

Because intelligence operatives deal in a world of deception and double-digtry, C.I.A. employees have long accepted "fluttering" as a condition of employment. Now the gray standards of that world are to be applied throughout the U.S. Government: In an obscene euphemism, an unsigned Justice "fact sheet" describes this plunge into Big Brotherism as "a greater degree of consistency in Government-wide policy."

On the same basis, Mr. Reagan could call for making the Defense budget as secret as the C.I.A. budget, or apply the C.I.A.'s loose overseas wiretap standards to the F.B.I. at home. Consistent, but wrong.

In many states, a private employer who insisted that workers be subject to polygraph tests would be breaking the law; 22 employees of a Connecticut firm just won \$219,000 in damages from a lie-detecting employer. But the Presidential directive tells Federal workers: "Adverse consequences will follow an employee's refusal to cooperate with the polygraph examination."

Anonymous Justice Department spokesmen pretend that this does not mean that a Federal worker who takes a stand against this humiliation on constitutional principle will be fired. For appearance' sake, additional evidence—furtive glances, perhaps, or a pattern of association with lone journalists—may be required.

But one top Cabinet member has let it be known that if anyone impuned his integrity with a lie detector demand, he would promptly resign.

That's the honorable course, as is getting fired and bringing a lawsuit. Talk about slippery slopes—first the spies; now on the "consistency" excuse, everyone in Government; next, Congressmen and journalists, and finally everyone will be required to prove himself innocent on the machine, lest a refusal lead to the presumption of guilt.

March 11, the day of President Reagan's directive to submit to the polygraph or be fired, is a day that will live in constitutional infamy. Until this rape of principle is rescinded, conservatives will bear the shame brought on us by the "pragmatic" Attorney General and his anything-goes lust to track down the source of public disclosure of wrongdoing.

A foolish consistency has once again shown itself to be the hobgoblin of a little mind.●

DAYLIGHT SAVINGS EXTENSION

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of my

colleagues to an excellent editorial which appeared in the Washington Post on May 7, 1983. The editorial accurately outlines the need for beginning daylight savings on the first Sunday of March rather than the last Sunday of April.

The message in this editorial is especially important now since we are currently enjoying the fruits of daylight savings. A 2-month extension of this could save us hundreds of thousands of barrels of oil next year when we might really need it.

The editorial follows:

[Editorial from the Washington Post, May 7, 1983]

CLOCKWORK IN CONGRESS

After years of on-again, off-again experiments with daylight time, Congress has produced a logical proposal for a slight change in the current national schedule for clock-switching every year. It is this: begin Daylight Saving Time on the first Sunday of March instead of the last Sunday of April. It would end as it does now, on the last Sunday in October. For all who prefer the extra hour of light in the evenings—not merely for pleasure but for safer passage home after work, more opportunities for physical exercise and less bright sunshine in the pre-6 a.m. hours of spring mornings—this modest extension of the DST period has much appeal.

The earlier date for starting daylight time is not arbitrary. Congressman Richard Ottinger of New York, chief sponsor of the bill and chairman of the subcommittee that moved this measure to approval by the House Energy and Commerce Committee last week, notes that the proposal would make the period of daylight time symmetrical around the summer solstice, the day the sun shines longest each year. Other supporters, including the Reagan administration, argue that this change could help conserve energy and reduce crime—and they cite various studies to this effect.

Even if these claimed advantages are not all that sizable, neither are they outweighed by the traditional objections to any summertime clock changes. For example, Congressman Tom Daschle of South Dakota writes on today's "Free for All" page that farmers have difficulty tending to their animals when the morning daylight begins at a different time. But even if animals cannot adjust their biological clocks easily, farm chores can be carried out in earlier, darker hours, as they are during half the year already.

The House approved this proposal in the last Congress, but the Senate Commerce Committee never got to it. This year, both houses have time to enact the bill and settle this issue in a reasonable and welcome fashion.●

CYSTIC FIBROSIS WEEK RESOLUTION

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, today I am pleased to once again introduce a resolution designating a week for rec-

ognition of a very serious health threat to our youth. This resolution will set aside the week of September 18 through 24, 1983 as National Cystic Fibrosis Week. Many of the Members of this body have supported this resolution in the past. I want to ask all of you to support once again this effort.

Enactment of this resolution will continue the fight to bring hope to thousands of America's young people and their families and friends. By setting aside this special week we will highlight the special needs of those who are afflicted with this disease. Hopefully when we describe the difficulties connected with cystic fibrosis and the progress that is being made in finding an answer to these difficulties, we will be able to obtain additional resources with which to finish the job. We also want to educate the public about the symptoms of CF, particularly as they occur in infancy in order that the affected children will reap as much benefit from early detection as possible.

In working with the Cystic Fibrosis Foundation over the past several years, I have come to understand what it means to be born with or have a loved-one stricken with this terrible disease. The day-to-day agony of the CF victim is a succession of physical and respiratory therapy treatments, a multiplicity of pills, and the realization that at any time a long hospital stay may be required to treat the severe infections that exacerbate the disease. The families and friends who suffer with the child bear the constant emotional and physical stress which comes from the realization that there is no cure and an early and painful death is inevitable.

For the past 3 years, the Cystic Fibrosis Foundation has conducted an intense campaign of public information and education during the latter part of September in order to reach as many in America as possible with the message about this disease. The publicity which has been created by National Cystic Fibrosis Week has brought this message to parents, physicians, educators, and employers who were previously unaware of many of the basic facts connected with cystic fibrosis. More than ever before our population is learning about this dread disease, but there are many, many more who need to learn more. This resolution will help in this effort.

The objective of the week and of the CF Foundation which sponsors it is to eventually conquer this disease so that the suffering and dying will end. Therefore, I would urge my colleagues to join me in sponsoring this resolution which sparks hope that the progress we have made to this point will be carried forward to eventual victory.

H.J. RES. 270

Whereas cystic fibrosis is the number one genetic killer of children in America, and about thirty thousand children and young adults in this country have cystic fibrosis; and

Whereas public knowledge about cystic fibrosis contributes to early detection and treatment of the disease and to improved understanding about the symptoms of cystic fibrosis; and

Whereas increased national awareness of cystic fibrosis and of the young people whose lives are affected by the disease stimulates public concern and increased attention to research seeking control and cure: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the week of September 18 through 24, 1983, is designated as "National Cystic Fibrosis Week," and the President is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation calling upon the people of the United States to observe that week with appropriate ceremonies and activities.●

**HARRY WELLS—CITY MANAGER
TO RETIRE AFTER 35 YEARS
OF SERVICE**

HON. FRANK R. WOLF

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, Harry Wells, Falls Church, Va., city manager, has announced that he will retire after 35 years of public service—most recently he held the city manager post for the past 20 years. Mr. Wells has been an effective and dedicated public servant who has made a positive impact on the city of Falls Church and serves as model for others in public service. A summary of Mr. Wells' work and achievements recently appeared in Focus on Falls Church and I ask that it be printed at this point in the RECORD.

The article follows:

[From Focus on Falls Church, May 1983]

CITY MANAGER TO RETIRE AFTER 35 YEARS OF SERVICE

Harry Wells has announced that he will retire later this year as Falls Church City Manager, a post he has held for 20 years. "I will miss working with a highly professional city staff, interesting and caring citizens and dedicated mayors and city council members," he said. "The opportunity to work for and with people of such integrity, ethics and fairness is a rare one."

Mayor Carol DeLong said Falls Church has been "richly served" during Wells' tenure as city manager. "Few cities are so fortunate as to have a city manager who cares so deeply for the city he manages," she added.

The City Council has begun a search for a new city manager which may be conducted nationwide, DeLong said. While Wells gave no specific date for his retirement, allowing the Council flexibility in its search for a replacement, DeLong said that she hopes the Council can appoint a new manager by the beginning of 1984.

DeLong noted that Wells has "always been very supportive of Council's goals and objectives," and has enjoyed working with him during her nine years on the Council.

Wells said he attributed his two successful decades as city manager to a population that cares about their city and city programs, City Councils which care and work with the citizens and good staffs. "My efforts have always been to improve the quality of life for citizens of Falls Church now and in the future. "Falls Church is a great place in which to live and grow up in," he added.

Wells said that he is pleased at the progress made in Falls Church over the years. Some of the projects completed or begun during his tenure of which he is proud include major street improvements such as South Spring Street and Van Buren Street; opening of the Group Home for the Mentally Retarded; the development of the municipal center with the City Hall, Cherry Hill and the Community Center; and the Harry E. Wells Building addition.

When Wells was appointed city manager in February 1964, then-Mayor Charles Hailey said: "The appointment of a city manager is one of the most critical decisions the City Council has to make. The city manager affects the lives of all the citizens of Falls Church. He must possess the ability and skill to work with the City Council and to direct the myriad activities of the city government. Harry Wells possesses all these qualifications and we are fortunate to have him in this new job."

Wells began working for Falls Church in 1948, when it was still a town. He has served as treasurer, purchasing agent, registrar of voters, clerk of the municipal court, clerk of the city council, assistant and acting city manager.

In June 1978, the City Council voted unanimously to name the Falls Church City Hall the Harry E. Wells Building. At the dedication ceremony, then Councilmember Harold Silverstein said, "It is fitting then, when a significant part of the history of Falls Church is being made right among us, that we take time to recognize it."

Prior to his employment with the city, Wells worked for the Bureau of Internal Revenue in Washington. From 1941 to 1946, he served with the United States Army Air Forces, retiring as an air force intelligence officer.

Wells was born in Maryland in 1917, but has lived in Falls Church for 60 years. He and his wife, Kathleen, have six children. The Wells family has always been active in Falls Church. Harry Wells' father, Sherman, served on the town/city council from 1943-1951. His brother, Claude, is the Falls Church Commissioner of Revenue and has held other posts in the city government. Last year, another Wells brother and sister who live nearby returned to Falls Church to help host a reunion of several hundred people from across the country who lived in Falls Church in the 1920's.●

NATIONAL TOURISM WEEK

HON. FOFO I. F. SUNIA

OF AMERICAN SAMOA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. SUNIA. Mr. Speaker, I rise together with my numerous cosponsors

of House Joint Resolution 168, a joint resolution designating the week of May 29 through June 4 as "National Tourism Week".

Coming from the Territory of American Samoa, located some 2,600 miles southwest of Hawaii, and currently served by only one essential air service, I know that tourism is one of the greatest goals of the American Samoan Government. The expansion of trade and tourism to our lush and paradisiacal islands is a top priority. We feel that any efforts on the national level that will contribute to the expansion of travel will be multiplied many, many times over within our economy to assist us in our movement toward greater self-reliance, economic stability, and positive growth.

Only recently, the Travel Agents of American Samoa Association was formed to assist in the private sector, just the purpose of the resolution now before us. I hope the passage of the resolution will benefit their efforts and thus the entire travel industry.

My district is probably as dependent upon tourism and the travel industry as any here in Congress, and I heartily support the resolution's motives, intentions, goals, and, hopefully, the long-range benefits to my constituency, the territory of American Samoa in the South Pacific. ●

MANUFACTURED HOUSING—RE-STORING THE AMERICAN DREAM

HON. JOHN HILER

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. HILER. Mr. Speaker, none of my colleagues certainly have to be told about today's high housing costs. High inflation of the last decade have put a crimp in the plans of many families, particularly young families, to purchase a new home. While housing starts have improved dramatically so far this year compared to 1982, we must continue to encourage new innovations in housing that will help make the American dream of homeownership a reality for millions of middle-income families.

Mr. Speaker, I was very pleased to find in a recent edition of County News, a publication of the National Association of Counties, an excellent article on the tremendous success of manufactured housing in meeting today's challenge for affordable, high-quality housing. I commend it to my colleagues and urge them to be mindful of the opportunities this vital industry is providing for millions of families.

[From the County News, May 9, 1983] IS MANUFACTURED HOUSING AMERICA'S DREAM?

Manufactured housing—can it fulfill the American dream of home ownership? Can a house built in a factory, towed to a site and installed on a cement pad or foundation be the same as a stick-built house?

Is it safe and attractive? Can it harmonize with neighboring homes or must it be isolated in a park? Is it energy-efficient, easy to maintain, easily financed and insured? Will it be a good investment and appreciate in value?

These are the questions local governments are grappling with as they are confronted with the public's demand for more affordable housing as well as the removal of barriers to manufactured housing.

Since 1976, manufactured homes must meet either stringent federal construction and safety codes or local building codes. These standards regulate design and construction.

Many counties across the country are modifying their zoning ordinances to permit manufactured housing in single-family neighborhoods. For example, Montgomery County, Md., stipulates that such homes must have pitched roofs and harmonize with the surrounding neighborhood.

The Southern Maine Regional Planning Commission has adopted a model approach for siting manufactured homes. Narrow, single unit homes with flat or rounded roofs, metal-paneled siding and no foundation are permitted only in mobile home parks. Units with pitched roofs with shingles or similar surfaces, traditional siding and a frost wall or masonry skirting are allowed in rural non-restrictive and multi-family zones.

In single family residential areas, the manufactured homes must be at least 14 feet wide and designed to accept a T- or L-shaped addition, with roofing, siding and skirting.

Another important step that the industry is taking is to design homes in a variety of architectural styles, floor plans and interior decors. Two units can be joined together to double the width or be placed in an L or T shape. With an attached, stick-built garage, the home approximates the width and square footage of conventionally built homes. This home can vary in size from 865 square feet to 1,500 square feet. Their exteriors are wood or brick, vinyl or aluminum siding with peaked and shingled roofs, sliding doors and bay windows.

Interiors also feature amenities such as fireplaces, cathedral ceilings, skylights, greenhouse windows, bathtubs and eat-in kitchens.

Although single-family residences are the most common, some manufacturers are building multifamily duplexes, townhouses and condominium structures in a variety of designs. Continental Homes of Roanoke, Va., is building three-story condominiums in Ocean City, Md. Already completed are four-story condominiums in Garden City, S.C., and vacation condominiums in Myrtle Beach, S.C., as well as in a number of other areas on the East Coast.

A typical manufactured house can cost half the price of a comparable stick-built house. Typical two- and three-bedroom units range from \$25,000 to \$45,000, well below the average cost of \$75,000 for today's single-family home.

The market for manufactured housing is growing. Even in the depressed housing market of 1982 in which construction of site

built homes decreased by 5.3 percent, sales of manufactured homes dropped only .5 percent. However, of the total number of single family homes sold in 1982, manufactured homes accounted for a greater proportion of the market than ever before with 238,808 homes sold.

Emphasis on energy-efficiency has been a hallmark of manufactured homes with federal requirements ensuring high standards.

In many areas, financing has been a problem since manufactured homes are treated as personal property and traditional home mortgages have not been available through local lending institutions. However, FHA and VA financing is available for those who qualify.

Often the manufacturing home retailer arranges financing with insurance as part of the package. Banks, savings and loans and credit unions are other sources of financing as lenders recognize the viability of manufactured homes in the housing market.

As local governments change zoning regulations and development codes to permit manufactured homes in single family neighborhoods, their use as infill housing is becoming more widespread. With the infrastructure already in place, counties such as Montgomery County, Ohio, are working with non-profit development corporations to purchase infill sites to produce more affordable housing.

For more information, contact Sandra Barnes at NACo. ●

PRESS ACCESS TO THE RADIO AND TV GALLERIES

HON. WM. S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this occasion to call the attention of my colleagues to an excellent article which recently appeared in the Wall Street Journal.

I find it truly distressing that while Tass and Eastern bloc correspondents have access to the House and Senate Press Galleries, VOA, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty reporters remain unaccredited, and are officially banned from those areas.

It is ironic that reporters from the Communist world who invariably bad mouth our Government, our foreign policy, our national efforts, and our open society and free press have unimpeded access to report on the branch of our Government which is open to all and is made up of freely elected citizens.

Why deny representatives from the VOA and Radio Europe/Liberty from having similar privileges to report the news? Why not give them the opportunity to report from the Congressional Press Galleries and show the world what our open and free Legislature is doing? Why penalize correspondents merely because they work for an element of the U.S. Government which is tasked with telling America's story to the world?

Just recently, the Senate Rules Committee advised that it would like to accredit these reporters and officially admit them to the previously closed areas. The House and Senate's Committee of Correspondents is now considering the Rules Committee's recommendation. Let us hope that the decision is favorable so that we in the House can let these correspondents have official access to the House galleries and hearing rooms.

It is in this spirit that I strongly recommend this article to my colleagues and call for their support on this issue.

The Wall Street Journal, May 16, 1983, "Read All About It" article follows:

READ ALL ABOUT IT

Among the hordes of Clark Kents in Washington gathering the most up-to-date news about the goings-on in government, there are a few unsung heroes. Namely, the correspondents for Tass, Pravda, Izvestia, Hungarian News Agency, East German News Service, China's Xinhua News Agency and Soviet TV and Radio. These reporters work diligently to explain the complexities of our freely elected government, upholding the finest journalistic traditions of their native lands, and are thus accorded official credentials to cover the U.S. Congress.

Not so much can be said about the scribes who toil at the Voice of America or Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. American taxpayers provide more than \$200 million every year to subsidize these operations to bring news of the free world to more than 100 million listeners behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains. This, of course, makes the VOA and Radio Free Europe correspondents propagandists. Obviously, these hacks aren't decent enough to cover the hearings, speeches and votes of our luminaries on Capitol Hill.

That at least is the official position of the Washington press corps, represented by the Standing Committee of Correspondents, which decides who gets official accreditation. The Standing Committee is composed of journalists elected by the Capitol Hill press corp, incidentally including the valiant reporters from the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China. Officials of the government-run VOA and the government subsidized but privately operated Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty keep asking for accreditation, so they can have the privilege of sitting in the congressional press galleries. But their fellow Washington journalists keep turning them down.

It all goes back to Senate Rule 33, adopted in 1877, that denies press credentials to anyone employed "in any legislative or executive department or independent agency of the government, or by any foreign government or representative thereof." Depending on who tells it, the rule was adopted either to keep the executive branch from spying on Congress or to foster objective journalism instead of the yellow kind. Whatever, the press committees have maintained over the last 40 years that VOA reporters should be denied gallery passes because they are government employees. Only last year was this ban extended to cover reporters of Radios Europe and Liberty. (The committees continue to accredit correspondents of National Public Radio, which is also partly government funded.)

What about the ban on employees of foreign governments? Why are Tass and

Pravda allowed in? In 1950, it seems, the Correspondents Committees bent the rules a bit under pressure from the State Department and major U.S. news agencies, which feared retaliation against American correspondents in Moscow.

But when it comes to VOA and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, whose listeners rely on them to fill in the news that the Tass and Pravda reporters on Capitol Hill might have missed, the good men and women of the Washington press corps refuse to cede their principles.●

UNITED BLACK FUND 11TH ANNUAL VICTORY LUNCHEON

HON. WALTER E. FAUNTROY

OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. FAUNTROY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of the Congress the 11th annual victory luncheon of the United Black Fund of Greater Washington to be held on June 2, 1983, in the Sheraton Washington Hotel between 11:30 a.m. and 2 p.m.

Presiding will be Dr. Calvin W. Rolark, president and founder of the United Black Fund. Awards will be given to Ruby Dee and Ossie Davis for their many contributions for the betterment of society.

This year's luncheon theme is "The Decade of the Disabled: Unlocking Doors Through Technology." In fact, over the past 14 years, the United Black Fund has unlocked many different doors for the deserving of our city. Today, the United Black Fund assists 55 participating member agencies and grants emergency funds to numerous qualified nonprofit organizations that render community-oriented services within the Metropolitan Washington area.

The United Black Fund has become the largest black fundraiser in the Nation, the first with full payroll deduction privileges within the Federal campaign and is the only one to have a partnership with the United Way.

Throughout the last 14 years, several hundred thousand people have been helped by the United Black Fund. I encourage all Members of Congress to join the United Black Fund at its victory luncheon.●

SACRED HEART CENTENNIAL

HON. MARCY KAPTUR

OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, Sacred Heart Church in Toledo, Ohio, is celebrating its centennial this year—an occasion that deserves our recognition. Sacred Heart's history is a part of the history of the people of Toledo. The

parish came into existence in order to serve the German-speaking immigrant Catholics who had settled in Toledo during the late 19th century. By 1889, aware of the need to provide an education for their children and at great personal sacrifice, Sacred Heart members established the parish school.

In 1900, a tragic fire destroyed the church structure. The mission cross, however, was saved and served as a symbol to the parishioners, not only of their strong faith, but also of their determination to rebuild their church. Six years later, the magnificent stone church was completed and in 1951, the famous Kilgen organ was rebuilt.

Sacred Heart parishioners from all ethnic groups, committed to Christian service, have been dedicated to caring for their neighbors and the less fortunate in their community. They actively participate in the feed your neighbor program and annually sponsor one of the city's more famous cultural events, the Sacred Heart Festival, which accents the German culture in America.

Sacred Heart's 100 years can best be described as years of faith, dedication to God and society, and the preservation of a proud cultural heritage. May Sacred Heart's history of accomplishment carry its people into the next century in the continuation of its good work.●

REPEAL WITHHOLDING

HON. WILLIAM L. DICKINSON

OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. Speaker, if ever there was doubt about representative democracy being healthy in our Nation, a current letter-writing campaign to Members of Congress shows it is alive and well in our Republic.

The huge influx of mail hitting the Congress during recent weeks expresses great concern about legislation passed last year that requires banks, credit unions, savings-and-loan associations, mutual funds, brokers, insurance companies, and other interest- and dividend-paying institutions to withhold from customers 10 percent of each interest and dividend payment for Federal income taxes.

I voted against the legislation then and have introduced a bill in this Congress to repeal the measure, which is simply a new and unnecessary degree of Federal bureaucracy in our private business and lives, which needed to be stopped.

Today, Mr. Speaker, I am gratified that representative democracy has manifested itself with the passage by the House of Representatives of legislation that repeals the 10-percent

withholding tax on interest and dividends.

The measure that we have just repealed was justified by its sponsors as necessary to help catch income tax cheaters—to collect taxes that were not being paid. However, my information is that approximately 95 percent of these taxes are being paid and such drastic measures will cost savings institutions hundreds of millions of dollars to set up new reporting and payment mechanisms that are unnecessary. Lending institutions already provide the IRS form 1099 which reports interest and dividends earnings of taxpayers. That should be enough information for the IRS to go after the few cheaters who do not pay.

Withholding entails far more than deducting 10 percent of the annual payment, and would have been increasingly burdensome to everyone. Depositors and shareholders would have to be notified of the grounds for exemption and given a certificate or application to return before they would qualify for special treatment. Many individuals would need assistance in understanding whether they qualify or in filling out the forms. Computing and accounting systems would have to be modified to deduct 10 percent of each payment—daily, monthly or quarterly—only from accounts of individuals who have not filed certificates and who are expected to receive over \$100 annually.

Most of those who save and invest would, in effect, have been extending the Federal Government an interest-free loan until they received a refund at the end of the year. Savers would have lost part of the advantage of automatic compounding of interest since a portion of earnings would have been removed from their accounts with each payment. The administrative cost imposed on financial institutions would ultimately have been passed on to savers through increased service charges, lower interest rates or reductions in services.

Finally, it has been estimated that 2 million investors automatically reinvest their interest and dividends. The imposition of withholding would have removed about \$3 billion from the Nation's pool of savings—most of which would have never been returned.

Again, I am very pleased that representative democracy has worked its will and I am pleased to have played a part in this process.●

DRUG FREE HEROES

HON. HAROLD S. SAWYER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. SAWYER. Mr. Speaker, my service on the Committee on the Judi-

ciary, Subcommittee on Crime has enabled me to study this country's serious drug abuse problem and to work for legislation, such as forfeiture reform which will enable our law enforcement personnel to deal effectively with the enforcement of our laws. The south Florida task force, the regional task forces and the new border interdiction task forces all demonstrate the tremendous gain in law enforcement to be made when the military, DEA, FBI, customs and local officials work together in interdiction and other law enforcement efforts.

My work in this area has led me, however, to the unfortunate conclusion that, no matter how successful these efforts might be, drugs will always be smuggled into the United States as long as a market exists for those drugs. Too many people want drugs, and, until we properly educate the public on the harmful aspects of drug abuse, we will continue to have a national drug problem.

A Weekly Reader Publication Study of Children's Attitudes and Perceptions about Drugs and Alcohol brings home the desperate need to educate children on drug abuse as early as the fourth grade. Almost 40 percent of the fourth graders in the survey believe that drugs are a serious problem among kids their age. The major reasons fourth graders take drugs are to feel older and to fit in with other kids. This information indicates that these young kids already need education regarding drugs in the fourth grade.

Dr. Carlton Turner, Special Assistant to the President for Drug Abuse Policy stated:

Communicating the truth about drugs to users and potential users is one of the most effective weapons we have in battle against drug abuse.

Two companies, working in conjunction with the White House, have developed a program to address the problem by educating fourth graders. I commend the Keebler Co. and DC Comics, Inc. for turning the comic book into an educational tool. In a new Teen Titans comic book, their favorite DC super heroes, a new character "The Protector," and Ernie, the Keebler elf, tell fourth graders "we want you to be a hero * * * Stay drug free." The comic books and teacher guides are being distributed with a letter from our First Lady, Nancy Reagan, who tells children:

Don't let anyone tell you that you can't be a hero * * * you can—with the drug awareness comic book and educational materials—learn to be a hero.

The Keebler Co. and DC Comics have provided a tremendous public service to this country and its youth. I applaud this creative, private sector effort to reach our children, regarding one of the most serious decisions they will make so early in life.●

SUPPORT PRESIDENT REAGAN'S FOUR-POINT PEACE PROGRAM

HON. ROBERT J. LAGOMARSINO

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. LAGOMARSINO. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues the expression of support for President Reagan's four-point peace program for Central America by the Region's Association of American Chambers of Commerce.

The text follows:

AMERICAN CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE IN CENTRAL AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN REGIONS EXPRESS SUPPORT FOR PRESIDENT REAGAN'S CENTRAL AMERICAN SPEECH

While attending AACCLA's XVI Annual Meeting in Washington, on May 5-6, the American Chambers of Commerce of Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, and Panama expressed their support for President Reagan's four point program to bring peace to Central America. According to the chamber representatives, the four point program, which has been popularly received in their host countries, insures the corrective actions needed to strengthen democracy and human rights, create social and economic development, provide protection to the countries endangered by reactionaries and extremists, and, at the same time, open the doors to dialogue so that the guns can be replaced by words and ballots.

The Central Americans and their Caribbean neighbors join the President's call for a bipartisan commitment to support this policy wholeheartedly and welcome the opportunity to work with Senator Richard Stone in the task before him.●

NICARAGUA

HON. G. WILLIAM WHITEHURST

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. WHITEHURST. Mr. Speaker, Miss Joan Frawley, a contributing editor of the National Catholic Register and a freelance writer, has recently returned from a trip to Nicaragua, and in the Wall Street Journal of Tuesday, May 17, 1983, there is a column which she has written as a result of that visit.

Having also been a recent visitor to Central America, with a stop in Nicaragua, I was struck by the lucidity of her views, and I wanted to take this opportunity to share her comments with my colleagues. It continues to be a matter of great concern to me that the American people are being supplied with so much misinformation and distortion, to the extent that it is difficult for them to make an informed judgment about the situation in that part of the world.

I hope that my colleagues will appreciate the fact that there is a strong

dissimilarity between the truth as it is and the truth as it is presented by the official Nicaraguan Government line, and that oppression as practiced by the Sandinista government is no less stringent than that perpetrated under Somoza.

FACT IS FICTION IN THE SCHIZOPHRENIA OF TODAY'S NICARAGUA

George Orwell observed that totalitarianism demands "the continuous alteration of the past and in the long run probably demands a disbelief in the very existence of objective truth. . . . A totalitarian society which succeeded in perpetuating itself would probably set up a schizophrenic system of thought, in which the laws of common sense held good in everyday life and in certain exact sciences, but could be disregarded by the politician, the historian, and the sociologist."

When Orwell wrote that in 1946, this form of social schizophrenia already dominated Soviet life, and today it continues to be a subject for underground satirists in the Eastern bloc. But the exportation of totalitarianism to other parts of the world, most recently Nicaragua, offers a first-hand look at the young roots of a society in which truth has a twin.

Anastasio Somoza Debayle, the late deposed dictator of Nicaragua, possessed simple tastes. His interests extended to money and power. The Sandinista revolutionaries who gained control in 1979 are more ambitious. They want acceptance as the apostles of a cultural transformation that will liberate their countrymen from the clutches of tradition.

Public acceptance will come only with the widespread conversion of ordinary citizens to the "revolutionary process," but many remain unconvinced, even confused, by the social and economic miracles wrought by the Sandinistas.

Their uncertainty begins with the exclusion of their private reality from official discourse—a condition that is felt most strongly among the poor, the assigned beneficiaries of the revolution. Lacking education and financial resources, the campesinos are more dependent on the state and more vulnerable to its encroachment into their daily lives.

Told that the new order liberated them from the oppressive Somoza regime, they now find their actions and leisure time more carefully monitored than ever. Sandinista Defense Committees, neighborhood organizations that distribute ration cards, organize party activities and regulate revolutionary fervor, are stronger in poorer sections of urban and rural areas.

On "black and red Sundays" barrio residents "volunteer" to work for free on government projects. Once a week, a young mother might stay up all night to watch the streets, protecting the neighborhood from "the enemies of the state." On other evenings, people attend political rallies, or educational workshops where the apparent paradoxes of the new order are resolved.

The poor are also told that the nationalization of selected industries and the sharp cuts in private-sector profits give them a bright future free of capitalist exploitation. But, they find that even the necessities of life are inaccessible—except at a high price on the flourishing black market. Observed one businessman: "Really, the middle class has benefited most from the revolution. Before, everyone could buy sugar, now only we can."

Even visitors who scratch the surface of this society are likely to question the existence of objective truth.

For example, a reporter returns from a visit to a Miskito Indian camp on the Atlantic Coast where he heard refugees commend the government's relocation efforts. Back in Managua, a Catholic priest explains that the camp he visited was little more than a Potemkin village.

Words are also transformed to complement the new landscape. "Do the universities have autonomy under the revolution?" Carlos Tunnerman Bernheim, minister of education, is asked. He nods, then replies "You must understand that our concept of university autonomy is not exactly the same as it was under Somoza."

Seeking to blunt the erosion of their individual reality and the moral and cultural perspective that shape it, the majority of Nicaraguans turn for support to the independent press and the local Catholic Church. But they too are not immune to the debilitating effects of confronting a schizophrenic system of thought.

Pedro Joaquin Chamorro Jr., the co-director of La Prensa, the country's only independent daily newspaper, approaches his job with a strong sense of black humor. Reacting to the imposition of official truth on his publication, Mr. Chamorro created a cartoon character named Rionsito who wickedly pokes fun at the inconsistencies of life in the new Nicaragua. When the censors banned any mention of Commander Zero, Eden Pastora, the popular revolutionary hero who broke with the Sandinistas and is plotting their overthrow, Rionsito told La Prensa's readers, "Since zero no longer exists, only the numbers from one to nine remain."

In his effort to present an independent voice, the young editor follows the path of his late father, Pedro Joaquin Chamorro Sr., the former head of La Prensa whose assassination in 1978 sparked the final insurrection to overthrow Somoza. Nicaraguans still cherish the memory of this hero who courageously fought for human freedoms.

It is a measure of the schizophrenia which fragments this society, however, that not all members of the Chamorro family maintain their ties to La Prensa. The late newspaperman's brother Xavier established Nuevo Diario, a revolutionary daily, and his other son, Carlos Fernando, directs Barricada, the official party newspaper. His widow, Violeta, remains at La Prensa with another brother, Jaime. Each insists that the spirit of Pedro Joaquin Chamorro Sr. resides at this paper.

The social confusion that divides once united families like the Chamorros also afflicts the church. Sandinista supporters contend the official church must confer moral legitimacy on the new government. In the words of one lay Catholic leader, "They want the church to link the New Testament with Marxist ideology, the Messiah with the vanguardia, and the Kingdom of God with Nicaragua's socialist paradise."

The presence of five priests in government posts and the wide distribution of liberation theology writings—which advanced the notion that the kingdom of God was already under construction in Nicaragua—have undercut the orthodoxy of Managua's Archbishop Obando y Bravo. Until the arrival of the pope, some Nicaraguans couldn't decide whether the archbishop was a reactionary or a man of courage.

The meeting between the Sandinistas and the pope was a black and white confrontation, dispelling the grey moral haze that

generally envelopes papal trips to hostile lands. This time even lukewarm Catholics were forced to consider the next step—a choice between the revolution and the defense of their religious beliefs.

The government appears eager to learn from its poor management of truth during the papal trip. Further, it has promoted a new interpretation of its actions vis a vis the pope to protect the credibility of its cultural transformation. The Sandinistas face the now-familiar task of convincing their countrymen that what they saw and heard was really something quite different from what transpired. ●

A BATTLE FOR SOULS

HON. CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call your attention to an article written by Donald Kimelman which appeared in the May 8, 1983, edition of the Philadelphia Inquirer.

Mr. Kimelman takes a deep look at "freedom of religion"—or the lack thereof—in the Soviet Union. It is interesting to note that, regardless of the consequences, regardless of the pain suffered by the faithful, religion is alive and growing for millions of believers in the Soviet Union and Communist-dominated Eastern Europe.

During my visit to the Soviet Union last year, Mr. Speaker, I witnessed the pain and discrimination suffered by those who wished to worship God freely. This was especially true for the young Soviet believers who often found themselves without a job or unable to enroll in classes because of their beliefs.

I recommend that all of my colleagues study this article, draw inspiration from it, and endeavor to do all that is humanly possible to foster religions and civil liberties within the Communist bloc.

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, May 8, 1983]

IN SOVIET UNION, THE PARTY IS WAGING AN UNHOLY WAR

(By Donald Kimelman)

Moscow.—Today is God's day in the Soviet Union for the millions of believers who will take part in the Easter celebration of the Russian Orthodox Church.

But make no mistake about it, the ruling Communist Party, while no longer closing down churches as it did in Stalinist times, has far from abandoned what it views as a righteous crusade on behalf of its official philosophy, scientific atheism.

Throughout this huge nation—but especially in traditionally religious areas such as the Ukraine, the Baltic republics and Central Asia—a campaign is being waged to curtail the propagation of religion and lead the stubborn masses onto the path of atheistic enlightenment.

And though the frustrations of the dedicated atheists as they seek to root out what

they see as insidious evil bear a remarkable resemblance to the experiences of missionaries in other lands, there is also a dark side to this campaign, an apparent increase in the persecution of religious nonconformists.

In Latvia, a lecturer rails against members of the Communist Youth Organization who have taken to wearing crosses around their necks.

In the Asian republic of Kirghizia, a newspaper editorial reports with evident disgust that "in the cities of Kyzyl-Kia, Dzhahal-Abad, Rybachye and Tokmak, there were instances in which communists—now former communists—performed leadership functions in religious associations."

Although the current Soviet constitution guarantees citizens "freedom of conscience . . . [and] the right to profess or not to profess any religion, and to conduct religious worship or atheistic propaganda," observers have long noted that the government gives a decided edge to scientific atheism, the official philosophy of the ruling Communist Party.

The party makes it hard for the faithful to practice. For example, the obstacles placed in front of today's church-goers include such requirements as licensing priests, registering their groups with the state and holding services only in government-approved "cult buildings."

The great St. Basil's Cathedral, built on orders of Czar Ivan and consecrated in 1557, stands at the southern edge of Red Square serving merely as a museum.

Moreover, only atheistic materialists are allowed legally to proselytize, making any public debate on the subject decidedly one-sided.

The newspaper Soviet Kirghizia can freely editorialize, as it did a year ago, that "communists take a negative view of religion as an anti-scientific ideology that means ignorance, obscurantism, social disorientation and passiveness for the masses." The contradictory view is never publicly expressed.

Yet, belief in some form of deity remains widespread here. Even Soviet authorities acknowledge that 15 to 20 percent of the population is made up of believers, but Western scholars tend to think the figure is much higher.

William Fletcher, a professor at the University of Kansas, did an exhaustive study of Soviet sociological research and concluded in 1981 that as many as 115 million of the Soviet Union's 270 million citizens are believers. In regions such as Muslim Central Asia or heavily Catholic Lithuania, he wrote, believers, however unorganized, are a vast majority.

A Western analyst in Moscow noted wryly that Soviet studies in the 1930s found that a preponderance of church-going believers were old women and predicted the practice would soon die out. Current studies have found a nearly identical pattern, leading, he said, to the conclusion that "old women are immortal."

More seriously, he noted that atheism, as a philosophy based on the preponderance of scientific evidence that man ascended unaided from the slime, suffers from two large problems:

It is uninspiring, he said, and it is dull.

"Atheistic materialism doesn't really say very much to a guy who works in a dirty factory and lives in a one-room apartment with his wife and two kids," the analyst said. "These people are interested in some solace."

A middle-class Muscovite who is more a questioner than a believer remarked last

week: "Up to now, this philosophy [atheistic materialism] has not accomplished its basic task. It cannot convey the meaning of life to people. On this part, the church seems better equipped."

The government apparently is not unaware of the situation, and writers and lecturers invariably complain about the failure of schools and work places to push atheistic propaganda and about the shortage of trained teachers to do the job right.

But they lack an important weapon held dear by the believers: the Russian grandmother.

Professor M. Gafarova, author and rector of the Dushanbe Teacher Training Institute, told of how the clergy cleverly infiltrate families "to see to it that religion is passed on from generation to generation."

He noted that in some districts of Tadzhikistan, an area about which he has written, two-thirds of the women do not leave the home to work. In his article, he described "families in which, through the efforts of grandmas and aunts, a child is surrounded by a religious atmosphere from his first breath."

Boris Pastukhov, chief of the 40-million member Limsomol youth movement, told a congress of the organization's officials last year that religious sects were on the rise and exhorted his listeners to show "greater persistence in fighting the narcotic of religion."

Teachers, youth leaders, workers and women's clubs are all enlisted in the struggle. The head of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee wrote last May that, due to the lack of skilled atheist organizers, district committees "are counting in large measure on mobile atheist clubs, agitation stations and libraries, and on public appearances by teams of atheist agitators, lecturers and propagandists."

A. V. Belov, the chief of literature on scientific atheism at Moscow's political literature publishing house, acknowledged these failings in an unusual article published in September in the magazine *Zhurnalist*.

He wrote that upon being asked not long ago to do an article on atheism, he suggested touching on the problems of loneliness, suffering and the need for consolation. The editor asked him why he wanted to stir up pessimism and suggested something more optimistic.

"I did not make up this conversation," Belov wrote, "It reflects the attitude of some of our country's editors, who reduce atheistic propaganda to articles on the harm of baptizing children and celebrating Easter."

He went on: "What are we supposed to do, pretend these problems don't exist and say nothing about them? I am convinced that some young people fall under the influence of religion precisely because they get the answers to their innermost questions from religious mentors instead of from us."

The most imaginative effort by officials to win over believers has been to use some of the believers' own techniques, especially through what they call "socialist rituals."

In a modern, churchlike setting, women in long velvet gowns preside over ceremonies that mark the birth of a child, a child's first day of school, the coming of age at 16, marriage, the first day of work, the last day of work and, finally, death. Mocked by much of the public, these rituals have caught on to some extent in the pious Ukraine.

The question of why the Communist Party, clearly the dominant force in the

Soviet Union, is concerned at all with the activities of the believers is often raised in discussions of religion here.

Simply put, religion is seen as a threat, and the nation's leadership has responded with repeated waves of anti-religionism, dating back to the 1920s and '30s.

At that time, there were major efforts, spearheaded by the now defunct League of the Militant Godless, but Joseph Stalin made peace with the Russian Orthodox Church during World War II.

Nikita Khrushchev launched the last major campaign from 1959 to 1963, the analyst said, a time when many churches were forcibly closed.

The current wave, the analyst said, dates from a decision of the Communist Party Central Committee in the spring of 1981 that was finally made public by Pravda the following August.

A front-page editorial acknowledged that religion remained a persistent problem, said the institutions charged with combating religion were failing and concluded that the matter was not just an ideological problem, but a security threat.

Since that time, the analyst said, the government has redoubled its atheistic propaganda effort, jammed Western religious broadcasts and begun routinely confiscating religious materials brought in from abroad.

In addition, he said, there have been more arrests and harassment of nonconformist sects that often defy the state controls. These include Catholics in Lithuania, Protestant fundamentalists and Orthodox Old Believers, who have been persecuted on-and-off since the 17th century.

Analysts here generally agree that, from a security point of view, the government is less worried about the Islamic revolution spreading to Muslims in the south than it is of Poland's Catholic, anti-Soviet rebellion spreading east into the Baltic republics, a factor that could explain the heightened atheistic campaign in Lithuania.

Some observers of the situation throughout the Soviet Union have raised the point that anything—religion included—that soothes a potentially restless populace has its advantages.

But, as the Western analyst pointed out: "The regime here is like any monopoly. . . . Monopolies don't like competition, and any institutional alternative, no matter how passive represents a threat." ●

OUR VALIANT PEACE OFFICERS

HON. STENY H. HOYER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to join my colleagues in honoring the law enforcement officers of this country, the State of Maryland, Prince Georges County, Md., and the many municipalities located in my Fifth Congressional District. I make this just recognition during the occasion of National Police Week.

In Prince Georges County, we will be holding a special program at the Beltway Plaza Shopping Center in Greenbelt, on Saturday, May 21, where Charles Haid, or as many in this coun-

try have come to know him—Officer Andy Renko of the award winning television show, "Hill Street Blues"—will be honored. Exhibits depicting the various aspects of police work, including the FBI disaster van, Secret Service automobiles, and the Prince Georges County canine unit and motorcycle drill team will also be part of the event on Saturday.

Herbert Spencer once said, "Policemen are soldiers who act alone." It is the police officer to whom the community looks for protection, assistance, and guidance in their role as guardians of our property and our lives. They cast themselves into life-threatening situations, often not knowing either the victim or the outcome, out of their sense of duty to their community. Yet daily they must fight against the cynicism and frustration that develops through this confrontation with death, tragedy, and often aimless and pointless violence.

It is only fitting that the Greenbelt Police and the Beltway Plaza Merchants Association sponsor a visit to our community by Mr. Haid, who so aptly portrays much of the frustration and concern that police officers experience in his character of Renko. He and the other members of the Hill Street Blues team have indeed brought into the homes and minds of millions of Americans the human side of police work. Their show is a realistic representation of many of the aspects of life as a police officer, and I am pleased to be able to join so many others in commending this outstanding series.

The citizens of my district owe a great debt to the men and women who serve in law enforcement. This appreciation is mirrored in the words and deeds of many of us in America who are raising our voices in support and gratitude during National Police Week.

Mr. Speaker, I take great pride in recognizing this special occasion in honor of the peace officers of my community and my country. ●

BANKRUPTCY LEGISLATION

HON. CARROLL HUBBARD, JR.

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. HUBBARD. Mr. Speaker, I have received an excellent and timely letter from Judge Gene E. Brooks, U.S. District Court, Southern District of Indiana, at Evansville, which I would like to share with my colleagues. Judge Brooks details the bankruptcy dilemma, pending legislation and the need for congressional actions relative to bankruptcy judges' jurisdiction. His letter follows:

U.S. DISTRICT COURT,
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF INDIANA,
Evansville, Ind., March 10, 1983.
Re Bankruptcy legislation.
Hon. CARROLL HUBBARD,
First District of Kentucky, Rayburn Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Let me first say, that I hope I am not prejudiced, but human as we are we cannot escape certain views based upon our past experiences. For example, in 1979, when the new Bankruptcy Code was enacted, I was President of the National Conference of Bankruptcy Judges. I had been a bankruptcy judge for some eleven years and was very active in drafting, compromising and suggesting certain provisions of the Code. I spoke at the national meeting of the Bankers Association and the Commercial Law League, endeavoring to find a workable piece of legislation that would satisfy competing interests, and bring up-to-date an antiquated statute. While the final legislation was not perfect it was felt by most that it was an improvement. In many respects, it merely codified the case law. Unfortunately the media immediately characterized it as a drastic change and dramatized that the law had been liberalized for the consumer, thereby making it easier to file. This is not the case. At about the same time, bankruptcy filings increased considerably, with the media concluding that the new Act was at fault. Again, not true.

The two major departures from the prior Act, without regard to jurisdiction, was an attempt by Congress to bring uniformity and eliminate abuses. Uniformity was sought with regard to exemptions and abuses were prevalent in terms of the bankruptcy reaffirming debts. Both of these provisions are now under heavy attack by loan companies. Frankly, the amount of the exemption is seldom of significance, as the great majority of the bankrupts do not have property available for such treatment. As to reaffirmations, it was common for many bankrupts to reaffirm debts that they could not pay for and any relief they anticipated was frustrated by their subsequent conduct. Without question, there are other provisions which loan companies can find fault with. I understood the message of Congress to be that it was concerned about repeated filings and that the so-called "fresh start" was not being achieved in many instances. In addition, I think Congress decided that the new provisions would make it tougher for bankrupts to obtain additional credit.

Aside from these considerations the Supreme Court has ruled that the jurisdictional grant to bankruptcy judges is too broad, and that the bankruptcy court has no jurisdiction to hear matters that are heard by Article III judges. In an effort to prevent a crisis, absent Congressional action, the Judicial Conference submitted for adoption to all District Courts an emergency rule, with the goal of assuring "business as usual." I shall not comment on the Rule other than to say that it has provided a make-shift solution, and while it has added additional burdens on the District Court, for the most part it is working. I suspect, however, as time goes by, the Rule itself will be more closely scrutinized and questioned.

As I view the matter, Congress has a difficult, but clear-cut decision. That is, either making the bankruptcy judges Article III judges, or reverting to the so called "old system," whereby all bankruptcy matters are referred to a bankruptcy judge by the District Court. Obviously, there are valid arguments both ways. As to method of ap-

pointment, I would guess that most bankruptcy judges would prefer the old method when they were appointed by the District Court, rather than by the President. Certainly, the old method provided a greater amount of job security. This raises political questions which I don't feel I should comment on.

Aside from the practical view of the problem is the long time goal of the bankruptcy judges to achieve a general up-grading of the office. This has been done in several ways, such as salary, better facilities, benefits, and independence from the District Court. Naturally, many of the victories of the bankruptcy judges in this regard have not been attained without opposition and hard feelings on the part of the District Court. The Chief Justice has consistently resisted many of these efforts and is very adamant in opposing the creation of additional Article III judges. I think some of his fears and misgivings have merit but fail to focus on the question as to what needs to be done to make the system work better. Perhaps, Article III status is not a requirement, but it must first be decided how the system should operate and then determine the best way to accomplish it. Cost is certainly a factor to consider, as well as assuring a smooth transition. Essentially, the system will work the same whether it be an Article II or III court. The additional considerations are basically political, philosophical and power struggle in nature.

It would appear to me that early action on the part of Congress is sorely needed. The present hiatus has left the ship tossing, with uncertainty in every quarter. Bankruptcy practitioners are unclear as to how to proceed, as well as bankrupts and District Court judges. There is a cloud on all the proceedings, and while the ideal would be to solve all problems and controversies as quickly as possible, it seems more logical to concentrate on the jurisdiction problem and leave other matters for consideration at a later date when time is available to study the matter in greater depth. The need for prompt resolution is critical in the business reorganization cases, where problems of title are concerned and it is essential that matters be decided without undue delay, as is now the case, when the question of jurisdiction is raised. Both creditors and debtors are being harmed.

I apologize for the length of this letter, but I knew your real concern, and I didn't feel I could adequately explain the problem without a certain amount of detail. I hope I have been helpful, and if you have any questions about what I have stated or any other questions, I will endeavor to answer them.

Very truly yours,

Judge GENE E. BROOKS. ●

QUEEN OF THE CHERRY BLOSSOM FESTIVAL

HON. MARJORIE S. HOLT

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Ms. HOLT. Mr. Speaker, the queen of the 1983 Cherry Blossom Festival is a very attractive young lady from the Fourth Congressional District of Maryland. Loretta Lyn Ridgely was chosen queen of the week-long Cherry

Blossom Festival held in Washington, D.C.

Miss Ridgely, of Upper Marlboro, Md., is a graduate of La Reine High School, and the Washington School for Secretaries. She is currently employed by the law firm of Patton, Boggs & Blow. Lyn recently returned from a tour of Japan, where she served as the representative of the United States to the many flower festivals held there during the period of April 25 through May 8. I am confident she was as radiant as the Sun which makes the cherry blossoms bloom, and as lovely as the pastel colors seen in the 650 cherry trees lining the Tidal Basin.

Miss Ridgely is very active in her church, St. Mary's of the Assumption, the Maryland State Society, and the Oxon Hill Manor Foundation. She is a friend to all who know her, a credit to her State, and a very lovely queen. ●

SOLZHENITSYN ACCUSES DISARMERS

HON. JAMES G. MARTIN

OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. MARTIN of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, Alexander Solzhenitsyn was in Britain last week to receive an honor for his work in advancing freedom of religion in Russia.

I believe all public pronouncements on the great issues by this moral giant ought to be disseminated as widely as possible. Accordingly, I am including in the RECORD an article from the London Daily Telegraph of May 12.

Mr. Solzhenitsyn makes a point similar to one made by President Reagan in his recent Orlando speech when he says that unilateral disarmers are unable to distinguish between good and evil. Our most important task is to defend our moral and spiritual values. Any arms control proposal, whether it be a freeze or anything else, should be rejected if it does not serve this fundamental aim. Survival at any price, without regard to our moral values, is immoral.

[From the London Daily Telegraph,
May 12]

SOLZHENITSYN ACCUSES DISARMERS
(By David Millward)

Alexander Solzhenitsyn yesterday accused young supporters of unilateral disarmament of being naive and unable to distinguish between absolute good and evil.

"They feel they are carefree and that the experience will go on for ever," he said at Claridges in one of the few Press conferences he has given since being expelled from Russia in 1974.

"They believed Bertrand Russell when he said it was better to be 'red than dead.' But here even Russell was mentally lacking.

"There is no such alternative because to be red is to become dead—slowly like lobsters who are thrown into boiling water."

The 63-year-old author spoke of the death sentence pronounced on the West by Lenin in 1919.

"That death sentence has never been rescinded," he said. "You in the West have been living under that death sentence for the last 65 years. Unfortunately no one has taken it seriously."

Mr. Solzhenitsyn has been in Britain to receive the Templeton Prize, worth £110,000 this year, for his work in advancing religion in Russia.

OUTCRY URGED

He used the Press conference to launch an impassioned appeal on behalf of Sergei Khodorovich, 44, distributor of funds to dependents of Russian prisoners of conscience, who was arrested by the KGB in Moscow on April 7.

Mr. Solzhenitsyn said Mr. Khodorovich had been accused of treason, which carried a possible death sentence in Russia. Natalya Solzhenitsyn, the author's wife, said an outcry in the West could persuade the Soviet authorities not to impose a savage sentence. ●

MX MISSILE PROGRAM

HON. MARCY KAPTUR

OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, we will soon be voting on production funds for the MX missile program. Despite the Reagan administration's efforts, I believe that the MX remains an ill-conceived weapons system—dangerous, costly, and lacking a valid military purpose.

The Business Executives for National Security (BENS), Inc., wrote an insightful piece examining the MX missile. They too conclude that the military benefits of the MX are too questionable to merit its enormous costs. I urge my colleagues to consider the arguments which BENS addressed in its letter.

The letter follows:

BUSINESS EXECUTIVE
FOR NATIONAL SECURITY, INC.,
Washington, D.C., May 12, 1983.

HON. MARCY KAPTUR,
U.S. House of Representatives, Washington,
D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE KAPTUR: On behalf of Business Executives for National Security (BENS), Inc., a national, non-partisan organization of business leaders committed to help boost America's fundamental national security, I would like to share with you our analysis of the President's proposal to spend at least \$15 billion over the next five years to procure the MX missile system and to develop its basing mode. In order to ascertain whether clear and overriding military needs justify such a major expenditure, BENS has consulted a broad array of defense experts and we have carefully reviewed many relevant documents, including the Report of the President's Commission on Strategic Forces. BENS has now concluded that the military

advantages of the MX are too questionable—and the security risks far too great—to merit any further spending on the production and deployment of this costly, marginal, and destabilizing weapon system.

In the first place, it is critical that the economic dimension of our national security receive close attention. Bernard J. O'Keefe, Chairman of the National Association of Manufacturers and Chairman of EG & G, Inc., a Fortune 500 corporation with important defense contracts, wrote in this month's issue of Enterprise, "The spiral that is choking our economy must be broken. The place to start is with the deficit. Critics claim that [cutting the deficit by reducing the federal budget] will adversely affect our well-being and our national defense. To the contrary, our well-being and our national security will be better served by a strong and viable economy." O'Keefe, an expert on the Soviet Union, observed in a recent interview that the MX system "is unnecessary and should be scrapped." BENS agrees.

The value of the Scowcroft Commission's Report is in the criteria it provides for your decision on the MX. The Report recommends a worthwhile new approach for reviewing all of our strategic arsenals. The Report proposes the following: that arms control and weapon modernization efforts be linked; that "our words, policies and actions should all make clear the American conviction that nuclear war, involving few or many nuclear weapons, would be a tragedy of unparalleled scope for humanity"; that force comparisons should center on warhead levels, rather than launchers; that we should make every effort to move away from MIRV's; that stability should be the primary objective of our arms control and modernization programs; and that, as a basic prerequisite to the prevention of nuclear war, all such programs must proceed from a realistic assessment of the Soviet Union as a militaristic regime which will respond to our actions accordingly.

We are disappointed that the Scowcroft Commission has failed to apply these wise criteria rigorously to the MX itself. BENS has concluded that the MX meets none of the above standards established by the Commission.

By proposing that the MX be placed in a situation of greater vulnerability, warhead for warhead, than our existing land-based arsenals, the Commission has effectively demonstrated the impracticality of the MX system. Is the MX to be simply a "bargaining chip" in the START negotiations currently underway in Geneva? We can find no evidence of this in Administration statements. How then will the MX have the positive effect on arms control the Commission calls for? Even if the MX were conceived of as a future negotiating point, recent history abounds with, examples of expensive bargaining chips—like the multiple warhead technology—on which the bargainers could never quite come to terms. Many such weapons are now permanent fixtures of U.S. and Soviet arsenals. If we produce the MX, we can be certain that the Soviet military will respond in kind—either by moving to a hair-trigger launch-on-warning posture or by further developing their arsenal of "first-strike" weapons.

If deterrence cannot be bluffed, as the Commission argues, and if we must be prepared to use those weapons which we deploy, then producing and deploying the

MX will announce to the world that the United States is preparing to launch a first strike against the Soviet Union. Whether or not such a first strike without retaliation could ever be a feasible option—and recent reports in *Physics Today* and *Scientific American* lead us to question whether it could—escalating our first-strike arsenals can only undermine our efforts to demonstrate that the United States will not tolerate nuclear war in any form. And it can only encourage other nations to develop nuclear weapons.

BENS applauds the Commission's aim of achieving a broad consensus on our national security. Defense experts and business leaders alike are disturbed that America's defense programs are not proceeding from a coherent long-range strategy for a strong national defense. Our economic and military strength is suffering as a result. Experts as diverse as General Maxwell Taylor, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Adm. Stansfield Turner, former Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, William Van Cleave, former director of President Reagan's defense transition team, and Adm. Elmo Zumwalt, former Chief of Naval Operations and a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff under President Nixon, have called for a halt to development of the MX, citing its dubious military benefits and its enormous costs. Indeed, the MX is a prime example of a program that will be so destabilizing as to pose a threat to the security of the very country it purports to protect.

The upcoming authorization and appropriation votes on the MX will provide critical tests of Congressional resolve to act in the best interests of the United States in matters vital to our national defense. Rather than bowing to institutional momentum and the sheer availability of the MX, BENS asks you to choose a common-sense alternative for America. Vote no. Let us break free of the pointless acquisition of every conceivable weapon, no matter how expensive or marginally useful it may be. In the interest of restoring our fundamental national security, I strongly urge you, on behalf of business executives throughout the country, to vote against appropriating any further funds to the production and deployment of the MX.

Sincerely,

STANLEY A. WEISS, *President.* ●

CLINCH RIVER REACTOR—AX IT

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend to my colleagues the following article which appeared on Saturday, May 14, 1983, in the *New York Times*. The article by Joseph Egan outlines the lack of foresight DOE is showing in continuing the development of CRBR considering the fact there does not appear to be a plutonium shortage into the next century.

The article follows:

[From the *New York Times*, May 14, 1983]

CLINCH RIVER REACTOR—AX IT

(By Joseph R. Egan)

HARTSDALE, N.Y.—Like a vampire that refuses to die, the Clinch River Breeder Reactor project in Tennessee haunts Federal budget meetings with an unworldly survivability. Despite repeated death blows by liberals, environmentalists and, in 1982, even fiscal conservatives, the \$6 billion boondoggle continues to elude the budget axe.

In 1982, the project was killed in the House but revived by one vote in the Senate after lobbying by majority leader Howard H. Baker of Tennessee. In its proposed 1984 budget, the Reagan Administration had hoped to push the reactor with a \$270 million grant.

But on Thursday, a House Appropriations subcommittee voted \$1.5 billion for the project through 1990, contingent on the nuclear industry's bearing 40 percent of the remaining costs. The House itself voted 388-1 to deny funds for the project past Sept. 30 unless Congress accepted a cost-sharing plan. Construction of the reactor is just beginning.

Yet, two technical developments may finally drive a stake through the reactor's "heart." That heart has been breeder proponents' claim that there will be a global shortage of uranium fuel in the next century.

Breeder reactors, which would produce as much fuel over their lifetimes as they consume while generating electricity, originally were proposed to offset the predicted shortfall. But American and Japanese researchers now believe that dissolved uranium in sea water can be recovered at costs far below those previously envisioned—an advance that could end the breeder debate. The oceans contain an estimated four billion tons of dissolved uranium ore—enough to fuel all existing, planned and imaginable conventional reactors for thousands of years.

There are nearly 400 conventional, or "light water," power reactors operating or under construction throughout the world. Unlike breeders, these reactors do not require that plutonium, a byproduct suitable for making nuclear weapons, be recycled from spent fuel and sold commercially to sustain economic operation. They are inherently safer and less vulnerable to terrorists and saboteurs than breeders are. And they can produce electricity more cheaply than breeders as long as uranium prices, now \$22 per pound of ore, remain under \$150.

In 1981, researchers at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and its Woods Hole Oceanographic Institute completed design studies indicating that uranium production costs under \$200 per pound were within reach by using hydrous titanium oxide to selectively absorb uranium from sea water.

While breeder advocates dismissed the study, Japan's Metal Mining Agency proceeded with its pilot sea water recovery plant, now under construction and scheduled for operation in 1984. Commercialization of the process, similar to that studied by M.I.T., is planned for the early 1990's. Projected recovery cost? Under \$100 per pound.

While the Administration seems unwilling to support this technology the way it supports the Clinch River breeder, it nonetheless endorses another new technology that could also extend recoverable uranium resources; laser enrichment.

Under development for the nuclear weapons program at the Energy Department's Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, the laser process, if applied to the civilian nuclear fuel cycle, could increase the amount of uranium extracted from ore, thus extending recoverable uranium resources by 20 percent or more. But predictably no such plans exist.

Projections of uranium shortfalls were based on growth rates in the use of nuclear power that, in retrospect, were outrageously high. Since 1978, more than 40 reactor orders have been canceled in America alone. Over the past decade, moreover, conventional reactors, like cars, have been made more fuel-efficient. And large new fields of uranium have been discovered, sending spot-market prices down more than 50 percent since 1979.

With the key argument for the breeder invalidated, what remains to justify continued huge expenditures on a prototype that, even its proponents agree, will be technically obsolete before it is completed? Nothing.

Only a handful of manufacturers stand to gain from continued welfare support of the breeder. Ironically, the biggest loser may be the nuclear industry, which has been short of political capital since the Three Mile Island accident. Given the near-bankruptcy of many utilities overcommitted to nuclear power, the industry can hardly afford another blunder.

Instead of approving any cost-sharing plan, Congress should kill the Clinch River reactor for good. ●

ROSS ADAIR: FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE

HON. CLARENCE E. MILLER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 11, 1983

● Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to join my colleagues in the House today to pay tribute to a former member of this body who passed away recently. E. Ross Adair, who served the people of Indiana's Fourth Congressional District for two decades, was a personal friend and a conscientious public servant who represented the very best in Government of, by, and for the people.

I was always impressed with his sense of purpose in this Chamber. He came to the floor well prepared for the debate at hand. He did his homework and you always got the distinct impression that he had translated the provisions of any bill before us into its effect on his district and the State of Indiana. He was respected because he respected the views of others without being abrasive and overbearing. He was a leader and a listener and I had a great deal of admiration and respect for both qualities that he represented so well.

It is safe to say that he set a standard in Government that others have been measured against since his leaving the House. It was a standard that I hope and trust will remain intact. It was a standard of excellence.

I extend to his family my sincerest sympathy at this time.●

A TRIBUTE TO "OLD TIMER'S DAY"

HON. DON SUNDQUIST

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. SUNDQUIST. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to inform my colleagues of an event that has taken place annually, for the last 26 years in my district. It is the "Old Timer's Day" celebration in Dickson, Tenn. Mr. Warren Medley, a radio talk show host, founder and chairman of Old Timer's Day, has seen it grow over the years from a small antique and entertainment show, to one that has numerous contests, luncheons, entertainment events, and a parade. Each year, Old Timer's Day honors a group of individuals who have during their lives, done something worthy of recognition. This year, Old Timer's Day honored 7 of the 10 living escapees from the Island of Corregidor.

The Island of Corregidor, a part of the Philippines which guards the entrance to Manila Bay, witnessed some of the most intense fighting during World War II. After 4 to 5 months of continuous shelling by the Japanese, the American forces in the Philippines finally surrendered. However, one group of Americans were still on the island when the Japanese occupation began. After the Japanese failed to recognize the white flag, these men realized that they should escape from the island if they were to survive. The men boarded a 36-foot boat and traveled over 2,000 miles arriving in Darwin, Australia, 31 days later. During the trip they were in constant danger because they were traveling through Japanese-controlled waters. Yet, after many close calls with death, they reached their destination safely.

These men, whose valiant display of courage is an example to all Americans, and who were honored in Dickson, on Saturday, May 7, are:

Rear Adm. (USN-Ret.) John H. Morrill II, of Gulf Breeze, Fla.

Donald C. Taylor of Jacksonville, Fla.

Lyle Bercier of Indianhead, Md.

Jack F. Meeker of San Diego, Calif.

Glenn Swisher of Carrollton, Tex.

Bruce Richardson of Auburn, Ill.
Earl Watkins of Cincinnati, Ohio.

Many men, women, children, and civic organizations have helped to make Old Timer's Day something really special in Dickson. Without the help of the American Legion's Lucian Berry Post 115, Veterans of Foreign Wars Post 4641, the Dickson Jaycees and civilian clubs, and countless other groups, Old Timer's Day would not be as successful as it has been throughout the years.

I congratulate the people of Dickson, Tenn., who for many years have successfully sponsored an event that truly recognizes an American resource we sometimes tend to overlook—Older Americans. I commend this year's honorees, because their story is one we should not forget. The courage they displayed while fighting for their country, is something about which we all can be proud.●

JAMES E. TEAR

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to pay tribute to Mr. James E. Tear of Towson, Md., for his distinguished service to the Baltimore County public school system.

Mr. Tear will retire this year after over 40 years of service. In that time, he has worked in five schools: Westchester, Fort Howard, Garrison, Rosedale, and Lutherville Elementary Schools. At Rosedale and Lutherville, he served each as principal for 17 years. Also, for over 10 years, he has served as legislative chairman for four different organizations of school administrators. One of these, the Maryland Association of Elementary School Administrators, has given him special recognition for his outstanding work in this area.

Throughout his career, Mr. Tear has demonstrated his commitment to excellence in public education. He has developed an outstanding relationship with the parents of his schools. For instance, he has twice fought the closing of Lutherville Elementary School, working closely with parents and teachers. However, Mr. Tear's most impressive quality is his concern for children. Known for eating with his students on occasion, he spends a great deal of time with them. For this and all his other contributions, he has been honored with life membership in both the Maryland and the National Congresses of Parents and Teachers.

I am sure my colleagues join me in wishing Mr. Tear a very happy and fulfilling retirement.●

PROTECT THE AMERICAN TAXPAYER—PLEASE DO NOT SUPPORT MY BILL

HON. HOWARD WOLPE

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Speaker, I rise for a most unusual reason—to urge my colleagues not to support a bill that I have just introduced. Today I have reluctantly introduced the Clinch River Breeder Reactor White Elephant Feeding and Financing Scheme of 1983 to insure that there will be sufficient public debate on any efforts to provide new taxpayer subsidies for the Clinch River project. I ask your indulgence while I briefly review the events of the last few years that have brought us to this point.

The Clinch River project was authorized by Congress in 1971, a time when many energy forecasts indicated the need for considerable additions to the Nation's electrical generating capacity by the end of the century. The initial cost estimate of the project was \$699 million, including a \$257 million private-investor contribution which accounted for 36 percent of the anticipated costs.

By 1981, the cost of the project had soared to \$3.2 billion, and construction had not even begun. The private investor contribution, however, remained at \$257 million—only 8 percent of the project's costs. It was obvious that the assumptions on which the project was originally based were no longer valid. Declining projections for future electrical demand and increased reserves of relatively inexpensive uranium for existing light-water reactors clearly indicated that breeder technology would be unable to compete in the commercial marketplace for at least 50 years, if ever. It became increasingly difficult to justify spending billions of taxpayer dollars to prematurely demonstrate a technology that would be totally obsolete long before it would be able to compete with existing nuclear technologies.

As early as September 1977, Congressman David Stockman had concluded that:

The unwillingness of the electric utilities to absorb a larger share of the cost of commercializing the breeder is the most telling evidence of its lack of economic feasibility under present conditions.

On May 7, 1981, the House Committee on Science and Technology, after an extensive debate, voted to deauthorize the Clinch River project. However, funding was restored on the floor within the Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 1983, which was not open to amendment. Since 1981, despite a

growing body of damning evidence—the GAO found that the total project cost could reach \$8.5 billion—the Clinch River project has defied fiscal logic and managed to hang on by a thread.

On December 14, 1982, the House, by a vote of 217-196, voted to delete funding for Clinch River from the fiscal year 1983 continuing appropriation. However, on December 17, 1982, the Senate voted to continue funding by a one-vote margin. A conference committee report was subsequently approved that provided fiscal year 1983 funding with the conditions that construction was not to begin, and that \$1 million had to be spent on a study to increase private investment in the project. The DOE had just increased the total cost estimate to \$3.6 billion, with the private investment remaining at \$257 million.

On March 15, 1983, the Department of Energy released its cost-sharing study. The congressional response was less than enthusiastic. The plan proposed that private investors contribute 40 percent of the remaining estimated project cost to reduce Federal outlays during the construction of the project. However, the taxpayer would have to guarantee that the private investor would be repaid during the operation of the plant through revenues from the plant, Federal appropriations, or both. In effect, the private investors would not have to accept any additional risk beyond the \$257 million that they pledged in 1971. In a nutshell, this \$1 million study suggests a cost/benefit financing arrangement in which the private investor would receive potential benefits, and the taxpayer would still be stuck with the costs. In fact, it appears possible that overlapping subsidies available under the DOE cost-sharing proposal could cost the taxpayer more than if the Federal Government just picked up the entire tab.

On April 26, 1983, the Science Committee was assured that a cost-sharing bill would be reported out of subcommittee by May 15, 1983. The committee, by a vote of 24-16, then passed the Brown-Schneider amendment to the fiscal year 1984 DOE authorization prohibiting funding for Clinch River after October 1, 1983, unless cost-sharing legislation is enacted.

On May 3, 1983, Secretary Hodel presented DOE's cost-sharing plan to Congress in legislative form. Assuming its imminent introduction, a Science Subcommittee hearing was scheduled on the proposal for May 10, 1983, and a markup was scheduled for May 12, 1983. However, it was apparently determined that the proposal would never fly. It was never formally introduced and the May 10 hearing and the May 12 markup were canceled.

Last Thursday, May 12, 1983, the DOE fiscal year 1984 authorization bill was brought to the floor and the House—by a resounding vote of 388-1—endorsed the Brown-Schneider amendment to prohibit further funding until cost-sharing legislation is enacted.

However, on the same day, in closed session, the Energy and Water Development Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee marked up the fiscal year 1984 DOE appropriations bill. The subcommittee report of its actions is not available for examination. The subcommittee apparently appropriated \$1.5 billion for Clinch River and attempts to address the intent of the Brown-Schneider amendment by requiring additional contributions by private investors.

Although the subcommittee has not made its report available, it appears that the Appropriations Subcommittee on Energy and Water has chosen to incorporate the DOE cost-sharing proposal within its fiscal year 1984 DOE appropriations bill—a cost-sharing proposal that has never been formally introduced, has never been referred to authorizing committees, and has never been the subject of an authorization committee hearing.

As a Member of this House, I find this deviation from the normal legislative process very unsettling. While there may be honest differences of opinion on the merits of the cost-sharing proposal, we should at least insure that the issue has been fully and openly examined and debated in a manner consistent with the spirit of this House. We simply should not allow new legislation that will commit the American people to finance this multibillion project to be casually attached to an appropriation bill—without benefit of an authorization—in a subcommittee meeting that is not open to the public.

For this reason, I have decided to introduce the Department of Energy's cost-sharing proposal with one small change—I have chosen to rename it the Clinch River Breeder Reactor White Elephant Feeding and Financing Scheme of 1983. I would like to make it clear that I do not support the findings, purposes, additional authorizations, or miscellaneous provisions of this bill. Nonetheless, I believe that it should be subject to the rigorous examination of the legislative process.

I urge all of my colleagues to closely follow this issue in the weeks ahead to determine if proposed cost-sharing proposals are truly consistent with the intent of this House when it overwhelmingly endorsed the Brown-Schneider amendment. In an era of \$200 billion deficits, we cannot afford to allow such costly schemes to slip through unnoticed.●

GREGORY W. CARMAN

HON. FRANK R. WOLF

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, I invite the attention of the Members to an auspicious event that occurred this past Friday, May 13, 1983.

Gregory W. Carman, a former Member who represented the Third Congressional District of Long Island, N.Y., was formally inducted as a U.S. Federal judge in the U.S. Court of International Trade. Judge Carman, who served this House as a member of the Select Committee on Aging and the House Banking Committee, with distinction, understands the importance of international trade to the national economic well-being of the United States.

We are fortunate to have a man of his insight as a member of the Federal judiciary. We all wish him well in his new endeavors.●

SEVENTH ANNUAL SWEET
POTATO AFFAIR

HON. GILLIS W. LONG

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow, May 19, we will be observing the seventh annual Sweet Potato Affair, a day in which we all celebrate the flavor and nutritional value of the golden Louisiana yam.

A Louisiana yam is technically a sweet potato, but it is different from all other sweet potatoes. It was scientifically developed to have golden, moist flesh and rich, sugary taste.

Yams are perhaps the world's most versatile food. They are available fresh, frozen, or canned. They can be baked, french-fried, boiled, stuffed, candied, or escalloped. They can be eaten by themselves or in casseroles, baked into pies, cakes, and puddings or served as a side dish to almost any meat.

They taste so good, it is hard to believe how good they are for you. Each golden tuber has 150 percent of the recommended daily dietary allowance of vitamin A—essential for healthy bones, teeth, and skin and crucial for good night vision.

The source of that vitamin A is carotene, a substance which converts to vitamin A in the body. Sweet potatoes are one of the foods with a high content of carotene. New studies have shown that people who eat large amounts of foods rich in this nutrient have a reduced risk of cancers of the lung, bladder, and larynx.

Because we have such a plentiful yam harvest, the Government uses large amounts of sweet potatoes in its various food programs for the military and for schoolchildren. This year, additional yams were purchased for distribution to the needy through soup kitchens across the Nation.

Since a major concern of Federal food programs is to provide foods with a high nutritional value and tasty flavor, the Louisiana yam is custom made. Yams have three great virtues for these programs: They are extremely nutritious, they are very versatile and can be prepared in many different ways, and they have a natural sweet taste that most people enjoy.

I encourage the U.S. Department of Agriculture and other Government agencies to continue and increase their purchases of sweet potatoes, and hope that purchasing decisions will be made as early as possible to assist production planning. ●

THE IMPRACTICALITY OF OUR CURRENT FREE TRADE PHI- LOSOPHY

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1983

● Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to discuss my concerns about current U.S. trade policy. This policy assumes that if we could establish a worldwide system of pure free trade the resulting forces of international competition would bring prosperity to all nations—including our own. As lofty as this sounds, I believe that we do not properly recognize the impracticality of such an international system of free trade, for we tend to look too optimistically at the theoretical results of such a doctrine.

In relation to this concern, I would like to point out an article in this Sunday's Washington Post by Prof. Wolfgang Hager entitled "Let Us Now Praise Trade Protectionism." While the title is somewhat extreme, I believe that the article raises important questions about free trade policy. According to Hager, the developed countries, including the United States, are faced with an endless supply of subsistence-wage labor in the less-developed countries of the world. The American producer is unable to lower the wages of its employees enough to compete with the producers in Third World countries who can manufacture and assemble goods much more cheaply by taking advantage of this cheaper labor. Some people suggest that the way to stay competitive, without violating free trade principles, is though wage decreases and through a relax-

ation of those social standards which affect the cost of production. Though in the short run such cuts may help keep the United States competitive, these tactics would ultimately serve to undermine many of the fundamental social values held by Americans, values concerning the health and safety of workers, the quality of the environment, child labor, the right of employees to bargain collectively, equity in taxation, and many others. The Philippines, which lowered wages by decree in order to gain international competitiveness, has merely done openly what we would be doing indirectly. In order to preserve these values, while at the same time assuring the strength of our domestic industry, we need to consider a trade policy which recognizes that the U.S. market is the largest in the world and which is sensitive to the needs of domestic industry and American workers.

The American public, as well as many policymakers, have been drawn into a simplistic perception that there are only two varieties of trade policy—free trade, which is good, and everything else, which is protectionist and therefore bad.

We can no longer afford such naive views. The United States is no longer economically omnipotent in the world and we can no longer assume that all international competition will work to our advantage. Just as we recognize that market forces within our domestic economy must be constrained and guided to achieve important social goals, so we must realize that international markets need a more sophisticated policy than free trade ideology provides in order to insure that our national interests and goals are met.

Mr. Speaker, we need to reevaluate exactly what we mean by a free trade policy, and to examine what this policy entails in terms of domestic costs. I am pleased to submit to the RECORD of this body the article by Mr. Hager for the perusal of my colleagues. It is an article which warrants our close attention.

The article follows:

[From the Washington Post]

LET US NOW PRAISE TRADE PROTECTIONISM (By Wolfgang Hager)

Like most people, I used to believe that free trade helped create prosperity and peace, and that protectionism betrayed consumers to special interests while leading to international conflict. I now believe protectionism is essential for prosperity within nations and harmony among nations. Competition among firms is a good thing, but competition among societies is dangerous.

The problem with free trade is simple: The world has an endless supply of subsistence-wage labor, and we have learned how to make both basic and sophisticated goods in poor, developing countries. Without trade barriers, rich countries are bound to suck in cheap imports from low-wage countries, de-

stroying the domestic industries that used to make those products. There will never be enough new "high tech" jobs to employ those who lose more traditional jobs. Therefore, unrestricted trade would eventually destroy the economies of all the high-wage, developed countries.

What we really need is not free trade (which we don't have anyway), but a better "managed" trade system. In particular, we ought to stop waiting until a domestic industry is on its knees before signaling others who are building up an export capacity that the market won't be there for them.

We also ought to start recognizing that protectionism and trade expansion are quite compatible with each other. Witness the 1970s: protectionism grew in that decade, and world trade in manufactures tripled.

Finally, we should begin facing reality. The reality is that, in one way or another, at least 75 percent of the free world's trade is already "protected" or "managed," meaning that it is subject to quotas, export subsidies, barter arrangements and a long list of other direct government restrictions.

This has long been true for raw materials and food, which account for half of world trade, and services like shipping, which account for 12 percent. It is also increasingly true for manufactured goods, the sector involved in most trade disputes. Officials of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) estimate that at least a third of trade in manufactures is managed, which means another 12 percent of total trade under the protectionist umbrella.

World steel, for example, is organized into what amount to three cartels—the American, the European and the Japanese—that coordinate among themselves through price and quantity agreements. Fifty developing countries, as well as Canada and Australia, manage automobile trade through "local content" rules—which require a specified portion of local production as a condition of importing—while the Atlantic nations limit the number of cars that can be imported. "Voluntary restrictions" are also proliferating in consumer goods and high-tech, big-ticket items like power stations, jetliners, telecommunication and most military hardware are restricted via national procurement ("buy American") rules and local content deals.

Atop of all this, we are seeing more export-targeted industrial policies, export subsidies, and restraint on imports via safety and other regulations.

Nevertheless, it remains fashionable in the industrial world to trumpet the free trade ideal. The result is not merely hypocrisy, a plentiful international commodity with which we have all learned to live rather nicely. The more serious consequence is that protectionism is practiced in ways producing minimum benefits to domestic industry, maximum disruption in trade flows and constant bickering among trading partners.

Without realizing the enormity of what they are saying, otherwise sensible people in effect are calling for slashing wages enough to compete with workers in a South Korea or Mexico, lowering health, pollution and other protections to reduce business costs and other, similar measures. This would be tantamount to our giving up, as a society, the freedom and autonomy to pursue our basic values. In fact, free trade would probably lead to dramatic economic disruption and create large numbers of economically

useless people. It might take a police state to enforce it.

How can such dire consequences flow from an arrangement which, by common consent, contributed so much to prosperity since World War II? What is so different now?

One answer is that for the first time in modern history, standard manufactures are being produced everywhere on the globe—and, importantly, in nations such as Japan, South Korea and Mexico with centrally guided economies. This would not matter much if these quasi-market economies were still small relative to the older industrial countries: The benefit to consumers of cheap imports would outweigh adjustment costs.

Indeed, this arrangement caused no significant problems for 25 years after World War II. In those days, only the old industrial countries were capable of producing modern industrial goods. The exception was textiles, which from 1962 on were governed by an international protectionist regime, now called the Multifiber Arrangement.

The joint monopoly of the Atlantic countries allowed them to set the cost of production—wages, working hours, regulations, taxes, etc.—autonomously, provided they all moved more or less in step. Common values, free trade unions and the play of democratic politics led to similar, costly solutions to the dilemmas posed by industrial capitalism.

Not all these solutions were optimal (and trade was a useful instrument for correcting excessive business or labor power). But the result was a historically unique and humane society.

Now, however, the quasi-market newcomers have captured one-fifth of world manufacturing export markets, and they have become the price setters in a growing range of activities. In these circumstances, adjustment becomes more generalized, rapid and painful. In fact, it isn't even possible.

Would we be able to "adjust" wages to an international standard? A classical law of economics says that if both goods and industrial capital can move freely in the world we get, in effect, a single world labor market, even without a single worker crossing a frontier. But for as long ahead as we can see, the free international market "price" for labor—given the tremendous labor surpluses in the world—is around a level of bare subsistence.

No doubt some adjustment in relative wages is useful—although the fact that pay in high-tech Silicon Valley is half that in older smokestack industries should give pause, as should the news that the miserable Philippines is cutting wages, by decree, to regain international competitiveness.

But no cut in real wages could go deep enough to make rich-country workers competitive again. These workers live in a high-cost economy requiring dollar wages 10 times as high as the Philippines merely to survive. Clearly, one cannot simply integrate, through trade and international production, high-cost, relatively full-employment economies, with unbalanced low-wage economies.

Free traders would argue that the dilemma does not exist. Among Reaganites and Atari Democrats alike, there are some who would abandon traditional manufactures and concentrate on high-tech activities. Implicitly, this is an argument for recreating, at a higher level, the kind of technological monopoly which the advanced nations only recently enjoyed in virtually all manufacturing. In these sheltered, high-value indus-

tries, the argument goes, high wages will continue to be paid, while the whole economy enjoys the benefits of cheaper imports.

The argument is wrongheaded. The market for satellites, bioengineered pharmaceuticals or semiconductors will provide new jobs, but not nearly enough for the people thrown out of work in older industries. The United States, Western Europe and Japan, which are all rushing into the same high-tech niches in the international division of labor, are only likely to end up with expensive overcapacity.

The move to high-tech may be desirable in itself, but it is not a solution to the trade dilemma. At best it will shift protection from a North-South dimension to one increasingly among the industrialized nations.

In the meantime, the goods people buy will remain stubbornly banal: carpets and golf clubs, TV sets and can openers. The way these items are produced is increasingly high-tech, too. But if the final consumer goods are not made in the country, this entire superstructure of sophisticated "inputs" into the production process—including the much-vaunted services—will weaken as well. Foreign producers will simply turn to closer suppliers of these goods and services.

Moreover, it is an unconsciously racist mistake to believe that it is the natural order of things for brown people to make simple things like shirts or toys while the highly skilled work force of the advanced countries makes complicated things like machines or computers. In fact, with the state-of-the-art capital equipment now available to them, the best workers in the Third World, who make up its industrial work force, can easily outperform the least educated persons in advanced countries who are their competitors.

On top of this, advances in production technology, notably automation, are rapidly reducing the need for craft-type skills, leaving unskilled workers at one end and technicians' jobs at the other, with little in between. Sophisticated engineering products like ships, airplanes, and machine tools, as well as steel and chemicals, are now being exported from developing (and East bloc) countries. The recent announcement by Atari itself, that it will shift production to Taiwan and Hong Kong at the expense of 1,700 California jobs should help put to rest the notion that we can escape our dilemma by the high-tech road.

There is a cruel irony here that we have to worry about impoverishing or simply discarding a substantial part of our population at the dawn of a new industrial revolution which should make all of us richer. But unless we maintain, and indeed increase, our ability to manage our economic affairs in tune with domestic requirements, the new technologies will simply destroy work.

In the last century, from 1873 to 1896, Europe went through a recession at a time of technological breakthroughs in steelmaking, electricity, chemicals and other areas. Despite the cornucopia of potential wealth at that time, wages stayed depressed and unemployment rose, leading to imperialism and an arms race in a desperate and futile attempt to resolve social tensions and the overproduction crisis. During those years Bismarck resisted a law forbidding factory work by women on Sundays with the argument that this would damage German export competitiveness and hence raise unemployment. The current revival of 19th century classical economics is painting us in the same corner.

Then as now, protectionism, which is usually seen as a political cop-out to powerful interest groups at the nation's expense, shows the working of the invisible hand of politics bringing some sense to the rigid application of ideology.

The usual historical reference to protectionism, of course, is to the 1930s and the Great Depression, but that comparison is not nearly as valid as commonly believed. In the 1930s, economic antagonisms were superimposed on serious security conflicts among the main trading "partners." Today, the economic welfare of all non-communist countries, including the developing countries, is a strong political goal of all free world nations. Moreover, existing trade links, investments and debts all militate against curtailing the earning power of trading partners. Protectionism, except in an extreme case like Japan, does not mean autarchy in manufactures.

What, then, are some of the solutions? Some have focused on the need for more stable monetary exchange rates among advanced countries to prevent the periodic "surges" of imports that cause avoidable problems. In the short run, a dearer yen would help, but a cheaper dollar would simply increase the U.S. surplus with Europe.

In general, the relatively liberal trade regime between Europe and America is sustainable. It implies competition among firms, not societies. Yet in sectors like steel where governments intervene heavily, there is no logical alternative to outright market sharing. When the market is deliberately blocked as a coordinator, something must take its place.

What is a special case in Euro-American relations is the general case when trading with Japan. We should continue to welcome Japanese goods for our consumers and to provide a competitive stimulus to our enterprises (although competition in third markets already sees to that). But we should do it on our terms and not simply adjust passively to Japanese industrial strategies. Direct investment and other forms of technology transfer must increasingly take the place of the exchange of goods.

The sooner we abandon free trade rhetoric and clearly signal to Japan our limits of tolerance, the less the chances for conflict and panic protectionism later. This would make it easier for Japan to adjust its investment strategies to reality, and it would provide greater incentives for American firms to engage in risky investments at home.

The same applies to developing countries. The World Bank and others who urge an increasing number of countries (including such giants as India and China) to follow an export-led growth strategy are giving cruel and irresponsible advice. Production capacities are built up with scarce resources, which then stand idle when the West, inevitably, slaps on restrictions. Yet we have lent huge amounts of money on the promise of markets: The ability of developing countries to earn foreign exchange remains crucial.

How can our need for protection be squared with Third World needs for growing revenues? The most general answer must be: by improving their terms of trade. This means they must get a better return for what they sell. But how can this be done?

Price discipline is already a normal feature in Japanese trade and East-bloc trade

with Western Europe. India and China, fearing ruinous competition and self-exploitation as they enter world markets, are said to have initiated talks on avoiding such competition. Southeast Asian nations, in cooperation with Brazil and Mexico, could perhaps agree to raise prices. But given the competition for market shares among these

countries, self-exploitation would probably remain the rule.

It would be preferable for Western countries to raise duties on imports from Third World nations high enough to avoid market disruption in the West—and then give this new revenue back to developing countries.

This would give resources to these countries to tackle the long-neglected problems of internal development, and especially of agriculture and related industries.

The choice we face is between good intentions that promise ruinous results and policies that face up to the realities of the new global economy.●