

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## UNITED STATES-JAPAN RELATIONS FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF JAPANESE MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS DOING BUSINESS IN THE UNITED STATES

HON. NORMAN D. SHUMWAY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. SHUMWAY. Mr. Speaker, I recently had the opportunity to participate in a seminar sponsored by Johns Hopkins University on the issue of United States-Japan relations. The keynote speaker was Kazuo Inamori, chairman of the now-international Kyocera Corp. His statement on the relations between our two nations from the viewpoint of Japanese multinational corporations doing business in the United States is both refreshing and challenging. I believe that Mr. Inamori's remarks are worthy of careful review by my colleagues, and thus I am sharing them with the House membership herein:

## UNITED STATES-JAPAN RELATIONS FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF JAPANESE MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS DOING BUSINESS IN THE UNITED STATES

(By Kazuo Inamori)

It is a great honor and pleasure to be invited to address your monthly forum of the School for Advanced International Studies of the Johns Hopkins University, the oldest research university in the United States.

The topic I have been asked to address concerns U.S.-Japan relations from the viewpoint of Japanese multinational corporations operating in the United States. I would like to start with a general overview of U.S.-Japan relations.

## THE AMERICAN CHALLENGES

In order to improve the trade relationships between the United States and Japan, the United States has been urging Japan to formulate and execute a new economic policy as quickly as possible.

Twice in our history, Japan had to carry out changes in our major policy with respect to foreign affairs.

The first of these was 120 (one hundred and twenty) years ago at the time of our Meiji Reformation. The second was at the conclusion of the World War Two. Both occasions called for drastic changes in our government policy. If Japan is to carry out a major policy change now, it will be the third such historical event.

## THE MYTH OF JAPAN, INC.

There are various reasons why Japan is, at this time, reluctant to adopt a completely open economic policy. In my opinion, the major problem lies in the administrative structure of the Japanese government.

In trying to formulate a policy to ease the trade friction between the United States and Japan, the situation often arises that, despite consensus on a national level, each ministry gives priority to its own interest and may refuse to grant approval.

This happens, because each ministry is closely tied to its own industrial sector. In addition, every ministry has Diet members who, visibly or invisibly, wield great power. These are called "Zokugin" or Diet Interest Group. They are vocal in their own special area, and their interest intertwines with that of the ministry.

Since each ministry is independent, its primary concern is to protect its own vested rights and interests. This also means that private corporations and Diet Interest Groups have much control over the ministries.

This explains why an agreement at the national level may still face much opposition at the ministry level. There, the discussions tend to degenerate to arguing over the interests of the ministry, its group of industries, and of the Diet Interest Groups that control it. This also explains why our open economic policy lacks in consistency and why its progress is so sluggish.

## OVERHAULING JAPAN, INC.

The historical roots of this administrative structure date back to the Meiji Reformation when Japan's present government structure was formed. Its long history makes it difficult to changing it overnight. Nonetheless, I firmly believe that there is a definite need for a radical, fundamental reform of this administrative structure.

Another consideration is that Japan has no policy-making organization that cuts across all ministries to set general and strategic policies. Rather, policies devised by individual ministries become Japan's national policies. How can we possibly have a uniform consistent economic policy when each ministry decides its own policy and acts accordingly!

What Japan needs is an exclusive controlling body to deal with all ministries on a horizontal level, and one whose policies and interests are adhered to by all ministries. I think that an administrative reform to create such a structure is necessary.

It is certainly debatable whether this kind of reform is indeed possible in Japan or not. I am of the opinion that this is a problem that has to be solved.

## SING A SONG OF FREE TRADE

At the same time, the traditional management thinking in industry must be changed. Traditionally, the majority of Japanese corporate managers have been firmly convinced that the best course of action is to manufacture quality products at low cost and export them. They, therefore, deeply believe that "free trade" must be advocated.

However, just ten years ago, Japanese government was still laying down various regulations restricting the activities of foreign corporations within Japan. These restrictions on "free trade" helped the growth of domestic industries. Japanese industries grew very strong thanks to these protective regulations.

Now that Japanese industries have grown to be globally competitive, we are removing our protective regulations, and demanding that other countries do the same. Isn't it strange how we have suddenly become an avid advocate of "free trade"—with no re-

gards for the situation of our trading partners?

## LIVE AND LET LIVE

In fact, once, it might have been a good thing to make quality goods inexpensively and sell them overseas. But "no man is an island." The human race is such that we do not live freely by ourselves, but only through our mutual relationship with others. We must be more aware of the fact that we live by virtue of being "let live."

Consequently, we should not do anything that would jeopardize others. This new concept that the world must join hands to help each other and coexist, is, in fact, an age-old philosophy. It's time for our corporate managers to wake up to this philosophy and start changing their ideas.

## THE UGLY JAPANESE

The present problem of trade imbalance should be viewed in the same light. This situation is becoming even more severe because of the vicious fight for market share among Japanese corporations. Enlightened business leaders must surely see that this is causing problems in our host countries. Shouldn't we then adopt a more orderly, disciplined, and better-managed way to trade? "Free Trade" should not imply a "Free for all." Behaving in a self-willed, self-profiting manner has nothing to do with the real meaning of freedom.

## UNITED STATES-JAPAN TRADE ISSUES

Concerning Japanese exports to the United States, America tells Japan that its non-tariff barriers, complex distribution system and bizarre trading customs prevent American imports from increasing in Japan.

Japan, on the other hand, tells the United States that their import duties are lower than any other country, that non-tariff barriers do not exist, and that the reason why America's imports into Japan fail to increase is because America does not try hard enough. Japan also stresses that American studies in the Japanese language and in Japan's trading customs have not been sufficient.

It is clear that the two countries are following two completely different tracks.

## LEARNING CURVE THEORY

I am inclined to think, however, that this problem has arisen due to differences in experience and in the duration of effort spent by the two countries.

The U.S. market opened up after the war and has remained open for 40 years. Japanese companies have been able to study ways to enter the market and accumulate know-how through this experience.

But Japan's market did not open until about 10 years ago. The U.S. simply has not had enough time to study the Japanese language and Japanese trade customs, or to research our complicated distribution system.

As we can see from this history, American companies are handicapped by their limited period of preparation. In order to redress the trade imbalance, Japan must do more than simply open its markets. There will be no equity reached on this score soon unless Japan takes measures to provide American companies with access to Japanese markets

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

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

by reaching out and literally handing the market over to them.

#### FREE TRADE THEORY

Of course, there is nothing unfair about letting America's exports to Japan increase by relying on the mechanism of free trade alone. However, my thought is that, in the light of past difficulties and the overall emergency of the situation, Japan should do more to resolve the problem.

From this point of view, I cannot yet say that the mentality of Japanese managers has really changed. But there are signs that this will change in the future. A while ago, a report issued by an advisory body to the Ministry of International Trade and Industry expressed much of the same idea. Furthermore, two or three members of the Japanese Committee for Economic Development have begun to profess a similar opinion. This is indicative of a gradual change that is starting to take place among Japanese managers.

#### COURTING JAPANESE INDUSTRIES

Thus, it is unlikely that the trade imbalance can be solved easily. Then, meanwhile, it seems that the Japanese industries will have to continue shifting their production base to our trade partners' home turf.

These days, every state in the United States, with its Governor at the head, seems to be engaged in a zealous movement to attract new industries. Every year, we see many states send out a large number of delegations to Japan, to entice Japanese companies to set up their production facilities in their states.

I think that Japan should seriously consider such offers and encourage as many industries to locate in the United States as possible.

#### HOLLOWING OF U.S. INDUSTRIES

Paralleling this, another phenomenon has been taking place in the United States during the past 20 to 30 years. A large number of American industries has been moving their domestic production bases offshore. In other words, products that used to be manufactured domestically are now being produced in countries whose people work hard for low wages. These products are then re-imported back into the United States or to other international markets. Since this seems to make economic sense and is management-wise expedient, more and more American industries are crossing the border and moving their production base overseas.

#### WON'T YOU COME HOME, BILL BAILEY?

This exodus of manufacturing is another factor contributing to the worsening of the U.S. trade balance. It also makes state governments even more eager to invite the Japanese industries to fill the void. I wonder if it is not better sometimes for the state governments to shift their emphasis and try to entice some of these expatriate manufacturing plants to return home?

#### JAPANESE MULTINATIONALS

This brings us back to the subject of our talk. Our title, "The U.S.-Japan relations from the viewpoint of Japanese multinational companies operating in the U.S.," typifies the situation resulting from the increasing number of Japanese companies operating in the United States.

#### KYOCERA INTERNATIONAL, INC.

Our company, Kyocera, began its first manufacturing activities in the U.S. over 16 years ago. We were a pioneer among Japanese companies. Today, we have four plants,

and over 2,000 American employees. I would now like to share our experience and address a couple of problems that may arise again as many other Japanese corporations enter America.

As many of you know, we have come to the United States to engage in the production of ceramic packages for semiconductor ICs. Additionally, we manufacture ceramic multilayer chip capacitors, components vital to electronics. We also have a plant that manufactures ceramic parts for industrial machines.

Generally speaking, our products are small in size, furnished in large quantities, and the unit price is not at all high. But, our products, such as ceramic IC packages, are vital to the U.S. industries. For instance, our ceramic IC packages are important components of U.S. semiconductors, and the majority of them are supplied by us.

#### DANGER OF PREJUDICE

Because of this, we have sometimes been criticized. To quote an argument, we were told the following:

"The U.S. Semiconductor industry is at a great risk by relying upon Kyocera for their IC packages, since Kyocera is Japanese. We should at once have the U.S. Government and business cooperate and build our own ceramic package industry. Otherwise, we'll be in a terrible dilemma with regard to national security if Kyocera decides to stop supplying us with the packages."

It is true that Kyocera International, Inc., Kyocera America, Inc. as well as other Kyocera subsidiaries, are 100% owned by Kyocera Corporation, headquartered in Japan.

However, the structure of each operation was thoughtfully established in order to foster self-reliance and autonomy within each U.S. subsidiary. And Kyocera was one of the first Japanese companies to have its stocks listed in New York Stock Exchange.

Our U.S. operations were established under the respective State and Federal Laws of the United States. A large number of Americans are involved in top management and more than 95% of our employees are Americans. It goes without saying that these companies pledge allegiance to the United States and refrain from actions that are against the interests of the U.S. government.

It is indeed regrettable, if some people should fear that because their capital is mostly Japanese, these companies under orders from their parent company in Japan, would undertake an action that would damage the American semiconductor industry.

#### LAND OF THE FREE

This made me think back to how Japanese Americans were interned shortly after the beginning of the Second World War. True, their blood and their appearance might have been entirely Japanese, but they were also full-fledged American citizens.

Historically, America has absorbed many, many immigrants and operated a truly multi-racial society. I believe that the United States is the only country that really possess the know-how to successfully operate such a society. Yet, this same country took American citizens of Japanese ancestry and placed them in internment camps as though they were the enemy.

At the very same time, their sons, young second-and-third-generation Japanese Americans were shedding their blood, rising and giving their lives in the front lines of Europe, proving their loyalty to their country, America.

Because of these dedicated efforts, the social status of Japanese Americans improved after the war. But, it was not until very recently—40 years after the war ended—that the problem surfaced and the American Government officially apologized to the Japanese Americans of that time.

#### LET US NOT REPEAT THE SAME MISTAKE

Japanese multinational companies entering the U.S. may be operating on Japanese capital, their life-blood and ancestry may be Japanese, so to speak, but they are also bona-fide American companies that operate according to American laws.

They are American companies and America's inheritance. Though such a thing should not happen, there seems to be a trend of thought that says "If American interests should turn and its fortune decline, such corporations would without fail do something to harm the country."

I believe, nothing could be further from truth. These companies are set up in the United States and their plants are built in America to support the country and bring it economic prosperity. These corporations, acting in the same way as the many immigrants who came to this country and naturalized, create a new vitality in the country. As such they should be dealt with in the same way as American people are dealt with. It is a huge mistake to treat them with overt or covert discrimination.

Rather, overseas companies that come to the United States to set up production bases because of the trade imbalance, should be welcomed with open arms. The American economy is in a period of reform and these companies should be thought of as the heralds of a long-term economic revitalization. I am afraid that to hinder this progress will not only make a solution to the trade imbalance difficult, it will also increase antagonism between governments.

#### RESPONSIBILITIES OF FOREIGN MULTINATIONAL COMPANIES

We as a company that has entered the United States, are well aware of the responsibility we bear in supplying vital components to the American semiconductor industry and will continue to wholeheartedly cooperate and work hard for that industry. A corporation built in America does not work for Japan. It is an American company, by virtue of its contribution to American profits. And operating under these convictions, it cannot be but indignant at inconsiderate remarks.

We are at a stage when more and more foreign companies will be making inroads into the United States. We sincerely hope that the people at the head of the American government should give these problems serious considerations.

Since they were established in the United States, our companies have the intention of contributing to the American industrial world and the state.

#### AMERICA'S FLEXIBLE SOCIAL SYSTEM

The reason why I have raised this topic today is because I think that unlike Japan, which is hindered by the rigidity of structure, America has a more flexible way of thinking and is a government that is capable of righting wrongs.

#### UNITARY TAX

The ease with which American society learns to correct its own mistakes is quite a contrast to the rigidity of Japan's national structure.

A case in point is the all too familiar example of the unitary tax method once used

by California and a number of other states. As a foreign-based multinational company, we were in the most unfortunate position of having to suffer this double taxation.

To be more specific, when we first started production in the United States, some 16 years ago, we had to really struggle. Eventually, we were able to post a profit. We used one half of our profit to pay Federal and state taxes, and the other half was retained for reinvestment or for employee welfare.

Then, eight years ago, the unitary tax was put in effect retroactively and we found ourselves paying close to 100% of our profits in taxes. This stiff taxation meant that no matter how hard we worked, we would never be able to use any of our profits for the company's internal reserves.

The amount of money we have had to pay or accrue amounts to more than thirty and some million dollars from California's unitary tax alone. What should have been used for revitalization and capital investment had to go to pay the double taxation. For many years we have been appealing to the state and Federal governments to have the application of this unfair tax concept to foreign operations repealed.

AMERICAN CONSCIENCE

But our effort was worthwhile. Recently, California and several other states have begun to realize the discrepancies and unfairness of the worldwide unitary tax concept and they have started to repeal it. This was a trying time for me, but through this effort, I came to appreciate the soundness of traditional American social conscience and admire its ability to correct its mistakes and correct its direction.

JAPANESE CONSCIENCE

By contrast to the U.S., Japan is embarrassingly powerless in carrying out changes that make common sense. Old customs and archaic rules prevail, and the system cannot adapt readily to a society that is in the process of changing. Japan is at once blessed and cursed by its long history and tradition. Inasmuch as I am aware of the difficulty to change the Japanese way, I am impressed by the flexibility that is a part of the American society.

This ability to redress mistakes as soon as the society becomes aware of them, is felt in our industrial activities in the United States. We are enjoying the freedom and ease of doing business in the United States. . . far more so than in Japan.

JAPANESE CHILDREN IN THE U.S.

In the United States, where we have manufacturing plants, we do have a certain number of Japanese employees who bring their families to live in this country. Their children typically don't speak English. Yet, regardless of the states, be it California, Washington, or North Carolina, we found that the local public schools welcomed our children with open arms.

It is not easy teaching a class of students when there is one who does not understand or speak the language. Yet, what we found was dedicated teachers taking extra time and care to teach our Japanese children, in the hope that they would soon assimilate into the American society, and quickly became functional with regard to their classmates and culture.

AMERICAN GENEROSITY

Watching this, I started to wonder whether Japanese public school teachers would be as tolerant and loving toward American or other foreign students. Wouldn't they throw their hands up saying that this is an

impossible task to assimilate them into the homogeneous society that Japan is?

As I was listening to the happy voices of our employees' children, I became grateful that we have had the opportunity to have our subsidiaries in this country and be a part of your wonderful nation, and that I should thank the United States, the respective State Governments, and the American people for having created such a wonderful, truly open and "free" country.

It is my hope and my prayer that this country will regain its vitality to grow strong and healthy, and will continue to prosper as the global leader and champion of our free world.

Thank you for your attention.

TWENTY YEARS OF SERVICE

HON. WILLIAM O. LIPINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. LIPINSKI. Mr. Speaker, in a time when the job market is always changing, it is rare to come across a company honoring its employees for 20 years of dedicated service. That is the reason I wish to honor and call to the attention of my colleagues, four gentlemen who have completed 20 years of service with the United Parcel Service in Illinois.

Hugo Plienius, a trailer mechanic working out of the UPS center located at 6700 West 73d Street, Bedford Park, began his career 20 years ago as an apprentice mechanic at the company's Jefferson Street facility. Plienius' record is marked with excellent attendance, and good quality as well as quantity work.

Henry Palasek, a housekeeping department porter also working out of the 73d Street facility, began his UPS career in the company's Bridgeview center where he performed a variety of duties. In 1976 he accepted his present position, where he is described as dependable and well liked by his fellow employees.

Joseph Garcia, a package sorter working out of the UPS facility located at 1400 South Jefferson Street, started his UPS career as a trailer unloader in 1967. In 1970 he was promoted to package sorter, and in 1981 to his present position as a small package sorter. It is noted he has a very positive attitude, and does all the jobs in his area well.

Domingo Cisneros, a journeyman mechanic in the Jefferson Street UPS facility also, began his UPS career at the Jefferson Street automotive shop, and has continued to work there throughout his career. Cisneros became interested in mechanics 43 years ago. After serving in the Marine Corps he went back to school to further his studies in this area. His record also shows excellent attendance and quality work.

I am sure, Mr. Speaker, that my colleagues join me and the city of Chicago in congratulating these men on reaching this milestone in their careers. We thank them for their dedicated service, and wish them continued success in the future.

KILDEE HONORS SPRINGVIEW ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

HON. DALE E. KILDEE

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. KILDEE. Mr. Speaker, I am deeply honored and privileged to have the opportunity to inform my colleagues of a joyous occasion taking place on Sunday, October 18. On that date, the Springview Elementary School will celebrate its 20th anniversary. At a time when Springview's first students are arranging their respective adult careers, it is interesting to note that this year's kindergarten class will graduate in the year 2000.

As a result of severe overcrowding which reduced class time in three Flushing area schools to half day schedules, community leaders in 1967 broke ground for the Springview Elementary School. Today, the Springview Elementary School stands as a key facility serving not only the needs of Flushing's children but the entire community as well. Springview is particularly dear to me because along with serving the traditional needs of its student body, it also provides for the important needs of physically and mentally handicapped children. The building is also utilized by area Cub and Boy Scouts, various basketball teams, exercise clubs, and for community education.

Mr. Speaker, thousands of children, and thus the Flushing community, have been enriched through their association with this fine institution. I ask that you and all my colleagues in the Congress reflect this Sunday upon Springview's happy day and the small slice of American heritage that this occasion represents.

LETTER FROM EMBASSY OF CHILE

HON. JACK FIELDS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. FIELDS. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to place in the RECORD a letter recently received in my office from Mr. Errazuriz, the Ambassador from Chile. I encourage my colleagues to carefully consider Mr. Errazuriz' comments and observations regarding House Joint Resolution 349. For the reasons outlined in this letter, I urge my colleagues to refrain from associating themselves with the resolution.

Knowing Mr. Errazuriz personally, he is a gentleman who represents well the democratic aspirations of his government and people. I encourage my colleagues to call upon the Ambassador with any questions they may have regarding this ill-conceived resolution or the democratic reforms being instituted by the Government of Chile.

EMBASSY OF CHILE,

OFFICE OF THE AMBASSADOR,

Washington, DC, September 22, 1987.

Hon. JACK FIELDS,

House of Representatives,

Washington, DC.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FIELDS: About three weeks ago, Congressman Doug Bereuter from Nebraska introduced House Joint Resolution 349 "In Support of a Transition to Democracy in Chile." This resolution, I am certain, was conceived as a signal of support for the process of transition to democracy in Chile.

Unfortunately, this proposal, instead of becoming a moderate bipartisan approach to that end has developed into a long negative resolution filled with critical statements which avoids even a single sentence of recognition of Chile's undeniable political, economic and social progress.

Of 32 preambular paragraphs in the resolution only seven contain no distortion of fact and the operative part contains either impositions unacceptable to a sovereign country or measures already provided for in the transition formula under way. Many preambular paragraphs actually restate the position of those who in the past failed in their attempts to impose sanctions on Chile. Not surprisingly, some of them have joined this resolution as co-sponsors.

Thus, the great majority of the members of the House of Representatives who have an interest in Chile and who sincerely wish to encourage transition to democracy are confronted with a proposal which, because of its notoriously negative character, would have a counterproductive effect in Chile.

Mr. Congressman, in the last twelve months Chile has legalized political parties, allowed 90% of the exiles to return, initiated electoral registration, and curtailed the powers of security services. Also, a strong opposition media has developed and circulates freely.

Chilean workers, under present labor legislation, enjoy an unprecedented freedom to organize and to manage their own affairs, and for the first time ever their rights are guaranteed by the Constitution.

Not a word about these facts is mentioned in the Resolution.

Chile also has the most open economy in Latin America, enjoys the best indicators of economic performance in the region and has an excellent record of debt repayment. In addition it has been highly praised by the World Bank as having one of the two most successful social policies in the region.

Again, nothing about this is mentioned in the Resolution.

If a Resolution of this kind is going to have a positive effect, it has to be balanced, fair and accurate. Obviously H.J. Res. 349 does not meet any of these standards.

The people and the Government of Chile welcome respectful and friendly exchanges of ideas with members of the United States Congress, as was recently the case when a Congressional delegation visited Chile last month. That visit provided a good opportunity for U.S. Congressmen to express to the Government and to political forces in Chile the opinion in the U.S. Congress concerning the process of transition to democracy in Chile.

The people of Chile will not receive such a negative resolution with the same positive attitude. H.J. Res. 349, in its present form, can have no positive response in Chile, cannot advance United States diplomacy in Chile. Neither will it contribute to the task of rebuilding our democratic system, a prior-

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

ity for all Chileans. Instead, it is bound to create strong Anti-American feelings in a people which, throughout its history, has given ample proof of self-respect and independence.

I trust that you will not support such an erroneous approach.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

HERNÁN FELIPE ERRÁZURIZ,  
Ambassador of Chile.

MEDICAL SUPPLIES TO  
NICARAGUA

## HON. JIM BUNNING

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. BUNNING. Mr. Speaker, earlier this spring I visited Nicaragua on a fact finding tour of Central America. We visited and talked with many people in that country, including those in support of the Government and those opposed.

Perhaps the most interesting person that I talked with while there was the priest of the largest church in Nicaragua. Our discussion with him was very frank and open.

At the end of the discussion I asked him a question. "If there was one thing that I could do for you and the people of your church, what would that be?" The answer surprised me, because it had nothing to do with the very volatile political issues facing Nicaragua.

The priest told me that his parish was in desperate need of basic medical supplies. He said that the economy of Nicaragua was so slow that even if his parishioners had the money to buy aspirin, and even if they wanted to stand in line for an hour to get into a drug store, no aspirin could probably be found. He said that even a small amount of basic over-the-counter medical supplies could drastically improve the lives of the people in his church.

Needless to say I was deeply moved by the plea of the priest. When I returned to America I could not get the request of the priest out of my mind. Shortly thereafter, with the help and support of many good Christian people of the Fourth District of Kentucky, we began a drive to collect basic medical supplies for the churches in Nicaragua.

On September 13, 1987, on behalf of the people of the Fourth District, I delivered to the church over \$5,500 in medical supplies. The supplies varied from aspirin and vitamins to toothbrushes and toothpaste.

I wish to take this opportunity to thank the following who made this endeavor possible.

When this project presented itself, the first people that I contacted were the Jaycees. This was not an easy project to run and I needed their leadership to help plan, coordinate, and execute.

The Jaycee creed is the foundation upon which the Jaycees are founded. It states every Jaycees faith in God, brotherhood of man, economic justice, government of laws, human personality, and service to humanity.

All of these beliefs were realized when the Jaycees helped in this program.

I would like to especially thank Ruth Eger, president of the Covington-Kenton County Jaycees; Don Mattingly, community develop-

October 14, 1987

ment vice president, Melanie Bingham, director in charge, and Kateri Thompson, program manager and all of the members of the Covington-Kenton County Chapter.

Next we looked to the leaders in Kentucky's pharmaceutical community for help in formulating a list of needed supplies and help in collecting those items.

Robert Begley of Begley Co. in Lexington and Geof Scanlon of Scanlon Drugs in Covington helped put together a list of supplies that we would need.

Next Geof and Bill Farrell of Farrell's Pharmacy in Ludlow cosigned a letter with me to all of the pharmacies in the Fourth Congressional District of Kentucky asking them to contribute supplies from the list.

Geof Scanlon operates Scanlon Drugs in northern Kentucky. Next year Scanlon Drugs will be celebrating their 40th year of service to the community. Geof is a decorated veteran of the Vietnam war, being awarded both the Bronze and Silver Stars.

Bill Farrell is the third generation of druggists to serve the small community of Ludlow, KY. Farrell's boasts an over 80 year tradition of service.

The letter which we sent out received a tremendous response. Numerous drug stores responded donating over \$5,500 in much needed medical supplies. I would like to publicly thank those drug stores and druggists who responded.

Save Discount Drugs in Covington, Crestville Drugs in Crescent Springs, Medical Village Pharmacy in Edgewood, Boeckley Drugs in Covington, Farrell Pharmacy in Ludlow, Kroger Pharmacy in Bellevue, Burlington Pharmacy in Burlington, Your Pharmacy in Hebron, Scanlon Drugs in Covington, Martin's Pharmacy in Cold Spring, Newport Drug Center in Newport, Paul's Pharmacy in Covington, and Morgan and Thomas Drug Store in Owenton.

To all of you who were involved in this project I want to thank you from the bottom of my heart. Your compassion and charity have made life just a little bit easier for the impoverished people of a foreign land. Thank you.

## A TRIBUTE TO CHRIS JARVI

## HON. ROBERT K. DORNAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. DORNAN of California. Mr. Speaker, Chris Jarvi, director of parks, recreation, and community services for the city of Anaheim, CA, in my 38th District has found an excellent way to maintain city parks while teaching elementary schoolchildren about nature and the environment. As the following article from Western City magazine describes, the "Kids for Parks" program has instilled civic pride in more than 600 students who have worked to maintain the quality of their community—the home of Disneyland and Anaheim Stadium.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to share the article "Kids Adopt Anaheim Parks" with community leaders in their districts. I think they will discover, like Anaheim, that kids can make a difference.

The article follows:

## KIDS ADOPT ANAHEIM PARKS

(By Sheri Erlewine)

Since 1981, students from Anaheim's elementary schools have volunteered over 1,600 hours beautifying city parks. The "Kids for Parks" is an innovative educational program developed by Anaheim Parks, Recreation and Community Services Director Chris Jarvi as a response to vandalism in parks located near area elementary schools. It is projected that third graders will volunteer thousands of hours in 1987 painting, planting trees and picking up litter.

What is "Kids for Parks"? Each school adopts a nearby park where students work with maintenance staff to improve park surroundings. The children are taught the proper way to paint, dig, rake, edge and hoe.

"Our maintenance staff was surprised with the efficiency and neatness of the children," Jarvi says. "They looked forward to the visits by the young volunteers. Both the students and the staff make new and lasting friendships each school year." In addition, third grade subjects such as reading, writing and mathematics are integrated into such projects as poems about the environment, sketches of past community leaders and an introduction to metric measurement of park facilities.

Starting with 260 students from one school, the program has since grown to more than 600 students from eight schools, with 15 additional schools soon to be added. Students are given a "hands-on" opportunity to improve and maintain the appearance of their neighborhood parks. They become familiar with the park staff, and, because the parks are close to home, they can keep an eye on "their" parks.

"Not only does this program increase opportunities for students to receive an environmental education," Jarvi says, "but it is limitless, because the children gain a lifelong appreciation for nature and an understanding of the values of parks in their future."

Although the importance of being a volunteer is taught, special recognition is given in the form of badges worn by the children during the park projects. They also receive a certificate of appreciation and a special picnic at the school's "adopted" park.

"Kids for Parks" has generated the participation of local parents and financial assistance from businesses and community organizations. The program was a recipient of a \$2,000 Disneyland Community Services Award in 1984 which was used to develop filmstrips, provide environmental learning materials for classrooms and purchase trees and plants for the parks.

"We are extremely proud of this program, and we have the entire community to thank for its success," says Jarvi. "More than 30 cities and agencies throughout the United States and Canada have requested information on 'Kids for Parks'."

This innovative program has given Anaheim a new way to promote healthy community relations while maintaining city parks and educating children. A multi-media slide show and video presentation, have been developed for service clubs, student assemblies, and other organizations.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## CENSUS BUREAU REPORT ON CHILD SUPPORT

## HON. GEORGE MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I would like to draw Congress' attention to the shocking findings of a recent Census Bureau report on child support. In 1985, only 1 out of 4 children received full child support payments from their absent fathers. And, since 1983, the average amount of support has actually declined in real terms, from \$2,530 in 1983 to \$2,230 in 1985.

Nonsupport is a significant contributor to poverty. In hearings held before the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, we learned that divorce is the crisis that pushes too many female-headed families into poverty. Recognizing this, both houses have included tough child support enforcement measures in current welfare reform proposals.

Beefing up child support collections will help to cut the U.S. welfare bill. But, what troubles me, Mr. Speaker, are the millions of women and children cut off from the child support system altogether. The Census Bureau report tells us that the lower your paycheck, and the darker your skin, the less likely your family will ever be awarded—let alone receive—child support payments.

According to the Census Bureau, only 40.4 percent of poor mothers were awarded child support in 1985 compared to 61.3 percent of nonpoor mothers. Two-thirds of women and children living in poverty actually received child support payments compared to three-quarters of nonpoor female-headed families. Additionally, 7 out of 10 white mothers were awarded support in 1985, but only one-third of black mothers and two-fifths of Hispanic mothers obtained child support awards.

Why are poor women and children often beyond the reach of child support? Sometimes, absent fathers are impossible to locate, or paternity is difficult to establish. But what it most often boils down to is money. The Census Bureau reports that men's real earnings have risen just as mean annual payments for child support have dropped. Yet, for young, disadvantaged men, real earnings have actually dropped nearly 30 percent between 1973 and 1984, from \$11,572 to \$8,072 in 1984 dollars. And the real decline in the earnings of black men is closer to 50 percent. An economic future without opportunity provides little hope that such fathers will be able to support their children.

It is the responsibility of Congress to ensure that all children receive the support to which they are entitled. Strong child support enforcement is one strategy. But for the millions of poor and minority children left out of the system altogether, we have a special duty to their parents to improve education, training, and employment so that they might provide for their children.

## TRIBUTE TO HELEN SWOPE

## HON. GEORGE W. GEKAS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. GEKAS. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, October 17, 1987, I will have the pleasure of paying tribute to a person who has devoted her entire life to the enrichment of her community. When one mentions the Heart Association, the Foreign Service of the United States of America, the Harrisburg Civic Club, the Mental Health Association, the Dauphin County Bar Association, Sertoma Club, WITF-TV, and Harrisburg Community College to name just a few, the name Helen Swope immediately comes to mind. These are the organizations that have honored her at one time or another because she gave of herself to them.

Helen Swope will be honored once again on October 17 by the board of trustees and president of Harrisburg Area Community College when they dedicate the Helen Y. Swope Carillon-clock tower. The college will also establish a fund of \$35,000 as a tribute to Mrs. Swope's career in public service and her commitment to higher education. The fund will be called the Guy J. and Helen Y. Swope International Education Endowment Fund.

Mrs. Swope has led a very distinguished career. She was elected as a charter member of the board of trustees of the Harrisburg Area Community College in 1964, and was a founder of the community college concept. She was the first woman, and the first person of Oriental heritage to be elected as a community college trustee in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Speaker, Helen Swope has given so much to her community. I would like to extend my personal congratulations to her for many jobs well done.

## A CONGRESSIONAL SALUTE TO BROTHER PATRICK SOPHER, C.S.C.

## HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to a truly outstanding man who has devoted his life to the ministry of God, Brother Patrick Sopher. Brother Patrick will be honored at the Hyatt Regency Hotel in Long Beach by the Saint Anthony High School Foundation.

Brother Patrick Sopher was born April 20, 1943, to William M. and Bonnie K. McBride Sopher in Spokane, Washington. Brother Patrick and his family moved to Long Beach, CA when he was just a young child. He attended Alice M. Birney Elementary School, St. Catherine's Military School in Anaheim, and Washington Junior High School. Brother Patrick graduated from St. Anthony High School in Austin, TX, and received his bachelor of arts degree at the University of Notre Dame cum laude in 1968.

Even before his graduation from college, Brother Patrick taught English, speech, and religious education at Notre Dame High School. For 10 years he served as a teacher of history, civics, religion, and speech at St. Francis High School, Mountain View; while acting also as dean of men, dean of students, and eventually assistant principal. Following his tenure at St. Francis, Brother Patrick was asked to join the provincial administration at St. Edward's University where he served as assistant provincial and the first province planner from 1976 to 1979. In 1979 he became the provincial superior of the Brothers of Holy Cross, South-West Province, a position he maintains today.

Brother Patrick has always been a very active leader. His accomplishments range from work on many school yearbooks, organizing speech teams, acting as class moderator, serving on the Chess Club, to working as an assistant superior, the director of candidates to the Brothers of Holy Cross, and finally a 3 year dedication as director of provincial residence for his local community of brothers. His many affiliations include serving as chairman for the WCAL Dean's Association, WASC School Visitation Committee, Southern Association Accreditation Visitation Committee, Region 4, Conference of Major Superiors of Men, and his current role as national board member for the Conference of Major Superiors of Men.

Mr. Speaker, Brother Patrick Sopher is hailed as a strong, spiritual, and compassionate leader. Because of his superior intelligence and ability to understand the hardships of his fellow man, Brother Patrick Sopher has been called a sensational man of superior genius. The intellect, insight, and ability he has shown over the years has helped so many in his community. His life and work are eloquent testimony to that belief. My wife, Lee, joins me in congratulating Brother Patrick on his many great accomplishments. We wish him happiness and all the best in the years ahead.

**A TRIBUTE TO THE AKRON ART MUSEUM, THE AKRON SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA, AND OHIO BALLET**

**HON. TOM SAWYER**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 14, 1987*

Mr. SAWYER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize three outstanding cultural organizations located in my congressional district: the Akron Art Museum, the Akron Symphony Orchestra, and Ohio Ballet.

Yesterday, the National Endowment for the Arts held a press conference in Akron, OH, to announce the fiscal years 1987-88 Challenge Grant awards. The NEA selected Akron for its Challenge Grant announcement because, of the 87 awards totaling \$27.5 million, 7 went to organizations in Ohio with 3 of the 7 made to the institutions named above.

The Akron-Summit County community has long recognized the invaluable cultural contribution made by the Akron Symphony Orches-

tra, Ohio Ballet, and the Akron Art Museum. However, the National Endowment for the Arts' recognition underscores the high quality of artistic achievement these organizations have attained. It is a tribute that is truly deserved.

I herewith submit my remarks delivered at the National Endowment for the Arts press conference:

Today is an enormously special occasion for Akron. In recognition of the outstanding cultural institutions in Akron, the National Endowment for the Arts has selected our city as the location for its announcement of the 87 Challenge Grant awards totaling \$27.5. While this, in itself, is an honor for Akron, the true tribute here is that, in the State of Ohio, seven Challenge Grant awards are being made with three of the seven located in our city, alone.

The significant cultural contribution made by the three Akron Challenge Grant recipients, Ohio Ballet, the Akron Art Museum, and the Akron Symphony Orchestra, is well understood and appreciated by those of us who have had the good fortune of living in our community. But today, it is truly a time to celebrate. The support from the National Endowment for the Arts and the national recognition these awards, totaling \$600,000, to bring to three of Akron's cultural institutions is a tribute that has been earned by the organizations through a continuing strong effort to promote the arts and by the community that provides the year in, year out support that makes it all possible. We should be proud.

The competition for funding under the Challenge Grant Program is fierce; yet the Akron Art Museum, the Akron Symphony Orchestra, and Ohio Ballet prevailed through all levels of review and, in doing so, demonstrated that the organizations can compete and prevail in nationwide competition. In the field of the arts, these institutions are clearly among the finest of their kind in the Nation.

The Challenge Grant Program is an invaluable resource for institutional development in the field of the arts—particularly for the expansion and development of smaller artistically established institutions. As a program requiring participants to match Federal awards on a three to one ratio, the 1987 awards totaling \$27.5 million will generate more than \$200 million in new non-Federal funding over the next 3 years. Challenge Grants, however, can only be the catalyst. It is the private donations and gifts that are the life blood of these organizations. The National Endowment for the Arts and Congress understand the obstacles artistically accomplished institutions face in the pursuit of contributions from private sources—so on the theory that money begets money—the Challenge Grant Program was conceived.

This year is the 10th anniversary of the program and evidence of its success is demonstrated in the \$1.4 billion that has been generated from private sources since 1977. This is a program that I fully support and, as a member of the Committee on Education and Labor which has jurisdiction over the National Endowment for the Arts authorization, I am proud to be able to take part in this announcement today in this very special way.

I want to thank the National Endowment for recognizing the cultural and artistic contribu-

tion that the Akron Art Museum, Ohio Ballet, and the Akron Symphony Orchestra have made—for giving its support through the Challenge Grant Program, enabling each organization to pursue further institutional development and artistic initiatives that will enhance and expand the cultural contribution these institutions can make to the arts community and the quality of our lives.

To Ohio Ballet, to the Akron Symphony Orchestra, and to the Akron Art Museum, I extend heartfelt thanks. I know the enormous contribution you have made to our community and the contribution our community has made to each of you. I also know that the recognition and funding support you and the Akron area are receiving today is well deserved. Congratulations.

**SUPPORT FOR A GERMAN HEAD OF NATO**

**HON. DOUG BEREUTER**

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 14, 1987*

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, as we consider an impending treaty to remove INF missiles from Europe, one discovers that the Atlantic alliance's remaining nuclear deterrence designed to offset Warsaw Pact conventional superiority is less credible than ever. The escalatory link, in a "flexible response" strategy, between our short range dual-capable systems and the strategic forces of the United States and even those of Great Britain and France has never been very robust. One consequence of removing the intermediate range weapons is to ensure that if war comes, it may be possible to limit nuclear exchanges to the immediate tactical arena, or Germany.

This Member anticipates that any growing neutralism in Germany would weaken the Alliance and further the process of "decoupling" of the European and North American partners of the NATO alliance. The United States must reassure our European partners that we are fully responsive to their concerns and supportive of their efforts for a greater European role in its defense. In particular, it is appropriate that Germany be given greater recognition for the vital role it plays in preserving the common Western defense.

This Member welcomes the possible appointment of Manfred Woerner, the German defense minister, to replace the retiring Lord Carrington as NATO's Secretary General. On October 6, 1987, the Lincoln Journal published a thoughtful editorial on this subject that I commend to the attention of my colleagues. The editorial follows:

**RECOGNITION FOR WEST GERMANY**

Not since the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was formed after World War II has a West German held the key structural position seemingly reserved for Europeans. But that situation is about to change.

Manfred Woerner now seems something of a favorite to succeed Britain's Lord Carrington next June as NATO's secretary-general, the organization's highest civilian post. Woerner is West Germany's defense minister. Traditionally, NATO's supreme military chief has been the American who also com-

mands all U.S. national forces assigned to Europe.

When repeated efforts to convince Carlington to change his mind about stepping down failed, Norway, in early August, proposed its former prime minister, Kaare Willoch, as secretary-general. That was followed by Bonn's competitive declaration of support for Woerner.

Now the diplomatic network reports that Belgium, France and the United States discreetly have lined up in favor of the West German. The forecast is that Oslo will, in coming weeks, quietly fold its bid for Willoch in the interests of harmony.

West Germany is the economic powerhouse of Free Europe. Its geographic position is on the front line of the perpetually feared Soviet-inspired invasion route. More than any other Allied nation, West Germany would be the scene of tactical nuclear strikes should a dreaded East-West war ever occur.

Which boils down to saying West Germany has a paramount interest in maintaining NATO's strength and credibility.

That West Germany should be granted a leadership post in NATO commensurate with its station in the Atlantic Alliance is only fair and just.

### NATIONAL VOLUNTEER APPRECIATION DAY

#### HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, who among us has not benefited from help from a volunteer? All across the country, millions of people give their valuable time to help others. It is time to honor these special people—America's volunteers. Today I am introducing a resolution designating November 1, 1987, as National Volunteer Appreciation Day. I urge my colleagues to join me in this effort.

Every American has been helped in some way by volunteers. They play a central role in every community. Volunteers perform vital, often unheralded tasks. They drive vans for the elderly. They help the sick in hospitals and provide food and clothing for the poor. Volunteers in schools teach our children to read and to learn. Volunteers help combat adult illiteracy, and they assist the handicapped and the disabled with shopping, errands, and tax forms.

National Volunteer Appreciation Day will pay tribute to these special people. The resolution will increase public awareness of the work performed by volunteers. The text of the resolution follows:

#### H.J. RES. 375

Whereas approximately 84 million people in the United States 13 years of age or older volunteer each year to assist nonprofit organizations, neighborhood groups, and individuals;

Whereas volunteers support and participate in numerous activities, including health, educational, religious recreational, political, social welfare, community action, artistic and cultural activities;

Whereas volunteers provide services that often would be otherwise unavailable or too expensive;

Whereas volunteers do not seek compensation for their services or act out of legal obligation, and volunteer service illustrates the optimism, compassion, and freedom that typifies the people of the United States;

Whereas virtually all of the people of the United States are helped in some way by volunteers;

Whereas many nonprofit organizations that rely on volunteers have too few volunteers to meet the increased need for assistance caused by adverse economic conditions and changing demographic trends;

Whereas more people should volunteer to assist nonprofit organizations, neighborhood groups, and individuals; and

Whereas there is a need for greater public awareness of, and support for, the work performed by volunteers: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That November 1, 1987, is designated as "National Volunteer Appreciation Day," and the President is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation calling upon the people of the United States to observe such day with appropriate ceremonies and activities.*

Finally, I would like to enter in the RECORD a letter I received from a constituent of mine, former Auburn, NY, city councilman, Francis J. Mastropietro. He writes strongly in support of a national day of appreciation for America's volunteers.

The letter follows:

My definition of a volunteer is a person who gives of himself to help his or her fellow man, merely out of the goodness of his or her heart. These unsung heroes come in all sizes, shapes, religions, and races. They are always ready, willing, and able to give of themselves to help another human being or a worthy cause. We see them daily: always seen, but rarely recognized.

One of the ten commandments tells us to "love thy neighbor." Who has any greater love for his neighbor than a dedicated volunteer? Always serving, never asking anything in return. The people they help are probably the only ones who really appreciate them. The rest of us often take them for granted.

I wish to make the following request to Congress. I respectfully ask that a special day be designated in recognition of volunteers all across the United States. Let us do it now, and give these volunteers their due. Enact a National Volunteer Appreciation Day.

### THE SOCIAL SECURITY SURPLUSES

#### HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert my Washington report for Wednesday, October 14, 1987, into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

#### THE SOCIAL SECURITY SURPLUSES

In the next few years, social security will be facing a new kind of problem—the problem of how to handle large surplus funds. After years of battling just to keep the program solvent, significant changes were made in social security financing in 1983 to build up large surpluses to be drawn down when

the baby boomers retire in the early part of the 21st century. Yet there is uneasiness about how to handle the expected social security surpluses. Concern is growing that the past practice of investing any surplus funds in federal government securities may no longer be the safest and wisest course.

The large surpluses will result from the changes made in the 1983 social security rescue package. The baby boomers, those born between 1946 and 1964, were becoming skeptical that their social security benefits would be there when they retired. They were paying much heavier taxes than their parents' generation (for example, maximum annual social security taxes of \$1700 in 1983, compared to \$54 per year thirty years earlier); moreover, they faced the prospect of too few workers to support their large numbers when they retired. The solution devised in the 1983 package was to have the baby boomers pay for a large part of their own future social security benefits. Unlike earlier workers, whose social security taxes basically went out immediately as benefits for those then retired, baby boomers would pay both the benefits of current retirees as well as much of their own future retirement. They would contribute to the build-up of huge surplus trust funds, which would then be tapped during their retirement.

Barring major, unexpected economic or demographic changes, the surpluses building up will be enormous. The current social security surplus is \$65 billion, enough to pay benefits for only a few months; by the year 2030, the surplus should approach \$13 trillion, enough to cover payments for several years. Expressed in 1987 non-inflated dollars, the surplus would reach \$2.5 trillion, almost equal to the present value of all the stocks on the New York Stock Exchange. Once these surpluses are built up, they will be rapidly drawn down for the baby boomers' retirement benefits, and exhausted entirely by the year 2051.

The problem is that the past way of handling social security surpluses may not work for such enormous funds. In the past, any surplus funds have been invested in special government securities—in effect, loaned to the federal government for other purposes. Such loans have always been repaid by the federal government, with interest. Yet this may no longer be the safest use of the surplus social security funds. Social security may be getting IOUs from the government for the loans, but a question emerges about what assets will back these IOUs. The loaned funds are basically used to cover federal deficit spending and to service the national debt; they are not just piling up somewhere. The question is whether the trillions of dollars of IOUs social security will be getting from the federal government will be worth much when the funds are needed for the baby boomers' retirement years. When the surpluses are used to pay for the federal deficit, the net effect is to save nothing. That means that the government IOUs to social security may eventually have to be repaid by raising new taxes, and the problem of a future crunch again appears.

Some persons suggest changing the trust fund investment policy to allow investment not only in federal securities but also in private stocks and bonds. The idea is to make the surpluses more secure, while also dramatically increasing the capital available for long-term investment in the nation's economy. Social security, which is sometimes criticized for draining capital away from productive investment, would become a

major source of funds for investment in companies and technologies that could restore America's competitiveness. At the same time, such investment might produce significantly higher yields for the trust funds than the current investment policies. Proponents argue that even if the surplus funds achieve below average returns, the returns still could be enough to allow the elimination of the social security payroll tax entirely by the year 2020. A beneficial side effect would be that if the surplus social security funds are no longer an easy source of funds for financing the federal deficit, continuing the current practice of deficit spending would be tougher.

Critics argue that this new investment policy will not increase net funds available for private investment, since any social security funds not available to finance the federal deficit would have to be offset by borrowing more private funds. Moreover, the new policy would embroil the federal government in endless controversy over the purchase and sale of private securities, and would introduce major uncertainties into social security planning. They also argue that the size of the government investment in Wall Street could overwhelm the market, and could result in federal ownership of a large chunk of private industry.

Others criticize the policy of allowing such large surpluses to develop in the first place, preferring to let social security tax rates rise or fall according to projected benefit payment levels. Still others feel that once any surpluses start to accumulate, Congress will bow to the inevitable political pressures to increase benefits to current retirees. The biggest check on major tampering with the current benefit or tax structure is that the baby boomers will soon become the largest voting bloc. The 1983 reforms provided them with hopes that social security will be there when they retire. They will not take lightly to proposals that could again put their benefits into doubt.

The disposition of the projected surplus funds is an issue that will be before the Congress for years to come. Overall, my sense is that alternative investment policies for the social security surpluses are worth exploring. We must be careful not to endanger the funds with risky or speculative investment practices. Yet the potential benefits of making the surpluses more secure than loans to finance the federal deficit, providing a better return, while at the same time increasing America's competitiveness, suggest to me that this is an idea that deserves serious consideration.

### THREE WITNESSES

#### HON. WILLIAM O. LIPINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. LIPINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to inform my colleagues of three witnesses who gave enlightening testimony recently in front of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE]. The three—Tiit Madisson, Rolands Silaraups, and Vytautas Skuodis—provided an authentic and tragic glimpse into what actually occurred when the Soviets occupied the Baltic countries and what it now means to live in the Soviet-dominated nations of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

Tiit Madisson, a native Estonian, told of how he helped organize the first grudgingly allowed demonstrations in the capital city of Tallinn. On August 15, 1987, Madisson formed the "Estonian Group for Publication of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact" in order to expose the ugly truth about the Soviet-Nazi division of Eastern Europe and subsequent invasion and conquest of the sovereign Baltic nations. The demonstration occurred on August 23, 1987, 48 years after the signing of the infamous pact.

Although Madisson was not allowed to demonstrate in front of the city hall, he and several thousand Estonians and other Baltic peoples were able to take part in a nearby park. Madisson stated that when he informed the crowd about the accurate number of people arrested and put to death during the initial years of Soviet power, the truth "stunned" the listeners. A demand to have Soviet as well as Nazi criminals brought to justice was received by the listeners with a "strong round of applause," as was mention of the constitutional right to self-determination and secession.

Even though the authorities went out of their way to disrupt and belittle the meeting—by changing the location of the demonstration at the last moment and paying certain persons to carry posters criticizing the demonstrators as fascist agents—it was a great success and a testimony to the spirit of undying liberty and freedom on the part of those who participated.

A Latvian, Rolands Silaraups, who helped organize a demonstration in Riga on June 14, 1987, in remembrance of the first Stalinist deportations also testified. Again, the local authorities in conjunction with the KGB attempted to disrupt the gathering by openly threatening participating members and scheduling a "sports festival" on the day of the demonstration. A videotape shown at the hearing showed many demonstrators placing flowers at the Freedom Monument—a memorial to those the many were arrested, deported, and killed by the Soviet invasion. Silaraups informed the committee and those present that the many flowers laid at the monument were all soon taken away after the demonstration by the authorities, only to be replaced the next day by fresh ones. August 23, 1987, demonstrations in Riga were met with force by representatives of the government, who broke into an apartment where organizers had gathered with total impunity and disregard for the law. Upon hearing their actions were unconstitutional, they "laughingly" answered that this was of no concern to them.

Vytautas Skuodis, a Lithuanian who was born in my hometown of Chicago, related the terrible situation of the Roman Catholic Church in Lithuania. A lecturer in geology at the University of Vilnius and member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Monitoring Group, Skuodis told of an insightful study he had done on the amount of religious printed matter versus atheistic literature in order to prove how futile an exercise atheism was for the Soviets in Lithuania. 1,700 tons of atheistic versus 9 tons of religious material. And in the former, Skuodis found not one writer who was even so much as mentioned in a scholarly bibliography of Lithuanian historians. Most of atheistic literature was used as slanderous attacks

against priests and the Vatican and in no way presented any sort of scholarly argument or desire on the part of the populace for atheism. Skuodis stated that KGB infiltration of the Lithuanian Church was at an "all-time" high and believers find it difficult to practice their faith without fear. Although glasnost has enabled some discussion of sensitive issues, language and culture still suffer under the intrusive Russification tactics of the Soviets, and no one, save emigre circles abroad, is allowed to speak of national rights without risk of labor camp internment.

Mr. Speaker, these three witnesses represent just how alive the aspirations and hopes for freedom are in the Baltic countries. Indeed, two of the three are under the age of 40 and thus were born after the Soviet invasion, with all its lies and propaganda, indicating the desire for sovereignty is certainly not confined to those who remembered what it actually meant in practice. They represent how far the policy of glasnost needs to go before it achieves anything approaching freedom of speech. Although demonstrations were allowed to be held condemning the evil Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, two of the organizers, Rolands Silaraups and Tiit Madisson, agreed to leave their respective countries. In reality they were forced to leave: Silaraups left when it became apparent that he would be harassed for his activities, Madisson was told to go West or suffer the same fate as Mart Niklus, an Estonian prisoner of conscience now serving a 10-year sentence in the notorious Perm Camp No. 36.

I commend Congressman HOYER and Senator DECONCINI, respective Chairman and Co-Chairman of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, for holding the hearings, providing an opportunity for these witnesses to give their testimony, and reaffirming the resolve of the United States never to recognize the incorporation of these nations into the Soviet Union.

### TRIBUTE TO SHIRLEY GOUGH

#### HON. DALE E. KILDEE

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. KILDEE. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to pay tribute to Mrs. Shirley Gough of Grand Blanc, MI, for her 31 years of faithful service at the Michigan Employment Security Commission [MESC]. Mrs. Gough started with the MESC in 1954 as a switchboard operator. After taking 2 years off to raise her daughter, Tannith Lynn, Mrs. Gough ably filled several positions within the MESC, including Step Program coordinator, Job Corps opportunities specialist, and CETA Program supervisor. She is now retiring from the commission as the assistant manager of the MESC office in Flint, MI.

Mr. Speaker, the Seventh Congressional District of Michigan, which I have the honor to represent in Congress, has been particularly hard hit in recent years by levels of unemployment far above the national average. We all know the terrible human toll the loss of employment can inflict on working people. Their

lives and livelihoods are threatened, the security and well-being of their families are placed in jeopardy, and their peace of mind shattered by this traumatic experience.

For 31 years Shirley Gough has sought to alleviate the suffering of unemployed people in the Genesee County area. In that time, she has touched the lives of thousand of people who have come to the MESC seeking help in putting their lives back together after having lost their jobs.

Shirley Gough will also be sorely missed by her coworkers in the Flint MESC office. Her dedication, her professionalism, and her enthusiasm for her work has been an inspiration to those who worked with her. Her long experience in all aspects of the MESC's operations made her a unique source of information for new employees. People who worked with her know that she was never too busy to listen to the problems of employees and clients, she was always willing to follow through to see projects to their completion and, perhaps most importantly, she made both clients and coworkers feel that she really cared about them.

Mr. Speaker, the departure of Mrs. Shirley Gough from the Michigan Employment Security Commission office in Flint, MI, will leave a gap that will be very difficult to fill. I sincerely thank her for her 31 years of dedicated public service in behalf of the thousands of unemployed people whom she has assisted.

#### A TRIBUTE TO DEPUTY ROY MAYS AND SAFETY BELT USE

### HON. CARL D. PURSELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. PURSELL. Mr. Speaker, "safety belts save lives," may be a common, frequently used expression by law enforcement agencies. But it has a vivid, literal meaning to Deputy Roy Mays of the Washtenaw County, MI, Sheriff's Department.

On December 26, 1986, while enroute to back up another unit, Deputy Mays was involved in a potentially tragic accident. His vehicle was traveling 45 miles per hour when a vehicle traveling the opposite direction made an abrupt left turn, failing to yield right of way. The accident that resulted totaled the patrol car, but Deputy Mays and his partner sustained only minor cuts from flying glass because they were secured by their safety belts.

The driver of the other vehicle was not wearing his safety belt and was seriously injured.

As a result, Deputy Mays is now a frequent, outspoken supporter of the importance of safety belt use. Because of the excellent work of law enforcers like Deputy Mays in Washtenaw County, the county has the highest safety belt use—62.4 percent—in Michigan according to the University of Michigan Transportation Research Institute.

Deputy Mays is being honored today, with officers from the other 49 States and Washington, DC, by the American Coalition for Traffic Safety. Each officer has a similar story about avoiding serious injury, even death, because of a simple safety belt.

There is little doubt safety belts, and child safety seats, have proven to be effective in reducing highway fatalities and injuries. Thousands of lives and millions of dollars in medical and insurance expenses have been saved by the few seconds it takes to buckle up.

I ask my colleagues in the House of Representatives to join me in honoring Deputy Roy Mays, and the 49 officers like him, for their continuous efforts to promote the use of safety belts. If we all followed their example, there is no telling how many citizens, friends, and relatives, may be saved by the belt.

#### WHY SANCTIONS ARE A FAILURE

### HON. JACK FIELDS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. FIELDS. Mr. Speaker, the recent U.S. News & World Report carried the following article discussing and reporting the failure of sanctions upon South Africa. When this body debated this very issue, a majority of the Members refused to listen to those, including elected leaders among the black community in South Africa, who predicted these very results. In the face of this utter failure, we hear talk of imposing additional sanctions. It's time to return to a more constructive policy of working with an important and strategic American ally, and turn away from a policy born of blind hatred, and sympathy for ANC terrorists. To really help the black people of South Africa, we should begin listening to those black leaders who really speak for their peoples. Their message is that sanctions and disinvestment only hurt and hinder black progress.

#### WHY SANCTIONS ARE A FAILURE

(By Simon Jenkins)

As soon as America's General Motors Corporation bowed to sanctions pressure and pulled out of South Africa, its local management moved fast. Renamed Dalta Motors, the auto company removed 500 workers, dropped off the "Sullivan list" of firms enforcing integrationist work practices and reversed the policy of not selling to the apartheid regime. GM thus joined some 80 American firms that have left South Africa in the past 18 months. As Congress begins a review of sanctions legislation, the results are hardly contributing to the anti-apartheid cause.

South Africa, in fact, is changing from being a classic case for economic sanctions to a classic case against them. As a tool of foreign policy, sanctions always have been easier to advocate than to impose, let alone succeed.

Succinctly put, sanctions are one of the most ineffective forms of aggression, vulnerable on at least four fronts:

The free-trade market has ways of finding new sources of supply or new conduits for old ones. Someone, somewhere, will always strike a bargain, undermining the embargo.

Sanctions are notoriously ineffective in securing real political change. The few successes almost always involve actual or implied military intervention. When such a threat is implausible, sanctions may do no more than entrench the targeted regime.

Sanctions, where implemented, tend to hurt the wrong people. Such bans are the ultimate form of economic warfare and to work fast require a total siege. Yet that action is indiscriminate and tends to harm those least able to guard against it—the poor.

Finally, sanctions develop a political life of their own, raising unrealistic expectations of success. When the embargoes fail, the result is disillusionment and bitterness.

#### THE IMPACT ON SOUTH AFRICA

A year after South Africa's state of emergency triggered a series of American, European Community and Commonwealth embargoes against that country, every one of the weaknesses of the strategy has been encountered. The economy, rather than suffering, is hesitantly improving. The internal anarchy of 1985-86 has died down. President P. W. Botha has survived a general election that marked a shift to the right. The government has shown its ability to continue to control dissent, if not suppress it. In short, another South African trauma seems to have passed.

Firms fleeing the moral complexities of South Africa include most of the giants of American world trade: General Motors, Ford, IBM, Exxon, Eastman Kodak, Honeywell, General Electric, Coca-Cola and, most recently, Citicorp. Most have defied U.S. lobbyists and avoided a scorched-earth policy. Instead, they have sold to other multinationals or, more often, to local management. Factories have continued to benefit from franchises, licenses and component supplies. But the new bosses, many from the rising Afrikaner bourgeoisie, have been freed from conscientious American monitoring and have rationalized and sold where the market is best.

The Johannesburg stock market has boomed as fleeing firms have sold off at bargain prices. As Tony Bloom of the Premier Group notes: "South African companies have been able to acquire technology, management skills, brand names and market share that would have taken years to build."

Trade sanctions have had scarcely greater impact than disinvestment. Restrictions on overseas purchases of coal and steel and certain metals could threaten the jobs of up to 40,000 Transvaal miners. A boycott of sugar and fruit industries, which employ up to 150,000 people, in theory also could cause immense hardship. Neither threat has yet materialized.

South Africa's economy certainly suffers from problems familiar in Africa—inflation, shortage of foreign credit, an excessive public sector. Unlike most African countries, however, it runs a big current-account surplus, manages its economy reasonably well and has renegotiated a phased repayment of its foreign debt. Both the gold price and the terms of trade have moved in its favor. And last year's collapse of the rand more than wiped out any effect sanctions may have had.

Inside South Africa, enthusiasm for economic sanctions is waning. Black leaders were only won over to the policy in a belief that it was the "final push" to topple apartheid. This toppling refuses to happen. Now, many nonwhite leaders are conceding that the prosanctions stance has done little except harm their own people. Even the Rev. Allan Boesak, the outspoken Colored (mixed race) leader, noting deepening misery in the depressed industrial areas of the Cape, is one of those now questioning sanctions.

Ford is a case in point. With an excellent record in South Africa but under "investor responsibility" pressure at home, that corporation was holding back on selling its 42 percent holding in Samcor for fear of the potential hardship on Mamelodi township near Pretoria, where many of its workers live. The pressure, however, proved too much and Ford is departing.

One South African diplomat has reflected: "American liberals came to South Africa determined to refight the American Civil War. They fought well, but now they seem afraid they might lose and only want to scramble back home." To others, the saddest feature of the Americans' pullout is that the hesitant progress South African blacks are making arises from precisely the union and community institutions promoted by American companies. Ironically, South Africa has recently become one of capitalism's more credible shows. Now, that show is closing down.

(Simon Jenkins, a leading British commentator, visits South Africa often and has written widely on the impact of economic sanctions.)

### CONGRATULATIONS TO ERLANGER, KY

#### HON. JIM BUNNING

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. BUNNING. Mr. Speaker, every year the Government Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada awards the Certificate of Achievement for Excellence in financial reporting.

This year that certificate has been awarded to a city in my congressional district—the city of Erlanger, KY.

This award represents the highest form of recognition in the area of governmental accounting and financial reporting and its attainment represents a significant accomplishment.

When a certificate is awarded to a government, an award of financial reporting achievement is also given to the individuals who are primarily responsible for earning the certificate. The award of financial reporting achievement has been awarded to: Fred H. Thomas, mayor of the city of Erlanger; Mary Golatzki, city finance director; Terry Sapp, city administrator and Fred Beck a CPA with Rankin, Rankin & Co. in Erlanger.

I want to take this opportunity to publicly congratulate these people and the city of Erlanger, KY. Perhaps some of the people in this Chamber could take a lesson from you in financial responsibility.

### A VETERAN'S LAMENT

#### HON. ROBERT K. DORNAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. DORNAN of California. Mr. Speaker, as a veteran and a member of the Veterans Affairs Committee I have always supported keeping faith with our vets. We must never cut the benefits promised these men and women who have honorably served their country. I ap-

preciate the great sacrifices veterans have made for our country and will continue to fight for fair benefits and programs. We simply should not balance the budget on the backs of our veterans or at the cost of our national security. However, there is a great deal of apprehension among the veterans that Congress is "chipping away" at the hard-earned benefits of the military retiree and veterans in general.

Mr. Speaker, I recently received a poem written by W. Happy Blake, USN, retired, which poignantly relates the very real concerns of many veterans. I encourage my colleagues to reflect upon the sincere expression of sentiment embodied in the verses.

#### DECEIVED BY OUR OWN

In the Military we served, for a very long time

As Protectors, of the great land;  
Benefits promised us, by our Government  
At the time, seems mighty grand.

We served our years, for a pension,  
Through the grime and terror of Wars,  
Some of us, who were lucky came home,  
Leaving others on far distant shores.

We asked that our Government now keep  
their word,

To give that, which we have earned,  
Respect and treatment and medical care  
BUT—their "backs" to us, they've turned.

They cut our C.O.L.A. and benefits,  
With excuses you won't believe,  
The promises they made, and would give to  
us,

Were "lies", so we've been deceived.  
They still keep cutting us, at every chance,  
And when we ask they "why",  
They send us a letter in "double talk",  
And lie—and lie—and lie.

They have lied to we "retirees",  
Who have served our country well,  
Paying us back, by raising their own pay,  
Telling retirees—to-go-to-hell.

They tell us this and tell us that,  
To confuse the issues well,  
When we interpet their letter right,  
It simply means "go to hell".

Big Business and Unions donate "cash",  
This puts them first in line,  
Constituents writing to give them their  
views,

Is just a waste of time.  
They're just for themselves, and what they  
can get,

Especially their pensions and pay,  
They vote by "party" and what "donors  
want",  
And "not"—their constituents way.

Elections we know, will soon be here,  
They'll be asking for support, you'll note,  
So we millions of "vets" will go to the polls,  
But—they damn sure should not get our  
vote!

### WAGE GAP SHIFTS

#### HON. GEORGE MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, a recent report issued by the U.S. Bureau of the Census tells us that the wage gap between men and women is finally beginning to shrink. What the report doesn't mention, however, is

that the wage gap is narrowing at the same time that real wages and living standards are on a downward curve. What looks like good news for women workers is partly the result of bad economic news for men.

Between 1979 and 1986, the average earnings for full-time women workers, as a percentage of men's wages, increased from 62 percent to 69 percent. The Census Bureau attributes this change to the growth of women in traditionally male occupations such as law, medicine, and the computer sciences.

However, during this same period, largely as a result of deindustrialization, men's real earnings have decreased by 2 percent, while the earnings of women, adjusted for inflation, have increased by nearly 4 percent. According to a briefing issued this week by the National Committee on Pay Equity and the Institute for Women's Policy Research, over 25 percent of the improvement in women's earnings is due to the fall in men's real wages.

While the report credits the growth of women in nontraditional occupations as largely responsible for reducing wage disparities between men and women, it should not be overlooked that women continue to be occupationally segregated, and that in some cases, this segregation has increased. For example, women now make up 82 percent of all elementary school teachers compared to 61 percent in 1979; 82.4 percent of miscellaneous clerical occupations versus 62.9 percent in 1979; and 93 percent of bookkeepers compared to a 1979 level of 88.1 percent.

According to the Census Bureau, 35 to 40 percent of the wage gap cannot be explained by educational differences or number of years in the labor market. Sex discrimination, usually in the form of occupational segregation, continues to drag women's wages down. The economic story hasn't changed: Women working in men's jobs earn more, while men working in women's jobs earn less.

We have reason to rejoice at the overall improvement of women's economic status. But we cannot overlook the fact that this progress is clouded by declining living standards and continued occupational segregation.

### TRIBUTE TO REV. DR. FRANKLIN L. HENLEY

#### HON. GEORGE W. GEKAS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. GEKAS. Mr. Speaker, a giant of the intercommunity of the city of Harrisburg, PA, the Reverend Doctor Franklin L. Henley passed away last week. The time I spent with him to preserve the Opportunities Industrialization Center in our community was but a comparative split second of the total human effort that he expended on the greater Harrisburg citizenry, but it did give me a personal dimension of his eagerness to serve.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to enter into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial which appeared today in the Harrisburg Patriot about the life of Rev. Dr. Franklin L. Henley.

[From the Harrisburg Patriot, Oct. 14, 1987]

**A GIANT PASSE: REVEREND HENLEY A PIONEER FOR RACIAL JUSTICE**

Harrisburg and Central Pennsylvania have lost one of their noblest spirits. The Rev. Dr. Franklin L. Henley, pastor of the city's St. Paul's Baptist Church, died last Friday at 78.

Rev. Henley's contribution to this community is incalculable. His efforts and influence touched and improved the lives of thousands of people—most without them being aware of it—and his impact will continue long after his death.

His parish, in truth, was the entire city and Rev. Henley's day-to-day involvement in its life was extraordinary for its breadth, compassion and sense of justice.

But what stood him apart from other illustrious citizens of Harrisburg was that he was the first in its history to make the city look at itself in a mirror. He was the first to make the city see the ugliness of its treatment of blacks and the unofficial but very effective segregation and racial discrimination that was palpably evident even into the 1960s.

It took remarkable courage to confront the white power structure. It took an even greater sense of the justice and nobility of his cause to weather the bigotry and racial hatred triggered by Rev. Henley's insistence that this city do what was right and fulfill the promises of equality for all people on which this nation was founded and fought a bloody civil war to uphold.

Though Harrisburg still has work to do to achieve equality and harmony between the races, Rev. Henley's brave leadership largely triumphed in tearing down racial barriers and discrimination that had stood for generations. In doing so, he not only helped to bring many blacks into the mainstream of Harrisburg life, he freed the city from its small-mindedness and racial insensitivity.

State Revenue Secretary Barton Fields, friend, neighbor and admirer of Rev. Henley said it best, saying "he was a person who built bridges between the haves and the have-nots, the black and the white, the young and the old. He tried to be a healer.

No community ever has enough healers. It certainly cannot replace Rev. Henley, who did so much to close the wounds of racial injustice in Harrisburg and to foster a community in which everyone is included and no one is left out. He left us a legacy of justice, compassion, courage and understanding that we honor as we try to emulate and build up its promise of a better life for all.

**A CONGRESSIONAL SALUTE TO ROBERT WAESTMAN**

**HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to a man considered to be one of the leading attorneys in the city of Long Beach, CA, Robert Waestman. Robert will be honored Wednesday, October 21, 1987, at the Hyatt Regency Hotel, Long Beach, CA, by the Saint Anthony High School Foundation.

Robert Waestman is a native of Long Beach. While at Saint Anthony High School, Robert first expressed a desire to become a lawyer. With the educational background afforded him by his parents, Robert became de-

termined to pursue his dream and prepare himself for his career. Robert also credits the Brothers of the Holy Cross, the Immaculate Heart Sisters, and the instructors at Saint Anthony for a solid background geared to future success. He graduated top in his class in high school and carried those honors with him during his studies at Stanford University, Loyola University School of Law, and the University of Southern California Graduate School of Business. Upon graduation, Robert was sworn in to serve the legal profession in the areas of estate planning, probate, and business law.

His success is founded on his insightful ability to satisfy the needs of those who ask for his counseling and assistance. Over the years, his brilliant mind has brought him increased fame, as he is very visible in public life. Robert's name has long been associated with worthy community projects. In 1973 he became one of the founders of the Saint Anthony's High School Foundation, serving since that time as president of the board of directors. In 1982, he was sworn in as president of the Stanford Club in Long Beach, eventually adding to his affiliations his role as president of the Long Beach Bar Association and president of the Virginia Country Club. He is also dedicated to his community and to the quality of education. His outstanding work as president of the Saint Anthony's High School Foundation includes the development of annual giving projects which create funds for capital improvements at Saint Anthony; the establishment of an alumni newsletter with circulation of 6,000 graduates; the organization of the development department on the school's campus, and the initiation of the annual "Hall of Fame" celebration.

Robert is also an exceptional family man, who has been married to his wife, Lorraine for 20 years. His religious convictions and exemplary lifestyle serve as a role model for his two children, Rey and Renae, and for the current students who depend on his dedication in assisting them in their education.

Mr. Speaker, as you can see, Robert Waestman is an outstanding individual who exemplifies all that many in our society strive to be. His dedication to his wife and children, and to his community has helped make his community a beautiful place in which to live and work. My wife, Lee, joins me in congratulating Robert on all his achievements. We wish him, and his wife Lorraine, and their two children, Rey and Renae, happiness and all the best in the years ahead.

**THREE GOOD REASONS TO OPPOSE UNWISE MAIL ORDER TAX BILL**

**HON. OLYMPIA J. SNOWE**

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Ms. SNOWE. Mr. Speaker, the October 6, 1987, Wall Street Journal contained an editorial opposing H.R. 1242, the Interstate Sales Tax Collection Act of 1987. The provisions of this legislation would require mail order com-

panies to collect State sales and use taxes on all of their transactions.

The editorial opposes this bill for several reasons. First, with 45 State sales taxes and more than 7,000 municipal taxes currently on the books, requiring mail order firms to properly administer and collect all of these taxes places an unreasonable burden on these companies, and could cause them significant economic damage.

Second, this legislation seeks to directly overturn a 1967 Supreme Court decision that ruled it was unconstitutional for States to levy State sales taxes on out-of-State firms, if the retailer's only presence in the State was advertising through the U.S. Postal Service.

Third, by requiring that Internal Revenue Service to share State sales tax data with State tax administrators, the fundamental confidentiality of Federal tax returns would be jeopardized.

I have included the editorial in the RECORD for the review of my colleagues in the House. For my part, I am opposed to the Interstate Sales Tax Collection Act of 1987, and hope that after reading the editorial and examining H.R. 1242 my fellow Members will join me in opposition to this legislation.

[From the Wall Street Journal, Oct. 6, 1987]

**MAIL-ORDER GRINCH**

With fewer than 70 shopping days till Christmas, millions of Americans are avoiding long lines, bad weather and crowded parking lots by doing some or all of their Christmas shopping by mail. Many people find mail order more convenient and sometimes cheaper, since state sales taxes aren't charged if the recipient is out-of-state. But if Rep. Byron Dorgan (D., N.D.) has his way, mail-order firms will have to collect sales taxes on all their transactions. The House Ways and Means Committee will vote on his bill next month. If it passes it will be just in time to give consumers an unwelcome holiday present.

Mail-order and direct-marketing sales are booming. Interstate sales top \$100 billion a year and represent as much as 14% of all retail business.

Rep. Dorgan's bill would cost mail-order consumers up to \$1.5 billion. Several business groups support the measure; they argue that the companies that send tax-free merchandise through the mails are unfair competition for local retailers. Mail-order firms respond that the Dorgan bill would impose enormous compliance costs.

L.L. Bean, a catalog store in Freeport, Maine, claims that just printing the different tax rates and exemptions in its catalog would cost \$10 million a year. Studies indicate it costs direct marketers three to 10 times as much money to collect sales taxes as it does for retail companies. The 45 states and 7,000 localities with sales taxes have never agreed on a coordinated plan of collection, so the only way to enforce payment of mail-order taxes is to allow dozens of different auditors to inspect catalog companies' books.

In 1967, the Supreme Court ruled that states would violate the Constitution's commerce clause if they levied a sales tax on out-of-state retailers that had no presence in the state beyond advertising. Since the Constitution gives Congress the power to regulate interstate commerce, Rep. Dorgan wants Congress to define what a minimum

business presence in a state is in a way that allows out-of-state sellers to be taxed.

But even if that argument is upheld by the Supreme Court, taxing mail-order firms may also violate the due-process clause of the 14th Amendment because the firms being taxed won't benefit from state government activities. The Treasury Department is concerned about the bill because it would require the Internal Revenue Service to share sales-tax data filed by merchants with state tax collectors, thus inviting public suspicion about the confidentiality of federal tax returns.

Retail merchants that back the Dorgan bill, such as J.C. Penney, are correct in saying that mail-order companies are at a competitive advantage in not having to charge sales taxes, which can range as high as 9%. But that isn't an argument for creating an enforcement nightmare that could drive some mail-order merchants out of business. It is an argument for states to consider reducing any sales taxes that are so high that they induce people to shop out-of-state for goods.

In Dr. Seuss's tale, "How the Grinch Stole Christmas," a dour figure swept down on Whoville and made off with all of the Christmas presents in the town. But, in the true spirit of the season, the inhabitants celebrated anyway. Christmas would also still be the same if Rep. Dorgan's bill passes, but that is no reason to make consumer goods more expensive for people by chasing their dollars across state lines and slapping a constitutionally dubious tax on them.

## THE HIGH PRICE OF DEFENSE

### HON. EDWARD F. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, on July 29 and August 2-5, a series of articles by John S. Long appeared in the Cleveland Plain Dealer entitled, "The High Price of Defense." Mr. Long's excellent investigative reporting provided an eye-opening account of the misuse of taxpayers' money and points to the need for long overdue reform.

As reported in the Plain Dealer:

#### LEGAL FEES

Defense contractors accused of criminal fraud but not convicted have been permitted to bill the Federal Government for millions of dollars in legal fees and have also been allowed to add an additional fee for corporate profits; these fees are charged as indirect costs in the companies' overhead accounts and amount to tens of millions of dollars.

#### COST OF DOING BUSINESS

Defense contractors' prices are raised to unrealistic levels, and are included as the "costs of doing business." The Government pays for all the costs the company incurs selling the weapons, the company's research and development and manufacturing, and then guarantees the company a profit. Even when companies use Government buildings, funds, and equipment, the design plans become property of the defense contractor.

#### CONTRACTOR-PENTAGON COLLUSION

Vague cost estimates and collusion between the Pentagon and defense contractors

could make it very difficult to crack down on alleged abuses.

Because some Pentagon officials feel that defense projects and new technology are so important to national security they are willing to overlook or ignore infractions.

Many of the weapons systems produced don't work, yet they are rarely canceled; payment for these systems is made 2 days to 1 week after the bill is submitted, even though the government's prompt payment act requires the United States to pay bills as close as possible to 30 days after the billing. Early payment means loss of interest payments that could have been accrued on that money.

#### CORPORATE WELFARE

From one-half to nearly all of the salaries of the defense contractors' top executives—\$500,000 to \$1,000,000 annual income—is paid by the taxpayer. In addition, special savings accounts and generous pension programs are paid for by the Government. Bonuses to top executives are included in the cost of programs and help to drive up the costs of future defense projects. Benefits plus extras are paid on the basis of percentage of business done with the Government.

Some corporations have come to rely solely on the Government as a customer, and although the Government has helped some companies financially, difficult times could be ahead due to the flattening out of defense spending.

Defense contractors are allowed to charge the Federal Government the cost of State and local taxes, then deduct the amount, paid by the Federal Government, on their Federal income tax statements. This allows the corporation to operate in a tax free environment.

#### PROBLEMS IN ENFORCEMENT

The Defense Contract Audit Agency [DCAA] can only point out improper charges, not stop them. They are often refused access to company documents, and even when they do find questionable charges, military watchdogs are left to challenge them, something they rarely do.

While the Pentagon provides contractors with unlimited funds, the Justice Department conducts "scant" investigations due to limited funds (Gramm-Rudman). A Justice Department source criticized Congress for not providing his Department with enough resources to adequately handle major cases against the defense corporations.

I have submitted the first article of the series and I commend it to your attention:

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer, July 29, 1987]

#### DEFENSE CONTRACTORS BILL U.S. FOR LEGAL FEES

(By John S. Long)

Defense contractors who are accused of criminal fraud but not convicted have been permitted to bill the federal government for millions of dollars in legal fees and have also been allowed to add an additional fee for corporate profit. The Plain Dealer has learned.

The reimbursements of defense contractor legal fees in criminal cases have been going on for years because of a federal acquisition regulation that has been a secret to most people outside of the defense industry.

Because of the large number of defense fraud cases in recent years, millions of dol-

lars have been paid for legal defense of contractors, while the Justice Department itself has conducted bare-bones investigations into contractor fraud because of limited funds.

While the government's investigators are strapped for funds, the Pentagon is providing contractors with unlimited funds for their defense, as long as the contractor avoids a guilty verdict.

"They've cut back so much on us, we're practically counting paper clips" said one Justice Department official disgusted with the practice of subsidizing the defense contractors' legal defense funds. "A year ago during Gramm-Rudman everything was frozen. We had no money for travel, no money to conduct certain litigation, we even ran out of money for supplies. Things are now getting a little better," he added.

In one instance General Dynamics Corp. billed the government \$21 million, plus an additional amount for corporate jury investigation in New Haven, Conn.

The legal fees were charged to the government as indirect costs in the companies' overhead accounts. Like other overhead account items permitted under the government contract regulations, a percentage is added to the fees for corporate profit.

The investigation concerned allegations of defrauding the government on a contract for the Trident submarine, according to sources on the congressional subcommittee on oversight and investigations headed by Rep. John Dingell, D-Mich.

The government recently dropped two additional criminal fraud cases against General Dynamics and congressional sources said that as a result taxpayers will be paying tens of millions of dollars in legal fees for the nation's top defense contractor.

In one investigation that lasted three years and was dropped by the Justice Department last month, General Dynamics and several company officials were indicted for defrauding the government of \$3 million on a contract for a prototype of the Sergeant York air defense weapon.

If congressional estimates are accurate on the amount the defense contractor could bill the government for its legal fees, the profit General Dynamics would make on such a billing would nearly exceed the alleged \$3 million in overcharges that prompted the criminal investigation.

The congressional sources have said General Dynamics would be refunded their legal defense costs, plus a profit, through contracts the company's Pomona division has with the Navy. Why the funds are being reimbursed through a Navy contract, when the investigation centered on an Army program could not be explained.

A General Dynamics spokesman told The Plain Dealer earlier this month that the company had not determined the amount of its legal fees.

In another case, the Justice Department last year decided not to indict Pratt & Whitney Group for allegedly overcharging the government by \$22 million on contracts at its West Palm Beach government products division. Congressional sources estimate the government could end up paying millions of dollars in Pratt & Whitney legal fees in that case.

"We won't get into the nitty-gritty of the fees, but it is nowhere near millions of dollars," said Bob Carroll, a Pratt & Whitney spokesman. "As of this time the government has not paid for any legal expenses associated with the grand jury investigation. If, at a later date, these expenses are deemed ap-

appropriate we will file for reimbursement in accordance with government regulations."

TRW Inc., the Lyndhurst-based defense contractor, is under criminal investigation in four states \* \* \*. TRW has a defense fund set up for these cases and that if the company does not plead or is not found guilty in any of them it will pass to the taxpayers its legal fees and a sizable profit for the company.

TRW spokesman Robert Lundy said yesterday the company had no comment on the government reimbursing defense contractors for legal fees in criminal cases.

"We don't discuss provisions of that sort whether we might or might not have them," said Lundy of a special account set aside for legal fees related to criminal investigations of the company.

When contacted during the last two weeks by The Plain Dealer, numerous congressional watchdogs on defense spending said they were shocked to learn these companies could bill the government for legal fees in criminal cases, and they were amazed that the companies could tack on a corporate profit margin to the fees.

Rep. Patricia Schroeder, D-Colo. and Sen. David Pryor, D-Ark., likened the practice to corporate welfare.

"What?" said Dingell when told of the practice in an interview last week.

The reimbursements issue will also be on the agenda for a hearing scheduled for tomorrow on why the Justice Department dropped its criminal cases against General Dynamics and Pratt & Whitney, his staff said.

"Something is very wrong with this system," said Dingell subcommittee staff member Peter Stockton.

Senate Judiciary Committee staff member Sam Gerdano said, "Reimbursement for legal fees in criminal cases is completely unprecedented.

"This thing is open-ended; it also allows them (General Dynamics) to enjoy a profit above and beyond the legal fees. There is no precedent for this. John DeLorean and Ray Donovan (former Reagan administration Secretary of Labor) racked up hefty legal fees, but none of these people are eligible to have the government pay them and they were acquitted."

"It looks like the inmates have taken over the asylum," added Gerdano.

Another Justice Department source said that while he disagreed with the policy of reimbursing defense contractors, he also criticized Congress for not providing his department with enough resources to adequately handle major cases against the defense giants.

**"DEMOCRATS' TAX DILEMMA"**

**HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN**

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, I thought the attached editorial, which appeared in the October 12 Knoxville News-Sentinel, would be of interest to my colleagues in the House:

**DEMOCRATS' TAX DILEMMA**

Just as the Democratic Party is becoming more successful than ever at thwarting President Reagan's policies—as in the struggle over the Supreme Court—thoughtful Democrats are growing more nervous about their chances of recapturing the White

House. Their party's dilemma: All too often its congressional leaders are pursuing policies that its presidential candidates would rather not talk about, such as tax hikes.

The Democratic members of the chief tax-writing committee in the House of Representatives recently agreed to \$6.3 billion in higher taxes for 1988. Their package includes an extension of the 3 percent tax on telephone service, which was originally passed as a "temporary" measure. Like almost any other sales tax, this one hits low-income and middle-income citizens harder: The richer you are, the lower your telephone bill is in proportion to your total income.

The tax also raises the operating costs of any business that uses telephones—stimulating higher prices for a broad range of goods and services. With many consumers seeing their phone bills soaring thanks to the break-up of Ma Bell's benevolent monopoly, this is hardly the time for a permanent federal surcharge.

But the telephone tax is only the beginning. The Democrats on the House Ways and Means Committee want another \$6 billion in tax hikes beyond the specific ones they have already accepted. Understandably, they are finding it difficult to agree on just which taxes to increase.

Ironically, not one penny in higher taxes is needed to trim the federal deficit. Thanks to income-tax reform and economic growth, federal revenues are now rising faster than expenses. The deficit is already shrinking, and it will keep doing so if Congress can simply refrain from piling on new spending commitments.

Unfortunately, the special interests that Congress usually obeys are determined to prevent that. If the Democrats want to prove that they have learned from the painful lessons of 1980 and 1984, this time they will resist.

**HONORING THE PLEDGE TO THE ACADEMY CLASSES OF 1977 AND 1978**

**HON. ROBERT K. DORNAN**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. DORNAN of California. Mr. Speaker, this afternoon I introduced legislation that would revise section 1652 of title 38 to restore eligibility for chapter 34 education benefits to all service academy graduates who had contracted with the armed services when the old GI bill was still in effect. The classes of 1977 and 1978 were inadvertently excluded from eligibility even though they had committed to 7 years of active duty prior to the December 31, 1976, deadline.

As a result of an oversight, the 1976 legislation that repealed the old GI bill created an inequity by failing to specifically address the issue of academy members who had already obligated themselves to active duty upon graduation. Academy cadets and midshipmen incur this obligation when they start their third academic year. Academy graduates have always been considered as eligible for these benefits. It is not the time served at the academies that qualified the graduates for the GI bill, but rather the active duty performed following graduation. Given the obligation in-

curred by enrolling in their third academic year, these cadets and midshipmen should have been included in the "grandfather clause" of the 1976 legislation. The clear intent of the 94th Congress was that all those who signed contracts prior to December 31, 1976, with the expectation of the GI bill were to be covered by those benefits.

Mr. Speaker, since the intent of Congress was clearly to protect the existing benefits of those presently in, or committed to the armed services, the academy classes of 1977 and 1978 should clearly be included and I ask all our colleagues to help rectify this inequity and cosponsor this necessary and long overdue legislation.

**TRAGEDY RESULTS WHEN CHILDREN LEFT AT HOME ALONE**

**HON. GEORGE MILLER**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, October 12, two 6-year-old children, Jermaine James and Amanda Croson, left in the care of an 8-year-old babysitter, died in an apartment fire in Reston, VA—another tragic result of insufficient child care options for families.

Today, the tragedy intensified when the Washington Post learned that these children had been left at home alone because of condominium rules that prohibited family day care businesses from operating on the premises. Mrs. James, the mother of the two children who died, had closed her day care business only weeks before because of a fear of eviction. As a result, she found work outside the home and left her children inadequately supervised.

As the Post reported, these deaths are tragic evidence of a growing problem of children being left at home alone because their parents could not find or afford child care in their communities. In the past year alone, Fairfax County Department of Social Services had 217 substantiated cases of children who had been left at home unattended.

The situation will only worsen as the number of working families continue to overwhelm an already overburdened child care system, even in wealthy Fairfax County, where great strides have been made in expanding school age child care programs in 64 schools. Still, more than 800 children are on the waiting list for those programs. The two elementary schools attended by Jermaine and Amanda had no afterschool programs at all. In Reston alone, it has been estimated that there are still 5,000 children in need of child care who are competing for 453 available slots.

I urge my colleagues to read the Washington Post articles that describe yet another tragic consequence of our neglect of families' unrelenting need for child care assistance. Families should not have to choose between their children's safety and the economic security of their families. Yet more and more families will be forced to make this choice unless both the public and private sectors collaborate in making child care a priority.

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 13, 1987]

**TWO 6-YEAR-OLDS, TRAPPED IN VA. APARTMENT FIRE, DIE—8-YEAR-OLD RESTON BABY SITTER ESCAPES**

(By Patricia Davis)

Two 6-year-old children died yesterday after they were found, one atop the other, by the front door of a locked and burning apartment in Reston, Fairfax County fire officials said.

Jermaine James, who lived in the apartment, and Amanda L. Croson, a friend from the neighborhood, were pronounced dead at Reston Hospital Center of injuries received in the 10:30 a.m. fire, officials said.

Investigators were still trying late yesterday to determine the cause of the fire, which gutted the third-floor condominium apartment at 11633 Stoneview Sq. in the Shadowood subdivision, causing an estimated \$150,000 in damages. Criminal charges were possible, according to sources.

The sources said that Jermaine's 8-year-old sister, Tina, was babysitting with him yesterday morning and that Amanda had stopped by to play. After the fire began, Tina ran from the apartment and the door locked behind her, they said.

"She was yelling and crying," said Melanie Beale, 16, a neighbor who said she saw Tina running outside. "She said her brother was in the house."

A maintenance worker with a pass key unsuccessfully tried to open the front door of the apartment, and two other workers made rescue attempts from the other side of the building, but the fire was already roaring, according to officials with the Shadowood Condominium Association.

"It was totally engulfed in flames," said Sharon Balz, 46, another neighbor. "There were flames shooting out of the windows."

Firefighters arrived within minutes after receiving the 10:31 a.m. call and broke down the apartment's front door, county Fire and Rescue Department spokeswoman Pam Weiger said. "Right inside, on top of one another, were the two kids," she said. Firefighters administered cardiopulmonary resuscitation.

Officials at the condominium association office said that the James family has been renting the unit since December.

Sandra James, the mother of Tina and Jermaine, was working at a local motel when the fire occurred, one source said. Neighbors said the father, Larry James, is employed as a painter.

Larry James went to the charred apartment yesterday afternoon and bolted up the stairs. Minutes later, crumpled over, he was escorted away by another man in painter's overalls.

Condominium officials said that Amanda Croson lived with her mother, also named Amanda, at 11621 Stoneview Sq., and that Croson has owned the unit since 1979.

Arrangements were being made yesterday for a counselor to help the maintenance workers and another employee distraught over the children's deaths, said Lou Goddard, an official on the condominium's board of directors. A fire official said a psychologist will be available to help the firefighters deal with the deaths, the fourth and fifth fire fatalities in the county this year.

Yesterday's blaze was not the first major fire on Stoneview Square. In February 1986, firefighters rescued four screaming children who had been left unattended in an apartment that caught fire at 11655 Stoneview Sq. All four children survived.

Outside the apartment where Jermaine James had lived, Maggie Thompson, 6, was coping yesterday with the loss of Amanda Croson, her best friend. "Well, you see, we always used to play together. When we played, we had more fun. The funnest was when we played with Play-Doh," said Maggie, her mother at her side. "But now that this happened . . . , I don't think I have any best friend."

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 14, 1987]

**RESTON CONDO DAY CARE BAN CITED IN 2 CHILDREN'S FIRE DEATHS**

(By Patricia Davis and Sandra Evans)

Sandra James, whose 6 year-old son and a friend died in a fire at her Reston apartment Monday while she was at work, had only recently taken the part-time job after she learned that the child care she had provided in her home was prohibited under condominium rules, neighbors said yesterday.

"I feel so guilty I could die," Jerris Davis, one of the neighbors, said yesterday. "I [had] said: 'Sandra, I don't want to say anything that will make you upset, but if they see you baby-sitting they're going to make you move.'"

Fire officials said yesterday that the fire that killed Jermaine James and Amanda L. Croson, both age 6, was accidental. Investigators were still sifting through the rubble at the 11633 Stoneview Sq. apartment at Shadowood Condominiums in the effort to determine the cause. No charges have been filed.

Jermaine's 8-year-old sister Tina had been left to supervise him and escaped the fire unharmed, sources said.

The Croson family could not be reached yesterday for comment. According to friends, Larry Barber, a painter, was the father of Sandra James' two children, and he could not be reached yesterday.

James, 25, who returned to her gutted third-floor apartment briefly yesterday, declined to discuss the events preceding the fire, and it was not known what efforts she may have made to find someone to care for her son and daughter while she was at work.

However, local officials and child care advocates said yesterday that the deaths are tragic evidence of a growing problem of children being left alone to care for themselves, often because their working parents cannot afford child care.

Davis and Shannon Hancock, who live in the apartment below James, said yesterday that they noticed recently that Sandra James was taking care of Jermaine and Tina as well as several other children. Worried that she would get evicted, they said, they told her about the condominium's prohibition.

"When I told Sandra this, she looked really stricken. She said, 'I didn't, know there was a problem,'" said Davis.

Davis and Hancock said the issue came to a head during a bitter condominium association meeting in February, during which another resident was ordered to stop providing home day care services. Neighbors said they believed that James has stopped providing child care in her home.

The issue has been the subject of litigation in Fairfax and Montgomery counties. In both cases, day care providers lost their attempts to get a judge to overrule condominium bylaws against their operations. The Fairfax case is under appeal.

On Sept. 26, James took the part-time housekeeping job at the Comfort Inn in Herndon, said general manager Diane Ed-

wards. During her short time on the job, Edwards said, James has been an "excellent" worker who often talked about her two children.

"I think it's terrible," Hancock said of the condominium's rule prohibiting day care. "I feel that if she had been up there baby-sitting . . . those kids would be alive."

While condominium officials sympathized yesterday, they said they have to protect the rights of residents in the other 449 units.

Day care services "impact on the common elements," said Carol Bauer, assistant community manager.

"We don't allow businesses in here," said Lou Goddard, vice president of the condominium association. ". . . We're not singling out day care, we're singling out businesses. Period."

Goddard was busy yesterday setting up funds for the families of the victims.

I don't like having a bunch of kids living next door to me, but they've got to be somewhere," said Mike Herr, who lives next door to the James apartment and manages the Kinney shoe store in Herndon. "Obviously, if someone would have been home watching those kids, two wouldn't be dead and the place wouldn't be burned down."

Although Herr purchased his condominium only two months ago, he said he had noticed 8-year-old Tina James letting herself and her brother in after school with a key.

"A lot of our time is spent on this type of problem," said Tom Hamblen, a supervisor for child protective services in Fairfax County's Department of Social Services. The county had 217 substantiated cases of children who did not have what was considered proper supervision in the past fiscal year, and there are probably many instances that go unreported, Hamblen said.

The agency has established unofficial guidelines that children age 6 and younger should not be left alone, children 7 to 9 should not be alone for extended periods, and baby sitters should be at least 12 to care for children 4 or older.

A recent study found that of 7,200 Reston children between 5 and 14, about 5,000 need child care, but there were only 453 slots available at private day care centers and at school-based programs. It was unknown how many care for themselves.

Nationally, a Census Bureau survey conducted in 1984 and 1985 found that 488,000 children aged 5 to 14, or about 2.7 percent of that age group, cared for themselves when their parents worked.

The county and the state have programs to subsidize child care for low-income families, but these have long waiting lists. Fairfax County spends about \$2 million a year on about 900 full-time day care slots at 20 facilities.

Also, the county runs before- and after-school programs for kindergarten to sixth grade. With 2,200 slots at 64 elementary schools in the county, more than 800 children are on the waiting list, according to the Fairfax Office for Children. While full fees for both before- and after-school care reach \$173 a month, at the lowest income level the fee is as low as \$3.50 a month.

The schools that Jermaine James and Amanda Croson attended, Terraset and Navy Elementary, respectively, are not among those that have the school-based program, officials said. Even where the program exists, it does not operate on some school holidays, such as Monday's Columbus Day break.

Two years ago the state legislature started a \$1.5 million program for subsidizing home day care services for some low-income families; the money was gone quickly.

James A. Payne, chairman of the State Board of Social Services, wrote to local social service agencies in September, asking them to push for more funding and saying that day care services otherwise would have to end for some of Virginia's neediest families.

"Many families affected will have to resort to total welfare dependency . . . or face the choice of leaving their young children unsupervised or in substandard care," he said.

**A CONGRESSIONAL SALUTE TO  
MIA WELLS BEGLINGER**

**HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to a woman who has reached a position of city-wide acclaim, Mia Wells Beglinger. Mrs. Beglinger will be honored Wednesday, October 21, 1987, at the Hyatt Regency Hotel in Long Beach, by the St. Anthony High School Foundation.

Mia Wells Beglinger is renowned as one of the greatest civic workers in Long Beach, CA. Her contributions can be seen in her 17-year dedication as the alumni director of St. Anthony High School. She has been the prime mover in maintaining the alumni data of over 10,000 graduates and in assisting them with reunions. Her enthusiasm for a cause or a need has spurred many to cooperate in civic activities. Mia's untiring drive for supporting community projects has ranked her among the most celebrated volunteers in the city.

Mia Wells was born in Los Angeles, CA, where she was brought up in a strong patriotic environment, dedicated to the American way of life. Mia's father was a military man and was transferred to many bases throughout the United States. As a result, Mia attended 14 elementary schools, and while her family lived in Long Beach, CA, she attended and graduated from St. Anthony High School in 1940. Upon graduation, Mia attended Long Beach City College, UCLA, and the Otis Art Institute in LA where she excelled in fashion design, art, and public relations.

During high school and college, Mia became a professional high-fashion model and worked for Blue Book Modeling Agency and for Adrian, an academy award winner. After a much publicized courtship, Mia married Robert F. Beglinger, a young Air Force cadet. Mia and Robert spent many years at a succession of Air Force bases, but returned to Long Beach for the birth of their daughter Melissa. Eventually Mia and Robert were permanently transferred to Long Beach allowing Melissa an opportunity to attend and graduate from her mother's alma mater.

Mia Wells Beglinger is affiliated with the St. Anthony's High School Foundation Board of Trustees, Friends of Cedar House, the Jonathan Jaques Children's Cancer Center, Las Damas de la Plaza of Long Beach Community Hospital, the Long Beach Historical Society,

the Willmore City Heritage and Historical Society, the Fine Arts Affiliates for C.S.U.L.B., the Dramatic Allied Arts Guild, the LBCLD Diamond Terrace, the Long Beach Youth Home Boosters, the Los Angeles Museum of Contemporary Art, the Long Beach Chamber of Commerce, the Immaculate Heart of Mary, Board, the Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Women, the Carmelite Auxiliary, and many other religious and art-related organizations.

Mr. Speaker, Mia Wells Beglinger is considered a driving force and a powerful lady in her community. Her family has given endless years to the civic and religious activities sponsored by Long Beach. As you can see, Mia has done much to help make her community a beautiful place in which to live and work. My wife, Lee, joins me in congratulating Mia on all her accomplishments. We wish her, and her husband, Robert, and their daughter, Melissa, happiness and all the best in the years ahead.

**FULL SUPPORT FOR H.R. 940**

**HON. DEAN A. GALLO**

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. GALLO. Mr. Speaker, as a cosponsor of H.R. 940, the Plastic Pollution Research and Control Act, which passed the House overwhelmingly yesterday, 386 to 14, I am very pleased to learn that Members of this body from all parts of the country share my commitment to the protection of our shoreline and the preservation of the world's greatest natural resource—our oceans.

Ironically, I was in the air over our east coast at the time of the vote yesterday, returning from a Presidential trip to my district in New Jersey. From the air, it is easy to see how massive the task of tracking ocean-going vessels is. This realization makes our efforts to outlaw all forms of garbage dumping, as contained in H.R. 940, all the more critical. If we eliminate the exceptions to the rule, we can make enforcement easier.

Yesterday's vote also confirms my belief that all Americans care a great deal about the protection of our shorelines, regardless of whether they live in shore-front communities or thousands of miles inland.

My constituents in Essex, Morris, Sussex, and Warren Counties have been telling me in no uncertain terms that they want the Federal Government to do everything possible to protect our shoreline from further contamination.

I have heard from constituents at town meetings, in letters and through personal visits to my Washington office.

As I travel around my district, this is still one of the major topics being discussed. People want action, not talk.

I have heard from constituents who say their vacations were ruined this year. They feel they are playing Russian roulette with their vacations at the New Jersey shore because of these incidents. The best assurance we can provide to vacationers is to make all dumping illegal. Without enactment of H.R. 940, we face an enforcement nightmare.

Our shoreline is too important to all of us to allow this to continue.

As a member of the Public Works and Transportation Committee, which has been conducting its own investigation of this summer's pollution, I am confident that we can turn this situation around by next summer with legislation such as H.R. 940 and with a determined effort by all Americans who value their shoreline not to allow ourselves to get dumped on again.

**TRIBUTE TO FOREST HAYS, JR.**

**HON. GEORGE (BUDDY) DARDEN**

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. DARDEN. Mr. Speaker, the people who live in the extreme northwest corner of Georgia have lost an able and dedicated State legislator with the recent death of Representative Forest Hays, Jr. At the same time, the handicapped people of our State and Nation have lost one of the most eloquent champions of their rights. Many others of us have lost a beloved personal friend.

I first became acquainted with Forest Hays when we served together in the Georgia House of Representatives during the early 1980's. He had been a member of that body since 1970, representing the people of the Chattanooga Valley in Walker and Dade Counties. Those constituents rewarded him for his dedication and hard work by returning him to the General Assembly for nine terms. He served on the Committees on Defense and Veterans' Affairs, State Institutions and Property, and Game, Fish and Recreation.

For the past 4 years, I had been Forest Hays' Congressman. He always was ready and eager to help me gauge the needs of northwest Georgia and its people, so that I could represent those people here in Washington.

He was 59 when he died, and although had been confined to a wheelchair for most of his life as the result of injuries suffered in World War II, Forest Hays was a man of great spirit and vigor. His physical condition made him especially interested in the issue of rights for the handicapped; he campaigned long and hard to assure handicapped Georgians of ready access to all kinds of public facilities, as well as to the education and jobs necessary to maintain an active role in society. He was a charter member of the National Wheelchair Bowling Association and had coached the Chattanooga Big Wheels wheelchair basketball team.

He visited me here in Washington on several occasions. I remember that he was particularly impressed, when visiting the floor of this Chamber, by the facilities here which allow handicapped Americans access to the seat of their Government.

Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to join me in extending our sympathies to Forest Hays'

wife, Mimi, as well as to his daughter Susan, his son Terry and other members of the family.

**DON GRIFFIN—80 YEARS YOUNG**

**HON. TOM LANTOS**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 14, 1987*

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, Sir Richard Steele, the 18th century English gentleman, noted that "Age in a virtuous person \* \* \* carries an authority which makes it preferable to all the pleasure of youth." With the passage of each year, I have increasingly come to welcome such reassuring observations.

Today, however, I would like to pay tribute to an individual who certainly confirms that the authority and wisdom which comes with age can indeed be a pleasure. Mr. Speaker, I wish to pay tribute to my distinguished friend Don Griffin who will celebrate his 80th birthday this Saturday on October 17.

Few individuals have led such colorful and varied lives as has Don Griffin. He was born in the Excelsior District of San Francisco in 1907, learned both Italian and English in the first grade, and said "Bon Giorno" before he said anything else. Don was one of the first students of St. Paul's Parochial School, where his classmates included Bishop Donahue and former Congressman Jack Shelley.

Always industrious, he worked as a newspaper boy and as a delivery boy for the local fishmonger and vegetable salesman. He left school to become an apprentice in a blacksmith shop, and later he became a sheet metal mechanic. That love of sheet metal work has endured for over 60 years. In 1960, he founded his own business, Griffin Metals Products.

Don completed his college education, and went on to become a teacher and curriculum coordinator in the San Francisco and Berkeley school systems. During World War II, he ran the Merchant Seaman's Training School in San Francisco. He wrote the San Francisco Municipal Railway training manuals in the 1940's, and was responsible for the physical arrangements for the United Nations founding conference in San Francisco's War Memorial Opera House in 1945.

Don's community service has been extensive—a leader in Boy Scouting for 30 years, an active member of the Millbrae Lions Club, president of the Millbrae Historical Society, and a member of the board of the San Mateo County Historical Society.

He has also been a committed father of 5, grandfather of 6, and husband. As a "political" husband, he has been most supportive of his wife Mary, a past member of the Millbrae City council, past Mayor of Millbrae, and currently a San Mateo County Supervisor.

Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to join me in wishing Don Griffin a most happy 80th birthday.

**CALL FOR REUNIFICATION OF MICHELSON'S AND OTHER DIVIDED SPOUSES**

**HON. CONNIE MACK**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 14, 1987*

Mr. MACK. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation calling attention to a serious Soviet human rights issue that remains largely unsolved—the problem of divided spouses.

Many of my colleagues in the House of Representatives are familiar with a unique and very special American living in southwest Florida named Anatoly Michelson. Anatoly is a 69-year-old former Soviet citizen who has been separated from his wife and daughter for over 30 years. Since arriving in the United States, Anatoly has made repeated attempts to secure the release of his family from the Soviet Union, including a grandson he has never seen.

Unfortunately, Anatoly is just one of a number of United States citizens whose spouses remain in the Soviet Union, having been repeatedly refused exit visas to emigrate. As a signatory to the Helsinki accords, the Soviet Union has agreed to provisions in the act which states that "The participating States will deal in a positive and humanitarian spirit with the applications of persons who wish to be reunited with members of their family, with special attention being given to requests of an urgent character—such as requests submitted by persons who are ill or old."

There has been progress in the resolution of divided spouse cases as relations between the United States and the Soviet Union have improved and American diplomats have given a higher priority to addressing these cases. However, I am disturbed that the Soviet leadership has taken action on relatively recent cases while ignoring or repeatedly refusing to resolve long-standing cases.

This resolution calls upon the Soviet Union to grant exit visas for all those who wish to join spouses in the United States. Furthermore, it requests that the Soviets give special attention to quickly resolving the long-standing cases, such as the Michelson separation.

This fall, President Reagan is preparing for a summit to successfully conclude an arms reduction agreement with the Soviets. The approaching summit provides Congress an auspicious opportunity to further underscore its commitment to human and family rights. I urge my colleagues in the House to give their enthusiastic support to this important resolution.

**A CONGRESSIONAL SALUTE TO WILLIAM MAIS**

**HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 14, 1987*

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to a strong parental leader and

great family man, William Mais. Mr. Mais will be honored Wednesday, October 21, 1987, at the Hyatt Regency Hotel by the Saint Anthony High School Foundation.

William Mais was born February 9, 1931, in San Pedro, CA. He grew up in San Pedro and spent his entire educational career at Saint Anthony. William enrolled in first grade in Saint Anthony in 1937, and graduated 12 years later in 1949, making him a member of the Twelve Year Club. During this time at Saint Anthony, William earned varsity letters in football, basketball, and baseball. Before he finished his athletic career at Saint Anthony, William was made first string All-CIF and All-City in football. His excellence in football earned him a football and scholastic scholarship to the University of California, Berkeley. William was one of seven athletes to be offered a scholarship to Berkeley, and in 1951 the Berkeley football team participated in the Rose Bowl. On December 29, 1951, William married Jane Kier, his Saint Anthony High School sweetheart.

William answered the call of his country as he joined the U.S. Army where he served as lieutenant in the Anti-Aircraft Command with assignments in El Paso, TX, and Limestone, ME. Upon returning to civilian life, William used his extensive business administration background to obtain a position with IBM Corp.

William started with IBM in Long Beach in 1956 where he created a job for himself in the computer marketing department. In 31 years with IBM, he held numerous marketing management positions within the company, including a rise from the business of marketing computers to having a significant hand in the marketing of two of IBM's most important software products; IMS, a data base product, and the "PROFS" system. He has also received IBM's highest marketing award, the Award of Excellence.

William Mais is also an outstanding family man, dedicated to the traditions of family ties. William and his wife, Jane, have raised seven children and have been blessed with nine grandchildren. Most of his children are also Saint Anthony graduates. He has also been recognized over the years for his active participation on the Saints Booster Club and the Parents Association. This year he was asked to join the Saint Anthony's High School Foundation Board of Directors, a step up from his position as a Member of the Board of Trustees.

Mr. Speaker, William Mais is not only an outstanding citizen in his community, he is also a model for those who wish to succeed in society. Through his commitments to his community, and his family, William is a living tribute to the power of dedication. My wife, Lee, joins me in congratulating William on his many great accomplishments. We wish him and his wife, Jane, and his children and grandchildren, happiness and all the best in the years ahead.

**A SALUTE TO MRS. EDWARDINA RIGGANS SENIOR CITIZEN HALL OF FAME INDUCTEE**

**HON. LOUIS STOKES**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 14, 1987*

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, the Ohio Senior Citizens Hall of Fame was established to fulfill a twofold purpose: to emphasize the vital role played by men and women 60 years of age or older in their communities, State and Nation and to promote the productivity and enjoyment that should be a part of every person's retirement years.

This year nine individuals join the distinguished ranks of the Senior Citizens Hall of Fame. The induction ceremony will take place on October 29, 1987, in Columbus, OH. I am pleased to report that Mrs. Edwardina Riggans who resides in my congressional district will be inducted into the Hall of Fame. On behalf of the residents of the 21st Congressional District of Ohio, I salute Mrs. Riggans on this auspicious occasion.

Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Riggans plays a vital role in the Cleveland community. In 1934, Mrs. Riggans began her long and active participation in community-based groups when she joined the Wellman Club. This group, largely through Mrs. Riggans' dedication, has taken the lead in increasing the political awareness of our citizens and voter participation.

In the early 1960's, Mrs. Riggans joined the Karamu Golden Agers group. Over the years, Karamu has provided needed social, cultural, and educational programs for our community's seniors. In 1969, Mrs. Riggans utilized her strength and influence amongst senior citizens in the city of Cleveland to help deliver the votes of the elderly to my brother, Carl Stokes, on his successful bid for mayor of the city of Cleveland.

She is also responsible for the formation of seniors of Ohio. The coalition was formed to boost senior citizen participation in Government affairs and to provide a mechanism by which the concerns of our Nation's elderly could be expressed to Government officials. Under her leadership, this organization grew to, at one time, a membership of over 3,000.

In 1984, Mrs. Riggans represented the 21st Congressional District as my senior citizen intern. She did an excellent job of representing the concerns of seniors throughout the Nation.

Mr. Speaker, it is an honor to salute Mrs. Riggans on this occasion. She is a remarkable individual and an inspiration to us all.

**TRIBUTE TO MRS. MARIE KAPTEIN**

**HON. ROBERT A. BORSKI**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 14, 1987*

Mr. BORSKI. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to Mrs. Marie Kaptein, a resident of northeast Philadelphia and the Outstanding Handicapped Federal Employee of the Year for 1987.

**EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS**

Marie has been blind since age 10, when she was struck by an automobile. She is an employee of the Naval Publications and Forms Center, where she has logged 14 years of meritorious service.

Marie proves that she does not consider herself handicapped by consistently out-producing her coworkers. Before winning this year, she was nominated for Outstanding Handicapped Federal Employee in 1977 and 1983.

In 1977, she became the first woman ever awarded the prestigious Meritorious Civilian Service Award. Marie has received Outstanding Service Awards from 1982 through 1986, and in February of this year was selected as the Inventory Control Department's Employee of the Quarter.

Marie has been married to her husband, Henry, for 30 years and is a lifelong resident of Philadelphia. She attended St. Boniface Parochial School and Hallahan High School for Girls instead of the school for the blind. She is active in the Catholic Guide for the Blind, the Third Order of St. Dominic and St. Williams Roman Catholic Church. Marie's advocacy of leader dogs for the blind is evident in her devotion to her constant companion and seeing-eye dog, Sandy.

I join the Naval Publications Center, the U.S. Government, and all Federal employees in paying tribute to this courageous woman.

**TRIBUTE TO RAY J. MADDEN**

**HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.**

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, October 6, 1987*

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from Indiana for organizing this special order in tribute to our late friend and former colleague Ray Madden.

Ray's recent death, at the age of 95, ended a lifetime of devotion to public service on all levels of government. Beginning his career as a municipal judge, Ray went on to serve as comptroller of the city of Gary and then spent 4 years as treasurer of Lake County in Indiana.

In 1943, Ray first entered the House of Representatives. For the next 34 years, he ably represented Indiana's First District which is located in the northeast corner of the State. Ray's commitment to his constituents and service to the people of Indiana was an inspiration to us all.

Ray also served his country with great honor and distinction. Throughout his long career in the House, Ray earned the respect and admiration of his colleagues. He was a man of unyielding integrity and generous with both his time and expertise.

Ray exhibited his tireless energy and dedication as the chairman of the Democratic Steering Committee and as a member of the Naval Affairs and Education and Labor Committees. In 1973, Ray became chairman of the Rules Committee where he served effectively and provided leadership based on experience and fairness.

It was a great personal privilege to call Ray Madden my friend. For those of us who

worked with him and for the Nation he served so well, we have lost both a friend and a dedicated public servant.

**BAYPATH'S 10TH ANNIVERSARY**

**HON. CHESTER G. ATKINS**

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 14, 1987*

Mr. ATKINS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to my colleagues' attention a very special anniversary which is being celebrated in my district.

Baypath Senior Citizen Services is celebrating the 10th anniversary of its founding. Baypath was incorporated in 1977 to serve the needs of elderly residents in the 14-town South Middlesex area of Massachusetts. Over the past decade Baypath has been a pioneer in promoting the health, well-being, and dignity of older individuals by broadening their living alternatives through a continuum of community services.

In every one of those 10 years, Baypath responded to the increased needs of an elderly population which was steadily growing, both in size and in age. Baypath now serves 6,750 clients and provides a wide range of services including case management, homemaker and chore services, transportation, home delivered meals, companionship services, respite care, and nursing services. From a staff of 18, Baypath has expanded so that today it has a staff of 95, including volunteers. This year Baypath's budget is almost \$2.4 million, with funding coming from Federal, State, and local sources.

Baypath's anniversary has a special meaning for me. I remember chairing the first meeting held in Marlboro to focus on the needs of the senior citizens in the area. That meeting, held in 1976 when I represented the district in the State senate, was sponsored by the Marlboro Senior Citizen Center who had rented a room in the Sons of Italy Hall. We were not prepared for the large crowd that attended and had to move across the street to the Episcopal Church. That outpouring of people showed us that there were tremendous hidden problems and neglected needs facing the elderly, and their families, in our community. Baypath was created the following year in response and recognition of those needs. Today, Baypath's challenges are more difficult than at any time in the past 10 years, but, I am confident that this extraordinary organization is capable of surpassing the accomplishments of the prior decade.

**A CONGRESSIONAL SALUTE TO EVELYN DUPONT**

**HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, October 14, 1987*

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed my honor to rise today to pay tribute to Evelyn duPont, the founder of California Pools for the Handicapped (CPH). Evelyn's great accom-

plishment will be recognized at a dinner in her honor October 22, 1987.

Evelyn duPont is a living example of courage to those whose handicap she understands very well. Evelyn was once an international swimming star, however, her promising career was stifled when she was struck down with polio. After a long bout with the crippling disease, and after a vigorous physical therapy program, she was able to walk again. Evelyn vowed to seek a way to help others like herself and to always enjoy her first love, swimming.

Rarely does an individual commit himself to a cause with the determination that Evelyn duPont did. She is an inspiration to all humanity, to those who have ever had reason to wonder if they could achieve something despite physical impairment. Evelyn had a dream. A dream that would accommodate handicapped children, adults and senior citizens with a pool facility. This goal started in her own home, as she used her own pool as a recreational center for handicapped children.

Soon the dream grew, and soon her own pool became inadequate as more and more children participated in the program. At this time, Evelyn initiated California Pools for the Handicapped, an organization dedicated to handicapped persons by using a time-proven method of physical therapy with swimming. In April 1963 her dream became reality as the CPH was incorporated under California State law. The site was selected, the terms for purchase formalized and in May 1968, the pool opened its doors to a very deserving group of individuals.

Mr. Speaker, as you can see, Evelyn duPont's personal commitment will stand in homage to her integrity and the determination she displayed in achieving her goal. The time and energy she spent in the pursuit of her dream will serve as a tribute to all humanity. Evelyn duPont has done so much for the handicapped, and through her work and completion of the California Pools for the Handicapped, Evelyn has helped make her community a beautiful place to live and work. My wife, Lee, joins me in congratulating Evelyn on her great accomplishment. We wish her and her children and grandchildren, happiness and all the best in the years ahead.

#### U.S. HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY

### HON. BILL RICHARDSON

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, since the days when I served in the State Department I have been convinced that it is in the United States self-interest to accord a high priority to human rights in the daily conduct of our foreign policy. With that in mind I have been delighted to read the text of a speech delivered in Spanish in Mexico City on May 26 by George Lister, Senior Policy Adviser in the Department's Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs. The speech describes the origins of our current human rights policy some 10 or 12 years ago and reviews the

record of achievement since that time. I find the speech accurate, informative and refreshingly candid, and I believe it provides eloquent testimony on the wisdom of having a separate Bureau for Human Rights in the Department.

I commend the English text of Mr. Lister's speech to my colleagues' attention:

#### U.S. HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY: ORIGINS AND IMPLEMENTATION

(Address by George Lister)

I welcome the opportunity to talk with you today, not for just the usual polite reasons of responding to an invitation but mainly because I feel the subject of our meeting, U.S. human rights policy, is very important. And certainly it is one which is close to my heart. The subject is also highly controversial and does not lend itself to easy generalizations, and since I am going to speak for only about 30 minutes, I suggest you consider these opening remarks as merely an introduction to our discussion. I anticipate that following my presentation, you will ask many questions, and I hope we can have a candid, vigorous exchange of views, which I am prepared to continue for as long as you wish.

#### ORIGINS OF CURRENT POLICY

First, how and when did our human rights policy begin? At the outset I should emphasize that my government does not perceive itself as the original defender of human rights. There were articulate supporters of human rights long before Columbus came to this hemisphere. And, of course, there have been many important human rights issues throughout history, e.g., slavery was a major cause of our Civil War over a century ago. So nothing that I am going to say here should be construed as implying that we have a monopoly in the defense of human rights. We do not.

However, there did come a time when human rights advocates both inside and outside our government decided that human rights should be accorded a higher priority in the conduct of our foreign policy. This movement began to take shape some years prior to the Carter Administration. A leading role in this campaign was played by several Members of Congress from both major parties, Republicans and Democrats, and particularly by Congressman Don Fraser of Minnesota, who was Chairman of the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements. In the latter half of 1973, and in early 1974, Fraser's subcommittee held a series of public hearings on U.S. foreign policy and human rights, with witnesses including U.S. Government officials, jurists, scholars, representatives of nongovernmental organizations, etc. These hearings were followed by a subcommittee report on the subject in March 1974, including 29 specific recommendations. The first recommendation stated that: "The Department of State should treat human rights factors as a regular part of U.S. foreign policy decision-making." The report itself began with the following sentence: "The human rights factor is not accorded the high priority it deserves in our country's foreign policy."

The Fraser subcommittee report achieved considerable impact in our government, and some of the 29 recommendations were implemented fairly soon. One of these called for the appointment of a human rights officer in each of the State Department's five geographic bureaus: for Europe, Latin America, Africa, the Near East, and East Asia. I was serving in our Latin American

bureau at the time and became the first human rights officer for that area.

So the human rights cause was gaining impetus before Jimmy Carter won the 1976 elections. But, of course, soon after President Carter assumed office, human rights did begin to receive considerably more attention in the daily implementation of our foreign policy. A separate Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs was created with a new Assistant Secretary. I will discuss how that policy was implemented, and with what results, in a few minutes, but first let me say a few words about what happened when the Reagan Administration replaced the Carter Administration, in early 1981.

At that time I recall there were some, in and out of government, who assumed that our human rights policy was finished. This assumption prevailed both among strong advocates of human rights and those who felt human rights considerations should have no place in our foreign policy. Some even expected the human rights bureau to be abolished. But fortunately, it soon became apparent that our human rights policy had been institutionalized, that it had strong bipartisan support in Congress, that human rights legislation passed in previous years was still in force, that our annual human rights reports to Congress were still required by law, etc. In short, our human rights policy continued. Today our human rights bureau is alive and well, with an able and committed Assistant Secretary, Richard Schifter, who has dedicated his work in the Department to the memory of his parents, who perished in the Holocaust.

#### MISCONCEPTIONS

So much for the origins of our current human rights policy. Now I will discuss briefly a few of the misconceptions which have arisen regarding that policy.

First, we are not seeking to impose our moral standards on other countries. The rights we are discussing here are recognized, at least with lip service, throughout the world. Indeed, they are included in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 10, 1948. I am sure many of you are familiar with the declaration, but I have copies here in case you would like to take them. So, to repeat, our human rights policy is based on internationally accepted norms.

Second, our human rights policy does not—repeat, not—reflect any assumptions of U.S. moral superiority. Those of you who have been to my country know very well that we have many human rights problems at home, including, for example, race discrimination, sex discrimination, violations of minimum wage laws, etc. We have achieved much progress with some of these problems in recent years, but they still persist and are a frequent subject of criticism in our free press. So the United States is no exception. We all have human rights problems.

Third, we are also aware that many other nations are less fortunate than the United States. Due to accidents of history, geography, climate, etc., there are countries with appalling problems of extreme poverty, illiteracy, overpopulation, terrorism, etc., which we have been favored enough by fate to escape. As a result, other peoples sometimes see us as insanely lucky. For example, having served in Poland, I know that many people there consider the United States to be uniquely fortunate. They see themselves as situated between Germany and Russia,

while we are sheltered by two oceans. There is a Polish saying that "God protects little babies, drunkards, and the United States of America."

Fourth, contrary to what some people assume, we do not intend our human rights policy to be intervention. We would like to be on friendly terms with all governments, and, everything else being equal, we prefer to avoid political confrontations, strained relations, dramatic headlines reporting diplomatic crises, etc. On the other hand, of course, we do have a right to decide to which countries we will give our economic and military assistance. And when another government pursues a policy of murder and torture of its citizens, we have a right to disassociate ourselves publicly from that policy and to withhold our aid.

#### RESULTS

Now what have been some of the results of our human rights policy over the past 10 years or so? Here I will attempt a very rough and incomplete balance sheet. On the minus side there have been strains in our relations with some governments which otherwise would have been friendly allies but which resented our criticism of their widespread human rights violations. And sometimes that resentment has been shared by important areas of public opinion in those countries. For example, I recall accompanying the then-Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, Terry Todman, on a visit to Argentina in 1977. In Buenos Aires one evening, we were invited to supper by a group of local Argentine businessmen, some of whom were extremely critical of our human rights policy as they understood it. They deeply resented the State Department's criticism of human rights violations in Argentina, and they accused us of naively underestimating the danger of a communist takeover. I felt their resentment was entirely understandable, although I did not agree with it. And that bad feeling certainly imposed a strain on our relations with Argentina. I will discuss some other costs to the United States later if you wish, but because of the shortness of time, I will pass on now to the plus side of this human rights balance sheet.

What have been some of the achievements of our human rights policy? Here I would say that, both as direct and indirect results of our efforts, there has been less torture in some countries, there have been fewer political murders, fewer "disappeareds," more names published of political prisoners being held, more prisoners actually released, states of siege lifted, censorship relaxed, more elections and more honest elections, and in Latin America the Inter-American Human Rights Commission has been invited to more countries, etc. I feel this is an impressive record and far outweighs the minus side of the balance sheet.

I hasten to add that I am not suggesting these advances in human rights are exclusively the result of our human rights policy. The main credit for this progress belongs to the citizens of those countries in which it took place. But I do maintain that the United States has made a major contribution to the progress, and I feel we should take quiet satisfaction in our record.

From the viewpoint of U.S. foreign policy, there is another very important benefit to be included on the plus side of the balance sheet. That is that our human rights policy has been welcomed by many key sectors of foreign public opinion which, in the past, have often been hostile to U.S. policies, at least as they understood them. Such groups

include, for example, some democratic political parties, some labor unions, various religious organizations, many student bodies, many intellectual circles, etc. Our human rights policy has helped greatly in improving our relations with the democratic left, including Marxists who reject Leninism.

It is noteworthy that a number of other governments have now appointed officials to monitor human rights problems. The French Government is one of these. In Moscow an "Administration of Humanitarian and Cultural Affairs" has been created in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. However, thus far it appears the main purpose of this new office is to counter foreign criticism of Soviet human rights abuses.

To sum up, I am convinced that our human rights policy over the past 10 years has not only helped the human rights cause in many areas of the world but has also been very much in the self-interest of the United States.

#### DIFFICULT QUESTIONS

Having said that, I emphasize immediately that I am not suggesting for a moment that, because we accord a high priority to human rights, our entire foreign policy automatically works well. Obviously not; our human rights policy provides no easy solutions to the complex and urgent problems which confront us daily and is in no way a guarantee against mistakes in judgment, faulty implementation, misinformation, etc. Moreover, many problems and questions arise in just trying to carry out our human rights policy. I will mention only a couple of these very briefly.

First of all, just how high a priority should human rights enjoy in our foreign policy? I think it is clear that, in the final analysis, our highest priority must go to the survival of the United States as a free and independent nation in a world which is often extremely dangerous. The application of these two priorities, survival and human rights, frequently involves difficult and complicated decisions.

Another difficult question concerns economic assistance. Should the United States cancel economic aid to a country with a poor human rights record if our calculations indicate that those who will suffer most from that decision will be the poorest sectors of that society? In such instances we can sometimes receive useful insights and advice from local religious representatives and those in a country who are in close touch with the needs of the local community.

#### CRITICISMS

Now what about some of the many criticisms of our human rights policy? One which I recall as fairly frequent during the early days, a dozen or so years ago, was that human rights advocates are "emotional" and that emotion has no place in serious foreign affairs. Well, I would say that emotion is fairly normal to the human race, and just about all of us become emotional for one reason or another—some of us about the stock market's Dow Jones average, for example, and others possibly about human rights. Obviously, emotion does not necessarily preclude common sense and good judgment. In any event, now that the novelty of our human rights policy has worn off, this is a criticism which is seldom heard these days.

Another criticism is that the application of our human rights policy is "inconsistent," that we do not respond consistently to human rights violations in one country and

another. There might be more validity to that criticism if the protection of human rights were our only objective. But, as I mentioned earlier, human rights is only one very important consideration in our foreign policy. However, even if this were not so, even if human rights were the *only* consideration, experience indicates it would be unreasonable to expect complete consistency in the day-to-day conduct of our foreign affairs. There are over 160 countries in the world today. Our human rights policy cannot operate with computers. It is simply unrealistic to expect a large government bureaucracy to perform perfectly. Even championship football teams never play an absolutely perfect game. I would say, rather, that consistency is a goal for which we aim, and when some inconsistencies inevitably do occur, they do not invalidate the basic policy. In brief, I maintain that, while our human rights policy is far from perfect, it is both genuine and effective.

Still another criticism we hear is that we apply our human rights policy only to left-wing governments; never to right-wing dictatorships. This is a favorite theme of broadcasts from the Soviet Union and Cuba, which I read every day, and I find it highly significant that both Moscow and Havana devote much time and effort trying to prove that our human rights policy is simply capitalist propaganda, with a double standard. Obviously, the Leninists feel very threatened by our human rights efforts.

The truth is, of course, that we criticize human rights violations by both the right and the left. If you have any doubts on that score I invite you to read the latest issue of our annual human rights reports to Congress for the year 1986. I would be interested to know whether you can find any pattern of ideological discrimination in the reports on 167 countries we prepared last year.

On the same theme it is relevant to mention that we now commemorate Human Rights Day, December 10, with a ceremony in the White House, during which the President signs the Human Rights Day proclamation. Last year both President Reagan and Assistant Secretary Richard Schifter briefly reviewed the state of human rights worldwide, and their comments referred to repression not only in the Soviet Union, Cuba, Nicaragua, and Poland but also in South Africa, Chile, Paraguay, and Iran [see Special Report No. 164—"Reviewing the U.S. Commitment to Human Rights"]. I repeat, we criticize human rights violations by both the left and the right.

There is another important criticism from the political left, and not just the Leninists, which argues that one cannot really combat human injustice without replacing capitalism with socialism, that to work against torture, political murders, etc., is all very well, but basic human rights cannot be ensured without the establishment of socialism. I disagree, and I often recall another saying I learned in Poland many years ago. It goes like this: "What is the difference between capitalism and socialism? Capitalism is the exploitation of man by man, and socialism is vice versa." There is much truth in that bitter joke, and I think it is quite obvious by now that there can be ruthless oppression and exploitation with both economic systems. Neither capitalism nor socialism, in themselves, are a guarantee of human liberty. I personally feel that if there is one human right which is a key to all the others, it would be free speech. Free speech

is more revolutionary than Marxism-Leninism.

ROLE PLAYED BY NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Now before concluding, a few words on the very important role played by nongovernmental organizations involved with human rights work. Many of them perform valuable services in monitoring human rights issues, protecting human rights victims, helping refugees, etc. These are badly needed activities and represent a major contribution to the human rights cause. A good number of these groups are also occasional or frequent critics of the State Department's performance, and there is certainly nothing wrong with that when the criticism is reasonably accurate.

But having acknowledged the positive role they play, and having heard and read much of their comment, I also wish to voice one measured criticism of some of these groups. A good many organizations, such as Amnesty International, are quite willing to protest human rights violations across the political spectrum, from right to left. But it is discouraging to note how many other self-described human rights activists are motivated mainly by ideological prejudice. For example, it is remarkable that some of these people accuse the State Department of favoring rightwing dictatorships over communist regimes when they themselves do precisely the opposite. It is difficult to understand, for instance, how an organization allegedly covering human rights in Latin America can be highly vocal on problems in Chile and Paraguay but steadfastly refuse to say one word on violations in Cuba and will then accuse the State Department of applying a double standard.

In this connection I will conclude by recalling a vivid personal experience several years ago in one of our embassies in a foreign capital. I was talking with a woman whose husband had "disappeared," as they say, and she herself had good reason to fear for her own safety. She was discussing her plight with me while accompanied by her son of around 10 years of age. Toward the end of our meeting, she felt she had summoned up enough courage to venture outside once again, and she stood up to say goodbye. But then panic returned, and she decided to stay for just one more cigarette. When she tried to light up, her hands were trembling so much that I finally did it for her. And her small son's eyes never left me as he desperately tried to read in my face the chances for their survival. I think the question of whether that mother and son were in danger from a rightwing or leftwing regime is totally irrelevant.

A DISTINGUISHED SERVICE AWARD FOR A DISTINGUISHED CITIZEN, JERRALD H. REDEKER

HON. GUY VANDER JAGT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. VANDER JAGT. Mr. Speaker, it is with particular pride and privilege to bring to the attention of the Members of this great body the recent accomplishments of Jerrald Redeker, of Holland, MI. I say with "particular pride and privilege" because I count "Jerry" Redeker as

a great friend and booster for a good number of years.

Jerrald Redeker has just received one of the most outstanding awards one can receive as he was presented with the 1987 Distinguished Service Award from the Holland Area Chamber of Commerce. I am very proud and happy for Jerry. But, to paraphrase that now famous television line "he achieved success the old fashion way, he earned it." And, as the Holland Sentinel newspaper editorial said, "When it comes to community service, Jerrald H. Redeker is at the top." The editorial concluded, "Redeker is deserving of the chamber's top award."

In extending my personal congratulations to an outstanding citizen, great community leader and wonderful friend, permit me to bring to my colleagues attention the following special editorial from the Holland Sentinel and a fine news article, both of October 7:

JERRALD REDEKER, DISTINGUISHED COMMUNITY SERVICE

When it comes to community service, Jerrald H. Redeker is at the top.

His selection as recipient of the 1987 Holland Area Chamber of Commerce Distinguished Service Award publicly recognizes the volunteer work he has done to benefit the Holland area.

Since arriving in Holland in 1974 to become president and later chairman of the board of Old Kent Bank, Redeker has been involved in countless civic, educational and church activities. Because of his leadership abilities, he has not only served on numerous committees but also has been asked to chair a project.

His latest endeavor, Window on the Waterfront, is a prime example. Redeker was determined the park would become reality.

Last March he challenged the community at Holland Area Chamber of Commerce Early Bird breakfast to raise \$500,000 in eight weeks to beautify the waterfront behind Riverview Park. As chairman of Holland's Michigan Sesquicentennial committee, Redeker saw the project as a lasting memento to the state's 150th birthday. Dedication of the site is slated next month.

A Waupun, Wis., native, born Oct. 5, 1934, and a 1956 Hope College graduate, Redeker is another Holland resident always willing to contribute to his adopted community.

Redeker is deserving of the chamber's top award.

CHAMBER HONORS REDEKER WITH DISTINGUISHED SERVICE AWARD

(By Michael Lozon)

Lauded for his many years of service to the Holland community, Jerrald Redeker was presented with the 1987 Distinguished Service Award Tuesday night from the Holland Area Chamber of Commerce.

The award was presented for the fifth year during the chamber's annual banquet at the Holiday Inn in Holland. Redeker is chairman of the board and president of Old Kent Bank of Holland.

Presenting the award was William Sikkel, chairman of the award selection committee and senior vice president of Haworth Inc.

"The 1987 recipient meets the criteria for the award and more. He is a man of high ideal who has served in many areas and in many ways," said Sikkel. "The community has grown under his leadership."

Sikkel noted Redeker's service to the community in a long list of affiliations. They include: the Holland Community Foundation,

Holland Economic Development Corp., Holland Community Hospital board, Holland Rotary Club, Holland Area Junior Achievement, Holland, Area Youth for Christ, Board of Theological Education for the Reformed Church in America, Christ Memorial Church of Holland, and the chamber.

Redeker currently serves on the board of directors for the Pine Rest Foundation and the Lakeshore Health Maintenance Organization. In addition, he was awarded the distinguished alumni award from Hope College, and is listed in the Who's Who in Midwest directory for 1985, 1986 and 1987.

Redeker's most recent accomplishment, said Sikkel, was as chairman of the chamber's Holland Sesquicentennial Task Force, which raised funds for the Window on the Waterfront park.

The project budget was \$480,000, but donations from the community ended up topping the \$500,000 mark. The park—slated for dedication Nov. 7—is being constructed along a half-mile strip on the Macatawa River, from River Avenue to Columbia Avenue.

"It has really been an honor and a privilege to serve each of you in this capacity," said Redeker in accepting the award.

Besides the award, Redeker was treated to a surprise visit from his mother, Laura, who traveled from his hometown of Waupun, Wis., to attend the banquet.

He graduated from Hope College in 1956 with a bachelor's degree in business administration. He worked for Michigan Bell Telephone Co. and Old Kent Bank and Trust Co. before accepting a position as vice president of Metropolitan National Bank of Farmington in 1965.

In 1967, Redeker joined First State Bank of Charlevoix as vice president and later became its president and chief executive officer. He resigned that position in 1973 to become an agent for Farm Bureau Insurance Co. of Michigan.

Redeker joined Peoples Bank of Holland (now Old Kent Bank of Holland) as president and chief executive officer in 1974, and took on the additional responsibility as chairman of the board in 1979.

In addition to the DSA presentation, plaques were presented to retiring directors of the chamber board to recognize their years of service. They are: Andy Van Slot (1979-87), James Stonick (1983-87), Lyle Bezile (1984-87), Gail Hering (1984-87), Larry Van Dyke (1984-87) and Dave Swart (1984-87).

Remarks were also made by incoming board chairman David Lake, and outgoing chairman Joyce Korman, who was presented a plaque to recognize her service during 1986-87.

"I consider it a blessing to live and work in Holland, a privilege to be part of the Holland Area Chamber of Commerce, and an honor to have been chairperson for the past year," said Korman.

The banquet socially marks the start of the chamber's new fiscal year.

BRIAN WILLSON

HON. BARBARA BOXER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues, the fol-

lowing articles which appeared in the September 2 and 3, 1987, editions of the San Francisco Examiner. These articles were written in response to the tragic accident in which Brian Willson, Vietnam veteran and activist for peace in Central America, lost his legs. In submitting these articles, I would like to point out that we are still awaiting a report from the Navy on this matter:

CONCORD

(By Rob Morse)

What was he doing on the tracks? That is the question you are likely to ask after seeing the photographs of Vietnam veteran Brian Willson lying grievously injured on the railroad tracks at the Concord Naval Weapons Station. He knelt down between the rails Tuesday morning and was run over by a train. You may say it quizzically, or maybe cynically, as if he ought to have known better: What was he doing on the tracks?

Willson was there to begin his second fast for peace in two years. The first one ended last September after 47 days on the U.S. Capitol steps. The fast that began Tuesday ended with a paramedic's IV on the tracks in Concord, after Willson was hit by a munitions train.

He was planning on going to jail and then going on a water diet for 40 days, "a substantial period of time for reflection," as he had put it earlier. He had not planned on being dismembered by a train. We have an even more substantial period for reflection.

Willson's friend and fellow Vietnam veteran John Skerce took some of the horrific photographs you see in this newspaper. He was there to deliver some film from an earlier trip to Nicaragua, during which he and Willson helped rebuild a village destroyed by the contras. Skerce, a freelancer with experience in Central America and Northern Ireland, shot 2½ rolls at Concord.

"They knew the risks involved," says Skerce of Willson and his two comrades who stood beside him as he knelt on the tracks. "They just had no expectation that they would be removed by a train. They expected that either the Marines or the CHP, with some degree of malevolence, mas o menos, would remove them. He expected to be arrested."

The art of nonviolent protest, as practiced by Willson and his fellow Veterans for Peace, is advanced. Their protests take place with dignity and thought, as Willson and Medal of Honor winner Charles Liteky demonstrated during last year's fast. Furthermore, they always tell the authorities what they plan to do. Last year they gave up everything but water to protest U.S. shipments of arms to the contras. They quit fasting when we took notice. They would have fasted as long as necessary.

On Tuesday, the protesters stood next to a banner with a quote from the Nuremberg Accords, which the U.S. signed at the end of the war with Nazi Germany: "Complicity in the commission of a crime against peace, a war crime or a crime against humanity is a crime under international law." Willson and company believe it. These are serious men who have seen combat and need see no more. On Tuesday they were met by lesser thinkers at the Concord weapons station.

According to photographer John Skerce, a Navy veteran of small boats in Vietnam, there were two men on the front of the train as it accelerated toward Willson, and they were yelling, "Whoo-oo, we're goin' through."

Afterward, a Navy spokesman said the train was going through at 5 mph, and described the two men on the front of the train as "observers." He also said the protesters might have jumped in front of the train at the last minute. Skerce's photographs show the veterans set up on the tracks long enough for speeches and the spelling of the word "Peace" in pebbles between the tracks, while Marines and the Highway Patrol stood by.

A video taken by one of the protesters, and aired on KRON-TV, showed a train accelerating toward Willson. Holly Rauhen, Willson's wife, could be glimpsed running alongside, yelling for it to stop, but she fell behind as the train hit what appears to be about 20 mph. The train was coming around a bend, and John Skerce said it was hard to tell if it was accelerating or decelerating. Someone yelled "Jesus Christ!" A second or two later, the sound track of the video records a thump, screams, and the cry from Willson's 14-year-old son Gabriel Ortega, "You killed my father!"

As of this writing, nine hours after he was hit, Willson is still alive. His legs have been amputated, and he is in surgery with serious head injuries. His son Gabriel is traumatized.

What was he doing on the tracks? This is what Brian Willson wrote at the end of a piece in the Santa Cruz Sun last Thursday:

"For those participating in the Nuremberg Actions on the tracks at Concord, Calif., one truth seems clear: Once the train carrying the munitions moves past our human blockade, if it does, other human beings in other parts of the world will be killed and maimed. We are not worth more. They are not worth less. Let us commit to ourselves and the world that we will claim our dignity, self-respect and honor by resisting with our lives and dollars, no matter what it takes, any further policies designed to kill others in our name. This fast, this period of cleansing and deep discernment, will assist us in preparing for this journey of liberation."

Whatever you think of his cause or his methods, you have to admit that Brian Willson was on the tracks because he was serious. You know why he was there, and so did the authorities long before. The question really is: Why did someone aim and launch a loaded train at him?

MORE

(By Rob Morse)

A guy called up Wednesday to criticize my column. I had written about Brian Willson, the protester who was run over by a train at the Concord Naval Weapons Center. The guy said he had learned that you never sit in front of moving trains, as if that was some kind of great insight everyone had missed. I told him that the train wasn't moving. It had sat still for about 15 minutes and then started toward Willson, according to numerous eyewitnesses. The guy on the phone called me a pinko.

That's right. I'm a pinko because I believe our Navy, the folks who were brought to us by John Paul Jones, and now tout around with nuclear-tipped missiles, shouldn't drive trains at a fellow clearly marked with a banner sitting on the railroad tracks. I know normal red-blooded Americans make a point of aiming their cars at people they see sitting in the road. After all, those people should know better than sitting in the road. See where that gets you in court.

What I was really saying in Wednesday's column, in case anyone missed the point,

was that what happened out at Concord Tuesday looked an awful lot like attempted murder. God willing, Willson will live. Representatives of the Navy say it was a tragic accident and no one was ordered to run Willson over. Of course not. Someone was probably ordered (or decided on his own) to scare Willson off the tracks, to play chicken with him, but he didn't move fast enough. That's the way it looked Tuesday.

Someone in authority at Concord will pay for this. I'm a Navy kid, and I know if the Navy hates one thing worse than losing a ship, it's a public relations disaster. Willson's group had been out at the weapons station every day, 12 hours a day, since June 12 in a spiritual vigil. We in the press didn't take notice until a two-car train with two government observers on the front took a run at Brian Willson and left him in several pieces. At a press conference after the accident Tuesday, the commander of the weapons station, Capt. Lonnie Cagle, looked sick, the way the man who skipped the ill-fated U.S.S. Stark in the Persian Gulf probably looked when he realized how badly things had gone down on his watch.

Worse yet. There is some question that the Navy may not have been forthcoming with medical aid after Willson was run over. According to several of the protesters, a Navy ambulance arrived within five or 10 minutes after Willson was hit, but the attendants only took his pulse and offered no other help. Maybe that's what lawyers would advise nowadays, I don't know. They refused to take him to the base medical clinic a half-mile away, according to these witnesses. Instead Willson had to wait about 40 minutes (by several estimates) for the county ambulance to arrive and take him to John Muir Hospital 10 miles away.

Photos of the scene show several Marines standing with arms folded while Willson's wife tries to staunch the flow of her husband's blood. She made a tourniquet for his severed leg from part of her dress and held it there until the county ambulance arrived while our military men watched and listened to her pleas.

You don't have to be a pinko to think something went very wrong out there at Concord. That wasn't my Marine Corps of my Navy.

Brian Willson needs Type O-negative blood. If that is your blood type, contact the nearest Irwin Memorial Blood Bank and mention Willson's name. . . Willson, who was a full-time peace activist, carried no health insurance. He will need financial help at some point, but his family is not sure how much as yet. More later on this. He is at John Muir Hospital in Walnut Creek.

TRIBUTE TO THE REVEREND DOCTOR WILLIAM P. DIGGS

HON. ROBIN TALLON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. TALLON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to a dynamic leader from my district, a gifted orator, and a compassionate clergyman, the Reverend Doctor William P. Diggs. I am very proud and grateful to count him among my close and trusted friends. This month, Dr. Diggs celebrates his 25th anniversary.

sary as pastor of the Trinity Baptist Church in my district in Florence.

Since coming to Florence 25 years ago, Dr. Diggs has made many significant contributions, not only to Trinity, but to the entire Pee Dee community as well. He has worked tirelessly to make life better for all of our citizens.

Dr. Diggs is a native South Carolinian. He is a graduate of Morehouse College. He holds a master of arts in sociology from Atlanta University, a master of divinity from Colgate-Rochester Divinity School and a doctor of ministry degree from McCormick Theological Seminary.

In addition to his earned degrees, Dr. Diggs is the recipient of several honorary degrees from institutions of higher learning across our State. He served as assistant professor of sociology and religion at Friendship, Benedict, and Morris Colleges for nearly 25 years. He is a member of the board of trustees of Friendship College, Morris College and a member of the board of directors of the Morehouse School of Religion.

As you have no doubt discerned, Dr. William P. Diggs is no ordinary citizen. He is well known and highly regarded by theologians, educators, and leaders all across the country. He is an outstanding educator and he has earned the respect and admiration of his fellow clergymen. Dr. Diggs is vice president at-large of the Congress of Christian Education for the Progressive National Baptist Convention and dean of the southern region. He is immediate past moderator of the Pee Dee Baptist Association.

Dr. Diggs has received countless awards and honors for meritorious service. He has shared his insightful wisdom, he has loaned his calm and reasoned voice to settle many a conflict and perhaps most importantly he has kept the faith. We have all benefited from his presence in our community. He has touched the lives of thousands through his religious and civic ministry.

As an elected official, I have often sought Dr. Diggs' guidance. He has been both a spiritual and political adviser. I am grateful for his abiding friendship and wise counsel.

We are indeed fortunate and blessed to have Dr. Diggs in our community. I am reminded of a verse by Josiah Holland which reads—

God give us men!

A time like this demands

Strong minds, great hearts, true faith, and ready hands;

Men whom the lust of office does not kill;

Whom the spoils of office cannot buy;

Men who possess opinions and a will;

Men who have honor; men who will not lie.

Mr. Speaker, Dr. Diggs embodies all of these characteristics. I rise today to thank him for his 25 years of dedicated and unselfish service to Trinity Baptist Church, the State of South Carolina and indeed the entire Nation.

## TRIBUTE TO THE PEOPLE OF TAIWAN

### HON. GUS YATRON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. YATRON. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to the people of Taiwan on the occasion of the National Day of the Republic of China. October 10, 1987, marks their 76th National Day.

The story of Taiwan is indeed an incredible one. Over the last several decades Taiwan's free-market economy has been one of the fastest growing in the world. Its estimated per capita GNP of over \$3,600 is the fourth highest in East Asia. The people of Taiwan have also established very high standards of health, education, and nutrition.

Clearly, the human progress on Taiwan has been tremendous and is a testimony to a hard-working population who have overcome many hardships, imposing obstacles, and, of course, constant security threats, from the Communist Government in Beijing.

In the political realm it is most encouraging that Taiwanese authorities have lifted martial law, although some other important democratic reforms are still pending.

As chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations, I have visited the Republic of China and can attest first hand to the miracle that has occurred. The people of Taiwan should be proud of their outstanding achievements. They can serve as an inspiration to us and to the rest of the world.

Let us use this occasion to recognize their accomplishments and to wish them the very best.

## JACK E. SCHULTZ RETIRES

### HON. BOB McEWEN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. McEWEN. Mr. Speaker, distinguished colleagues, allow me to take this opportunity to share with you an important date—November 1, 1987—which marks the retirement of Mr. Jack E. Schultz from Fairfax Opportunities Unlimited, Inc. [FOU]. Mr. Schultz, a native of Clermont County, OH, will be returning to his home State after 15 years of dedicated service in the northern Virginia area.

Since 1981 Jack has been an employee at the Environmental Protection Agency's mail services and has also served FOU at the Pentagon Officers Club and their sheltered workshop, "The Op Shop." Mr. Speaker as you may be aware, the northern Virginia based FOU serves the emotionally, mentally, and physically disabled throughout this area employing over 450 people with 215 employees working for various agencies of the Federal Government.

Jack Schultz has proven himself to be a very dedicated, hardworking, and dependable employee. In addition to his fine works for Fairfax Opportunities Unlimited, Jack has

been an outstanding member of his community who will be sorely missed.

I wish to use this opportunity to thank Mr. Schultz for his years of service for the Federal Government and to wish him the best of luck in a well-deserved retirement. Ohio—and the Cincinnati Reds—welcome Jack back where he will join his sister, Mrs. Patti N. Schuk, of Batavia.

Good luck, Jack. Best wishes. And many thanks.

## THE 225TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE TOWN OF TEMPLETON, MA

### HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday of next week the town of Templeton, MA, will celebrate its 225th anniversary. I rise today not only to commemorate this historic occasion, but to share with my colleagues the rich and varied history created by the past and present population of Templeton. The history of Templeton weaves together an ambitious imagination with a respect for tradition. And, I know that many of you will recognize these elements as the heart and soul of the American town.

There are two stories that I would like to share with my colleagues. The first story is about a Templeton man of letters who drafted the first strategy for the use of land grants to endow State universities. Jonathan Baldwin Turner pursued his ideas and produced an American institution, the State university. I also want to share with my colleagues the story of the efforts expended by the people of Templeton to preserve their history and to designate Templeton Common and Baldwinville Village as historic districts.

In May 1850 Mr. Turner unveiled "A Plan for a State University for the Industrial Classes" that called for the endowment of a State university in Illinois from the receipt of public land sales. Working with the State Legislature in Illinois, where he had moved from Templeton to teach at Illinois College, Mr. Turner led the petition drive to the U.S. Congress calling for legislation that would enact his land grant proposal. In 1857 Congressman Justin Morrill of Vermont introduced such a bill, which was signed into law the following year and is not known as the Morrill Act.

I am in debt to Mr. Turner for his initiative and I continue to carry the flag that he stitched. The seeds sown by this Templeton native have blossomed in another town in my congressional district, Amherst, MA. Throughout 29 years in Congress, I have sought every opportunity to help the University of Massachusetts.

Furthermore, Mr. Speaker, the bond between Templeton and the university did not end with the ambitions of Mr. Turner. The first recipient of a Ph.D. from the University of Massachusetts was Templeton native Warren Elmer Hinds. And, as recently as 1962 the university joined Templeton in celebrating the town's 200th anniversary.

Mr. Speaker, it is a tribute to the town of Templeton to have sent forth such a distinguished son. Yet equally impressive to me is the respect and admiration held by the current residents of Templeton for the accomplishments and activities of former residents. In fact, this quality is what makes the 225th anniversary of Templeton so meaningful for both the residents and all those associated with Templeton.

This brings me to my second story, Mr. Speaker. In 1983 Templeton Common was placed on the National Register of Historic Places and in 1986 Baldwinville Village was added to the list. This distinction is the result of effort from the citizens of each of Templeton's four precincts—Baldwinville, Otter River, East Templeton, and Templeton Village. And I can't emphasize enough how important a concerted effort is to the building of a community.

Among many other memorials, monuments have been erected to the Templeton veterans of all four wars fought by American soldiers on foreign soil during this century. Templeton residents have always been appreciative of the experiences of veterans.

But perhaps the most remarkable tribute to the history of Templeton is the preservation of many of the homes and churches in the area. Five of Templeton's eight churches were built in the 19th century and today remain in fine condition. Also impressive is the preservation of the Gilbert House, the Millstone Farm, and the Parsonage of the First Church, to name a few of the more than 25 homes that surround the Common in Templeton. Each of these structures have been preserved because of the tireless commitment to history felt by the people of Templeton. And it is this commitment that earned the distinction from the National Registry of Historic Places.

Mr. Speaker, so often Americans are viewed as people driven by ideas for the future. Because of our Nation's rapid growth through numerous developmental stages, it is often thought that Americans forget about those who have fought the wars and built the homes before them. This is simply not true for the people of Templeton.

I want to take this opportunity to extend my congratulations to the people of Templeton. The occasion of the town's 225th anniversary is a time not only to commemorate the humble and magnanimous achievements of generations past, but to celebrate the wealth of potential and initiative that continues to drive the town. And believe me, Mr. Speaker, there is much to celebrate. Happy birthday, Templeton.

**IN HONOR OF THE WOMEN'S DAY COMMITTEE OF ST. GREGORY THE GREAT CHURCH**

**HON. KWEISI MFUME**

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. MFUME. Mr. Speaker, the Women's Day Committee of St. Gregory the Great Church is celebrating its 15th anniversary this year. This committee is dedicated to serving

the Church of St. Gregory the Great, its members, neighbors, and the community and I feel that 15 years of such service is truly an honorable accomplishment.

Each year, the Women's Day Committee has a special women's day celebration to give thanks. This year, there will be a special mass at 11:30 a.m. on Sunday, October 18 1987, and the theme this year is: "Fifteen Years—Working Together for the Glory of God."

The Women's Day Committee is also to be commended for their annual awarding of a scholarship to a high school student of the church who will be entering college.

Baltimore has benefited from the work of this committee and communities across the United States are blessed with organizations that resemble the Women's Day Committee of St. Gregory the Great Church. We should all take a moment to think of the great contribution organizations as such make toward the betterment of mankind.

**COMMEMORATING DR. KENNY GUINN AS DISTINGUISHED MAN OF THE YEAR**

**HON. JAMES H. BILBRAY**

OF NEVADA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. BILBRAY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to a preeminent civic and community leader of southern Nevada, Dr. Kenny Guinn. On Sunday, November 15, the Nate Mack Las Vegas Lodge of B'nai B'rith will honor this exceptional Las Vegas as "Distinguished Man of the Year." He is truly deserving of this recognition.

Kenny Guinn has made extensive contributions to the community of southern Nevada. He has given tirelessly of his time and energy to promote the successful growth of Clark County and its citizens. I consider his friendship and long-time acquaintance a great honor.

During his tenure as superintendent of schools for the Clark County School District, Kenny led the county through a dynamic period of school growth with deftness, superior managerial skills and his characteristic sense of professionalism. As the result of his work, southern Nevadans point with pride to our outstanding school system.

In his current capacity as president of both Nevada Savings and Southwest Gas Corp., Kenny continues his commitment to providing for the finest in the quality of life in Clark County and in all of Nevada. The success of these institutions is evidence not only to the vitality of our community but to the exceptional abilities Kenny Guinn brings with his contributions.

Mr. Speaker, by any standard—be it community service, civic leadership, or professional contributions—Dr. Kenny Guinn represents the finest in southern Nevada's commitment to our greatest of many resources: the men, women and children of our State. I ask my colleagues to join me today in commending Dr. Kenny Guinn for his well-deserved recognition as "Distinguished Man of the Year."

**NEW CONTRA AID REQUEST AT ODDS WITH NOBEL PEACE PRIZE**

**HON. RONALD D. COLEMAN**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. COLEMAN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, it is ironic that Secretary of State George Shultz should make a renewed request for military aid to the Contras on the same day that Costa Rican President Oscar Arias won the Nobel Peace Prize for his Central American peace plan signed in August.

Building on the breakthrough achieved by the previous plan achieved by President Reagan and Speaker of the House JIM WRIGHT, the Arias peace plan provides a workable framework for peace in Central America. Already we have seen a cease-fire between the Nicaraguan Government forces and the reopening of La Prensa and the Catholic radio station in Managua. This plan represents the beginning of the comprehensive regional solution to the crisis in Central America that we in the Congress and the administration have agreed is vital for a lasting, secure peace.

Will the administration give it the chance it deserves? Good-faith efforts are being made as we speak by the Government of Guatemala and the Guatemalan rebels; between El Salvadoran President Duarte and the El Salvadoran insurgents; and by other important first steps around the region.

The only lack of good faith, unfortunately, is coming from the administration. President Reagan has apparently endorsed the Arias plan, but we need consistency from the White House. Their policy seems more dependent on palace politics than on the needs of this Nation and the region itself.

Mr. Speaker, my colleagues and I support the promise of the Arias peace plan. It is time for the administration to support it, too, and to keep from waffling in response to each new attack on the peace process from the right wing inside and outside the administration.

**LET US KEEP THE 1990 CENSUS ACCURATE**

**HON. SANDER M. LEVIN**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. LEVIN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, as 1990 approaches, we look forward to yet another 200th celebration, the bicentennial of our census. However, if the Office of Management and Budget has its way and eliminates more than two dozen vitally important census questions relating to housing, energy and other essential programs, 1990 will not be a time to salute our progress. We will instead find ourselves lamenting a missed opportunity.

OMB says, "the 1990 census must meet a high standard for both quality and utility." I heartily agree, but how is this to be achieved if OMB backs away from several census areas

which require accurate information? By eliminating these questions which provide crucial information for federally aided programs, OMB is being penny wise and pound foolish. It is difficult for Congress and local government to make delicately balanced decisions concerning spending priorities if we are forced to use data which are decades old, or nonexistent.

It seems as though OMB is again caught up in games of reducing costs, while ignoring the entire issue of cost-effectiveness. Accurate information is something on which we cannot compromise.

### IRAN: CONTAINING THE ZEALOTS

#### HON. NICHOLAS MAVROULES

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 14, 1987

Mr. MAVROULES. Mr. Speaker, LES ASPIN gave a very important speech on the Persian Gulf yesterday to the National Women's Democratic Club. I would like to submit the entire text of the speech for the benefit of my colleagues who have a keen interest in this issue.

The speech follows:

#### IRAN: CONTAINING THE ZEALOTS (By Les Aspin)

This is a town with a propensity for football metaphors. But sometimes we need to think chess. That's true when it comes to the Persian Gulf, for example. I'm afraid our Persian Gulf policy is suffering because of that propensity to think in football terms: pick a play; try it; see how far you get; then decide what you'll do on the next down. In chess, on the other hand, you need to think several moves ahead at a time. We aren't doing that.

My criticism is aimed at both the Congress and the executive branch.

Let's look first at Congress. Most of the talk there centers on invoking the War Powers Resolution. That is important—and harmful.

It's important because Congress has a role to play in formulating foreign policy. The Constitution says the Congress has the power to declare war. But what we have seen develop, especially since World War II, is a presidential policy of committing troops to combat under the commander-in-chief clause. It is important that we resolve this constitutional dispute.

The War Powers Resolution, enacted over President Nixon's veto in 1973, was an effort to do so. The War Powers Resolution tells the President to report to Congress within 48 hours after American forces are "introduced into hostilities or into situations where imminent involvement in hostilities is clearly indicated by the circumstances." Congress then has 60 days in which to approve the use of those forces. If Congress does nothing, the President must terminate the action. Presidents have noticed that only a presidential report starts the 60-day clock ticking. So, Presidents have thwarted the War Powers Resolution by simply failing to send War Powers reports to Congress.

Congress periodically debates what to do about this. The Senate has been debating War Powers and the Persian Gulf for about three weeks now. Regrettably, these Persian Gulf debates pose a danger for our own in-

terests. There are three problems with what the Senate is doing.

First, the War Powers debate undermines our foreign policy interests in the Persian Gulf and endangers American lives by signaling to Iran that we are a nation divided. We in Congress all know that if a vote were held today, neither the Senate nor the House would pull our forces out of the Gulf. But Iran appears not to understand that. Iran believes—and its officials have publicly stated—that we are a divided and fragmented society. Iranian officials think they can force us out of the Gulf. Their view of history holds that they drove us out of Lebanon by killing 241 Marines. The various proposals that we see in the Senate for invoking War Powers all drag out the process before there is any vote on substance. The Senate is now debating whether to vote to set up a vote on the Persian Gulf 90 days from now—which will take us into next year. During that time, Iran will be doing its level best to influence the policy vote by terrorist acts. The entire process encourages what we are seeking to discourage.

The second problem is that resolutions such as the Senate has been working on are hard to word. If you write in restrictions on the use of troops, you are giving the Iranians a road map to maneuver around our forces. If you impose no restrictions at all, then you offer up a form of Gulf of Tonkin resolution. Such open-ended resolutions are like giving the White House a license to do whatever it chooses. It is this inherent contradiction that makes it so difficult to pass any resolution. Right now, I do not believe there are enough votes in the House to pass any of these resolutions.

This is a real quagmire. The Congress obviously should not ignore a major issue even though the image of fractiousness hurts our interests. Yet, the Congress can't put together a majority for any legislation it drafts. There is a way out of this morass, however. The President ought to be less concerned with turf and more concerned with policy. The President ought to comply with the War Powers Resolution by sending the requisite message to Congress that mandates a vote. Let me explain how this changes the legislative lay of the land.

Faced with a menu of potential alternatives to the status quo, as we are now, Congress will reject them all. But under the War Powers Resolution, Congress cannot fall silent and accept the status quo. Under War Powers, if Congress doesn't endorse the deployment of forces, those forces must be withdrawn. Faced with the requirement for choice, Congress will vote overwhelmingly to keep U.S. forces in the Gulf. And because such a vote is ordered by another piece of legislation, namely the War Powers Resolution, there would be no implication that Congress was volunteering an open-ended license for the Administration to do as it chooses.

Such a vote would strengthen the President's hand immensely. Allies who doubt he has political support would be comforted. Adversaries who think he is out on a limb would be disabused. And we would get that issue behind us. If the President does not comply with War Powers, we should look to the court case that the Democratic Study Group had initiated. I hope the House will not try to emulate the Senate by writing legislation.

The third problem with the current Senate tack is that the various proposals—and what policy debates there are—focus on the reflagging and escorting policy in the

Persian Gulf. The debate doesn't really get Congress into the larger question of U.S. policy in the region. And that, of course, is the real problem. We have no policy in the Gulf.

Look at how we got into escorting. We didn't sit down, inventory our goals and capabilities, and then devise a policy. We simply reacted to the priorities of others. The Kuwaitis asked us to reflag. The Administration did not act for more than two months. Then the Russians announced they would send escorted tankers to Kuwait. Within days we decided reflagging was essential. But the Soviets were not the Administration's only concern. The Administration was also concerned about its credibility—justifiably so—in the wake of the Iran-Contra scandal. It wanted to show the Arabs we weren't siding with Iran; escorting reflagged Kuwaiti tankers was one way to do that. So we got ourselves a Persian Gulf policy because of the Russians and Ollie North. Throughout, our policy was reactive; we were responding to events and the actions of others.

So, we are in the Persian Gulf. But our purpose for being there is not well articulated. Is it to protect the free flow of oil? Then why are we only escorting 11 tankers when hundreds ply the waters of the Gulf. Are we there to protect freedom of navigation? How are we doing that when more ships have been hit by the two belligerents in the last two months than in any similar period in the war. The public comprehends that the Persian Gulf, unlike Lebanon, is important to American interests because of the oil volume there. But the public also perceives that there is a disconnect between American interests and current policy.

What we face now is a dangerously unstable political situation. The Iranian attacks have so far cost no American lives. They have instead justified retaliatory attacks that have been efficiently handled by the Navy, and that have a feel-good impact home. We can only hope the Navy will continue to handle these attacks as well as it has to date. But what happens when and if these attacks begin costing American lives—just a few at a time perhaps, but repeatedly. If Iran starts hitting Americans with regularity, the American public, out of frustration, will likely react in one of two ways: as after Pearl Harbor; or as after Tet. The temptation will be to escalate, or pull out. One hopes neither happens, but the possibility makes the situation politically unstable.

So, what should we do?

First, we should lower our profile and hunker down for an extended stay. The heavy American presence in the region causes as many problems as it solves. It waves a red flag in front of the Iranian radicals. It makes the issue into an Iran-versus-America confrontation when in fact Iran is challenging most of the world, not just us. When there is a lull, we should reduce our presence. And we should let Iran know that's what we'll do. That gives Iran a motivation for turning down the violence. Most immediately, we should avoid adding to our profile. The battleship Missouri is in the Indian Ocean and there are thoughts of moving it dramatically into the Persian Gulf. Its presence would be dramatic—but also inflammatory. We should keep the Missouri out of the Gulf. Fortunately, five of our allies have joined us in the Gulf. The more visible their activities compared to ours, the better it would be.

Second, and more importantly, we need to work toward a plan to end the escorting and reflagging on our timetable and on our terms. Right now, according to the State Department, we are there for the duration of the Iran-Iraq war. That's a pretty imprecise calendar. The public needs a clearer idea about the time and the terms under which our escort service will end. Without that, it will be very hard to sustain public support if the going gets tough.

So, how do we bring the reflagging and escorting to a conclusion?

One way, as the State Department has noted, is to end the Iran-Iraq war. That is what's behind the ongoing efforts in the UN and the assorted resolutions there. Those efforts are important, but we cannot count on their success. Hatreds run deep in the Middle East, and the Iran-Iraq War could make the Hundred Years War look like a skirmish.

Two other policies come to mind—a short-term one we cannot control; and a long-term one that is beyond Iran's ability to effect.

The first is a policy of announcing an end to the reflagging and escorting once a ceasefire—formal or informal—takes hold. There is talk in the United Nations of accepting an Iranian proposal to go to an informal, unannounced, but nonetheless real ceasefire for a period of time. There will be a temptation for this Administration to keep up the escort service because of doubts the informal ceasefire will hold. Instead, we should end the escort service as soon as the ceasefire takes hold.

The ceasefire might collapse, however. We should go back in—but we should reenter the Gulf the way we should have entered it in the first place last spring—as part of a multinational operation. We should begin now talking with the Europeans and others about forming such a force to protect non-belligerent shipping—not just 11 tankers—in the event the ceasefire fails.

Of course, there may never be a ceasefire. We need a policy for ending the reflagging and escorting even if the war continues. One answer is pipelines. If pipelines are carrying the oil to points outside the Persian Gulf, there will be no need to escort tankers. Iraq has already eliminated its dependence on tankers by building a series of pipelines. Other pipelines already can take about one-third of the oil produced in the Gulf by non-belligerents. Another three pipelines could carry out almost all the rest. It would take money and time. But it can be done. And we should have been moving in this direction long ago.

These are only three suggestions. Others can no doubt come up with more. The point is that we need a policy that guides us visibly toward the end of the Persian Gulf escort service if the public is to be expected to continue supporting the effort—especially if we are going to see Iranian attacks that take American lives, a development we must plan for even while praying against.

There is yet another issue to ponder. Once the escorting ends, American interest in the Persian Gulf is likely to fade. We would return to that era when stories about the region were used as filler in the newspapers. That's just what the Gulf Arabs fear—that we will go away, leaving them with few defenses and a vicious snake rattling around in their backyard. Iran will not go away, and the Persian Gulf is too important for us to ignore.

We need to step back from the narrow issue of reflagging and escorting. We need to ask ourselves a very basic and fundamen-

tal question—the basic and fundamental question. Just what is the core problem in the Persian Gulf region?

The problem is not the 11 tankers the administration got hung on this spring—certainly not when there are hundreds of tankers plying the Gulf and Iran busies itself shooting at the many that aren't escorted rather than the few that are.

The problem is not simply endangered oil supplies—although we obviously have a major national interest in seeing that oil supplies are not interrupted.

The problem isn't even the ongoing Iran-Iraq war. The war isn't our problem. It is the result of our problem.

The problem is: Iran and its revolutionary messianism.

Iran wishes to give the entire world the benefits of its revolution—even if the rest of the world isn't interested in receiving those benefits. This is neither novel nor surprising. Revolutions tend to be messianic. Revolutionaries tend to think they have the true word. That was true after the French revolution, the Russian revolution, the Egyptian revolution, the Cuban revolution. European writers of 200 years ago said it was the problem with the American revolutionaries. Fortunately, we did not try to impose our revolution on Europe by force and subversion, only by way of example. But most revolutionaries start out using force and subversion to proselytize others.

The danger of the Iranian revolution is its focus on destabilizing the Islamic world in general and the neighboring Arab states in particular. In Bahrain, a majority is Shiite, as in Iran. In Kuwait, Iraq and Lebanon, there are large Shiite minorities. But those aren't the only areas of concern. Throughout the Islamic world, there are disaffected minorities looking for a cause and a charismatic leader that they have lacked since the passing of Nasser and Nasserism. Tehran is nursing these people with a philosophy that says America is the source of all that ails them and an Islamic revolution is the scourge that will cure them.

The world now faces three alternatives with regard to Iran's revolutionary messianism:

We can ignore it—but that is really no choice since Iran forces itself upon us.

We can suppress it—but that's a gross overreaction that would require an invasion and risk a major bloodletting.

We can contain it. And that is the strategy we should follow for dealing with the Islamic Republic of Iran. Containment can't work for centuries, but it can work for years. And that is what we need. It is in the nature of revolutions that they mellow with time. Iran's revolution may prove to be the exception, but I doubt it. Eventually, revolutionary fervor wears thin. Iran's economy is in a shambles. But the revolution's supporters are still riding an emotional wave. In time, they will come down off that emotional high and start expressing narrower interests—jobs, health care, housing. The Iranian revolution will likely follow the path of other revolutions and focus inward. We need a strategy to carry us from the era of messianism to the era of mellowness—hopefully a strategy that will help speed that process.

Our strategy, therefore, should be containment. The challenge is two-fold: to mobilize the world behind such a strategy; and to convince Iran that the world is not about to allow the Iranians to export their revolution by force or subversion.

This must be a world effort, not merely an American effort. Right now Iran thinks

that we are the only serious power impeding its progress. We must disabuse Iran of that. Any number of medium sized countries could quietly tell Iran in diplomatic approaches that they are unhappy with Iranian policies and would feel pushed toward joining an oil embargo against Iran if its policies did not change. If all Iran sees as its enemy is the United States, a major but very distant power, it will feel—as it feels today—that it can simply outwait us because we lack the interest and patience to see it through.

Now this means we face a difficult decision—because a true worldwide effort by definition includes the Soviet Union. This is not going to be easy to accept. After all, it was to counter the Soviets that we started reflagging in the first place. But the Administration policy of shunning the Soviets simply encourages them to play the spoiler role and make life tougher for us. And it gives Tehran the opportunity to play one superpower off against the other. If we are going to contain Iran, we have to do it with the Soviets—they are simply too important, too large, and too close to Iran to exclude.

The most common argument against our joining with the Russians is that they will thereby gain influence and permanent bases in the region. But the Gulf Arab countries, which only recently achieved independence, are unlikely to be interested in compromising their independence for Moscow's benefit. It is ironic to pick up a newspaper and see one article that complains the Arabs are so sensitive about their sovereignty that they won't give enough help to our Navy's efforts on their behalf, and then see another article that suggests that if we allow the Soviet Navy in the Gulf, those same capitalist, conservative, and religious Arabs would gladly hand the Russians bases.

While it is essential to include the Soviets to make containment work, they are not a special player in the Gulf. I fear some analysts too readily credit Moscow with a uniquely strong position. It is now conventional wisdom that we occupy a powerful position in the Arab-Israeli dispute because only we—of the two superpowers—can talk to both sides, and that Moscow occupies a powerful position in the Iran-Iraq dispute because only Moscow can talk to both sides. This is a mis-reading. We enjoy a unique position in the Arab-Israeli conflict because the Arabs know that only Washington can pressure Israel to make concessions. They know Israel is dependent on us for arms, money and sustenance. Moscow has no such leverage. In the Iran-Iraq dispute, Moscow can talk to both sides, but it can't threaten to cut Iran off from major arms supplies or foreign aid. In fact, Moscow wants more from Iran than vice versa. Moscow wants cheap natural gas from Iran, and it wants Iran to promise not to proselytize among Soviet Moslems. We have no leverage over Iran. But neither does Moscow.

So, for long-range policy objectives in the Gulf, we need to face up to the necessity of bringing the Soviets in—not as a special player, but as one in a group of players. At some point we need to test Gorbachev's willingness to be a contributor rather than a spoiler in this world. Why not try it with Iranian policy? We gain if he does contribute. And if he fails to produce on his promises, we also gain by virtue of demonstrating that.

World unity is essential to containing Iran. Keeping unity will be difficult and frustrating. We lose something by coordinating with other countries—not just the

Soviets, but the Chinese and the French and Germans, et cetera. We lose simplicity and flexibility. When a policy is made by an alliance, you can't shift tactics rapidly. You have to water down positions to keep the most reticent members on board. You have to invest a lot of time in diplomatic contacts. It's not easy. It can be frustrating. But in the end, the whole is greater than the sum of the parts. Unity has a value in and of itself because it multiplies our ability to influence events.

Ironically, with considerable help from Iran, we are actually beginning to move down this track. Last spring when we sought to convince two or three countries to join us in the Gulf, we got a frigid response. Then the Iranians began attacks on ships from those countries. Now five countries have joined us in the Gulf, far more than we even sought in the first place. We need to build on this to frame a group effort at containing Iran, not just the Persian Gulf aspects of Iran's foreign policies.

Mobilizing world opinion is just the first principle of containment. Convincing Iran that the world will not tolerate the violent export of its revolution comes next. That will require a carrot and stick approach.

The stick includes—but is not limited to—the threat of the use of force.

For Americans, the use of force is always politically difficult. But force serves a role in international relations, and a little force used early can often obviate the need for a lot of force later on. The trick is to apply the appropriate amount of force at the appropriate time. The tactic of imposing force at the point of the crime—as with the mine-laying ships and last week's speedboat attacks—is a rational use of force. Bombing cities is a bad idea. Bombing will make the radical enthusiasts—the zealots—even more zealous. Feeding their zealotry is playing to the most radical faction within the Iranian regime, which is hardly in our interest. A discriminating use of force is an important part of a containment strategy. Indiscriminate use of force just creates more martyrs for their cause.

But force is not the only stick we have available. An arms embargo is another stick. The world, however, must clearly understand that we must be prepared not only to vote for an embargo in the UN but to enforce one as well. We need to raise the pressure on Iran's ability to import arms progressively. We started unilaterally with Operation Staunch, the effort to reduce the flow of arms to Iran. Now we are looking at a UN-imposed embargo. But the embargo will leak, perhaps seriously. So, next, under that embargo, could come ship inspections to block arms from reaching Iran's ports. Iran will still be able to make some arms—perhaps enough to keep the war going. So, in the end, the world might need to blockade Iran's oil export terminals, shutting off 95 percent of her export earnings.

This means we should be looking at two kinds of sticks. One strikes at those military capabilities that are used against us. The other threatens Iran's economic jugular. Iran knows its vulnerabilities. It knows that it exports 100 percent of its oil from only two terminals. If those two terminals are blockaded or mined, she will not be able to pay for imports of food, medicine and consumer goods, not to mention armaments. We should not resort to such brutalizing pressure now. But Iran must know that its provocations, if continued indefinitely, are driving the world in that direction.

But a stick is not enough. If all you do is proffer the stick, but give the Iranians no

honorable way out, then you will find that you have to use a very big stick indeed. There must be a carrot as well. The Iranians need to be able to show something positive.

Not every country has its navy in the Persian Gulf. Germany doesn't, for example, and its foreign minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, appears to be trusted in Tehran. A primary goal of the diplomats like Germany's foreign minister and the UN secretary general—people who can and do talk with Iran—ought to be a hunt for ideas, policies, and fig leaves that would make it easier for Iran to alter its policies and save face.

The fig leaf that the world is concentrating on today is a tribunal that would ascertain who is responsible for starting the Iran-Iraq war. That has been an Iranian demand for years. However, it is unlikely such a tribunal will bring the result Iran wants. Any international tribunal is bound to split blame, finding that Iraq crossed the border first—but only after months of Iranian provocations, including subversion and border shelling.

Where does this lead us? Iran faces two choices. It can export its revolution by force and subversion, thereby confronting the world. Or it can export its revolution by way of example. With the set of principles I have outlined, we have the opportunity to induce Iran to shift from force to example.

The alternatives are clear. We can withdraw—demoralizing the Gulf Arabs and signaling Iran that she is free to export her revolution without our interference.

We can pursue the present policy—one that deals only with a single aspect of the problem, one that mobilizes a limited part of the world's resources, and one that therefore encourages Iran to cause us yet more grief.

Or we can address the full problem—mobilize the efforts of other countries and confront Iran solidly so she will see she cannot profit by force and subversion.

The whole world will be the better for it.

#### EXAMPLES OF IRANIAN PERCEPTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES

Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, speaker of the Iranian parliament: The Russians have a centralized policy and can make decisions they consider advisable. However, this is not true in the United States. The American leadership is antithetical and fragmented. The conflicts and differences in America—such conflicts exist in other countries as well, such as France—prevent them from making decisions they deem advisable. Rivalries create difficulties. This is what is happening in America.

Ali Khamenehi, president of the Islamic Republic, speaking at a news conference in New York last month: Any incident that might resemble another Vietnam will be considered by public opinion in the United States as a very hard, bitter and unacceptable development. Today it is us who receive the dead bodies of our sons. But if, God forbid, the day comes when your government is receiving the dead bodies of American people and delivering them to the people of the United States, the people will say to your government, "It was you who initiated this. Why did you start it?"

#### SENATE COMMITTEE MEETINGS

Title IV of Senate Resolution 4, agreed to by the Senate on February 4, 1977, calls for establishment of a

system for a computerized schedule of all meetings and hearings of Senate committees, subcommittees, joint committees, and committees of conference. This title requires all such committees to notify the Office of the Senate Daily Digest—designated by the Rules Committee—of the time, place, and purpose of the meetings, when scheduled, and any cancellations or changes in the meetings as they occur.

As an additional procedure along with the computerization of this information, the Office of the Senate Daily Digest will prepare this information for printing in the Extensions of Remarks section of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on Monday and Wednesday of each week.

Any changes in committee scheduling will be indicated by placement of an asterisk to the left of the name of the unit conducting such meetings.

Meetings scheduled for Thursday, October 15, 1987, may be found in the Daily Digest of today's RECORD.

#### MEETINGS SCHEDULED

##### OCTOBER 16

9:30 a.m.

#### Armed Services

Business meeting, to hear and consider the nomination of Stephen M. Duncan, of Colorado, to be Assistant Secretary of Defense for Reserve Affairs.

SR-222

#### Governmental Affairs

Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations  
To continue hearings on product substitution by Department of Defense contractors.

SD-342

10:00 a.m.

#### Energy and Natural Resources

Minerals Resources Development and Production Subcommittee

To hold oversight hearings to review the processing of oil shale mining claims and patents by the Department of the Interior under the Mining Law of 1892.

SD-366

2:30 p.m.

#### Appropriations

Business meeting, to mark up H.R. 2906, appropriating funds for fiscal year 1988 for military construction programs of the Department of Defense, and proposed legislation appropriating funds for fiscal year 1988 for the Department of Agriculture, rural development, and certain related agencies.

SD-192

##### OCTOBER 19

9:30 a.m.

#### Finance

Taxation and Debt Management Subcommittee

To resume hearings on the effect of current tax laws on American competitiveness.

SD-215

OCTOBER 20

9:30 a.m.  
 Commerce, Science, and Transportation  
 Surface Transportation Subcommittee  
 To hold hearings on S. 816, S. 1026, and  
 S. 1040, bills relating to the construction,  
 acquisition, or operation of rail  
 carriers, and to review the Interstate  
 Commerce Commission consideration  
 of railroad line sales. SR-253

Environment and Public Works  
 Nuclear Regulation Subcommittee  
 To hold oversight hearings on the Nu-  
 clear Regulatory Commission's regula-  
 tory interface with the industry. SD-406

Judiciary  
 Antitrust, Monopolies and Business  
 Rights Subcommittee  
 Technology and the Law Subcommittee  
 To hold joint hearings on S. 438, to  
 modify the application of the antitrust  
 laws to encourage the licensing and  
 other use of certain intellectual prop-  
 erty. SD-226

2:00 p.m.  
 Armed Services  
 Conventional Forces and Alliance Defense  
 Subcommittee  
 To resume hearings on the military bal-  
 ance in Europe. SR-222

Energy and Natural Resources  
 Public Lands, National Parks and Forests  
 Subcommittee  
 To hold hearings on H.R. 2629, to clarify  
 the conveyance and ownership of sub-  
 merged lands by Alaska Natives,  
 Native Corporations and the State of  
 Alaska, S. 1335, to establish the City  
 of Rocks National Reserve in Idaho, S.  
 1675, to provide for the establishment  
 of the Hagerman Fossil Beds National  
 Monument in Idaho, and H.R. 2566, to  
 extend the term of the Delta Region  
 Preservation Commission. SD-366

Judiciary  
 To hold hearings on pending nomina-  
 tions. SD-226

3:00 p.m.  
 Conferees  
 On S. 825, authorizing funds for fiscal  
 years 1988 and 1989 for housing and  
 community development programs.  
 2128 Rayburn Building

OCTOBER 21

9:00 a.m.  
 Rules and Administration  
 To hold hearings on the feasibility of  
 providing captioning for the hearing  
 impaired of television broadcasts from  
 the Senate Chamber; and to hold a  
 business meeting, to consider pending  
 administrative business. SR-301

Select on Indian Affairs  
 Business meeting, to consider proposed  
 amendments to the Indian Self-Deter-  
 mination and Education Assistance  
 Act (P.L. 93-638), and S. 795, San Luis  
 Rey Indian Water Rights Settlement  
 Act. SR-485

9:30 a.m.  
 Commerce, Science, and Transportation  
 Foreign Commerce and Tourism Subcom-  
 mittee  
 To hold oversight hearings on activities  
 of the Foreign Commercial Service,  
 Department of Commerce. SR-253

Energy and Natural Resources  
 Business meeting, to consider pending  
 calendar business. SD-366

Governmental Affairs  
 Permanent Subcommittee on Investiga-  
 tions  
 To resume hearings on government han-  
 dling of Soviet and communist bloc de-  
 fectors. SD-342

Judiciary  
 Antitrust, Monopolies and Business  
 Rights Subcommittee  
 To hold hearings on competition in the  
 pharmaceutical drug industry. SD-226

10:00 a.m.  
 Environment and Public Works  
 Water Resources, Transportation and In-  
 frastructure Subcommittee  
 To resume hearings to review infrastruc-  
 ture issues. SD-406

Foreign Relations  
 To hold hearings on the nominations of  
 William C. Harrop, of New Jersey, to  
 be Ambassador to the Republic of  
 Zaire, James B. Moran, of Virginia, to  
 be Ambassador to the Republic of Sey-  
 chelles, Robert M. Pringle, of Virginia,  
 to be Ambassador to the Republic of  
 Mali, and David H. Shinn, of Washing-  
 ton, to be Ambassador to Burkina  
 Faso. SD-419

OCTOBER 22

9:30 a.m.  
 Energy and Natural Resources  
 To resume hearings on S. 1217, to pro-  
 vide for oil and gas leasing, explora-  
 tion, and development within the  
 coastal plain of the Arctic National  
 Wildlife Refuge in Alaska. SD-366

Foreign Relations  
 African Affairs Subcommittee  
 To hold hearings to review U.S. policy  
 toward South Africa. SD-419

10:00 a.m.  
 Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry  
 Nutrition and Investigations Subcommit-  
 tee  
 To hold joint hearings with the House  
 Committee on Agriculture Subcommit-  
 tee on Domestic Marketing, Consumer  
 Relations, and Nutrition to review the  
 quality control and fiscal sanctions  
 system in the food stamp program.  
 1300 Longworth Building

Environment and Public Works  
 Environmental Protection Subcommittee  
 Business meeting, to mark up S. 675, au-  
 thorizing funds for fiscal years 1988  
 through 1992 for programs of the En-  
 dangered Species Act, and other pend-  
 ing subcommittee calendar business. SD-406

Judiciary  
 To hold hearings to review new Federal  
 sentencing guidelines and proposals to  
 delay implementing the guidelines. SD-226

OCTOBER 23

10:00 a.m.  
 Finance  
 Private Retirement Plans and Oversight  
 of the Internal Revenue Service Sub-  
 committee  
 To hold hearings on S. 1426, to provide  
 tax incentives to small businesses who  
 want to establish pension plans. SD-215

Judiciary  
 Immigration and Refugee Affairs Subcom-  
 mittee  
 To hold hearings on S. 1611, to effect  
 changes in the numerical limitation  
 and preference system for the admis-  
 sion of immigrants. SD-226

OCTOBER 27

9:00 a.m.  
 Office of Technology Assessment  
 The Board, to meet to consider pending  
 business. EF-100, Capitol

9:30 a.m.  
 Joint Economic  
 Education and Health Subcommittee  
 To resume hearings on the competitive-  
 ness and quality of the American work  
 force. 2359 Rayburn Building

10:00 a.m.  
 Energy and Natural Resources  
 To hold closed hearings on the status of  
 the Department of Energy's efforts to  
 address issues concerning the defense  
 materials production reactors located  
 in the United States. S-407, Capitol

2:00 p.m.  
 Environment and Public Works  
 Water Resources, Transportation, and In-  
 frastructure Subcommittee  
 To hold hearings on pending water re-  
 source projects of the Soil Conserva-  
 tion Service, Department of Agricul-  
 ture. SD-406

OCTOBER 28

9:00 a.m.  
 Select on Indian Affairs  
 To hold hearings on S. 1415, to facilitate  
 and implement the settlement of Colo-  
 rado Ute Indian reserved water rights  
 claims in southwest Colorado. SD-562

2:00 p.m.  
 Commerce, Science, and Transportation  
 To hold hearings on the nominations of  
 Francis J. Ivancie, of Oregon, to be a  
 Federal Maritime Commissioner, and  
 Francis H. Fay, of Alaska, and William  
 W. Fox, Jr., of Florida, both to be  
 Members of the Marine Mammal Com-  
 mission. SR-253

OCTOBER 29

9:30 a.m.  
 Environment and Public Works  
 Nuclear Regulation Subcommittee  
 To hold hearings on S. 14, S. 100, S.  
 1769, and S. 1770, bills to reorganize  
 the functions of the Nuclear Regula-  
 tory Commission and to establish an  
 office of Inspector General in the  
 NRC. SD-406

## NOVEMBER 3

2:00 p.m.

Energy and Natural Resources  
Public Lands, National Parks and Forests  
Subcommittee

To hold hearings on S. 708, to require annual appropriations of funds to support timber management and resource conservation on the Tongass National Forest, Alaska.

SD-366

## NOVEMBER 4

9:00 a.m.

Select on Indian Affairs

To hold oversight hearings on the implementation of the Kamehameha School/Bishop Estate Kamehameha Elementary Education Program at Rough Rock, Arizona.

SR-485

10:00 a.m.

\*Commerce, Science, and Transportation  
To resume hearings on safety and regulation of the airline industry.

SR-253

Environment and Public Works  
Water Resources, Transportation, and Infrastructure Subcommittee

To resume hearings to review infrastructure issues.

SD-406

## NOVEMBER 5

9:30 a.m.

Commerce, Science, and Transportation  
Aviation Subcommittee

To hold oversight hearings on activities of the Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation.

SR-253

2:00 p.m.

Energy and Natural Resources  
Public Lands, National Parks and Forests  
Subcommittee

To resume hearings on S. 708, to require annual appropriations of funds to support timber management and resource conservation of the Tongass National Forest, Alaska.

SD-366

## \* Select on Indian Affairs

To hold oversight hearings on the implementation of Title IV, Part C of the Omnibus Drug Act (P.L. 99-570).

SR-485

## NOVEMBER 10

9:00 a.m.

Select on Indian Affairs

To hold oversight hearings on implementation of the Indian Child Welfare Act (P.L. 95-608).

SR-485

9:30 a.m.

Commerce, Science, and Transportation  
Aviation Subcommittee

To resume hearings on S. 1600, to create an independent Federal Aviation Administration.

SR-253

## NOVEMBER 12

9:30 a.m.

Commerce, Science, and Transportation  
Aviation Subcommittee

To resume hearings on S. 1600, to create an independent Federal Aviation Administration.

SR-253

2:00 p.m.

\* Select on Indian Affairs

To hold hearings on S. 1039, to review and determine the impact of Indian tribal taxation on Indian reservations and residents.

SR-485

## NOVEMBER 16

2:00 p.m.

Select on Indian Affairs

To hold hearings on S. 1722, to establish the National Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation within the Smithsonian Institution, and to establish a memorial to the American Indian, and S. 1723, to establish certain regional exhibition facilities as part of the National Museum of the American Indian.

SR-301

10:00 a.m.

\* Commerce, Science, and Transportation  
To resume hearings on safety and regulation of the airline industry.

SR-253

## NOVEMBER 19

2:00 p.m.

\* Select on Indian Affairs

To hold oversight hearings to review Federal agency actions related to the implementation of the Department of the Interior's Garrison Unit Joint Tribal Advisory Committee final report recommendations, and on proposed legislation to implement the report recommendations.

SR-485

## NOVEMBER 24

2:00 p.m.

Select on Indian Affairs

To hold hearings on S. 1236, authorizing funds for certain programs of the Navajo-Hopi Relocation program.

SR-485

## DECEMBER 2

9:00 a.m.

Select on Indian Affairs

To hold hearings on S. Con. Res. 76, to acknowledge the contribution of the Iroquois Confederacy of Nations to the development of the United States Constitution and to reaffirm the continuing government-to-government relationship between Indian tribes and the United States established in the Constitution.

SR-485

## DECEMBER 3

9:00 a.m.

Select on Indian Affairs

To hold hearings on S. 1321, to declare that the United States holds certain lands in trust for the Camp Verde Yavapai-Apache Indian Community.

SR-485