

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## A WARNING TO THE NATION

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 26, 1988

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, one of the most troublesome problems facing Congress today is the soaring Federal debt. With a blatant disregard for future generations of Americans, Congress continues to irresponsibly authorize excessive Federal spending and borrowing. Why should Congress be allowed to flaunt the economic laws by which the private sector must live or die?

The solution to balancing the budget is to cut spending deeply by eliminating the waste and inefficiency throughout the Federal Government. A tax increase is certainly not the answer. Tax policy provides either incentives or disincentives to the economy. Higher taxes only serve to reduce private investment, stifling economic growth, and thus cause increased unemployment and a demand for even more Government spending.

I think the following articles by Jack Anderson, cochairman of the Grace Commission, illustrates the level of waste and inefficiency in Government spending and shows how damaging the deficit is not only to future generations but also to our Nation today.

## A WARNING TO THE NATION

(By Jack Anderson)

While the United States spends billions on military hardware, one famous writer warns we are fighting the wrong battle—WW III has already begun without a single shot being fired.

We owe it to our forefathers to safeguard the principles they struggled, sacrificed and died for—the principles they delivered to our care. We owe it to our children to pass on to them, intact, this most precious inheritance—their American heritage.

But our children's heritage is in danger, their future no longer assured. Unless present trends are drastically reversed, our children will inherit a bankrupt nation, trillions of dollars in debt, its banks mismanaged, its industrial base eroded—a nation plagued with drugs, ridden with crime, undermined by corruption.

I can only repeat what Thomas Paine first declared in 1777: "Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom must, like men, undergo the fatigue of supporting it." Democracy is something to be worked at, not merely thought about; something to be done, not merely talked about; something to be lived, not merely printed and read.

Japan is a nation of engineers, the United States a nation of lawyers. The Japanese willingly sacrifice today for tomorrow, we sacrifice tomorrow for today.

With all of this in mind, I urge you to take a good look at America as it hurtles toward the 21st century. The future is bearing down upon us at breathtaking speed. Here are the danger signs I see ahead:

## WORLD WAR III

For four contentious decades, we have been focusing on the wrong war. We have invested trillions of dollars to build our defenses against the Soviet military juggernaut. Yet all the while, the Japanese have been assaulting our economic citadels. They have scored victories that all the Kremlin's men and all the Kremlin's arms could not achieve.

The ubiquitous Japanese—forced in 1945 to lay down their arms, still inherently weak, powerless before the Chinese colossus, totally dependent upon the United States for defense against the Soviets—have quietly but remorselessly wreaked economic devastation across the United States. They have wrecked our steel industry, humiliated our automobile producers and destroyed our machine tool complexes. Now they are assailing our electronics industry.

Please don't misunderstand me. I don't contend that we should let down our guard against the Soviets; we must continue to maintain our military defenses. But much of our current hardship and future danger can be traced directly to the Japanese. And the full destructive impact, I fear, is yet to come.

What it boils down to is this: World War III has turned out to be an economic war, and we are losing it!

We may find it less demeaning to be victims of predestination than of folly, less ranking if our diminishment is dictated by history rather than self-inflicted, less demanding of us if we could regard ourselves as optionless casualties of fate rather than as yielders to economic aggression by Lilliputians.

But unhappily, we must take responsibility for our own failures. The Japanese have developed a nation of producers; we are a nation of consumers. Japan is a nation of engineers, the United States a nation of lawyers. The Japanese willingly sacrifice today for tomorrow; we sacrifice tomorrow for today.

There are disturbing signs that the Japanese have deliberately engaged in the economic conquest of America. I cannot prove this, it cannot be documented. I can only cite scraps of evidence—a whispered word here, a secret CIA account there, knowing looks on the faces of Japanese leaders who I have questioned.

But I know this much: we thought World War II was over in 1945 and we demobilized our military-industrial-economic team. The Japanese gave up their armed forces, true, but they never demobilized their economic forces. Every economic move Japan has made since World War II has been carefully controlled, directed and orchestrated by the government.

How should we respond? It seems to me that we must mobilize our economic forces again. We must restructure our industrial-technological apparatus. The government should declare an economic emergency, rally labor and management behind a national effort and start helping instead of harassing the nation's producers.

## THE MEDELLIN MENACE: THE ENEMY WITHIN

One of the nation's leading conglomerates (investigators estimate it's now the third largest in the United States) pays no taxes, bribes government officials and guns down rivals who dare to compete. A cold-blooded enforcer would just as soon kill a competitor as swat a fly.

I refer to the *Medellin cartel*, which supplies 80 percent of the cocaine that is smuggled into the United States. This criminal consortium has suddenly burst out of the Colombian jungles like Frankenstein's monster, leaving behind a cruel trail of wrecked lives and rampant crime. It is a *monster out of control*, disrupting governments, undermining law enforcement, corrupting high officials and spreading chaos from Colombia to Mexico, from Panama to the United States.

Then I'd like to sentence him to spending his prison time in Colombia living under the *Medellin cartel*. He could learn firsthand, what it will be like in the United States if the cartel continues to flourish here.

Now it is threatening to destroy the country that created it. A secret CIA assessment warns that the drug cartel has infiltrated and weakened the Colombian government until it can no longer enforce the laws and protect the citizenry. Honest authorities don't know whom to trust, they're surrounded by officials on the cartel's payroll. Any thug with cartel connections can escape punishment; he'll be released by one of the cartel's subsidized judges.

The CIA document described Colombia, therefore, as the "next Lebanon"—a country about to disintegrate into a lawless state controlled by drug lords who rule with guns. Indeed, the *Medellin cartel* got its name from a Colombian mountain resort where many of the drug lords hang out.

This criminal conglomerate is largely responsible, too, for the chaos that has swept Panama. The military dictator, General Manuel Antonio Noriega, has been the cartel's top man in Panama. For a percentage of the take, he protected the smuggling operations and laundered drug profits. Because Panamanian banks deal in dollars, they were ideal conduits for the cartel's cash.

There are men like Noriega in half a dozen countries—men high in the ruling circles who have sold out to the *Medellin cartel*. In Honduras, the army allows the cartel to use the country as a transshipment hub for cocaine. A former intelligence chief is said to be the key man and a secret network of military officers is allegedly paid off.

The United States, meanwhile, has erected two radar towers in the Dominican Republic to scan the smuggling routes across the Caribbean. When U.S. gunboats attempt to intercept a cargo, the smugglers make a dash to Haiti. In Haiti, they are protected by another Noriega. In the Bahamas, the drug lords have close ties to a government minister and in Mexico the government is honeycombed with officials on the take from the cartel.

● 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.

The massive scale of drug trafficking simply would not be possible without the collaboration of high-level authorities. As sure as this is true in Latin America, the same pattern is developing in the United States. The Medellín cartel is moving into this country at the local level, passing out bribes corrupting officials, undermining law enforcement. It is only a matter of time before the cartel breaks down government in the United States—unless it is stopped now.

**Footnote:** The Medellín cartel's chief competitor may soon be Ayatollah Khomeini's terrorist network. His terrorists specialized at first in producing hashish, which they smuggled out of their stronghold in Baalbek in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley. I'm told that the terrorists supply most of the hashish smuggled into America. Now Iranian advisors have taught the terrorists how to cultivate opium poppies and process them into heroin. So suddenly, the terrorists are pushing heroin. This could lead eventually to a violent confrontation between the cartel's gunmen and the ayatollah's terrorists, with many innocent Americans caught in the line of fire.

#### PUBLIC ENEMY NO. 1: LOOK IN YOUR MIRROR!

There aren't enough Coast Guard planes and ships, not enough immigration patrols and customs agents, not enough federal, state, and local lawmen to halt drug smuggling into the United States. The best estimate is that less than 15 percent of the illegal drugs are intercepted.

I know of only one way the Medellín cartel can be defeated. Americans will have to quit patronizing it. They must simply stop using illicit drugs, for it's the users whose cocaine purchases have created this monster, the users whose money continues to finance the cartel, the users whose complicity supports wholesale crime.

Personally, I'd like to arrest every yuppie who thinks it is fashionable to snort cocaine. I'd like to indict him for a long litany of crimes, not the least being accessory to murder. Then I'd like to sentence him to spending his prison time in Colombia living under the Medellín cartel. He could learn, firsthand, what it will be like in the United States if the cartel continues to flourish here.

I have more sympathy, frankly, for the street kid who shoots drug into his veins. He is more a victim than a criminal. Yet every user who buys drugs on the criminal market is a public menace. So I declare the illegal drug user, whoever he is, Public Enemy No. 1.

#### FINANCIAL SCANDAL: YOU COULD LOSE YOUR SHIRT

The federal government has spent \$2.3 trillion more than it has taken in. This doesn't count an additional \$3 trillion in obligations, which the government has agreed to pay in the future. This staggering national debt is expanding faster than taxes can be collected to pay it off.

Yet by mutual consent, our political leaders are blithely ignoring the problem—though it could cause economic chaos in the land. This is a parlous issue, they fear, that could hurt all incumbents, Democrats and Republicans alike. So they have agreed to soft-pedal the budget debate, ignore the fiscal threat overhanging America and keep the issue out of the election-year dialogue, if they possibly can.

At this writing, the budget writers from both parties are painstakingly drafting a \$1.12 trillion blueprint for fiscal 1989. As

usual, this is too much spending and outgo will again exceed income. But Congress is bound by the Gramm-Rudman Balanced Budget Act to hold the deficit to \$136 billion this year.

Apparently, this is too much to ask of congressmen who are accustomed to filling in blank checks. So they are using sleight-of-hand to keep the budget within the legal limits. By subtle accounting techniques, inflated revenue predictions and deflated cost estimates, they are deliberately disguising the budget so the spending will appear to be lower than it will surely be.

If you kept spending more than your income, like the federal government does, you'd go broke. A corporation would go bankrupt. Well, governments are bound by the same principle. Our government cannot continue its profligate ways without inviting catastrophe.

#### HOW TO SAVE TAXES, REDUCE THE DEFICIT, AND PREVENT DISASTER

Immediate, urgent action must be taken to save our economy from collapse!

Something simply must be done to reduce the deficit and stabilize the government's finances.

What solution does Congress have in mind? Congress is under public pressure to reduce the deficit, true, but Congress is also under quiet pressure not to restrain the growth of federal activities. This pressure comes from the federal agencies and special interests that benefit from government spending.

Most congressmen, therefore, don't really want to save money. What they really want to do is to raise more money. This way, they can deflate the deficit and still continue to spend, thus avoiding the political heat that comes from cutting someone's pet project.

Even as you read this, congressmen are meeting behind closed doors to discuss how to jack up taxes—as quietly as possible so you won't notice. But since tax increases aren't all that easy to hide, you are being conditioned for the shock. You have been told that there's no alternative to swallowing the bitter pill, that taxes must be raised.

Is there another way? Absolutely. The Grace Commission conducted an exhaustive study of the federal government's spending practices. Waste galore was uncovered, fraud was exposed, inefficiencies were bared.

The federal spendthrifts would like you to believe that no pork is left in the budget, that no more waste can be eliminated. The Grace Commission vigorously disputes this. It contends that enough fat can be slashed from the budget, enough extravagance eliminated, to solve the deficit problem without raising taxes!

As most of you know, I am co-chairman with the indefatigable J. Peter Grace of the Grace Commission. Our services have been free to the taxpayers, and Peter has contributed a lot of hard cash out of his own pocket. Yet you would have every right to question whether I have a personal axe to grind in advocating the Grace Commission's solutions.

So why should you believe the Grace Commission? Because it has dramatically demonstrated its ability to locate, identify and eliminate government waste. Last year, President Reagan ordered the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) to investigate how many of the commission's cost-cutting recommendations had been implemented and how much money had been saved. In compliance, the OMB conducted a survey of all government agencies. Its conclusion, up-

dated last month, was that the Grace Commission has saved the taxpayers an astounding \$110 billion.

At the same time, congressmen have been quarreling over a comparatively meager \$30 billion spending reduction. This has produced howls of anguish from the federal agencies. The welfare agencies warned this will take food out of the mouths of the hungry and homeless. The Postal Service threatened to stop Saturday mail deliveries. The Navy cried that it will have to reduce ship construction, which caused Secretary John Lehman to resign in a huff.

Yet we at the Grace Commission have saved \$110 billion without depriving the hungry of a single morsel or holding up the delivery of a single letter or canceling a single warship. We may have deprived some bureaucrats of higher status and salaries. But we have not damaged any legitimate program nor caused the public any pain, as government agencies always do when they cut back their own budgets.

What's more, we can slash the budget another \$120 billion, without restraining any federal activities or inflicting any public damage. That's four times more than the disputed \$30 billion cutback that is producing so much heartburn on Capitol Hill. All Congress has to do is adopt the recommendations we have submitted, which would eliminate more of the waste we have found.

#### CONCLUSION: A CALL TO ACTION

The economic tragedy of the 1980s cries out for an inquest. That a catastrophe is around the corner, which will spread economic devastation and incalculable misery, is hardly subject to dispute. Nor is the cause of our economic decline difficult to assess. Plainly and simply, the United States is losing World War III, which is turning out to be an ongoing economic war.

The full destructive impact of the economic war is yet to come. Only when the "debt bomb" explodes or is defused by a bailout from the taxpayers, with all the bleeding away of disposable income that this implies, can we begin to measure the ultimate damage.

The nation's banks have accumulated so much bad debt that I dare not tell the whole story. I have access to the depressing details. I could identify the troubled banks. I could cite evidence of widespread mismanagement. But the grim, raw truth would destroy confidence in the nation's banking system and only hasten disaster.

Last year, there were more bank failures in the United States than have been seen since the Great Depression. A terrible total of 184 banks went under. At least that many more banks are expected to fail this year. And the savings and loan industry is in worse shape.

And the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation is speedily going through its \$18 billion reserves to save troubled banks and bail out depositors. My sources say that the FSLIC doesn't have enough financial resources to cope with the looming crisis.

Then, added to the domestic crisis is the prospect of international debt default and third world disintegration. All this has contributed to our national debt, which hangs like the sword of Damocles over America's financial structure.

This has been the work of failed policies, self-serving politics and myopic vision. Our political leaders will try to blame the imperatives of economics or the attritions of history or even the world of conspiracy. But there has been no pattern of necessity at all



but, rather, a jumble of politicians' blunders, negligence and timidities.

The connecting thread has been the political opportunism of the moment and the postponement of inconvenient consequences to the next fellow's term. Our political leaders, Republicans and Democrats alike, are to blame. Their official fingerprints are all over the debacle.

Yet I believe America has the inherent strength to accept the truth and act on it. As Patrick Henry declared in ringing language in 1775, "Whatever anguish of spirit it may cost, I am willing to know the whole truth, to know the worst and to provide for it."

The government Henry helped to found in 1776 still belongs to the people. When they speak out, the politicians will listen. Americans must demand to know what the presidential candidates intend to do about the crises that beset us. We can recover from any setback, bear any burden, make any sacrifice, meet any hardship to win the economic war. What we need is someone to lead us.

### SALUTE TO A GREAT BUS DRIVER

**HON. WM. S. BROOMFIELD**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 26, 1988*

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize the achievements of Ms. Marilyn Harnack, a constituent of mine who recently won the Michigan annual State schoolbus "roadeo" competition. To achieve this outstanding accomplishment, Ms. Harnack defeated 52 other schoolbus drivers in tests involving bus maneuvering and safety skills. In addition, Ms. Harnack placed a respectable 14th out of 59 competitors in the national competition.

Ms. Harnack has been serving the community as a schoolbus driver for almost 20 years. She has placed first each year since 1983 among Oakland County schoolbus drivers in the county's "roadeo" contest. In addition to driving a bus for the Waterford School District, Ms. Harnack is also a devoted mother of two. Ms. Harnack entered into her career as a schoolbus driver in order to provide a little extra for her children, but love for her job led her to continue driving, enabling her to become a superior driver.

In her many years of driving a schoolbus, Ms. Harnack has never had an accident. A busdriver of this caliber is to be admired. Parents can feel comfortable when sending their children off to school on a bus when Ms. Harnack is driving. She has continually proved her competence when driving through the congested streets of Waterford Township. Her intense concentration and gritty determination have made her the accomplished driver that she is today.

Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to join me in offering personal congratulations to Ms. Marilyn Harnack. I am proud to have such a great schoolbus driver in my district and am proud that she represented the State of Michigan in the national finals July 11-12 in Baltimore, MD. She is a fine representative of Michigan and I wish her the best.

### IN SUPPORT OF THE PLANT CLOSING BILL, S. 2527

**HON. ROBERT GARCIA**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 26, 1988*

Mr. GARCIA. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of S. 2527, the Worker Adjustment and Retraining Act. This measure consists of the plant closing and job layoff provisions contained in the trade bill, H.R. 3 passed by Congress and vetoed by the President last month. This bill is necessary to protect the workers of this country from unexpected job loss due to plant closings and layoffs.

This bill requires employers with 100 or more full-time employees to give a 60-day advance notice of certain plant closings and layoffs. For plant closings, notice is required if the shutdown results in the loss of 50 or more employees at one location. For mass layoffs, notice is required if the layoff lasts over 6 months and involves over 50 workers who constitute over 33 percent of the work force at any location or if the layoff involves over 500 workers.

This is a fair and just measure. It is fair to the workers who deserve more than 1 or 2 days' notice of closings and layoffs. It is fair to businesses as well because the bill anticipates the special circumstances that would prevent companies from being able to give advance notice. This includes companies experiencing business circumstances that cannot reasonably be anticipated and faltering companies seeking capital or business to avoid shutdown.

This measure is important because workers are needlessly left without work because of plant closings or layoffs. Approximately 10.8 million American workers lost their jobs due to plant closings and layoffs between 1981 and 1986. This is an average of 2.2 million workers losing jobs each year in a time of economic uncertainty. This bill addresses the problem because advance notice will give companies, labor unions, and Government agencies time to plan and develop strategies to help dislocated workers find or train for new jobs.

There should be no doubt but that this legislation will reduce the adverse effects of closings and layoffs. Far too many workers lose their jobs without sufficient opportunity to prepare for a period of unemployment and job transition. Businesses provide workers on average only 7 days advanced notice of plant closings or layoffs. Nonunion workers get on average only 2 days advance notice. This is outrageous. Surely these people, the workers, the backbone of this great Nation, deserve more consideration than this. Surely a worker who has put his or her whole working life or even a part thereof deserve more than 2 days notice.

Studies have shown that an advance notice by employers of 2 months as this bill requires will shorten the period of unemployment for workers by an average of 3.8 weeks. That will create almost 2 full weeks of work for some 2.2 million workers who lose their jobs annually. By passing this bill, we get 2 weeks of work for 2 months advance notice. This is not too much to ask of employers who should

know by that time anyway whether or not they plan to shut down or lay off workers. And this will save an estimated \$400 million in unemployment insurance and result in \$1.5 billion in additional wages.

This bill is good for the workers of this country and good for the local economies of cities, towns and boroughs throughout the country. It is supported by labor groups and leaders and has already been passed by Congress once this year. I urge my colleagues to come forward in strong support of this measure and pass S. 2527 at a sufficient margin to override a second Presidential veto. I recommend a vote in favor of this bill.

### A TRIBUTE TO THE OHIO NATIONAL GUARD

**HON. JAMES A. TRAFICANT, JR.**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 26, 1988*

Mr. TRAFICANT. Mr. Speaker, today I rise in order to pay tribute to the Ohio National Guard, a very special military organization in my State of Ohio. It is one of my proudest and most humbling moments as a Member of Congress to be able to inform my fellow members of the U.S. House of Representatives that the Ohio National Guard will celebrate their 200th anniversary on July 25, 1988. For on July 25, 1788, Northwest Territory Gov. Arthur St. Clair signed the Ohio Territory Militia Act in Marietta, creating the armed force that became the Ohio National Guard.

The Ohio National Guard will return to Marietta, OH, on July 23, 1988, for a gala celebration of this historic event. The exciting festivities will include a parade of color guard units, the Army and Air National Guard Bands, and flyovers of Guard aviation assets. A joyous reception aboard the beautiful riverboat *Becky Thatcher* will follow these events, and I am certain that the guests at this reception will look back with great satisfaction on 200 proud years of Ohio Guard history.

Ohioans can truly sleep safer at night knowing that the Ohio National Guard is defending them. I want to tip my hat in salute to the soldiers of the Ohio Guard, and let them know that it is my deepest desire that they continue to fight for Ohio for another 200 years. Thus, it is with thanks and special pleasure that I join with the people of the State of Ohio in paying tribute to the glorious history and patriotic devotion of the Ohio National Guard on their 200th anniversary.

### NANTY GLO FIREMEN MARK 75TH YEAR

**HON. JOHN P. MURTHA**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 26, 1988*

Mr. MURTHA. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday a weeklong convention began to commemorate the 75th anniversary of the Nanty Glo Volunteer Fire Co.

Fire companies are among the oldest traditions in America, and they remain keys to community spirit, community self-reliance, community pride, and community interdependence.

It is a pleasure for me to extend my congratulations to the present and former members and leaders of the Nanty Glo Volunteer Fire Co. May I extend as well congratulations to all the families who have supported those members over the years.

A hallmark of western Pennsylvania is the strength and cooperation of our communities. We have a strong family base, and a spirit of cooperation and community that stands out to visitors to the region. The volunteer fire companies help develop and maintain that spirit. This 75th anniversary is certainly an event to be recognized and commemorated.

#### REMEMBERING BILL SINGER

#### HON. WILLIAM LEHMAN

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 26, 1988

Mr. LEHMAN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, Miami and all of Dade County have lost an old friend. Bill Singer was the personification of the phrase, "can do." He had vision, good sense, and the confidence of his convictions. Once he decided what needed to be done, he went and did it.

Twenty years ago he was president of the Board of Trustees of Temple Israel of Greater Miami. I was also on the board at that time, which was a period of expansion. Bill saw the need to double the capacity of the synagogue. But while other, more cautious members wanted to wait until all the funds were on hand, Bill argued that we should build now and that the money would come later. We did, and it did.

Bill Singer was a prime mover behind the North-South Freeway in Dade County that saved countless traffic logjams. He wisely pushed the project to construction while others preferred to plan and study.

His Royal Castle chain served the first and, I'm sure, the last-ever 5-cent hamburger. They were also the best. I can say that from personal experience.

As the song says, "Those were the days, my friend"—my friend, Bill Singer.

#### ROYAL CASTLE BURGER CHAIN FOUNDER DIES (By Lourdes Fernandez)

William D. Singer, who opened a little hamburger stand in Miami, called it Royal Castle and became king of a chain of burger places, died Wednesday night of natural causes at Mount Sinai Medical Center. He was 87.

After two failed business ventures, Mr. Singer opened the first Royal Castle on March 18, 1938. The now-defunct restaurant chain served up hamburgers for a nickel, before there were Big Macs and Whoppers and drive-through windows.

Mr. Singer, nicknamed "Mr. Can Do It" by the press, later distinguished himself by bringing expressways to Dade and financial stability to Jackson Memorial Hospital. He was a founding member of Mount Sinai Medical Center and a former Greater Miami Jewish Federation president.

Two years ago, he was awarded The Miami Herald's Spirit of Excellence Award, given to outstanding community leaders.

The first Royal Castle opened next to the old Rosetta Theater on Northeast Second Avenue at 79th Street in Little River. Mr. Singer spent \$1,000 to open it. He didn't have much money, but he had a tough, driving personality.

In 1960, Royal Castle became the third largest short-order restaurant chain in the country, behind White Tower and Toddler House. There were 175 Royal Castles in Florida, Georgia and Louisiana when the chain was sold in 1969.

Royal Castle was born after Mr. Singer's lumber business in Cleveland, and later his Jockey Club beer brewing plant in Hialeah, failed. After the last loss in 1936, he vowed to make his money back in Florida.

"He has been up and down through the Depression years," said his son Lawrence, who later took over the business. "He was looking for a Depression-proof business and the five-cent hamburger seemed to be it."

Royal Castle hamburgers were two half-dollars wide and not much thicker. They were best served with birch beer, which came in tall, frosty mugs.

In early interviews, Mr. Singer gave a couple of reasons for settling on a hamburger chain. "I had three children growing up and I was broke. I figured they would have something to eat," he said.

More seriously: "There's one business that never fails. Whether we have wars, revolutions, elections, depressions or atom bombs, people always have to eat. In a sense, it's the primary object in life."

For a while it seemed true: Royal Castle could not fail. The little restaurants—with orange and white exteriors, a crown for a logo, the motto "Fit for a King" and bar stools around a counter—sprouted throughout the state. Mr. Singer hardly ever had a problem building more.

In 1964, when the county planning board voted against a Royal Castle at Northeast 78th Street and Biscayne Boulevard—most Royal Castles were on corners—Mr. Singer pleaded before commissioners. They agreed with him that the building, with glass walls, would not obstruct drivers' visions.

Mr. Singer was well known in political and civic circles. He was part of a group of businessmen that wrote the Metro-Dade charter approved by voters in 1957. Twelve years later, he and other citizens pushed for a combined city-county government.

He chaired the United Fund—later United Way—drive and was founding chairman of the Jackson Memorial Hospital Public Health Trust. He traveled to Tallahassee, securing legislation to set up the Public Health Trust. With the trust, the hospital, which had been run by the county, could seek other financing.

One of his first tasks on the Public Health Trust board was to meet with auditors. They told him the hospital, in financial disarray, would have to start from scratch.

"He said, 'Oh well, that's a good way to go,'" said Katherine Fahringer, on the board with him. "He always had a positive approach. Nothing bothered him."

From 1957 to 1960, Mr. Singer served on the Florida Road Board. His territory covered nine counties, from Indian River to Monroe. He fought to get money to build the Julia Tuttle Causeway, parts of Krome Avenue and the Henry Kinney tunnel on U.S. 1 in Fort Lauderdale.

"There was a lot of opposition to the highway system, but he didn't pay atten-

tion," said friend Don Shoemaker, the former editor of The Miami Herald. "He kept slugging right ahead. He was one of the real creators of modern Dade County."

In 1959, with Dade complaining about bumper-to-bumper traffic and state and federal agencies complaining about lack of money, Mr. Singer proposed a solution: raise \$46 million in a local bond issue and lend \$40 million of it to the U.S. Bureau of Roads. The money was used to build the Palmetto Expressway.

He explained in 1960 his part in the process: "I am an expeditor and a sort of public relations man."

With the roads board taking up more of his time, Mr. Singer turned the Royal Castle business over to his son. At about the same time, his first wife Esther was diagnosed with cancer. Mr. Singer and Esther flew around the world looking for a cure, but to no avail. She died in 1963.

By the mid-1960s, Royal Castle was straining to compete with larger fast-food and pizza chains. It brought other problems onto itself: as late as 1961, blacks were staging sit-ins because the restaurant only served them through takeout windows. Women were not allowed to work behind the counter until 1967.

The family-owned business went public in 1965. Four years later, it was sold. William Singer got about \$6 million for his interest. Former U.S. Sen. Richard Stone, who married one of Mr. Singer's daughters, was secretary for the corporation for a while.

By 1975, only 85 Royal Castles remained. The owners, Performance Systems of Nashville, decided to fold that year.

Mr. Singer continued to dabble in real estate, putting Royal Castle behind him. "I'm not emotionally interested in it," he said in 1982. "I want to forget it. I lost interest in it when I sold it."

In addition to his son Lawrence, Mr. Singer is survived by his wife Ida Beck Singer of Miami, daughters Dorothy Jacobs of New Orleans and Marlene Stone of Washington, stepson Jeffrey Beck of New York City, stepdaughter Judith Beck Gardner of New York City, brother Peter of Miami, sisters Marion Goldstein of Hollywood and Pearl Olkes of Coral Gables, nine grandchildren and 11 great-grandchildren.

#### IN MEMORY OF TAMMI TUCK

#### HON. TOM LEWIS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 26, 1988

Mr. LEWIS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, my district and Palm Beach County recently lost an outstanding citizen and friend when Trillier Johnell Tucker passed away.

Tammi Tuck, as he was known to his friends, was a warm and compassionate family man, a civic leader committed to community improvement, equal opportunity and positive moral tone. Losing Tammi Tuck was hard for the residents of Palm Beach County to sustain because of the unique nature of his accomplishments and his ability to include all segments of the local society in the achievement of greater goals.

Tucker took notice of poor children unlikely to have a festive Christmas holiday and created the Christmas wrap-a-thon to provide gifts and happiness to underprivileged youth.



What started out as a small neighborhood project run from Tucker's grocery store became a community function involving the U.S. Marine Corps, the Junior League of Women, local civic groups and the media. His leadership and enthusiasm overcame any obstacles to the success of the wrap-a-thon.

When violent, drug-related incidents began to devastate his inner-city neighborhood, T.J. Tucker used that same veracity and pioneering spirit to organize a neighborhood-wide "Say No To Dope" Day, which grew to include the entire Palm Beach community.

T.J. Tucker was committed to the cause of bettering his neighborhood. He was a forceful and eloquent leader in this case. It remains for all of us to pursue and build upon his achievements with vigor and enthusiasm equal to his. In this manner we will perpetuate the cheerful memory of Tammi Tuck.

## UNITED STATES-MEXICO REVITALIZATION ACT

**HON. BILL RICHARDSON**

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 26, 1988*

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, I am becoming increasingly concerned about the manner in which certain special interest groups are trying to influence the legislative process while frightening our constituents and collecting money from them at the same time. Certainly, it is the right of any group with a desire to influence legislation to contact individuals throughout the country and request that they contact their elected representatives to advise them of their concerns. It is also the right of any such group to ask for contributions to defray expenses and further its cause.

I begin to wonder, however, whether some groups are not, in fact, more interested in collecting contributions than furthering the cause which they purport to be fighting for. I am particularly disturbed when requests for donations are accompanied by distorted information designed to strike fear into the hearts of our constituents. These groups employ misinformation to taint legitimate and worthy legislative initiatives and compel citizens to donate money to an apparently respectable cause.

I am personally offended by the efforts of a group called the U.S. Border Control, of Springfield, VA. This group claims that a bill I have introduced, the United States-Mexico Border Revitalization Act, H.R. 1006, "gives away a swath of land 200 miles wide along our entire southern border \* \* \* to Mexico," and which "moves our southern border up into the heartland of America." Moreover, the group ludicrously claims that "it is quite likely that \* \* \* this 'free trade' zone will become a haven for smugglers, dope pushers, and Soviet agents eager to buy or steal America's strategic technologies."

The U.S. Border Control follows these claims by soliciting a donation intended to stop Congressman WILLIAM RICHARDSON, the head of the Hispanic Caucus, from establishing his so-called free trade zone along our southern border. This is only a small sample of a reprehensible campaign of misrepresentation

waged primarily to frighten citizens into donating money.

Mr. Speaker, I am incensed that any group would publish such lies about any Member's efforts to address a serious issue. I introduced H.R. 1006 in hopes that it would address several problems currently facing the depressed border region. At this point, I would like to restate the provisions and goals of the United States-Mexico Revitalization Act. In doing so, it is my wish to refocus the dialog on fact and away from misinformation.

The United States-Mexico border region faces a series of problems of both sides of the border. These problems include unemployment, substandard living and health conditions, and a continued influx of illegal immigration. In approaching these problems thoughtfully and effectively, we must recognize that they are, fundamentally, brought on by a lack of economic opportunity. The solution, therefore, must entail the stimulation of this region's economy.

The United States-Mexico Border Revitalization Act is an innovation attempt at stimulating economic growth and development along the border region. H.R. 1006 simply directs the President to "negotiate with the Government of Mexico, on a reciprocal and mutually beneficial basis, for the purpose of developing and entering into a bilateral agreement to establish a United States-Mexico free trade and coproductive zone."

Recognizing the need for flexibility in the President's negotiations for establishing a free-trade and coproduction zone, my proposed legislation sets no geographical limit for the zone. However, it does provide a minimum limit in a general way, in that it recognizes that the United States-Mexico borderlands should be included in any zone that is established as the result of the negotiations with Mexico.

This is, in brief, a description of the United States-Mexico Border Revitalization Act. I hope that this explanation sets a tone for a truthful and productive dialog on this legislation. I welcome any and all criticism, both positive and negative. Such critics, no matter how combative and vocal, is at the very foundation of the democratic process from which our legislation is born. Democracy is nurtured on truthful, vigorous, and open debate. Democracy is, however, undermined by deception and misrepresentation. Unfortunately, the U.S. Border Control has engaged in such deception in its attempt to defeat the U.S. Border Revitalization Act and garner contributions at the same time.

Mr. Speaker, I only ask that this legislation stand or fall on its merits or faults based on fact. I ask that it not be jeopardized or trivialized by misrepresentation. The problems the United States-Mexico border region faces are too grave, the fate of our citizens and neighbors in the area too intertwined, to be addressed in any manner other than one which is truthful and honest.

I am enclosing for the RECORD a copy of some correspondence from the U.S. Border Control which I became aware of last week.

DEAR FRIEND: If you thought the Panama Canal giveaway was bad, you won't believe what a few radical Congressmen have planned for more than 400,000 square miles of sovereign United States territory!

Believe it or not, a bill was introduced in Congress that just about gives away a swath of land 200 miles wide along our entire southern border . . . to Mexico!

The map enclosed shows some major U.S. cities that would be inside this 200 mile wide U.S.-Mexican controlled "trade zone" if this bill is passed.

Has our Congress gone mad?

Every American knows the story of the heroic battle at the Alamo: How a group of brave Americans fought to the very last man against overwhelming odds. Great men like Davy Crockett, Jim Bowie, and Col. Travis gave their lives to defend the Alamo.

But today, there are Congressmen who would abandon our southern border, even in the midst of terrorists threats, just to improve our relations with Mexico.

As a person who has spent many years monitoring Congressional legislation, I have seen some very poor bills introduced. But to turn four hundred thousand square miles of sovereign American soil into a "free trade zone" with Mexico—land that brave Americans had fought and died to protect—is the most outrageous and shameful legislation I have ever seen.

But what frightens me is that, because so few Americans are aware that such a bill has been introduced, it actually has a very real chance of being passed into law this year.

That is why I am writing you today and why I must have your support if we are to stop this terrible and dangerous bill. We have got to wake up Americans and warn them that they are about to lose a big chunk of their country . . . not through war but through a giveaway unprecedented in world history!

And we've got to let the entire Congress know that we simply will not tolerate such an insane proposal becoming law.

But before I tell you how you can help me stop this outrage, let me explain why this bill is very dangerous to the safety and security of all Americans.

You already know that America has a real problem with its southern border. It is approximately 2000 miles long and virtually unprotected. Every day, tens of thousands of illegal aliens cross this undefended border.

Some of these illegal aliens are good people trying to escape the persecution and horrors of living under communism.

But there are many others who are sneaking into our country that can do America great harm. There are people infected with terrible and deadly diseases. Others are coming to America to live off our welfare system.

And there are terrorists, murderers and criminals of all description who disguise themselves as refugees and sneak across the border with them.

America is one of the most vulnerable nations in the world because of this very long and uncontrolled border.

Rather than make this border secure and defend it, our Washington politicians want to move the whole border 200 miles north, establishing a "free trade" zone jointly managed by the Mexican and United States governments.

I am convinced it would give drug smugglers and terrorists easy access to major U.S. cities like Los Angeles, San Diego, Tucson and Phoenix. It moves our southern border up into the heartland of America!

United States Border Control was established to make the American public aware

of the grave threat undefended borders pose to our national security.

We are strongly opposed to the recently passed Amnesty bill granting citizenship to illegal aliens for four reasons:

1. It is very unfair to those honest people who have waited patiently, sometimes for years, to become U.S. citizens legally.

2. It undoubtedly will encourage millions more Latin Americans to try to enter America illegally.

3. This massive immigration is violently changing the cultures and values of this country and worsening the language crisis in many major southern cities.

4. It may force immigration quotas on America that could cause us to close our doors to legitimate refugees of oppression.

Giving away a 200 mile wide strip of America would make all of these problems much, much worse. Yet, some Congressmen are recommending such a crazy and dangerous plan of action. Why?

According to Congressman William Richardson of New Mexico, the bill's author, his "free trade" zone would be good for America, creating new jobs and great prosperity for the South.

That's his story.

In our opinion, the fact that a Congressman from New Mexico would dare introduce a bill that trades away 400,000 square miles of sovereign U.S. territory is a good indication of the political power of the illegal aliens—now becoming voters—thanks to the Amnesty Bill.

His bill will create jobs . . . but not for Americans. This bill would only benefit the huge multinational corporations who would get cheap Mexican labor and avoid paying any taxes.

And, it is quite likely that in addition to attracting the multinational industries, this "free trade" zone will become a haven for smugglers, dope pushers and Soviet agents eager to buy or steal America's strategic technologies.

Also, you can bet your bottom dollar the Mexican government will be absolutely no help in controlling this "trade zone."

How much can we trust the Mexican government? A laughable question. They have already murdered a U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) officer who was on the trail of drug smugglers.

The Mexican government is totally corrupt and so fearful of Fidel Castro that it will do whatever he demands. And he will demand whatever the Kremlin wants.

That is why I say this proposal is extremely dangerous.

And that is why it is so urgent that you help me stop this bill today before it begins to gather momentum.

Enclosed with this letter is a special petition to the President of the United States.

The petition expresses shock and concern over the proposed legislation and urges the President to veto this bill if and when it is passed by the Congress.

Please pick up a pen right now and sign your petition. It is very important that the President knows he has a lot of support on this critical issue.

I believe that President Reagan is a patriot and would never wish to give away U.S. territory.

However, you and I both know that he has been under constant attack on all sides. Each time he vetoes a bill, he takes a terrible beating from the Congress and the press.

Your petition combined with thousands of other petitions collected from concerned

citizens all across the country will give the President the courage to veto this terrible giveaway.

The more petitions we can collect, the less likely that Congress will even dare to pass such a horrible bill.

Of course, to get tens of thousands of petitions, we will have to mail many thousands of letters like the one you are reading.

And that costs our organization a lot of money. That is why I hope that as you are signing your petition, you will also sign a check for as generous a contribution as you can afford to send to this critically important campaign.

We have so much to do and precious little time before this bill comes before Congress.

I am convinced that, unless we alert America to this robbery, this theft of American soil, it will be gone before anyone can stop it.

That is why I hope, along with your petition, you will enclose a check for \$15, \$25, \$50, or even \$100, if you can. A contribution of \$15 means we can alert another 45 Americans to this terrible giveaway.

In addition to the petition drive, we need to issue national press releases and hold conferences at the Capitol to put the pressure on Congress to give up this dangerous scheme.

Every contribution we receive will be put to work immediately to stop this bill from becoming law. America cannot afford another Panama Canal giveaway. Thank you.

Sincerely,

FRANK MCGLYNN,  
Executive Director.

P.S.—Even if you can only afford two or three dollars to pay for the costs of processing and delivering your petition, your support and your signed petition are needed.

#### A TRIBUTE TO THE COMMUNITY LEADERS CLUB

#### HON. ELTON GALLEGLY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 26, 1988

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor the Community Leaders Club, the premier fund-raising organization for California Lutheran University which is now marking its 25th anniversary.

Since its inception, the Community Leaders Club has raised more than \$668,000 for Cal Lutheran's academic program. What makes the club unusual is its focus on supporting the university's total academic program and providing funds for academic program improvement.

Besides helping boost academics at Cal Lutheran—the only full-fledged university in Ventura County—the club also helps build bridges between the school and the community.

Mr. Speaker, I strongly support organizations such as the Community Leaders Club, which exemplifies the traditional American values of self-reliance and volunteerism. I'm sure my colleagues join me in wishing this outstanding organization many more years of continued success, helping California Lutheran University move into the 21st century.

#### EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: A TRIBUTE TO RON LINGLE

#### HON. TERRY L. BRUCE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 26, 1988

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Speaker, in a time when every job is valuable, Ron Lingle has kept entire companies in the Danville area with the aggressive economic development attitude he has developed in Vermilion County.

As a national leader in the concept of combining higher education and economic development, Ron's programs served as an inspiration to legislation I introduced when I first came to Congress to set up economic development and education partnerships. That concept quickly won approval from Congress and the President.

It has also won the approval of his higher education peers. When he steps down this year after nearly 7 years as president of the Danville Area Community College, Ron Lingle will take with him a well-deserved reputation for innovative thinking. He has been recognized by his colleagues as one of the top 50 community college executives in the Nation.

When Ron Lingle leaves the Danville Area Community College, this community will lose many personal qualities in Ron that can never be replaced. But his hopes and his dreams must be continued for Vermilion County to prosper. Ron's work has already been accepted as a mainstream American concept.

#### THE BALTIC STATES A TEST OF GLASNOST

#### HON. ROBERT K. DORNAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 26, 1988

Mr. DORNAN of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to remind my colleagues of the situation in the Soviet-occupied Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. The plight of the people in these nations continues to attract much attention in Moscow and around the world.

As many of you know, these three states had enjoyed full national independence from 1918 until Stalin treacherously annexed them into the U.S.S.R. under a 1939 pact with Hitler. In the more than 40 years that followed the end of World War II, the 6 million people of these states have continued to live under Soviet oppression. Needless to say, the fates of these three states are ultimately tied to one another.

We have heard much about Mikhail Gorbachev and his much publicized perestroika. However, it doesn't seem to apply to the oppressed nations. This is despite the many pleas for reform in the capitals of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. I believe the most effective way for Gorbachev to demonstrate his sincerity is to restore the cultural and economic autonomy in these states by granting them sovereignty.



Mr. Speaker, the following syndicated column by Cord Meyer provides an excellent overview of the dilemma facing Gorbachev in these troubled Baltic States.

[From the Washington Times, July 1, 1988]

#### BALK IN THE BALTICS

(By Cord Meyer)

Whatever conclusions are reached this week in Moscow by the Soviet Communist Party's first extraordinary conference since 1941, the three Baltic states, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, will continue to confront General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev with one of his most intractable and potentially dangerous nationality problems.

Although these three republics have between them a population of only 6 million, they are the only member states of the Soviet internal empire that enjoyed full national independence from 1918 to 1940, and the United States has continued to refuse to recognize their forcible incorporation into the Soviet Union by Stalin at the end of World War II.

In these three countries with their lively memories of full democratic freedoms and high living standards, "glasnost" is used to force the Soviet regime to admit the historical truth that Stalin made a deal with Hitler to end their independence. "Perestroika" for the Baltic peoples is the struggle to regain as much as possible of their lost freedom.

The first wave of popular Baltic demonstrations to take advantage of Mr. Gorbachev's promise of reform began in Riga, the Latvian capital, with a march of 5,000 in June 1987 to commemorate the mass deportations by Stalin in 1941. Taken by surprise, the communist authorities did not try to intervene and they similarly failed to prevent large demonstrations in all three Baltic capitals on Aug. 23, 1987, to protest the signing of the 1939 pact between Hitler and Stalin that secretly provided for the Soviet annexation of the Baltic states.

By the time further demonstrations were attempted in November and in February of this year, the Baltic communist governments moved to contain them forcibly. Students were threatened with expulsion, workers with loss of jobs, leaders were exiled and the militia wielded their truncheons to break up the crowds.

But a third wave of even more massive and radical demonstrations has been the answer of the indomitable Balts. This June 14, in Riga, initiated by unofficial organizations such as the Environmental Protection Club and endorsed by the communist youth group, more than 50,000 Latvians marched to commemorate the victims of the Stalinist deportations and to demand a much wider grant of local autonomy from the party conference in Moscow.

As the result of good contacts enjoyed by the American Latvian Association, there is now available the proceedings of the secret meeting called by the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee on June 18 to deal with the threat posed by the events of June 14.

Two conclusions emerge clearly from this supposedly secret discussion among Latvian Communist leaders. First, the hard-line leadership is confused and unsure of itself in the absence of clear instructions from Moscow. Boris Pugo, the first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party, concludes that "the party has lost control of the situation in the republic. A feeling of defenselessness has arisen and it seems like power is sliding out of our hands."

The KGB chief complains that his organization "has not performed its duty properly, for up until now we have not been given concrete orders."

Second, when the discussion turns to talk of using Russian tanks against the demonstrators, there are sharp divisions of opinion, and some leaders warn that retaliatory strikes by farmers could cause food shortages.

In Estonia, the communist party leadership has apparently moved with some skill to co-opt the massive demonstrations. In the Estonian capital of Tallinn, an independent association called the People's Front has been allowed to organize with the endorsement of the Communist Party, and the republic's president, Arnold Ruutel, has set up a commission to "restore justice" to the victims of Stalinist purges.

Not to be outdone, Lithuania has joined Latvia and Estonia in sending its delegation to the Moscow Party conference armed with far-reaching demands for wider autonomy, as called for by the Lithuanian Restructuring Movement.

There is a peculiar and unique urgency to these demands for an end to Russification, particularly in Latvia and Estonia. As the result of the deliberate and forcible introduction of Russian workers into both countries, native Latvians are now only 48.6 percent of their country's population, while the Estonian native population has sunk to 61 percent. In addition, the domination of Russian as the state-supported language has further endangered the cultural heritage of these peoples.

Confronted with these insistent demands, Mr. Gorbachev must realize that if he gives too little, violent Baltic demonstrations could force him into repressive acts that would spell the end of all reform. If he gives too much, he risks rousing the sleeping giant of nationalism in the Ukraine and in the Asian republics.

#### RULE ON H.R. 4333, THE TECHNICAL CORRECTIONS ACT OF 1988

**HON. DAN ROSTENKOWSKI**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 26, 1988*

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the rules of the Democratic Caucus, I wish to serve notice to my colleagues that I have been instructed by the Committee on Ways and Means to seek less than an open rule for the consideration by the House of Representatives of the bill, H.R. 4333, the Technical Corrections Act of 1988.

#### RETIREMENT OF HANS NESTLER

**HON. CONSTANCE A. MORELLA**

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 26, 1988*

Mrs. MORELLA. Mr. Speaker, today it is my pleasure to salute one of the leading citizens of Montgomery County, MD. Hans W. Nestler, after 15 years of distinguished service, is retiring as executive vice president of the Montgomery County Board of Realtors.

Over the 15 years that Hans Nestler has been involved with the board of realtors, the pace of development in Montgomery County has been rapid. The county's growth has been mirrored by the board's membership, which has expanded during Hans' tenure from 2,700 to 6,500 realtors. Hans Nestler has played an important role in facilitating this growth. Fifteen board presidents have come and gone, but Hans has remained a constant, his guiding hand charting a steady course for the county's realtors over the last decade and a half.

As the board's membership has expanded, Hans has supervised an impressive modernization of its facilities. In recent years, he has overseen a computerization of the board's information system, which includes a cataloging of all realtor-listed homes for sale in Montgomery County. In just 9 years, the system has expanded from 200 multiple listing service terminals to 1,800 terminals, providing service to 547 firms and to numerous agents at home. Soon, video displays of homes will be available.

Also, Hans Nestler masterminded the board of realtors' move in December to a new headquarters in the I-270 corridor. The new offices have three times the space of the board's old office in Kensington.

Rapid growth in any enterprise calls for a steady hand at the helm and an innovative eye toward the future. The Montgomery County Board of Realtors is fortunate to have had a man with just these characteristics as its executive vice president over the past 15 years. The board, and all of us who care about the prosperity of Montgomery County, wish Hans Nestler well as he enters another phase of his life but hope he will not leave this one too far behind.

#### SALUTING MR. JAMES CLARK MacFARLAND

**HON. ARTHUR RAVENEL, JR.**

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 26, 1988*

Mr. RAVENEL. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to ask my colleagues to join me in giving proud recognition to the many accomplishments of one of my constituents, Mr. James Clark MacFarland of Summerville, SC. During his 41 years of distinguished and dedicated service, first in the U.S. Army and then in the National Industries for the Blind [NIB], Mr. MacFarland has shown a rare combination of understanding and compassion for the needs and desires of disabled Americans.

Mr. MacFarland's tireless efforts on behalf of blind people and other severely handicapped citizens should not remain unrecognized. He has devoted countless hours to the creation of new employment opportunities for blind workers under a program that began when Congress passed the Wagner-O'Day Act in 1938. This act was subsequently amended in 1971, and is now commonly known as the Javits-Wagner-O'Day Act [JWOD]. This program provides employment to thousands of blind, multihandicapped blind and other severely handicapped people. The genius of the JWOD Act is that it creates such

employment opportunities and provides commodities and services to the Federal Government with limited costs to the Government.

During his 14 years with NIB, Mr. MacFarland served in various capacities including that of vice president of the Government Operations Division. During this time, he was intimately involved in developing new products and services for manufacture by blind workers.

The remarkable growth of employment opportunities under the JWOD Act between 1968 and 1982 is a fitting tribute to his leadership and dedication to the welfare of blind and multihandicapped blind citizens. He was one of the first to recognize the important role played by workshops for the blind as demonstration facilities. As a result, he deliberately set out to identify, acquire, adapt, and assimilate brand new products and processes for manufacture by blind persons. This, in turn, has helped demonstrate the impressive production capabilities of blind persons not only to workshops and blind workers, but in a real sense to the society at large. He was awarded the prestigious R.B. Irwin Award for service to blind persons in May 1984.

In recognition of his remarkable service to blind citizens, and his knowledge of the JWOD Act, he was appointed by President Reagan in 1987 to serve as a member of The Committee for Purchase from the Blind and Other Severely Handicapped (The Committee). This committee was initially created by the JWOD Act in 1971 and is charged with administering the act and creating new employment opportunities for the targeted group of blind and severely handicapped individuals. In this position, Mr. MacFarland works closely with The Committee staff and assists it in making important policy decisions, always keeping in mind the congressional purpose in creating the JWOD Act of expanding employment opportunities for the specific group of blind and other severely handicapped individuals who either cannot obtain or engage in competitive employment.

Mr. MacFarland's leadership in creating jobs and raising the standards of living for blind workers has also included a strong commitment to improving working conditions and safety within the workshops and promoting upward mobility and placements, whenever possible. His commitment to improving the life satisfaction of blind and other severely handicapped workers is worthy of our support, applause and recognition.

Mr. Speaker, it is with great pride and honor that I recognize these outstanding accomplishments of a great American and a fellow South Carolinian, Mr. James Clark MacFarland.

### LEONARD ZAKIM RECEIVES AWARD

#### HON. BARNEY FRANK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 26, 1988

Mr. FRANK. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased but not surprised to learn that Barrister, the magazine of the Young Lawyer's Division of the

American Bar Association, has included Leonard Zakim of Newton, MA, as one of its "20 Lawyers Who Make a Difference" for 1988.

Len Zakim is the executive director of the New England Regional Office of the Anti-Defamation League. He is a man of extraordinary dedication, integrity, and talent. Len Zakim works diligently to make the ideals in the American Constitution a reality. He is one of the leaders of the Jewish community in New England and he is unrelenting in his attacks on anti-Semitism in all its manifestations, and in his support for an American policy which recognizes our national interest in the existence of a strong and independent Israel. He works equally hard against racism and prejudice in all its forms. Along with several leaders in the black community in Boston, Len Zakim has been a major factor in defeating the efforts of those who would create tensions between the black and Jewish communities.

The accompanying article from Barrister gives a good indication of the qualities of Len Zakim that led to his inclusion in this distinguished list and I include it in the RECORD as an example of how bigotry can be combatted effectively.

#### A WORLD OF DIFFERENCE

"Did you hear the one about the Polish lawyer who...?"

Leonard Zakim would glare at the person attempting that joke. "I feel that the ethnic joke is the most effective perpetrator of stereotypes against various groups that exists today," he says.

As executive director and counsel of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, New England Regional Office, Zakim is more than aware that a joke is often a mask for something that isn't very funny.

For those who think an innocent little joke couldn't hurt, Zakim has this argument: "To get rid of prejudice, you have to begin to change people's attitudes by refusing to participate or laugh at ethnic jokes, and calling people on those. There seems to be a glorification of ethnic jokes. Sale after sale of books like Polish jokes, Jewish jokes, black jokes. Those jokes often concentrate on the worst stereotypes of those groups and ridicule those stereotypes."

In his 10 years with the Anti-Defamation League, Zakim—who is 34—has gained a reputation as a tireless opponent of prejudice, and has made fighting discrimination a top priority not only in Boston, but nationwide.

In 1986, Zakim became national coordinator of "The World of Difference," an anti-prejudice campaign that combined television, education and community activism on the issue of prejudice against all people. The campaign, which won a Peabody Award, "rejects the old notion that we're all the same, that this is some kind of melting pot," Zakim explains.

"What the project actually says is that we are, in fact, different and if we're ever going to learn to respect those differences we have to learn about them. Tolerance is not the goal we seek. Tolerance is a very minimal goal. One develops tolerance for the flu, or for an allergy. Our goal is to promote respect."

"That doesn't mean you have to agree with every other group about what their particular agenda priorities are. What it does mean is that you have to know that in addition to the problems they face, a lot of groups have a great number of accomplishments," he says.

Given Boston's dark history of racial conflict, Zakim thought the city had emerged from the '70s as one of the most racially divided cities in the country. "The World of Difference" campaign, which began in Boston (co-sponsored by WCVB in Boston and the Shawmut banks) produced over \$2 million worth of prime-time television to deal with the issue of prejudice.

Working through the city's school system, the campaign trained over 5,000 teachers in one year to address the issues of prejudice, not on a one-day-a-year program, but on a consistent approach.

The campaign ran 20 half-hour specials, three 90-minute specials, over 80 public service announcements featuring people like Stevie Wonder and Billy Crosby, Gov. Michael Dukakis, and Zakim (speaking about anti-Semitism he felt as a child.)

"It wasn't all soft fluff, he says of the campaign. "We tried to humanize what it feels like to be the victim of discrimination."

"We believe that civil rights are for all of us. If you emphasize what actually happens to a six-year-old Asian kid who gets spat upon and gets assaulted on his way to school, even the most hardened bigots will perhaps be moved to understand what they're allowing to happen to that child."

Prejudice had never been attacked in such an institutionalized way, he says. The programs have since been aired in Albany, Detroit, Houston, Miami and Philadelphia, and will be shown soon in Baltimore, Chicago, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. Zakim hopes to interest stations in 25 cities by the end of 1989.

### SANDINISTAS CONFISCATE EVIDENCE OF THEIR DIRTY SECRETS

#### HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 26, 1988

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, there is irrefutable evidence that the Government of Nicaragua is the greatest single source of insurgency, subversion, and instability in Central America. Better than 80 percent of the arms and munitions sent by the Soviets and the Cubans to the Salvadoran terrorists pass through Nicaragua. Until such time as the Sandinistas are willing to bring an end to this activity, I think it is imperative that, at the very least, we make it difficult for them to do so. This may mean funding and training the freedom fighters, or establishing a blockade similar to that used so courageously by President John F. Kennedy during the Cuban missile crisis. I firmly believe that we owe it to the future of freedom and self-government in the region to take these measures.

The following article by Gary Moore describes the hostile actions taken by the Sandinistas. This is not an issue, this is a major problem facing the United States as well as the freedom of Central America. We should not tolerate the resurgence of Communists in unstable countries. The United States plays a critical role in securing the freedom and safety in Central America, therefore we must react to our call of duty in order to solve the instability in Central America. I hope this article will offer my colleagues a better understanding of the



functions of Nicaragua's Sandinista government:

[From the Wall Street Journal, May 27, 1988]

**SANDINISTAS CONFISCATE EVIDENCE OF THEIR DIRTY SECRETS**

(By Gary Moore)

SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA.—From my cell in El Chipote—the most feared State Security prison in revolutionary Nicaragua—I could see a bit of blue sky. A ventilation hole had been cut in the ceiling, and was crossed with heavy iron bars. The sky seemed enclosed by the bars. All Nicaragua seemed a cage. In a State Security office where I had been taken before entering the prison, slogans posted on the wall promised a "fist of iron toward the enemies of the people" and "militant internationalism." This wasn't the Nicaragua that foreigners see on guided tours.

On May 17, I was taken into custody by officials of Nicaragua's Sandinista government at a remote jungle outpost called La Cruz del Rio Grande. Within two days I was flown out of the jungle to detention and interrogation in Managua's El Chipote. My formally stated crime: traveling without permission.

I had entered the wilderness by river, without written approval from the Sandinista government to do so. Apparently no foreign journalist has ever been permitted to enter that particular area. Carrying a videotape camera and a notebook as I worked my way down the Rio Grande de Matagalpa by dugout canoe, I was seeking to document human-rights abuses that had never been put on record.

In fact, I had stumbled into a labyrinth of abuses that the Sandinistas had managed to keep secret. Farmers and homesteaders along the river told me of events—complete with eyewitness testimony giving names, dates and places—that revealed an extensive pattern of human-rights abuse by the Sandinistas: murders by troops, disappearances, torture, widespread pillage and burning of houses and depopulation sweeps that caused thousands of people to lose nearly everything they owned. Even dogs and cats were burned and machine-gunned. The jungles were viewed by the Sandinista People's Army as Contra strongholds, and civilians there were considered enemies.

In one hamlet, San Pedro del Norte, residents told of Sandinista troops—under two officers named Parajon and Guevara—who occupied a Catholic chapel for a year as their field headquarters. The chapel was also used as a detention and interrogation facility. Some prisoners were tied to nearby trees and beaten, while others reportedly were killed and their bodies burned. When Catholic lay leaders protested the use of the chapel, they, too, were taken prisoner.

The Rio Grande jungles—far from previously reported sites of human-rights abuse, such as the Rio Coco Indian areas—form a black hole in the reporting about Nicaragua. And there seem to be a number of other such holes. Major theaters of Nicaragua's Contra war have never been investigated. This raises serious questions about the bulk of news and human-rights reporting on the Contra war.

Many of the worst abuses along the Rio Grande de Matagalpa were in the years 1984-1985, and have remained secret since then. More recently, in 1987, the Sandinista government began dropping 500-pound bombs—projectiles more than five feet long—on villages up and down the river.

Videotapes show the huge bomb creators in populated areas.

Amid Nicaragua's torment, both Contras and Sandinistas have committed many serious human-rights abuses. But in areas such as the Rio Grande de Matagalpa, the Sandinistas have been the major abuser of civilians. Such remote areas tend to serve as strongholds for guerrillas, and many farmers along the river have been Contra supporters, invoking the wrath of Sandinista troops.

One of many accounts on the videotape came from the mother of Lucas Cordero, a rancher from Natiguas. Shortly before the March truce began, Mr. Cordero was taken by Sandinista troops as a Contra collaborator, despite his strong objections to the contrary. His mother found his body several days later; his throat had been cut from ear to ear. With tears in her eyes, Mrs. Cordero asserted: "If I have to die for the truth, then I'll die."

Not all residents were as courageous as Lucas Cordero's mother. Before consenting to go on camera with testimony about abuses, they fearfully asked me questions such as, "These films will never be seen by the government, will they?" I promised they wouldn't, and my promise had seemed logical: Nicaragua was in the midst of a ceasefire; there had been the lessening of tensions that came with the peace accords; and I had a press card issued by the Sandinista government.

Then suddenly, I was taken prisoner by the same government. All my notes and videotapes were confiscated. The course of my interrogation after I was flown back to El Chipote left no doubt that State Security agents had reviewed my notes and tapes in detail—with a particular eye to piecing together the identities of the many witnesses, all of whom are now in jeopardy.

While I was in custody, other State Security agents went to an apartment where I had stayed for three months in Managua. During that period I had made a number of wilderness trips into war zones in an effort to examine the reliability of the many conflicting human-rights reports and present an overall picture of the Contra war's human toll. The State Security agents took all the notes and videotapes they found at my apartment. Many more brave witnesses were then placed in jeopardy. All my files from those three months were retained—again under the charge of traveling without permission.

State Security officials informed me that Law 1078, the Law of Maintenance of Public Order and Security, forbids taking testimony from or videotapes of anyone in Nicaragua's rural war zones without government approval. If this legal definition is true, independent journalism in Nicaragua is impossible; journalists are hostage to government writ.

After five days of detention I was expelled from Nicaragua to neighboring Costa Rica. I suffered no physical mistreatment, though I was repeatedly denied permission to make outside notification of my arrest. When I raised objections, and State Security agent told me that perhaps the Sandinista revolution does not feel the need to comply with the norms of international law. The revolution has its own laws, I was told. My tapes and notes have not been returned.

The faces of all those witnesses keep flashing back into my mind.

What will happen to them now?

**NEW EMBASSY MOSCOW: THE SAGA CONTINUES**

**HON. WM. S. BROOMFIELD**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 26, 1988

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, interested Members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee continue to monitor the ongoing saga of our technically compromised new Embassy in Moscow.

Recent press reports indicate that the Department of State may recommend to Congress that the New Office Building [NOB] in Moscow be totally dismantled. While this option is undoubtedly the most logical choice to make from a security point of view, the Congress may soon be faced with the reality of having to provide significant levels of funding for both the demolition of the existing new structure as well as funds for the construction of a truly secure facility. I believe that the appropriation of funds for the new Embassy in Moscow deserves the support of this Congress. Embassy Moscow continues to be one of America's most important diplomatic posts.

Both glasnost and perestroika have led to improved relations between our two countries. While United States-Soviet contacts are increasing, the Soviet Union continues to be America's chief adversary from an "intelligence threat" perspective. Diplomatic reporting and sensitive collection operations in this country demand a secure environment.

As the technical leader of the free world, America must ensure that our new Embassy in Moscow is a triumph of Western technology and not an open microphone to KGB headquarters. Americans engaged in diplomacy and intelligence efforts must be confident that their working environment is secure. Our dedicated fellow citizens serving at our Embassy in Moscow and at other posts around the world must be certain that their conversations will be protected and safeguarded while working in those sensitive facilities.

While I will carefully monitor developments concerning NOB Moscow, I am prepared to assist in the event that the Department of State requests new funding for a future Embassy that will be protected with the best security that this great country can offer.

I commend the following New York Times article concerning Embassy Moscow to my colleagues in the Congress.

[From the New York Times, June 23, 1988]

**U.S. URGED TO RAZE MOSCOW CHANCERY  
CONSULTANTS SEE NIGHTMARE IN A PARTIAL  
DISMANTLING**

(By Elaine Sciolino)

WASHINGTON, June 22—A team of consultants has told the State Department that dismantling part of the new United States Embassy chancery in Moscow will be more difficult and dangerous than razing it before rebuilding, department officials say.

The fate of the chancery has been a matter of contention since early last year, when members of Congress and intelligence officials disclosed that pillars, beams and floors of the building were riddled with sophisticated Soviet listening devices.

After two high-level independent panels recommended solutions, a move to dismantle and rebuild at least five floors of the building gained among senior policy makers in the State Department by last fall, but came under fire by legislators who were unconvinced that the building could be made secure.

#### ENGINEERING NIGHTMARE

In response to the Congressional criticism, the State Department asked the team of engineers, architects and security experts to take another look at the unfinished structure.

Officials said the team will not finish its investigation before August. But its initial finding, stated in a secret report, is that to tear down and rebuild several stories of the eight-story building would be what on official called "an engineering nightmare."

The State Department awarded a \$421,000 contract this year to the BDM Corporation and MK-Ferguson Company for a highly technical engineering study to analyze several possibilities in terms of construction, logistics, security, timing and cost.

"The building experts are saying that a partial deconstruction isn't feasible, because it is very difficult to take a portion of the building and build on the existing structure," said Robert E. Lamb, Assistant Secretary of State for Diplomatic Security, who declined to discuss the report. "Just from the efficiency of construction, you're better off taking the whole thing down."

Interviews with several State Department officials studying the matter indicate they believe that the most practical and economical solution is to raze the building and eventually replace it with a smaller structure.

#### HAS SOVIET-MADE MODULES

In a letter sent Monday to select lawmakers, Under Secretary of State John C. Whitehead said the survey team "confirmed that it will be technically feasible to dismantle the structure and that reconstruction can realistically be carried out using only American labor and materials." Much of the building was assembled from prefabricated modules made at a Soviet site not open to American inspection.

But some State Department officials stress that another option is to continue to use the current embassy as the "secure" building for classified activities and the new chancery for unclassified activities. The new chancery was to be the main embassy building, for diplomatic and classified activities, in the \$192 million embassy complex of offices, apartments and recreational space. After \$22 million was spent on the chancery, construction was stopped in 1985.

#### EMBASSY UNDER RENOVATION

The current embassy, which the United States occupied in the early 1950's, consists of one building. It is undergoing a \$32.5 million renovation and will have to be used for five to seven more years.

Mr. Lamb, the State Department's top security official, said the embassy is "safer than it has ever been," because of new security measures, the completion of a fully secured communications center and the dismissal of non-American members of the support staff.

State Department officials who oppose the continued use of the current embassy argue that it is not well built and that it would cost more to modernize it than to put up a new building. "We're not talking about a solid, American prewar building that you can renovate," a State Department official said. "It's an old dump."

The survey team has suggested that the safest way to raze the chancery, with its extraordinarily thick walls and floors and massive support structure, is in small, painstaking stages.

More important for security officials is that a piece-by-piece razing is expected to yield information about the nature and extent of Soviet penetration of the building with eavesdropping devices.

Administration officials say it is impossible to estimate how much such a dismantling will cost, but they say it should cost no more than a partial dismantling, a selling point with Congress.

The Administration has rejected a recommendation by its own panel, headed by former Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger, to dismantle and rebuild only three stories of the new building and construct a six-story annex for the mission's most sensitive business. In addition, a classified report submitted in July by Anne Armstrong, head of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, recommended spending \$79 million to use sophisticated technology to clear the building of eavesdropping devices, but it never had much support.

In his letter to lawmakers, Mr. Whitehead said the Administration would probably be ready to discuss the team's findings before the end of the fiscal year, Sept. 30.

### EXPANDING OUR NATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE HEARING AND SPEECH IMPAIRED

#### HON. ROBERT GARCIA

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 26, 1988*

Mr. GARCIA. Mr. Speaker, I rise in total support of S. 2221, a bill that will expand our national telecommunications system for the benefit of the hearing and speech impaired population.

Historically, disabled people have been unemployed, underemployed and outside the mainstream of the American way of life. In 1973, Congress addressed the problem by enacting title V of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 which has been hailed as a "bill of rights" for disabled people. The purpose of title V is to ensure that programs receiving Federal moneys can be used by all disabled people.

There are approximately 24 million Americans with hearing and speech impairments and who by virtue of their disability cannot fully use the available telephone system to communicate with the rest of the world. As you are well aware, a majority of our hearing and speech impaired persons have limited, if any, direct communication access to the Federal Government. Persons who use telecommunication device for the deaf [TDD] to communicate with the Federal Government go through a relay system that handles TDD calls for the entire Federal Government. Messages received by the relay system from TDD callers are forwarded to the appropriate department or the agency which then responds to the TDD users. The existing Federal TDD relay system is limited in that TDD users can not communicate directly with the Federal Gov-

ernment. Also, the incidence of TDD's in Federal departments and agencies is nearly nonexistent.

To fulfill the mandate of the Federal Communications Act of 1934, the Congress must continuously work to enact legislation that addresses the needs of the hearing and speech impaired population. Senate bill 2221 goes a long way in accomplishing this by directing the Federal Communications Commission [FCC] to establish and implement a telecommunications relay system to increase access for users of TDD's to Federal departments and agencies. The bill outlines a program to improve our Federal Government's telecommunications for the hearing and speech impaired. This legislation will implement an internal telecommunications relay system to serve the needs of the hearing and speech impaired population for access to Federal departments and agencies; equip all Federal departments and agencies with TDD's, or facilities to accommodate portable TDD's or both; provide for the assembly, publication, and maintenance of a TDD directory for Federal departments and agencies; and provide publication of governmental TDD access numbers in other existing directories.

S. 2221 is fully in keeping with the intent and spirit of title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973. Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 forbids discrimination against handicapped individuals in any program conducted with the aid of Federal funds or in any program conducted by Federal agencies. I must note also that Executive Order 11914 was issued on April 28, 1976, to provide for consistent implementation of section 504 within the Federal Government.

Just as it is essential that direct telecommunication access be made available to speech and hearing impaired persons for access to Federal departments and agencies, it is equally important that this same population have telecommunication availability to directly interface with a 911 emergency numbering system within their locale to report emergencies and request assistance. I am working on legislation that will provide such direct access to this population and for which I will soon seek your interest and support on this measure.

### TRIBUTE TO THE ASSOCIATED NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS

#### HON. JAMES A. TRAFICANT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 26, 1988*

Mr. TRAFICANT. Mr. Speaker, today I rise before you to pay special tribute to the Associated Neighborhood Centers [ANC] of Youngstown, OH, an outstanding service organization which serves the Youngstown community. Recently, I had the distinct honor to be the guest speaker for their annual dinner, which commemorated 72 years of devoted commitment to fellow citizens.

The services that ANC provides are numerous and invaluable. They are committed to educating those who have been deprived of



the privileges which you and I enjoy without a moment's thought. Their programs envelope a wide spectrum of people including young and old alike. ANC offers a distinguished program for individuals interested in receiving their high school diploma, which enables them to become competitive in today's work force.

Having a special devotion to the youth of our community, the ANC has striven to provide beneficiary programs for those seeking assistance in their studies. However, I point out that this program would not be possible without the unwavering support of certain community members. Several students of Youngstown State University have given of themselves unselfishly in the tutor program, which Vincent Shivers, a recent graduate of YSU, directly supervised during this past year.

One program that exemplifies the excellence of ANC's work is the alcohol and drug program. Individuals meet to openly discuss their fears and emotions as they strive to fight the powers of addiction. As a former drug counselor and a former sheriff, it gives me great satisfaction in seeing this program be so successful. Credit must be awarded to Mrs. Mary Gulete, R.N., who is the dedicated supervisor of this program.

ANC is also committed to providing low-cost, expert health care to those who could otherwise not afford it. They are also actively involved in helping young mothers cope with the responsibilities of parenting. For those unable to afford some of life's necessities, ANC provides a food and clothing distribution service, as well as an after school feeding for young children, in which 100 are served daily.

I am especially pleased to honor this organization for its long and proud tradition of community service. Those that toil diligently to ensure its success are many. However, there are a few that deserve special mention such as: Ralph W. Clarke, executive director and Romelia M. Carter, community organizer. Along with the other staff and 510 youth workers, ANC has proved its worth by its unending interest in the Youngstown community. On behalf of the people of the 17th Congressional District, I applaud this exemplary group and its devoted team of community servants.

#### RECOGNIZING THE 100TH BIRTHDAY OF MARGARET ELIZABETH GARDNER

**HON. JOHN P. MURTHA**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 26, 1988*

Mr. MURTHA. Mr. Speaker, it has been brought to my attention that on June 27 a very special day was celebrated by one of my constituents—on that day, Mrs. Margaret Elizabeth Gardner marked her 100th birthday.

This is a marvelous milestone and a reminder to all of us. Consider all the change in America that Mrs. Gardner has seen over those years. Imagine the changes in areas like health care, transportation, and communications that have affected Mrs. Gardner's life. Imagine all the change and adaptation that Mrs. Gardner has had to make during her lifetime.

It is significant to me that this was brought to my attention by a friend of Mrs. Gardner's because it tells me that this is someone special in the community of Ebensburg where she resides. In Pennsylvania's 12th Congressional District, we take special pride in the special people in our area, and friendship and community spirit are a hallmark of the region that I am glad to join in by noting this birthday of Mrs. Gardner's.

It is my pleasure to insert these remarks in the RECORD and to add my congratulations to Mrs. Gardner on her birthday and all the wonderful experiences of her life.

#### CECIL ROLLE REMEMBERED

**HON. WILLIAM LEHMAN**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 26, 1988*

Mr. LEHMAN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, with the recent death in Miami of Cecil Gaylord Rolle, south Florida has lost an important black activist.

Mr. Rolle, who served the Greater Miami Area for over 25 years, was a man of absolute dedication. He was the founder of the Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Brotherhood in Miami and the Youth Awareness Foundation, a program dedicated to helping black youngsters both complete their education and learn about their heritage. This distinguished black activist also founded and published the Liberty City News.

Cecil Rolle, who battled race discrimination all of his life was a tireless advocate for justice and equality.

Following is an article from the Miami Herald on the life of Cecil Rolle:

#### CECIL ROLLE, BATTLED RACE DISCRIMINATION (By Lourdes Fernandez)

Cecil Gaylord Rolle, a longtime black activist in Miami and publisher of the non-defunct Liberty News, died Saturday at the Veterans' Administration Medical Center of cancer. He was 66.

Mr. Rolle had many causes.

In the 1960s, he founded the Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Brotherhood in Miami. He spoke frequently on the phone with King to set up marches and other activities.

He picketed Dairy Queen because they did not hire enough blacks and was instrumental in getting grocery stores to install scales so customers could weigh fruits and vegetables.

Mr. Rolle, a high-school dropout who earned his diploma at night school, founded the Youth Awareness Foundation to help black youngsters stay in school and learn about their heritage.

Last year, he was ordained a Baptist minister.

"He'd been a minister all his life really," said wife Eugenia. "He just didn't have the paper."

Whenever he spotted discrimination, Mr. Rolle took a hand-drawn sign and an American flag to the business and picketed alone. He didn't ask anyone to join him, but others were welcome to do so.

He founded The Liberty News in the 1960s to give Liberty City residents information he felt they were not getting, as well as to offer black businesses a place to advertise

for less. For many years, he distributed the newspaper for free.

Mr. Rolle ran for the County Commission in 1982 and for the Dade School Board in 1966 and 1968. He was never elected.

In 1982, Mr. Rolle and a group of Liberty City residents lobbied the Metro-Dade Commission for creation of a city in a 15-square-mile area that includes Liberty City, Overton and a portion of Dade east of Hialeah. Advocates dubbed it "New City." It never got beyond those plans because they missed the deadline for turning in petitions.

The new municipality would have improved relations between the police and community, Mr. Rolle then argued, saying that most brutality cases occurred in that area.

"We do not want a combat zone. We want a place for our children to grow and develop," he said in 1982.

Mr. Rolle, born in Florida City, moved as a child with his family to Philadelphia and then New York. He left school at 16 to join the Navy. The ship was out at sea when officers determined his real age. The ship turned back to return him.

After graduating from night school, Mr. Rolle entered the Army, becoming a sergeant. He later took classes at the New York Advertising Club and became circulation manager for New York Age newspaper. He was also a field representative for The Amsterdam News and Ebony and Jet magazines.

He came to Miami as a southeastern regional representative for Johnson Publishing, soon becoming active in the community.

"Roaming around he became aware of many things that needed to be corrected," his wife said.

Last month, an organization of 14 Baptist churches held an appreciation night in his honor. But Mr. Rolle never thought he had done enough to deserve honors.

"He didn't consider he had accomplished much," his wife said.

There is a memorial service at 8 p.m. Friday in St. Matthews Missionary Baptist Church with another service at 11 a.m. Saturday, also at the church. Burial follows at Dade Memorial Park.

In addition to his wife, Mr. Rolle is survived by son Troy, stepson Damian Espy, father Edward, sisters Edna, Bernice, Grace and Edith McCord, and brothers Joseph and Edward.

#### LAND AND WATER CONSERVATION FUND SUCCESS STORY: PEPPER BEACH PARK, ST. LUCIE COUNTY, FL

**HON. TOM LEWIS**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 26, 1988*

Mr. LEWIS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I recently learned of a land and water conservation fund [LWCF] success story occurring in my congressional district, which I would like to share with my colleagues.

Recent efforts at the Federal, State, and county level has helped to create a park centered around the unique history of Pepper Beach, in St. Lucie County, FL. With the help of the LWCF, Pepper Beach, the largest U.S. naval amphibious base during World War II, can be enjoyed by people of all ages.

I commend everyone who played a part in the success of this new historic park.

Mr. Speaker, I insert the full text of a narrative concerning Pepper Beach Park into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point:

**PEPPER BEACH PARK, A LWCF SUCCESS STORY**

During World War II the largest United States Naval Amphibious Training Base in the nation was located in Fort Pierce at this site, hosting over 140,000 officers and enlisted men from every branch of service and from all over the nation. The original training site for the United States Navy's underwater demolition teams, then known as combat demolition units, were stationed on this very beach in St. Lucie County, Florida. The full story of the Navy's human secret weapons is told in a museum honoring their heroism and the important role that Fort Pierce and the state played in the war effort over 40 years ago. The museum is located on the Atlantic Ocean and State Road A1A where new recreational facilities have just been completed with LWCF assistance including picnic pavilions, wooden dune walk crossovers, multi-purpose play courts and tennis courts. In addition, Pepper Park contains the underwater archaeological preserve known as "Urca de Lima", a portion of the remains from a 1715 Spanish Treasure Fleet, sponsored by the Florida Department of State. Development of this recreation complex and historic preservation facilities is yet another demonstration of Federal-State-County efforts with exceptional citizen support.

**LET'S HAVE PRODUCTIVE  
DIALOG, NOT PARTISAN DIA-  
TRIBE**

**HON. BILL RICHARDSON**

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 26, 1988*

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to address a disturbing series of events surrounding a worthy legislative initiative. Last May, I joined a bipartisan group of Members of the House in introducing a bill which would protect the areas surrounding historic Manassas National Battlefield Park. This land, crucial to the preservation of the battlefield's unique historical character, is threatened by those who wish to build a shopping mall on the land. Nearly 200 Members of the Congress have cosponsored H.R. 4526, a bill to provide for the addition of these lands to the Manassas Battlefield Park.

What I find particularly disturbing is that the Secretary of the Interior believes the land lacks sufficient historical value and has engaged in a partisan campaign to defeat the bill and embarrass its democratic sponsors. The Secretary has taken it upon himself to engage in a letter writing campaign to local newspapers in democratic member's districts stating that the Representatives should be "ashamed of" sponsoring such legislation. But by coincidence, this "bipartisan" cabinet member has excluded the Republican cosponsors from his criticism.

Mr. Speaker, I, for one, am not ashamed to cosponsor legislation which protects our history. Treating our history with derision and contempt is not consistent with our national

values. Politicizing this debate, as the Secretary had done, does nothing to advance the dialog on this legislative initiative.

The Secretary of the Interior is charged with preserving the environmental and cultural values of our national parks and historic places. I should hope that in the future the Secretary will work with the Congress in productive dialog and not partisan diatribe.

**CAL LUTHERAN AND THE  
DALLAS COWBOYS—25 YEARS  
TOGETHER**

**HON. ELTON GALLEGLY**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 26, 1988*

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, this year marks the 25th anniversary of the special relationship between the Dallas Cowboys football club and California Lutheran University. Here in the Nation's Capital, where Redskins season tickets are as coveted as an invitation to the White House—perhaps more so—it perhaps is hard to understand the close ties between the Cowboys and the people of Thousand Oaks, CA. Let me assure you, however, that those ties are real.

It all began in the fall of 1962, when the Cowboys were asked to replace the Redskins as the opposing team for the Los Angeles Rams in the next summer's charity football game.

The Cowboys wanted a training site "out where there was no smog and the temperature didn't get too high." Cowboys president Tex Schramm was dazzled by Cal Lutheran and the ambitious vision that the school's first president, Dr. Orville Dahl, had for the campus, and a deal was soon struck to make the school the team's permanent summer home.

Since 1963, both organizations have flourished. The Cowboys have participated in five Super Bowls, winning two of them, and ran off a streak of 20 straight winning seasons, one of the most impressive feats in the history of professional sports.

As for Cal Lutheran, it has earned an excellent academic reputation, and boasts an enrollment of more than 2,500 students and 34 majors.

Both the university and the Cowboys have gained from their relationship. The Cowboys have found a great summer home and have in turn helped Cal Lutheran by providing state-of-the-art athletic training facilities and by participating in annual fund-raising efforts—among them the Blue/White Scrimmage and the Community Leaders Club Welcome Cowboys Banquet—to help fund scholarships at the school.

Mr. Speaker, any relationship which lasts a quarter-century has to be considered successful, particularly in this day and age, and this relationship is closer today than ever, and still growing stronger.

I'm sure my colleagues—even the most fervent Redskins fans—join me in saluting the Dallas Cowboys and California Lutheran University, and in wishing them another 25 years of working together for excellence.

**A NATURAL ADVOCATE: BOB  
BALES**

**HON. TERRY L. BRUCE**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 26, 1988*

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Speaker, Bob Bales has been called a champion of conversationist causes. He is known as the dean of Champaign County canoeists and has been a constant advocate for the natural beauty of Illinois' prairies.

In particular, Bob has worked for about two decades with his wife Sandy to have the Middle Fork River designated as a national wild and scenic river. He has called on legislators, worked with State regulators, and gathered with area environmental groups in an effort to preserve the Middle Fork in its natural state.

Although the Interior Department has yet to rule on whether the Middle Fork deserves designation as a wild and scenic river, we need not delay in praising Bob for his 20 years of hard work on behalf of natural areas in east central Illinois.

For that work, I praise Bob Bales for exemplifying the values of dedication, commitment, and perseverance and setting an example for others to follow. For generations to come, lovers of nature will knowingly and unknowingly pay tribute to Bob Bales and his work when they take advantage of the beauty he preserved.

**RUTH STALCUP CHOSEN 1987-88  
PRESIDENT OF THE BPW**

**HON. ROBERT K. DORNAN**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 26, 1988*

Mr. DORNAN of California. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate Ms. Ruth Stalcup, of Lorton, VA, on her election to president of the Virginia Federation of Business and Professional Women's Club, Inc. Ms. Stalcup is an exceptional Government employee at the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and very active in the Alexandria chapter of the Business and Professional Women's Club. I commend her on her work and wish her the best in the coming year.

The article follows:

[From the Alexandria Gazette Packet, May 18, 1988]

**BPW HAS NEW PRESIDENT**

(By Joanne Frazier)

Ruth Stalcup of Lorton will preside over the 67th convention of the Virginia Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs Inc. The convention will take place in Richmond, May 18-22.

Stalcup, who moved from Mayville, Tenn. to Alexandria in 1969, is a 14-year member of the Dolly Peton Shepperson BPW of Alexandria. As the 1987-88 state president, Stalcup led the 2,600 member Virginia Federation in pursuing the goals of full equity for working women in areas of pay equity, de-



pendent care and career advancement issues.

Stalcup is a staff assistant for the Office of Congressional Affairs of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in Washington, D.C. She served in five sessions with the U.S. Delegation to the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (SALT) between the United States and the Soviet Union in Vienna, Austria and Geneva, Switzerland.

BPW, Virginia is affiliated with BPW, USA, founded in 1919 to promote the interests of business and professional women. The national federation has 3500 local organizations in the United States, the Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico with an active membership of approximately 150,000.

## THE 1988 ARTISTIC DISCOVERY COMPETITION

### HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 26, 1988*

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, adorning the corridors leading to the U.S. Capitol Building is an exhibition of 249 paintings, drawings, prints, and collages from nearly every State, territory, and the District of Columbia. This special exhibition represents the culmination of "An Artistic Discovery 1988," the seventh annual congressional art competition for high school students sponsored by the congressional arts caucus and Members of Congress. This year's exhibition is the largest ever and represents the enormous skill, diversity and creative spirit of America's youth.

I am proud to report that the "Artistic Discovery" exhibit includes winning artwork from my congressional district. I had the honor of welcoming Toy Robinson, an 11th grade student from South High School, to Washington on June 28 for the opening ceremonies. His winning entry, "Toy," is included in the artwork on display through May of 1989.

Mr. Speaker, I want to again congratulate Toy Robinson upon being selected as the "Artistic Discovery" winner for the 21st Congressional District. He is a very talented young man with a bright future ahead of him. I would also like to take this opportunity to thank Malcolm and Ernestine Brown, owners of The Malcolm Brown Gallery in Shaker Heights, for their continued support of this important project over the years.

I want to also thank the principals, art instructors and most importantly, the students within the 21st Congressional District, for their support and participation in "An Artistic Discovery." I am pleased to include a listing of the schools and students who participated.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to note the success of the "Artistic Discovery" competition in my congressional district and throughout the Nation. I hope that my colleagues and visitors to Washington will take the opportunity to view this impressive display of artistic excellence.

#### "AN ARTISTIC DISCOVERY" COMPETITION 21ST CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

1. John Adams High School—Cassandra Blake, Michael Camper, Frank Mitchell, and Ronard Williams.

2. Bedford High School—Edward Buchanan, Rosetta Friend, and Louis Graves.

3. Bellefaire School—Liane King.

4. Cleveland Heights High—Lesley Balla, Gretchen Berr, Natalie Parker, Carmon Rinehart, and Troy Turner.

5. Cleveland School of Arts—Leonarda Caples, Andre Givhan, Michelle Hughley, David Malone, and Christine Wilson.

6. Collinwood High—Lamar Bolden, Kenneth Bruton, Kevin Bruton, Bennie DeLoach, Dwayne Johnson, and Milton Wyley.

7. Harry L. Eastman School—Marsha Bond, Brian Bowman, and Romona Grant.

8. East High School—Alvarez Avery, Bernard Calloway, Otis Holt, Leonard Jordan, O'Dell Jordan, Byron Posey, and William Vinston.

9. Erieview Catholic High—Karia Battaglia, and Ruzica Cavar.

10. John Marshall—Ernest Ottrix and Julie Roberts.

11. Lincoln West High—Ronald Ivy, Ben Johnson, Dwayne Johnson, and Dodd Sinkfield.

12. St. Joseph High—Chester Hopkins-Bey, Matthew Cook, Sean W. Hansen, Paul Kashuk, Matthew Mocado, Paul Suber, and Sheldon Wright.

13. Shaker Heights High—David Cockley, Monica Gonzalez, Alex Henry, Ben Hoffman, Kimberly Lief, Elizabeth Meadows, and Steven Thomas.

14. Shaw High School—Orrett Bishop and Terrace Mitchell.

15. South High School—Donna Kent and Toy Robinson.

16. Warrensville High School—Fred Dixon, Tyrone Gamble, Nicole Gradford, Clint Hall, Rabett Jones, and Julius Nichols.

## TRIBUTE TO JOHN R. MIDDLETON

### HON. RONALD D. COLEMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 26, 1988*

Mr. COLEMAN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the people of west Texas have lost a friend and a voice with the passing of the respected editor of the Monahans News, Mr. John R. Middleton.

John was a widely respected journalist who preferred the friendship and neighborhood of small communities to the impersonal pace of large urban areas. He and his family were integral parts of their community, and he was loved and will be missed dearly.

As a tribute to John Middleton, I would like to bring the enclosed article from the Monahans News to the attention of my colleagues:

[From the Monahans (TX) News, July 14, 1988]

#### SERVICES HELD WEDNESDAY FOR JOHN R. MIDDLETON

Monahans News Editor John Middleton died Saturday (July 9, 1988) at Ward Memorial Hospital after a six month battle with cancer.

He moved to Monahans in May of 1986 coming from Gatesville where he had been news editor for the newspaper there. He had worked for newspapers in California and Louisiana and was named top news photographer by the Louisiana Press Association three years in a row.

He studied journalism at the University of Texas at El Paso, and attended Texas A&M and Brazosport College.

John turned down several opportunities to work on big city dailies because he liked small communities. He wanted to be a part of the community and he was.

John gained the respect and friendship of nearly every person he came in contact with, and that was many. That respect and friendship included both on and off the job relationships.

His column "My Side of the Fence" was eagerly awaited by the readers of the News. It was always well written, and had the facts to back up whatever the subject happened to be. It related John's opinion, and he wasn't afraid to express that opinion.

Funeral services for John Richard Middleton, 55, were held Wednesday in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, officiated by Branch President Walter Howell. Interment was in Grandfalls Cemetery.

Mr. Middleton was born May 6, 1933 in Pleasant Hill, La. to Fay Egan and Estelle Virginia (Kingsbury) Middleton. He died Saturday (July 9, 1988) in Ward Memorial Hospital. He attended the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

He married Anna Mary Wineberg Oct. 17, 1952 in Austin and she survives him. He is also survived by nine children, Gary Austin Middleton of Austin, Ryan Lee Middleton and Patricia Ann Goodrich, both of Lake Jackson, David Wayne Middleton of Santa Fe, Tx., Rebecca Jean Centeno of Clute, Laurie Gail Beaver of Seadrift, Michelle Lynn Middleton of Corpus Christi, Michael Glen Middleton and Christopher Dean Middleton, both of Grandfalls; his mother, Mrs. Estelle Middleton of Houston; four brothers, Charles Lee Middleton of Colorado, Roger Lewis Middleton of College Station, Robert Michael Middleton of Bryan and William Russel Middleton of Houston; seven sisters, Mrs. Faye Estelle Shafer and Mrs. Mary Ann King, both of Alvin, Mrs. Nancy Jane Aduks of New Jersey, Mrs. Virginia Nell Bull of Roundrock, Mrs. Alice Mae Mayfield of Weatherford, Mrs. Betty Jo Dennis of Springbrance and Mrs. Sue Ellen Granzin of Henderson and fourteen grandchildren.

## SOUTH JERSEY FAST PITCH SOFTBALL HALL OF FAME INDUCTEES, 1988

### HON. JAMES J. FLORIO

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 26, 1988*

Mr. FLORIO. Mr. Speaker, I would like to congratulate the members of various softball teams who will be inducted into the South Jersey Fast Pitch Softball Hall of Fame, September 25, 1988, at the Garden Park Hotel in Cherry Hill, NJ. Three of the inductees will be honored posthumously; they are Andy Klepka, Chick Melvin McDonald, and John Sohanchak. Those who will be present at the ceremony are E.K. Brown, Jimmy DiPalma, Tony Gresk, Al Harris, Leon Matera, and John Patryk.

All have given much to the game of fast-pitch softball and have been all-around competitive athletes who played well both offensively and defensively. Additionally, over the years, each has made a special contribution which will be long remembered by the teams for which they played.

This is not an honor bestowed upon men who only played softball well, but men who have displayed a sense of sportsmanship which can stand as an example to all. There is no question that their sense of sportsmanship affected other areas of their lives, in the community, as well as the lives of those with whom they have interacted.

Mr. Speaker, I ask that all join with me in offering congratulations to the 1988 inductees into the South Jersey Fast Pitch Softball Hall of Fame, and to the families of those who will be honored posthumously.

## MRS. DANA RYDER TO RETIRE

### HON. VIC FAZIO

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 26, 1988

Mr. FAZIO. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to Mrs. Dana Ryder, a member of my Fairfield, CA, district office staff, who has spent 13 dedicated years providing valuable assistance to my constituents. Having begun her long tenure with my office when I served in the California State Assembly, Mrs. Ryder will retire at the end of this week.

I, my staff, and the countless constituents she has helped in California's Fourth Congressional District will miss Mrs. Ryder. However, all of us are enriched by the legacy of service she has left. Hers is a record of compassion; she will be remembered for her ability to display warmth and understanding while assisting constituents through often difficult and frustrating periods.

Following her graduation from high school in 1943, she moved to Fairfield, CA, and took a position in the Mare Island Naval Shipyard Communication Administration Department. After 14 years, Mrs. Ryder left to raise her family of three sons. She returned to work in 1958, working at Travis Air Force Base in the supply department.

In 1969, Mrs. Ryder began working for the American Cancer Society in Vallejo. Four years later, she joined the staff of my predecessor in Congress, Bob Leggett. She moved over to California State Assemblyman Ed Z'berg's office in 1975. The same year, Z'berg passed away. I won a special election for the vacant assembly seat, and Mrs. Ryder joined my staff. She has remained with my office up until this day.

Aside from her distinguished career, Mrs. Ryder leaves a model of community and political service. She was a founding and active member of the Fairfield-Suisun Chapter of the California Democratic Council. For the last 20 years, she has been active in the Solano County Democratic Central Committee where she has served as both vice president and the first woman president. From Adlai Stevenson on, she has played an active role in all Presidential campaigns. Mrs. Ryder is also an active member in a number of charitable and community organizations, including the Serbian Orthodox Church, the Easter Seals, and the Fairfield Community Development Committee. Mrs. Ryder is a woman who cares for people and gives warmly and generously of herself.

I wish Dana Ryder every full measure of well-deserved enjoyment, good health, and fulfillment in the future. May the years ahead be happy and fruitful ones.

## DISINFORMATION ABOUNDS ON PANAMA CANAL ISSUE

### HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 26, 1988

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, I rise to express my concern for the security of the Panama Canal. Under the control of military dictator Manuel Antonio Noriega, the security of the Panama Canal is in jeopardy, as well as the security of Central America and, in turn, the ultimate security of the United States.

In Panama there will always be an unstable and unpredictable leader like Noriega, the "land of endemic revolution and endless political turmoil." The time has come for the United States to realize that the canal is not yet gone and we can resolve this problem. The canal plays a critical role in our route for trade and military strategy, therefore we must act upon securing the safety and control of the Panama Canal. The following article by G. Russell Evans, expresses the current and past problems with the Panama Canal as well as steps we should take in solving this serious problem. I hope this article will give you a better understanding of why we must dissolve the treaties in order to secure the reliability of the Panama Canal.

[From the Washington Inquirer, June 3, 1988]

## DISINFORMATION ABOUNDS ON PANAMA CANAL ISSUE

(By G. Russell Evans)

Panama continues its historic role as "Jack the Giant Killer" in its stand-off with Superpower USA, this time in the matter of Manuel Antonio Noriega, a man indicted in two U.S. federal courts of massive drug-trafficking and money laundering among other crimes. The self-appointed, 4-star General Noriega, head of the all-powerful Panamanian Defense Forces (formerly Guardia), is having a gay old time before the TV cameras and international press, kissing all the girls he can reach and ridiculing U.S. efforts to "negotiate the sovereignty of Panama," as he increases suppression of human rights and stuffs his pockets with pay-off money from the Colombian drug cartel—all the while posing a threat to the future security of the strategic Canal.

U.S. economic sanctions are not working. Neither is the "secret" deal to drop charges if Noriega surrenders his Guardia command and just lives quietly in Panama. This is a pipe dream: a harmless and drugless Noriega as a country squire? The author of this latter "solution" seems to be Michael Kozak, State Department Legal Adviser, the man who met secretly with Noriega and who in 1977 worked secretly to structure the Panama Canal Treaties, recently discovered to be illegal under the U.S. Constitution and Panamanian Constitution.

The real issue is unconstitutional Treaties and the urgency to renegotiate them in order to honor the Constitutions of both countries. The DeConcini Reservation to the Treaties presumably guaranteed unilat-

eral U.S. defense rights. But Panama's secret counter-reservation (never approved by the U.S. Senate as constitutionally required) killed U.S. unilateral rights by requiring Panama's consent before U.S. troops can defend the Canal. This is the real problem and Big Media and others refuse to face it, often publicizing misinformation and deception that passes unchallenged, for example:

Former President Jimmy Carter, writing in the Washington Post National Weekly (April 25-May 1), continued the deception that the U.S. had clear rights to defend the Canal when he is the very man who, on April 7, 1977 when the Treaties were about to fail, secretly telephoned Dictator Omar Torrijos of Panama to write his own "reservation about . . . what the Treaties mean on U.S. intervention." Panama's secret counter-reservation was the result (Keeping Faith, Bantan 1981, p. 174).

Mr. Carter abhors any thought of intervening into Panama's internal affairs, but failed to admit that the DeConcini Reservation did just that. Nonetheless, he still felt a little intervention in the name of human rights may be okay.

He was proud of his 1977 treaty (sic) negotiations, saying, "I relied on the advice of three incumbent presidents: Carlos Andres Perez of Venezuela, Daniel Oduber of Costa Rica and Alfonso Lopez of Colombia." He didn't mention the advice he got from four of America's most distinguished strategists, Admirals Tom Moorer, Arleigh Burke, George Anderson and Robert Carney, who cautioned, "The Panama Canal represents a vital portion of our naval and maritime assets, all of which are considered absolutely essential for free world security."

Big Media's misinformation is irresponsible: The Associated Press on Feb. 28 in the Norfolk Virginia-Pilot alleged that the Canal Zone had been "leased," whereas the record provides it was bought and paid for four times for a total of \$79.7 million. Four separate telephone calls to the Public Editor, Jerry Sipe, produced nothing. Obviously, freedom of his press belongs to him who owns one.

This same paper alleged editorially that only five percent of seaborne traffic used the Canal, omitting the fact that 65 percent of ocean traffic to and from the U.S. use the Canal. Perhaps the editor counted the sampans off Hong Kong and the kayaks off Baffin Island.

The Knight-Ridder News Service is also into the act, alleging the Canal Zone to have been "an unofficial U.S. protectorate." It was not. It was official U.S. territory, so ruled by the U.S. Supreme Court and also by the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals. K-R also thinks the Zone "reverted to Panama in 1979." It did not, and cannot without a special Act of Congress (Sec. 1503, Panama Canal Act of 1979).

Even Pat Buchanan is confused: Jimmy Carter did not "deed over the Canal a decade ago," and something can still be done:

First, President Reagan should announce the unconstitutional Treaties that must be renegotiated to preserve U.S. control for national security reasons. Even the Soviets understand national security.

Second, the U.S. Congress must act to hold the Canal and to investigate the unconstitutional negotiations. Some members have: representative Connie Mack (R-Fla.), a candidate for the Senate in 1988, and four other Congressmen introduced on April 14 House Concurrent Resolution 281 express-



ing the sense of Congress that the United States should withdraw from 1977 Panama Canal Treaties. Representative Bob Walker (R-Pa.) introduced a similar bill to negotiate U.S. bases in Panama after the year 1999 for unilateral U.S. defense rights.

Third, civic clubs and retired military organizations should consider similar resolutions—and individuals should ask their Senators: Why did the Senate fail to vote on Panama's secret counter-reservation, and what will you do about unconstitutional Treaties?

Only powerful pressure can wake up Washington, and when many voices are heard, politicians listen in election years such as 1988.

### CONGRESSIONAL CALL TO CONSCIENCE VIGIL FOR SOVIET JEWS

#### HON. ROBERT GARCIA

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 26, 1988*

Mr. GARCIA. Mr. Speaker, for more than 1 year now Ida Yefimovna Zaminskaya has been searching for work. She was fired from her position as a software engineer with the Northwestern Forest Accounting firm, where she had been working for 7 years. Before that she had worked 20 years as an engineer for another firm. Ida Zaminskaya is a widow and she is attempting to provide for her 7-year-old daughter and her elderly mother.

Ida Zaminskaya has used every means available to her in order to contest her firing and to be placed in another job. She was fired due to a "required staff reduction," despite the fact that there was no reduction of staff. She filed a civil suit against her employer and although a trial was held, she lost the case.

Still she didn't give up. She contacted the official Labor Bureau where she was given invalid information. In other instances under the direction of the bureau she applied for jobs and her applications were rejected under the pretext that some sort of mistake had been made. This happened to her 11 times.

As her family situation became more desperate, she wrote to the city public prosecutor and to other top officials in Leningrad and Moscow. No explanation or action was taken on her case. She became frustrated because she is highly skilled as a programmer, a profession in Leningrad in high demand. It became apparent that Ida Zaminskaya was being discriminated against because she was of Jewish origin.

Unable to pursue her livelihood, or for that matter any livelihood, she applied for an exit visa for herself and her dependents. Her family was refused permission to leave the country in December 1987. Now her applications for jobs are being refused because she had applied for an exit visa to Israel.

Ida Zaminskaya's case in itself is extraordinary but when viewed with other cases, she becomes one of the many who are suffering because of their religion. When will the Soviet Union wake up to the strength of its own diverse and talented people and welcome their contributions towards a more healthy and prosperous society? Ida Zaminskaya is a cou-

rageous and persistent person who only asked that she be treated as others who had similar skills. Because she has been denied that opportunity, we should assist her in any way we can to find opportunity elsewhere.

### A TRIBUTE TO JIM WALKER

#### HON. JAMES A. TRAFICANT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 26, 1988*

Mr. TRAFICANT. Mr. Speaker, today I rise in order to pay tribute to Mr. Jim Walker, a very special citizen of my State of Ohio. Mr. Walker recently won a coin toss which made him the newest member of the East Liverpool City Council in East Liverpool, OH. Please allow me a few moments to tell you about this very close friend of mine.

Mr. Walker was born on February 18, 1935, the son of William and Eva Walker. He was an original member of the Marine Corps Reserve, and served 11 years in the Marine Corps Reserve, rising to the position of corporal. Mr. Walker served for 21 years in the East Liverpool Fire Department, and did an outstanding job as East Liverpool Safety Service Director from 1982 to 1987 under Mayor John Payne.

Mr. Walker is extremely active in the community, and does exhaustive work for both the Kiwanis and the Jaycees. Jim's beautiful wife is named Patricia, and his four doting children are James Jr., Michael, Troy, and Lea. Jim has a unique record in electoral history, for this is his third election which has ended in a tie. I am proud to announce that after he was defeated in coin flip for mayor of East Liverpool and for Democratic precinct committee person, he first fought back and got elected precinct committee person, and now has broken his unfortunate streak and won the coin flip for city council.

Jim, I am completely confident that you will become one of the greatest city council members in the history of East Liverpool. Thus, it is with thanks and special pleasure that I join with the people of the State of Ohio in saluting the astute political skills and truly wonderful personality of Mr. Jim Walker on his selection to the East Liverpool City Council.

### YOUTH 2000 WEEK

#### HON. JAMES M. JEFFORDS

OF VERMONT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 26, 1988*

Mr. JEFFORDS. Mr. Speaker, many serious problems confront our young people today. One million students drop out of school annually; one out of eight 17 year olds in this country is functionally illiterate; more than 1 million teenage girls become pregnant each year, half will never complete school; and 21 percent of all 14 to 17 year olds have problems with drugs and alcohol. To help reduce these appalling statistics and eliminate the most serious problems facing today's youth, we must work to instill in them the skills and strong values that will insure a better life for future generations.

Today, my colleague and friend, Representative GUS HAWKINS, and I are introducing a resolution to commemorate the week of September 11 to 17 of this year as "Youth 2000 Week."

Youth 2000 is an important national initiative designed to enlist all sectors of our society in efforts to help our young people meet the challenges of the future. I hope my colleagues will join us as cosponsors of this important initiative.

Since its inception in 1986, Youth 2000 has helped focus the attention of leaders in all sectors of our society on the problems of our youth. Governors of all 50 States have appointed Youth 2000 liaisons and have organized statewide conferences and other activities to heighten awareness of the problems facing our youth. With the knowledge that these problems will affect the employability of the youth in their adulthood, leaders from all parts of the country have met to discuss solutions. A comprehensive approach to the issues of youth employment and employability development is needed.

By the year 2000, the number of new jobs expected to be created will exceed the number of new entrants into the work force. The jobs developed will require higher levels of skill than are currently necessary for most entry level positions. Literacy will be essential.

Certain goals have been set by various conferences surrounding the Youth 2000 movement in order to cope with these changes. We need to raise the standards for excellence in all our institutions—in schools, on the job, and in Government—in order to create a more competitive America. We need to reduce the incidence of out-of-wedlock births to teenagers by at least 50 percent. We need to reduce the mortality rate for 15 to 19 year olds as a result of automobile accidents, homicides, and suicides, by at least 20 percent, and increase the high school graduation rate to at least 90 percent.

We in Congress should become involved in this effort. I therefore ask that you join Chairman HAWKINS and me in supporting this resolution to establish September 11 to 17, 1988 as Youth 2000 Week.

### SOME MODELS TURN BACKS ON CERTAIN JOBS

#### HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 26, 1988*

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I insert for the RECORD the following article:

### SOME MODELS TURN BACKS ON CERTAIN JOBS (By Tony Chapelle)

Two years ago Jesse Holmes, a 31-year old actor and model, made an unorthodox decision. A booker at his modeling agency in New York had called to say that the advertising company for Benson & Hedges cigarettes wanted him to attend a "go see"—an audition—at a photographer's studio. To the bookers astonishment, Mr. Holmes declared that he wasn't doing cigarette ads anymore.

The booker at the agency (L'Image, which is now defunct) pointed out that the adver-

tiser would pay \$7,500 to the model who was hired. Mr. Holmes recalls that he responded calmly: "No, thanks. I'd still like to pass on it."

Mr. Holmes, who has appeared on billboards for Coors beer and in television advertisements for Miller Lite, said that since then he has declined at least 10 tryouts for cigarette, hard liquor and beer ads. His reason: He believes he has a responsibility not to encourage people to use such products.

Mr. Holmes is one of a small number of New York models who say no to thousands of dollars in fees because they object to the products they would help sell with their images. The products they spurn vary widely, and include things like tobacco, liquor, furs, cosmetics from South Africa and even hair straighteners. Similar proportions of models in advertising centers like Los Angeles and Chicago also say they put principle ahead of payoff, though the numbers are probably larger in Manhattan, the nation's top market for models and the place where the most successful ones usually live.

Although no one keeps count, executives at the top four agencies in New York City—Ford Models, Wilhelmina Models, Zoli Management and Elite Model Management—estimated that no more than 30 of their combined total of 1,000 models turn down assignments for such reasons.

Although a refusal may create an obstacle for a model seeking to enter or re-enter the business, it appears that most agencies will accept and even keep track of the models' preferences, once they are in the business. Deciding to turn down assignments, however, can be costly for a model. Cigarette advertisers have been known to pay the men who present their products \$1 million a year for 10 years, according to Jeffrey Calenberg, a top model with the Ford agency.

Mr. Calenberg, who usually portrays 30-ish executives, is familiar because of his patrician good looks and appearances for stores like Brooks Brothers and Lord & Taylor. He, too, refuses to do advertisements for cigarettes and alcohol.

"I choose not to do them because I know there are hundreds of thousands of people who die from cigarette-related causes and millions who die from alcohol-related causes each year," Mr. Calenberg said. Four years ago he and his wife, Laura Krauss, also a model, founded Models for Christ, an informal interdenominational support group with about 200 members. It meets twice a month, except in the summer, at the Joffrey Ballet studios on West 56th Street for spirited devotionals, with singing, guitar playing, occasional theatrical productions and testimonials by models to the importance of Jesus in their lives.

"I'm not a saint," Mr. Calenberg said. "I'm not trying to say I'm better than anyone else. But I'm not going to use what God has given me to promote products that kill people." Others in Models for Christ say they share his feelings.

Mr. Calenberg's agency has long honored his preference. At the brownstone home of Ford, in the shadow of the Queensboro Bridge, phones that ring constantly are answered by a staff of five people who set up assignments for the more than 90 men the agency handles. When Mr. Calenberg's name goes into the computer, the first thing that flashes back is "Does not do cigarettes or alcohol."

"We support models like Jeff 100 percent," said Deborah Taylor, a booker at

Ford. "If they don't believe in working for certain companies because they don't like their products, then that's fine with us."

For the agencies, that may be no small sacrifice. Agencies earn a commission of 20 percent of the total fee for models who are hired. Agencies, like their models, compete for the big contracts.

Most agencies say they initially suggest to models who are averse to certain products that they accept the work, but give the money to charity. Faith Kates, the vice president of the women's division of the Wilhelmina agency, recalled a model who rationalized taking a cigarette campaign for more than \$25,000 by donating the money to benefit burn victims and cancer research.

Advertisers say they are not sensitive about the refusals and respect models' rights to hold to their principles. But while agencies and advertisers say models have the right to refuse work, Diane Erickson—a willowy blonde who was Self magazine's first cover girl and whose acting credits include the films "Jagged Edge" and "Runaway Train"—said her convictions had made her less marketable.

Ms. Erickson said she talked last year with Frances Rothchild, another vice president of Wilhelmina, about returning to modeling after being out of the field for two years while making the films. Ms. Erickson, a member of Models for Christ, said she told Mrs. Rothchild that for religious reasons she would not appear in any ads for cigarettes and alcohol.

Ms. Erickson said that when she made a followup call, Mrs. Rothchild told her the agency could not use her because of her age, her type of look and the fact that she would not pose with those products. (Like many models she does not like to give her age, but acknowledges that she is over 30.)

In a telephone interview Mrs. Rothchild said her agency hired only 1 percent of the models who apply and used "very few models over the age of 25." She said that refusing to pose with certain products would not keep models from being accepted "if we felt we could market them and get them work." She added, however, that a refusal would limit their marketability.

"It wasn't dramatic," Ms. Erickson said. "But as a businesswoman who thought those were my markets, she just decided she couldn't make money from me." Ms. Erickson now works with a small agency in Manhattan, Barrington, which is run by Tyrone Barrington.

Spiritual concerns like Ms. Erickson's are not the only factor in models' decisions to refuse assignments. Some professionals have nothing to do with nude pictures, nor with underwear ads that they consider in poor taste. And a model with a wholesome image and a soft-drink contract might decline to represent a liquor advertiser.

Some models who do not accept other alcohol advertising make an exception for beer. The distinction is a crucial one for black models like Mr. Holmes, because the overwhelming number of jobs available to black men who model for ads are for hard liquor, cigarettes and beer.

Other models do not make ads for fur coats. Each of the four modeling agencies questioned said it had at least one model who would not pose in furs out of a concern for the rights of animals.

Peggy Dillard, a black model, said she had refused for 10 years to accept advertisements for hair straighteners. She also refuses to do advertising for any skin-bleaching creams or for cosmetics from companies in South Africa.

She said things like lightening creams and straighteners do not reflect well on black people. "I don't want to perpetuate that negative image," she said, "especially while our ethnic characteristics are still being challenged by society."

Although all the models interviewed said they have had misgivings over their choices, none expressed regret over lost opportunities or income.

"No matter where you are, in whatever field, you have to make a stand," said Brenda Jordan, a model with Wilhelmina and a member of Models for Christ. She said she has rejected offers to appear in advertisements for a South African soap product, for cigarettes and for alcohol.

"Even when you first start, you don't have to do anything in this world that you don't want to do," Ms. Jordan said. "The big question is, 'How am I going to feel about myself in the long run?'"

## GREG IFFRIG RECEIVES CONSERVATION AWARD

HON. JACK BUECHNER

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 26, 1988

Mr. BUECHNER. Mr. Speaker, today I am proud to recognize one of my constituents, Greg Iffrig, who recently received the National Chevron Conservation Award. Greg's accomplishments in developing a park stewardship program through the Missouri Department of Natural Resources distinguishes him as an active and committed conservationist. The Chevron Award is granted annually to professional conservationists, citizen conservationists and to conservation organizations. While Greg enjoys volunteering as a member of the Sierra Club White River Group, his award was as a professional conservationist.

As the Missouri Department of Natural Resources Natural Areas Coordinator, Greg developed a program to maintain Missouri's savanna natural communities. The first of Greg's preservation programs was established as the Ha Ha Tonka State park. His work over the years to create and preserve the presettlement natural communities represents a commitment to protecting biological diversity on public lands.

It is my honor to represent Greg Iffrig, whose service and attention to the environmental needs of Missouri have helped maintain natural communities throughout the region.

## TOUGHER SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 26, 1988

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, in a July 25 New York Times editorial, the former chairman of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, John Douglas, makes a convincing case for tougher United States sanctions against South Africa.



Attorney Douglas, in his well written editorial, bases his case for tougher sanctions on the premise that those who view the end to apartheid in South Africa as being contingent on that country's economic growth are misreading history. He points out that even in periods of economic growth, the Government of South Africa has severely limited the political freedom of the majority population. He concludes by criticizing the "passive approach" to ending apartheid by those who oppose sanctions—"champions of economic growth"—and calls on the United States Congress to impose comprehensive sanctions against South Africa. I share the views expressed by Attorney Douglas in this editorial, and intend to do all that I can to insure passage in both Houses of Congress of H.R. 1580, the "Anti-Apartheid Act Amendments."

I hope that those of my colleagues who are opposed to tough sanctions against South Africa, as well as those who are uncertain about how they will vote on H.R. 1580, will take the time to read this editorial. The time has come for the U.S. Congress and the Reagan administration to be on record as firmly opposed, in actions, words and deeds, to apartheid in South Africa.

[From the New York Times, July 26, 1988]

#### SQUEEZE PRETORIA

(By John Douglas)

WASHINGTON.—In portraying economic growth as the key to future democracy in South Africa, opponents of comprehensive sanctions misread the history of apartheid. South Africa's experience indicates that economic expansion can be compatible with a sophisticated police state.

Since World War II, every Nationalist Party administration has blocked political participation by blacks and suppressed their protests with naked force. This was true in the 1960's, when the economy grew at a rapid 6 percent; in the 70's, when the rate was 3 to 4 percent, and in the 80's when, until recently, there has been stagnation.

Indeed, it was in the high-growth 60's that the Afrikaner regime enacted the statutes, including the so-called Terrorism Act, that institutionalized the classic elements of a police state. They included arrests without warrant, indefinite detentions without trial and removal of judicial control over detentions.

Critics of sanctions point to the economic gains in the 80's for some blacks, particularly for small-businessmen, as heralding decisive political influence to come. But this vision of "black empowerment" is a mirage. Black entrepreneurs are too few in number and too dependent on the state bureaucracy to ever constitute an effective force against apartheid. Today, black-owned businesses account for only 1 percent of the gross domestic product.

For the black population as a whole, the economy remains a disaster. Blacks own less than 2 percent of the nation's capital stock. The average income of black households has lagged far behind inflation. The unemployment rate for blacks stands at 25 percent and is increasing. New jobs average 22,000 a year whereas the work force grows by more than 300,000 annually. Small wonder, then, that the economic advances of some blacks have added nothing to black political power.

Opponents of comprehensive sanctions similarly misconstrue the role of black labor unions. Their theory is that, with national prosperity, the unions will inexorably accumulate economic power and can then transfer that power to the political arena.

But this formulation views black unions in isolation, wholly removed from, everyday apartheid. It assumes erroneously that the economic aspirations of black workers can be divorced from their political aspirations. The two strands are inseparable, witness the recent three-day "stay away," called by the largest labor federation, to demonstrate grassroots opposition to apartheid.

The rationale of economic growth also ignores the severity of the constraints under which black unions function. The high black unemployment rate assures a large pool of potential replacements for striking workers. Strikers cannot picket. Most important, union members are no match for the Government's guns, whips and dogs, all of which are at the ready in major labor disputes.

Last year's strike by 340,000 black miners was instructive. Its three-week duration was a remarkable achievement, but in the end the National Union of Mine Workers capitulated. Before the strike, the union asked for a one year pay increase of 30 percent. After management fired 40,000 strikers, the union accepted the owners' pre-strike offer of 23 percent. The raise was impressive on its face but actually modest, given the 3 to 1 disparity between white and black pay, the average monthly wage of \$245 and a 15 percent inflation rate.

During that strike, the security forces of management and the state went on a rampage. Shootings of strikers, assaults and beatings were commonplace. Hundreds of strikers were injured. More were arrested. Nine were killed.

The pattern of white domination has characterized all of South Africa's labor-management relations. In the 50's, the Government collaborated with industry to smash the fledgling black unions. Two decades later, the Government acceded to industry's entreaties and legalized limited types of union activity.

Management made this about face in the interests of efficiency and stability: It was less costly to deal with union representatives than to cope with the larger number of individual workers who were becoming increasingly restive. But then, as now, the black unions operated at the sufferance of the Government.

In contrast to the passive approach exemplified by the champions of economic growth for South Africa, comprehensive sanctions would represent an affirmative policy.

Mild selective sanctions, enacted in 1986, have increased slightly the costs of maintaining apartheid. Adoption of comprehensive sanctions plus vigorous Presidential leadership would encourage other industrial democracies to forge a common policy and impose significant strains on the economy—primarily, albeit not exclusively, on its white sector. Those strains would resonate with the resistance to apartheid in the black communities and thereby generate the best opportunity for a non-racial democracy.

#### JUDAISM AND LIBERALISM: THEOLOGIES IN CONFLICT

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 26, 1988

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, as we near November and the upcoming Presidential elections, one item especially inspires me—the increasing numbers of minority and ethnic voters who are defecting from the Democratic Party and its far-left ideology, and joining the ranks of the Republican Party. Groups, who traditionally voted Democratic in excess in 80 percent, are now finding that they are being taken for granted and neglected by my colleagues on the other side of the aisle, and they are, therefore, re-evaluating their partisan allegiances and affiliations. These people are choosing the solutions of the GOP over more "compassion" that the Democrats purport to offer. Among those groups taking advantage of the open-door policy of the Republican Party are many of this Nation's approximately 6 million Jews, who, in the 1960s, voted over 80 percent for such Democratic Presidential nominees as John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson. Today, however, this is changing; and in 1980, for the first time since President Abraham Lincoln, American Jews gave the majority of their votes to a Republican Presidential nominee—Ronald Reagan.

Those who would have us believe otherwise claim that Jews were not voting for the Republican Party or in favor of conservatism, but rather they were voting for candidate Reagan. They allege that Jews are neither conservative, nor will their support for conservative Republican candidate Reagan be reflected in other elections involving conservative Republican candidates. On the contrary, such conservative Republicans as Senator ALFONSE D'AMATO, of New York, and Governor George Deukmejian, of California, both attribute their re-elections, in part, to the Jewish vote, the majority of which went to them—both States have significant Jewish populations, to the point where the Jewish vote in these States is a major political force. In D'AMATO's case, he received the majority of the Jewish vote, despite the fact that his liberal Democratic challenger was Jewish.

While it is true that the majority of American Jews still identify themselves as Democrats, this number continues to decrease, and the percentage of those identifying themselves as Republicans continues to increase significantly at a rate of about 1 or 2 percent per year. While American Jews are traditionally more liberal than the rest of the preferences are increasingly similar to those of all Americans, as they are much more conservative than their elders. It is interesting to note that the percentage of those identifying themselves as conservatives is greater than those identifying as Democrats, which tells us that American Jews have the right ideology, but are just in the wrong political party.

American Jews are discovering that the Democratic Party of today is welcoming those who are enemies of Israel and espouse anti-Semitism into its midst with open arms. In

1984, while the Democrats rejected resolutions against anti-Semitism from merely being considered for their party platform, the Republicans more than welcomed such a plank into their platform. Today, it is the Democratic Party that is dovish toward and openly seeking friendly relations with countries, such as Nicaragua and the Soviet Union, which blatantly practice policies of systematic, government sponsored anti-Semitism. On the other hand, the Republican Party is actively seeking ways to eradicate such anti-Semitism in those countries by supporting freedom fighters and defenders of human rights in their regions and by attempting to link our relations and trade with those countries to their record on human rights.

Ethnic groups do not completely transform their voting patterns overnight, and American Jews are no exception. I am reminded of a family that keeps going to the same doctor for many years. Even though the doctor may have since retired and been replaced by a new and different doctor, the name of the old doctor remains on the door. The family continues to return to the new doctor, mistakenly thinking that they are receiving the same quality of care. However, recent changes among American Jews are significant and promising for my Republican colleagues.

One sect of American Jews—the Orthodox Jews—have led the way for the rest of their coreligionists. Their overwhelming conservatism and pro-Republican sentiment is indicative, I am told, of their recognition that Judaism is a conservative religion, that its teachings, traditions, and philosophical views are conservative. In addition, in this day when support for Israel is no longer the politically convenient thing to do, American Jews are realizing who the true friends of the Jewish State are—they are the conservatives, who recognize the importance of Israel and her Western values and continue to defend her, as opposed to the liberals who attempt to take advantage of Israel in her time of need by sending vituperative and condemnatory letters attacking her to our Secretary of State. It takes time, but the family of patients is not fooled forever. American Jews are not only getting a second opinion now, but they are beginning to shop around for a new doctor altogether.

Don Feder, a columnist for the Boston Herald, whose columns are syndicated nationally, has been writing on this theme, as well as others, for several years. A seasoned conservative, and an Orthodox Jew, Feder's writings are insightful and stimulating, and his ideas are so poignant that I will not attempt to paraphrase them. Mr. Feder dares to discuss and challenge ideas that the majority have taken for granted. On May 10 of this year, he spoke to the Heritage Foundation on the topic of Judaism and its irreconcilability with liberalism. His thought provoking speech, "Judaism and Liberalism: Theologies in Conflict," which goes through a point by point analysis of liberal tenets and the Jewish outlook as prescribed by the Torah, is profoundly illustrative, showing a stunning contrast between these two ideologies. I hope that all of my colleagues will take the time to read Mr. Feder's incisive oration.

#### JUDAISM AND LIBERALISM: THEOLOGIES IN CONFLICT

(By Don Feder)

As the 1988 election approaches pundits again will speculate on the perennial question: Whither the Jewish vote. Will the shift to the right, detected in 1980, interrupted in 1984, resume, or will American Jews return to their old electoral habits?

While this matter is hotly debated—along with the related issue: What is politically good for the Jews—a more significant concern will be widely neglected: What does Judaism require in the political realm? Except for a few liberal rabbis, whose understanding of and commitment to Judaism is commensurate with the dedication of the National Council of Churches to Christianity—the subject will be ignored.

In an effort to rectify this lack of critical analysis, I would offer some observations on the essential characteristics of Judaism and liberalism. It is generally supposed that because most American Jews are liberals, the faith of the patriarchs and prophets must have much in common with the Church of Mondale and McGovern. Quite the contrary, Judaism and liberalism are diametrically opposed. In every respect, they are theologies in conflict.

Any philosophical discussion properly should begin with definitions. As we live in at least a nominally Christian society, it's hardly surprising that Judaism isn't well understood, even (or perhaps one should say particularly) by assimilated Jews.

Judaism has 3 principle components: God, Torah (or law) and nation (or peoplehood). Remove any of these supporting pillars, and the entire structure—this magnificent edifice of the ages—collapses.

Judaism perceives a Supreme Being, sublime in majesty and power. Among other attributes, he is omnipotent, incorporeal, indivisible and intimately involved with his creation. The Exodus story, retold last month at the Passover Seder, dramatizes divine intervention in human affairs. (As the Haggadah recounts, "God brought us from there with a strong hand and an outstretched arm.") It stands as a monumental refutation of the theory of a mechanistic universe, with an uncaring deity sitting on the sidelines.

Confidence in divine solicitude—the conviction that the Master of the Universe has a master plan and that no sparrow falls unnoticed—is a source of infinite comfort and strength in Judaism. As Herman Wouk wrote in his excellent introduction to subject, "This Is My God," "The Hebrew people draws its optimism from its idea of the universe. Disaster, protracted poverty, mass murder, have never dissuaded the Jews from the vision caught at Sinai of an unseen God. They believe not only that he exists, but that he is interested in men; that he wants them to become better than they are; and that he gave them a law that points the way to a better world. This is solid ground underfoot for those who find it. If he is indeed in the universe, there is hope. Blind forces balanced precariously can churn into final chaos. A seeing force can control its tools. The Jew orders all his acts on the hypothesis that God is there, so he is a hopeful man. Acting on that hypothesis, he has lasted a very long time."

Judaism affirms that the God of Israel makes certain significant demands of mankind, to wit: ethical conduct, sanctification of the spirit and devotion. These requirements are enunciated in the second component of Judaism, the Torah. The law, set

forth in the Pentateuch and other sacred writings, is the divine blueprint, by following the precepts of which man can live righteously and, in so doing, live well. In short, it is a religion of discipline.

Peoplehood, the third component of Judaism, is the vehicle for bringing the light of Torah to the world. Just as Christians believe they have a mission, so too religious Jews affirm their calling—to repair the world under the rule of God, to be a nation of priests, to bring humanity to an understanding of holiness and an acceptance of biblical morality.

Although of considerably more recent vintage, liberalism too is a religion, albeit a secular—man-centered—creed. To the faithful, it offers a consistent, well-integrated worldview. Like most religions, it is dogmatic. Unlike the others, it is not only empirically unverifiable, but massively refuted by both reason and human experience, none of which prevents followers from blindly adhering to its tenets.

The liberal cult is based on certain axiomatic concepts, which we shall explore directly. It is known, however, primarily by its political consequences. In the economic realm, liberalism favors collectivism: government as the guarantor of the public welfare, happiness itself (and not merely the pursuit of the same) as a right, income leveling (via taxation and subsidies) and state enterprises.

On defense and foreign policy, it is devoutly isolationist, pacifist, anti-anti-communist. Its stand on social issues is marked by a belief in extreme autonomy, the disparagement of social ties, a lust for experimentation and innovation and a thoroughgoing permissiveness.

Judaism and liberalism conflict on 7 key questions, doctrines so fundamental that they shape the entire ethos of the two philosophies. They are: man's nature, free will vs. determinism, moral absolutism vs. relativism, an emphasis on rights or responsibilities, tradition vs. modernism, universalism or particularism, and community vs. isolation or atomization. In each of these crucial areas, Judaism and liberalism are diametrically opposed.

Man's nature—Liberalism holds that people are inherently good, that basically benevolent individuals somehow are corrupted by the world around them, principally through social institutions (economic relationships, governmental structures, religion, marriage and the family).

This attitude permeates the liberal perspective. Because man is basically good, it is reasoned, left to their own devices, people will automatically do the right thing. Crime is the fault not of the criminal but of the environment which shaped his conduct. Hence, rehabilitation is strongly favored over punishment. The myriad expressions of human sexuality are smiled upon, on the assumption that, as movie ads inform us, if it feels this right, it can't be wrong.

For the liberal, then, the key to improving the human condition lies not in reforming the heart, but altering these modes and structures. He is therefore an inveterate revolutionary, eternally at war with the institutions which he believes to be the nemesis of an otherwise virtuous humanity.

Unlike Christianity, Judaism does not accept the doctrine of original sin. Unlike liberalism, it does not believe in original goodness. At birth, man is a moral tabula rasa—innocent, but not virtuous.

Nowhere, in 3,000 years of normative Jewish thought—neither in the Torah,



Prophets, Mishna, Gemara, or codifications of these holy works—will you ever find expression of the bizarre notion that man is by nature good. Quite the contrary, the Talmud tells us that from birth a man's heart is inclined to evil.

Clearly historical evidence favors the Jewish outlook. The 20th century (which has enriched our political vocabulary with such quaint expressions as gulags, secret police, torture cells, death camps, euthanasia and genocide) should once and for all have refuted the seductive theory that man is naturally benevolent.

Our sages tell us that man has both good and evil tendencies. The great challenge of existence is overcoming the later, while cultivating the former. Judaism teaches that virtue must be inculcated—always an arduous and painful process.

Liberals advise man to trust his instincts, which unerringly will lead him to virtue. Judaism says heed the law, not your natural inclinations. In the words of the Torah: Do not follow your own heart, after which you used to go astray.

These drastically different perspectives on human nature are reflected in the second principal point of divergence—free will versus determinism.

Liberalism views man as no more than a biological entity (a conglomeration of random molecules), genetically or environmentally programmed. Obviously, under such conditions there can be no individual responsibility. It wasn't the devil that made us do it, Geraldine, but our heredity, family, education, peer group influences, etc.

Judaism holds that man was created in the spiritual likeness of God, and so endowed by his Creator with both discernment and volition. Obviously, determinism negates both Judaism and Christianity. Absent free will, there is no ability to choose. It's make no sense for God to have given man commandments, if individuals lack the ability to follow these rules.

Without free will, morality is impossible. This brings us to the third difference between the opposing persuasions, moral absolutism versus relativism.

Modern liberalism advocates situation ethics—a morality of circumstance, a code of convenience. Because it refuses to acknowledge moral imperatives, ethical correctness is gauged by the customs of a given society or culture. Hence the eskimo practice of leaving the elderly on an ice floe (a refrigerated form of euthanasia, which must excite the admiration of the Hemlock society), or the Hindu custom of incinerating a widow on her husband's funeral pyre, or the Aztec rite wherein the living heart was torn from the body of a human sacrifice all are justified.

In a Western democracy, situation ethics become morality by the consent of the majority. Thus if Moses were to appear at the annual convention of the People for the American Way, stone tablets in hand, he might anxiously inquire: Adultery, in or out? Let's see a show of hands!

If morality isn't based on divine instruction, it must be premised on ideology. Thus the excesses of the Reign of Terror was excused on the grounds that a majority of citizens hankered to make aristocrats shorter by a head, and as we all know 20 million Frenchmen can't be wrong. The mass starvation of Ukrainian peasants and the Holocaust were condoned as advancing the cause of the proletariat or the Aryan race respectively.

In fairness, most liberals view these ghastly crimes with unaffected horror, and yet

endorse the underlying premises on which they were conceived: that morality isn't absolute; that along with human knowledge, ethics are evolving; that the voice of the people is the voice of God.

Judaism, on the other hand, holds that ethics are God-given, therefore immutable. This was the great Jewish gift to humanity: the concept of a single moral code, for all people, at all places, in all times. What's right for first century Judeans is equally right for 20th century Americans, for Eskimos, for Aztec priests, for the Brahmin on the banks of the Ganges as well as those in the Kremlin.

In the natural order, people have both rights and responsibilities. Liberalism is obsessed with the former, Judaism emphasizes the latter.

Liberalism is liable for the "rights" explosion of the post-War era. Where formerly the discussion concerned human rights, now we are bombarded with appeals for minority rights, handicapped rights, reproductive rights, women's rights, children's rights, welfare rights, gay rights, even animal rights.

Locke's "life, liberty and property" and Jefferson's "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" have been transformed into a guarantee of happiness, however perverted and ultimately self-destructive that pleasure may be. The international symbol of liberalism should be an outstretched hand, palm up.

Many of these demands actually are anti-rights, spurious formulations the exercise of which derogate legitimate rights (including freedom of association, freedom of belief and the right to property). When liberals inform us that individuals have a right to a "livable income," "affordable housing," and the public validation of their sexual proclivities, we must inquire: at whose expense?

Liberalism never speaks of obligations, unless the term is employed in the cause of redistributionism, as in our duty to the underprivileged or America's responsibility to underdeveloped nations. There is no consideration of an individual's debt to his family, nation, posterity or God. Indeed, such concepts are ridiculed as barbaric relics of a tribal past. By accepting liberalism's logic, we are becoming a nation of takers, a people constantly inquiring what our country can do for us, heedless of its cost to society or future generations.

In Judaism, the focus is on responsibilities. Not that rights are unimportant. Judaism pioneered the concept of liberty, both individual and national. The exodus from Egypt and the Maccabean revolt, commemorated at Hanukkah, are shining moments in the annals of man's struggle for liberty. The Hebrew Scriptures advanced the revolutionary concept that the individual, regardless of his or her station in life, had innate dignity and worth. In recognition of this, our colonial forefathers, who felt a special kinship to ancient Israel, chose a verse from Leviticus for inscription on Philadelphia's Liberty Bell: "Proclaim liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof."

Nonetheless, Judaism views freedom as the means to an end, never an end in itself. The Passover story didn't conclude with the flight from Egypt. In Jewish tradition, the Exodus culminates with the giving of the law at Sinai. Liberation from human bondage was preparation for the voluntary assumption of another form of servitude—the acceptance of divine law, for freedom without commitment is spiritual anarchy, which in turn leads to a different sort of indentured, sensory enslavement.

Physical freedom and spiritual commitment are interdependent. Man can't serve God while in thrall to other human beings, neither can he be truly free outside divine suzerainty. He who will not accept the yoke of heaven's mandate will wear the slave collar of tyrants.

Judaism, then, stresses responsibilities, commitments, dedication. There are 613 positive and negative mitzvot or commandments, regulating an individual's relationship to God, family, neighbors, strangers and business associates.

An example should illustrate this difference of approach. One of liberalism's pet causes is workers' rights. Have you ever heard the self-styled proletarian champions speak of workers' obligations? Judaism does. Under Jewish law, an employee has a responsibility to give fair labor for his wages. He is admonished not to waste his employer's time. This principle is applied so scrupulously, that at the hour of devotion, a man working on a roof is enjoined to say his prayers on the spot, rather than climbing down to the ground, thereby wasting his boss's time descending and ascending the ladder. A small matter, yet an accurate reflection of Judaism's concern for the mutual obligations which serve as the mortar for a decent society.

Such a society is rooted in the past. Judaism and liberalism diverge once more in their allegiance to tradition or modernism. Liberals have an almost child-like faith in the value of progress. Ancient ways are contemptuously dismissed with the designation "old-fashioned." The past is characterized by ignorance, poverty, superstition and cruelty. For them, the sum total of 2,000 years of Western civilization is witch hunts, inquisitions, slavery, barbarism and brutality.

By contrast, the present and future are distinguished by science, reason, justice and bounty. Constant change becomes the sine qua non of human advancement. Customs are carelessly discarded like yesterday's fashions.

Judaism lives in the past. Men are called to the Torah by their father's name. Jewish life is regulated by laws and judgments handed down over the course of several millennia. The Passover seder memorializes an event which transpired over 3,000 years ago.

This Jewish affinity for the old ways, for ancestral wisdom, is popularized in the writings of Holocaust survivor Esther Jungreis. In "The Jewish Soul On Fire," the rebbeztzin; or rabbi's wife, tells the Midrashic tale of Solomon, who built the first Temple, being barred from the Holy of Holies, when he attempted to enter with the Ark of the Covenant. Every device of this man whose name epitomizes sagacity was futile, until says Jungreis: In desperation, Solomon cried out: "Almighty God, remember the righteousness of David my father!" Instantly the gates opened and the Holy Ark was brought into the Sanctuary."

From this, the Rebbetzin concludes: "There are moments in every man's existence when life's gates lock against him, when he feels trapped and hopeless. If at such times he could only echo the words of Solomon, his forefathers would come forth, show him the way, and lead him to those still waters for which his soul so desperately yearns."

Judaism doesn't reject change out of hand. After all, religious Jews have survived by responding to every fluctuation in the course of recorded history. It does, however, measure change against eternal standards.

Eschewing the advice of pop psychologists, it does not go with the flow.

The imperative of Jewish survival—clearly the message can't be disseminated without messengers—leads us to another point of contention: universalism versus particularism. Liberalism abhors diversity. Specifically, it views religious, ethnic and national differences as divisive—the genesis of discrimination, injustice and war.

The sooner we can overcome these artificial barriers, and merge into a bland universal mass, the better we all will be, liberalism postulates. The only deviation allowed is for certified victim groups, in which case dissimilarities (including behavior at times bordering on the obnoxious) must be encouraged to cultivate pride among an oppressed minority.

Judaism is rich in the differences which divide. Its dietary laws place certain constraints on social contacts with the rest of humanity. In an age when even Roman Catholic prayer is said in the vernacular, observant Jews cling tenaciously to Hebrew.

The Jewish calendar is punctuated by holidays which only Jews observe—Passover, Shavuot, Simhat Torah, Rosh Hashanah, Yom Kippur, Sukkot, Hannukah. Even our sabbath is chronologically distinct from that of Christians and Moslems, and unique in its mode of observance.

Judaism has a universalist component, its belief in the divine origin and sanctity of each individual. However, the survival of a relatively small people, with beliefs and customs often inherently at variance with those of the surrounding culture, requires a degree of particularism (if you will, semi-self-segregation) wholly incompatible with the liberal ethos.

Ironically, while preaching universalism, liberalism results in the radical isolation of the individual from the rest of humanity. As noted earlier, liberalism defies the individual, enshrining his wants and whims. Thus the final divergence, on the matter of community versus atomization.

Without shared traditions (which liberalism deprecates) and responsibilities (which liberalism denies) it is impossible to foster a sense of community. Under the sway of liberal culture, America is rapidly becoming a nation of cloistered individuals, increasingly unable to share each other's joys or sorrows.

We find it difficult even to relate to our own kin, thus the rise of divorce and single-parent families, the desertion of the elderly and escape from parenthood via child care. The only exception to this depressing, potentially devastating, trend is the spiritual community fostered by traditional religious denominations. Judaism is premised on such spiritual solidarity, according to which every religious Jew feels responsible for every other.

Said attitude is underscored during Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement. As part of the liturgy, Jewish congregations around the world say the Al Het confessional, a public recitation of sins—dishonesty, avarice, lust, cruelty indolence—repeated by every worshipper, whether or not he actually committed all or any of the enumerated offenses.

It's not that Judaism believes in collective guilt, rather that it recognizes a degree of collective responsibility. This public recitation is an acknowledgment that as members of the community to an extent we are liable for its shortcomings. By our example, in educating our children and assisting the education of others, did we do enough to promote virtue? When we saw others going astray, did we try to dissuade them?

With the burdens of community come its joy. In traditional Jewish society, children are reared with love and discipline. The elderly are cared for and treated with respect and firm bonds of friendship and neighborliness engendered.

Thus it may be seen that liberalism and Judaism represent fundamentally different perspectives on existence, human nature, human conduct, ethics, rights, tradition, diversity and community.

In light of the foregoing, it is logical to inquire why so many Jews are on the left. The answer would take another lecture, at the very least. And, hopefully, the Heritage Foundation will invite me back to deliver that discourse.

In the meantime, I would note that the Jewish drift to radicalism was impelled by certain historical forces: The fact that in the old world anti-Semitism was the province of the right (of the religious parties and extreme nationalists alike), the affinity of the intellectuals for utopian politics, the false identification of fascism as a right-wing ideology, and the success of the Democratic party in courting Jewish votes, beginning with Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Above all, the Jewish movement to collectivist politics paralleled the emancipation of European Jewry and corresponding decline of Torah values. Jews are a people born for a cause. Commitment is in their blood. They can't exist in a metaphysical vacuum. When they forsake the eternal truths of their fathers, many find less enlightening doctrines to embrace.

In this regard, there is cause for optimism. As traditional Judaism experiences a renaissance, both here and abroad, Jews are deserting the false gods of modernity. In Orthodox communities, such as New York's Boro Park, Ronald Reagan received landslide votes in the past two presidential elections.

As the trend continues, conservatives can take comfort in the realization that they share considerable common ground with the world's oldest monotheistic faith, the fount of traditional morality. In other words, as we've long suspected, God is on our side.

#### A TRIBUTE TO BELOIT, OH

**HON. JAMES A. TRAFICANT, JR.**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 26, 1988*

Mr. TRAFICANT. Mr. Speaker, today I rise in order to pay tribute to the village of Beloit, OH, a very special municipal corporation in my 17th Congressional District. On August 13, 1988, Beloit will have a gala celebration in honor of Beloit's 125th anniversary. Ms. Mary McNatt, chairperson of "The Big Parade," expects this celebration to be the biggest and most exciting in Beloit's history.

Beloit's origins began with the completion of the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne, and Chicago Railroad through what was then Smithfield, and with the building of the Smithfield Station. In 1863, "Beloit" was selected as a name for the new village, and it should be noted that Beloit means "nice place" in French—which is a perfect description of the village of Beloit. On the historic day of May 1, 1902, the village of Beloit was incorporated at the office of the Mahoning County Recorder.

A beautiful municipal building was built in the early 1970's, and it house the Beloit Fire Department, the Smith Township Police Office, and the Beloit Council Chambers. This architectural masterpiece was built through the drive and determination typical of Beloit's citizens, best described through Beloit's village slogan—"We can do it!" The gorgeous Beloit Mill, once known as the "Home of the White Rose Flour," today stands as a busy ceramic shop. West Branch High School, one of the best high schools in the State of Ohio, has now been educating the young people of Beloit for 25 years.

It is one of my proudest moments as a Member of Congress to know that Beloit has survived for 125 years, and it is my deepest desire that they prosper for another 125 years. Thus, it is with thanks and special pleasure that I join the people of the 17th Congressional District in saluting the village of Beloit on their 125th anniversary.

#### U.S. AID TO NORTHERN IRELAND—AN ASSESSMENT

**HON. MARIO BIAGGI**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 26, 1988*

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, it was about 2 years ago when the 99th Congress gave its approval to historic legislation to provide first time United States economic assistance to Ireland and Northern Ireland. The Anglo-Irish Agreement Support Act of 1986 authorized \$120 million over 3 years to aid in the process of peace and reconciliation. Up to the present time the United States has committed \$85 million for fiscal years 1986 and 1987. The remaining \$35 million is awaiting Presidential certification before it is released. This certification is expected by later this month.

As chairman of the bipartisan Ad Hoc Congressional Committee for Irish Affairs, I was a supporter of the revised version of this legislation which became law. At the initial point of introduction, this was to be an open ended authorization of aid without any conditions about what it should try and achieve for Northern Ireland and Ireland. As a result of the modifications, the legislation does mandate that funds provided by the United States are to go to both communities and are to help promote economic opportunity and human rights. In fact the aforementioned Presidential certification requires the President agree that these conditions are met before releasing any additional funds.

Recently a major report was released by the Irish American Unity Conference Information Service. This report studied the effects of the funding thus far in Ireland and Northern Ireland. A major conclusion of the report is that U.S. aid to Northern Ireland is not reaching its targeted group, those most in need. In fact a number of serious issues are raised which I believe must be addressed before we are to consider any extension of aid.

I recognize the fact that it is far too soon to expect immediate and measurable results from this initial distribution of aid. However there are some indications about the determi-



nation of which projects should be supported with these funds that do concern me. I am concerned not only about the projects that were provided funds, but also the process used to make these awards. I believe it is timely to review the process now and to make necessary adjustments.

As mentioned earlier, the Anglo-Irish agreement cosigned by the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland was the catalyst for this legislation. This agreement was viewed by many as a breakthrough in the longstanding effort to move toward a political solution in Ireland. At the time I called the agreement a "fragile" first step forward but felt that its failure to make any changes in the political status quo in Ireland was a serious flaw.

One of the main provisions of this agreement was the establishment of the International Fund for Northern Ireland and Ireland. This is the entity responsible for the distribution of the economic aid provided by the United States and other nations. The internal composition of the international fund in the view of the unity conference represents one of the major problems with respect to the U.S. aid. The fund is controlled by an independent seven man board of directors from both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland appointed by the respective governments. Yet because the board members serve in a basic part-time capacity, the Northern Ireland civil service plays a strong role in the day-to-day operations of the international fund. Over the years, the NICS has shown an insensitivity to the economic problems of the Catholic minority. The unity conference noting that the current chairman of the board is Mr. Charles Brett former director of the Northern Ireland Housing Authority and his objectivity may be somewhat colored.

The unity conference report also expresses concern about the role of the United States observer to the international fund. At the time the legislation was advancing through Congress, it was felt strongly that the United States should have a representative on the board to ensure that our funds were being used in a fashion consistent with the goals and conditions of the authorizing law. The United States Observer is William Fine, an American businessman living in London. The unity conference report suggests that Mr. Fine instead of being in the role of a critical reviewer of projects before they are approved has merely become involved in evaluations after projects have been awarded. In light of the concerns registered by a number of Irish American organizations about the projects that have been awarded funds, it would seem that our U.S. observer should be far more involved in the process than he presently is. Failure of the U.S. observer to fully carry out his responsibilities aimed at ensuring compliance with the authorizing law obviously defeats a key purpose of the legislation.

The unity conference report also notes that within the structure of the international fund is an advisory committee comprised of eight senior government officials divided equally between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. Yet again due to budget constraints and the largely part time nature of the work there is heavy reliance on the various offices of the Northern Ireland Civil Service. Such

units as the Department of Economic Development, the Local enterprise development units, the tourist boards and the Department of Agriculture have been used not only for support services but also to help screen applicants for funding with U.S. aid. The unity conference rightfully in my judgement questions this reliance especially in light of past discriminatory practices by these entities. It is clear to me that one of the strongest principles contained in the authorizing legislation is the mandate that funds provided are to go to both communities in Northern Ireland in a non-discriminatory manner. This must be enforced at all levels of the process.

The unity conference report cites experiences with previous outside aid to Northern Ireland and its failure to aid those in need in Northern Ireland. This includes aid provided by the European Economic Community which was directed into the existing political power structures in Northern Ireland which in turn ensures that funds will not be provided to meet all needs. The one thing that must be avoided is to have the international fund develop the mistrust of the minority in Northern Ireland which it is intended to help.

One of the most compelling features of the unity conference report relates to the projects that have been selected for funding by the board. The international fund's largest expenditure is the establishment of two investment companies, one operating out of Belfast, the other out of Dundalk in the Republic of Ireland. According to the fund, the purpose of the investment companies is to "Identify the risk capital needs for . . . industrial and commercial enterprises" and to "provide on sound commercial criteria equity capital or loans." The fund in making the determination on projects to be funded stated it will not venture into high risk or "rescue" projects further the board is insisting that a determination must be that an enterprise can demonstrate "commercial potential and long term profitability."

The unity conference again correctly in my judgement is critical of this criteria. First, few emerging companies will be capable of meeting the standards set up by the fund. Consequently many developing and now struggling minority businesses, those who could gain the most with an infusion of aid, will fail to qualify. The majority of the venture capital will go to the more economically stable enterprises. This represents a conflict with the spirit and letter of the law relative to the U.S. portion of these funds. Furthermore as stated by the board chairman—a balance as it relates to funds being provided to both communities will be difficult to attain in the short term but over a longer term it might be attainable. Unemployment as it is today in the Catholic minority is some 2½ times greater than among the protestant majority. The time for greater balance in terms of aid distribution must be now not later.

Another program cited by the unity conference report for criticism is tourism promotion. This program is designed to "Attract private investment into quality tourism products." The fund requires the Northern Ireland Department of Economic Development and the tourist board to administer this program which will include the building of luxury hotels and resort

accommodations. The unity conference report stresses that such spending is wasteful as well as tragically irresponsible, and ignores the realities of the economic problems in Northern Ireland. Tourism may yield some minor return in employment according to the unity conference the jobs that are created are traditionally low paying and part time.

Another commitment of funds announced by the fund is for the creation of an urban development program. Aimed at "achieving town centre revitalization and to lever private investment." Over \$10 million in grants are designated for projects that will "generate viable economic activity." These projects will include commercial establishments, retail businesses office buildings recreation and entertainment centers and housing. The unity conference is critical of this spending on the grounds that it too caters to the affluent, private entrepreneurs at the expense of the poorer less competitive groups.

Another example of the misdirected initial fund awards is in the science and technology research and development projects throughout the universities and colleges in Northern Ireland. United States aid alone totals almost \$13 million in this program with the hope that these funds will be recirculated through the royalties from the products developed. However as the unity conference report notes, the research teaching and administrative positions at the universities are severely under represented by the Catholic minorities.

Finally the unity conference report is critical of the fund's assistance to west Belfast. Although west Belfast is recognized as one of the most economically deprived areas in all of Western Europe, to this point the fund has directed only 1 percent of the aid package to that troubled area. When balanced against the funding decisions already made, the virtual exclusion of west Belfast is most disturbing when one considers that districts within west Belfast maintain an unemployment rate of over 80 percent. Further the incidence of poverty is startling with 95 out of 100 children in select areas living below the poverty line.

I have a special interest in this issue. In 1981 I was the first Member of Congress to sponsor legislation to provide United States economic aid to Ireland and Northern Ireland. My legislation conditioned the aid on the British making a declaration of intent to withdraw their forces from Northern Ireland. I worked with my colleagues on the Foreign Affairs Committee to develop the Anglo-Irish Agreement Support Act of 1986 and maintain that economic aid is vital to securing a political solution in Ireland. We have broken important ground with this legislation but at this point in time—how much further we should go at least under the present structure is a matter of some debate. I maintain that reports such as done by the Irish American Unity Conference with the help of Father Des Wilson who recently briefed members of the ad hoc committee about the aid issue raise serious questions which must be resolved.

I am anxious to see oversight hearings conducted by the House and Senate Foreign Affairs Committees on the Anglo-Irish Agreement Support Fund especially with respect to the critical question—is our aid being distribut-

ed according to the terms and conditions of the authorizing legislation? I am anxious to see the upcoming Presidential certification for the final distribution of the aid. Will it address the work done so far by the board and will it call for any needed reforms. We must be vigilant in our monitoring of this important economic aid. It is a region of the world that needs our help—but we must be ever certain that United States aid is not in any way going to subsidize continued discrimination in the north of Ireland.

## U.S. POLICY IN THE PERSIAN GULF SUCCEEDS

### HON. LAWRENCE COUGHLIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 26, 1988

Mr. COUGHLIN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to call my colleagues' attention to an editorial that appeared in the Philadelphia Inquirer yesterday. The editorial, titled "U.S. Policy Helped Push the Ayatollah to 'Poison'," spells out the facts on the success of America's foreign policy in the Persian Gulf.

Mr. Speaker, the President's decisions to deploy additional forces to the Persian Gulf, to escort U.S.-flag vessels, and to respond in a firm but measured way when confronted with belligerence, were not easy ones. We know from our past experiences that the Persian Gulf is a volatile and unpredictable region. We have seen from the attacks on the *Stark* and the *Sea Isle City*, the minings of the *Bridgeton* and the *Samuel B. Roberts*, and indeed, the accidental downing of Iran air flight 655, that it can be a perilous place.

Throughout the period of the heightened American presence in the gulf, the President has shown bold and consistent leadership. This leadership has been contemplated by the outstanding performance of our military forces in the Persian Gulf. Under conditions of severe deprivation and high tension, at times under fire, they have performed admirably. I should remind my colleagues that Representative SONNY MONTGOMERY and I have introduced House Concurrent Resolution 283, a resolution commending the President and our service personnel in the gulf.

Mr. Speaker, if the Secretary General of the United Nations can obtain a cease-fire between the belligerents in this horrible war, then the United States may at last have a real opportunity to restore positive relations with Iran. Such a course should certainly be encouraged. Before normalcy in United States-Iranian relations can be obtained, however, America must make absolutely clear that Americans held hostage in Lebanon must be freed unconditionally.

Mr. Speaker, I insert the Inquirer editorial in the RECORD at this point:

U.S. POLICY HELPED PUSH THE AYATOLLAH TO "POISON"

Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's decision to drink the "poison" of peace with Iraq had more to do with Iraqi military victories than America's policy in the Persian Gulf. But

the additional military pressure that the Western armada placed on Iran played a key role in pressuring Iran to recognize reality.

When the United States decided in early 1987 to reflag 11 Kuwaiti tankers, the given reasons were to pre-empt Kuwait from inviting the Soviets to do the same job and to protect the free flow of oil in the gulf. But the main reason was to reassure America's Arab allies along the gulf, made nervous by the Iran-contra affair and by Iran's military success, that Washington would not stand by and watch a military Iran impose hegemony.

Critics, fueled by confusion in the policy's early days, and unnerved by episodes like the Iraqi missile attack on the USS *Stark*, charged that the gulf policy was a headless monster. They said it had no clear goal, but they were mistaken.

There was a goal—to stabilize the Arab gulf until a way could be found to end the Iran-Iraq war. If American policy seemed to tilt toward Iraq, there was a reason: It was Iran that consistently refused to end the war, while Iraq had agreed to sign onto a United Nations cease-fire.

What the critics also failed to see—and "multilateralist" Michael S. Dukakis would do well to note—was that a multinational approach to policing the gulf couldn't work so long as Iran still wanted to fight. So long as Iran and Iraq were still shooting at each other, sending an unarmed United Nations force into the gulf would have been a joke. As for bringing in the Western Europeans, most were initially reluctant to support the U.S. initiative, and came around only after Iran foolishly began mining gulf waters.

What the administration realized, after a few false starts, was that the war could only end when Ayatollah Khomeini decided his holy war was too costly. Washington, chastened by its bitter experience in the Iran-contra affair, rightly recognized that no U.S. meddling in internal Iranian politics could affect Iran's decision. While waiting things out, the administration repeatedly stressed, at the United Nations and elsewhere, that it did not seek an Iraqi victory, that an end to the fighting was its goal.

Meanwhile, Washington's policy galvanized the Arabs, who were at their lowest point. After the bitter winter of 1986-87, when Iran seemed poised to claw off a hunk of southern Iraq near Basra, the American move spurred the gulf Arabs to take a stronger, more united stand behind Iraq. Saudi Arabia broke off relations with Tehran. The gulf states for the first time allowed American ships to call. Washington also made clear it would not cut and run when its ships were attacked. When the Iranian navy foolishly attacked the American armada, half its ships were wiped out. And with morale restored, Iraq finally began to fight in an aggressive and effective fashion.

Now that a cease-fire is within grasp, the United Nations can move into the forefront. When the shooting stops, a U.N. observer force can insert itself between the two sides on land, and most of the U.S. armada in the Persian Gulf can leave.

The lesson of the U.S. gulf experience is that a superpower can still affect events in a

vital area if it plays a firm and consistent role. And if it has the nerve to lead.

## THE ILLINOIS PRAIRIE PATH

### HON. HENRY J. HYDE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 26, 1988

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, it was 25 years ago this year that May Theilgaard Watts, a naturalist at the Morton Arboretum, suggested in a Chicago newspaper that an abandoned railroad right-of-way connecting Chicago with DuPage and Kane Counties be converted to a footpath.

Her vision for a prairie version of the famous Appalachian Trail was motivated by a desire to save for future generations the beauty of forests and meadows untouched by commercial development.

In a ceremony today at the White House hosted by President Ronald Reagan, the heirs to Mrs. Watts' vision received public recognition for their work on the Illinois Prairie Path, a 55-mile network of trails used daily by bicyclists, walkers, joggers, and equestrians.

Sponsored by the U.S. Department of the Interior, the Take Pride in America Award was presented to F. Paul and Jean Mooring of Wheaton, IL, who represented hundreds of contributors and volunteers that built and have maintained the path on a shoestring budget.

As many as 300,000 people a year use the prairie path, a testament to the foresight of our suburban pioneers in the rails-to-trails conservation movement.

I commend the leadership and the many volunteers that brought this path to fruition and suggest that my House colleagues take a moment and read an article on the Illinois Prairie Path published in a recent issue of Trailblazer, the newsletter of the Rails-To-Trails Conservancy:

## THE ILLINOIS PRAIRIE PATH

There is no rail-trail in the U.S. which has received as much tender loving care from as many individual volunteers over a longer period of time than the Illinois Prairie Path.

Between 1963, when Morton Arboretum Naturalist May Theilgaard Watts originally proposed the concept of a rail-trail through Chicago's western suburbs, and 1987, when management of the Path was formally taken over from a non-profit citizen group by DuPage County, thousands of volunteers invested hundreds of thousands of hours and dollars in every aspect of trail work from attending public hearings to negotiating leases, hauling trash to building bridges, lobbying politicians to cajoling private corporations, purchasing crushed rock to leading natural appreciation walks.

"We are human beings. We are able to walk upright on two feet," Watts wrote in her classic letter to the editor of the Chicago Tribune. "We need a footpath. Right now there is a chance for Chicago and its suburbs to have a footpath, a long one."

A quarter century later that vision has largely come to pass. The 44.5-mile-long,



pitchfork-shaped Prairie Path stretches from Maywood to Wheaton, then splits into four spurs which reach the Fox River in the towns of Elgin, Geneva, Batavia and Aurora.

At least 300,000 bicyclists, walkers, runners and equestrians utilize the path each year, enjoying its chunks of native prairie, the site of an Indian settlement, a mill pond that once powered a pioneer grist mill, several peaceful wetlands and numerous parks. The Prairie Path also manifests its urban roots, passing through a string of town centers and paralleling extant railroad corridors on which commuters and freight trains regularly race and rumble past.

The trail has been a massive experiment in private citizen action, replete with heart-break and triumph. Unlike neighboring Wisconsin and Iowa which have incorporated their many rail-trails into state-run and county-run park systems, for two decades neither the state of Illinois nor the County of DuPage expressed much interest in taking a leadership role with the Prairie Path. In fact, the private group, somewhat confusingly called The Illinois Prairie Path (TIPP), would probably still be operating the trail today if it had not lost its insurance coverage, forcing the county to take over primary management.

The joys and tribulations of creating the Prairie Path are exemplified by the stories of two of its many bridges. Volunteer Bridge in Wheaton, a monument in name as well as structure, was an old railroad facility restored and extended over two city streets and a park entirely by volunteers under the direction of a volunteer structural engineer and fabricated by high school welding students. Valued at about \$250,000, the job cost \$25,000, all of which was donated.

In contrast is the bridge over the east branch of the DuPage River. First constructed as a high water bridge by the Illinois National Guard, it was soon dismantled by vandals. Then Sierra Club members reused the timbers in a new low water bridge—which was washed away in a flood. Rebuilt by the DuPage County Forest Preserve District, the third bridge was burned by an arsonist—as was the fourth. Finally, in 1978 TIPP paid \$22,000 for a 50-foot all-steel footbridge which was installed above the 100-year flood line and still stands today.

As the Illinois Prairie Path enters a new phase of public control—and as TIPP changes roles from developer to advocate—the verdict on the issue of “public vs. private” is not yet in. By any measure, the Prairie Path is immensely successful (real estate pages regularly promote houses as being near it), yet in some of the towns it traverses, the “park” is barely a footpath squeezed through parking lots. It has been proven that volunteers can accomplish miracles on shoestring budgets, but it is not necessarily clear that parks should be so underfunded. It is obvious that volunteers cannot carry out as much physical labor as professionals with heavy equipment, but it is equally obvious that had it not been for dedicated citizens who gave time and money there would never have been an Illinois Prairie Path.

Whatever the final verdict, the Prairie Path has irrefutably borne out May Watts' pithy observation which is cast on a stone pedestal in Wheaton: “Footpaths are defended with spirit by their users.”

## DAVID ZWIEBEL: AN ADVOCATE FOR OUR CHILDREN

### HON. STEPHEN J. SOLARZ

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 26, 1988

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to an outstanding citizen and a close friend, Mr. David Zwiebel.

As the director of government affairs for the Agudath Israel of America, the most preeminent national Orthodox Jewish organization, David has dedicated his career to improving the educational and developmental opportunities for the children of our country, particularly those youngsters from religious households.

In recognition of David's remarkable talents, President Reagan has recently appointed him to the National Commission on Children. I am extremely proud of David and of the Agudath Israel. Let me commend to my colleagues an article printed in the Jewish Press which profiles the many accomplishments of David Zwiebel.

[From the Jewish Press, July 22, 1988]

#### WHITE HOUSE APPOINTS AGUDATH'S ZWIEBEL TO NATIONAL COMMISSION

David Zwiebel, director of government affairs and general counsel for Agudath Israel of America, has been appointed by President Ronald Reagan as a member of the newly created National Commission on Children, a panel charged with exploring ways “to safeguard and enhance the physical, mental, and emotional well-being of all the children of the nation.”

Zwiebel, one of 12 members of the commission selected by the President (12 each are appointed by the Speaker of the House and the President pro tempore of the Senate), has earned national recognition for his representation of Orthodox Jewish views and values in the public arena and before various governmental bodies.

He has distinguished himself as a tireless advocate on behalf of the rights of children in the nation's nonpublic schools. In the context of his Agudath Israel role, he has spoken out on such varied themes as foster care, day care, medical ethics in the treatment of handicapped infants, the needs of the developmentally disabled, parental choice in education, and society's responsibility for the dearth of qualified teachers. He has also been involved in numerous issues relating to the interface of government and the private nonprofit sector in the furtherance of charitable causes and the delivery of social services.

In addition to his new appointment to the National Commission on Children, the Agudath Israel attorney is a member of the U.S. Department of Education's Private Education Kitchen Cabinet; the New York State Education Department's Commissioner's Advisory Council for Nonpublic Schools; the Committee of Nonpublic School Officials of the City of New York's Tier 1 Advisory Group; and the New York State Human Rights Advisory Council.

Having pursued his yeshiva studies at Mesivta Torah Vodaath, Zwiebel graduated magna cum laude from the Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law, where he was editor-in-chief of the Law Review. Upon completing his legal training 1979, he joined the prestigious New York law firm of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton and Garrison. He

has been at his present post at Agudath Israel since 1984.

## TRIBUTE TO THE GRADUATING APPRENTICE ENGINEERS OF MAHONING VALLEY

### HON. JAMES A. TRAFICANT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 26, 1988

Mr. TRAFICANT. Mr. Speaker, today I rise to pay tribute to the eight individuals from my district who graduated from the Operating Apprentice Engineers Program on July 9, 1988.

I had the distinct privilege to be the keynote speaker at the graduation ceremony, in which I was able to meet these outstanding individuals. The following participated in the exercises on July 9: William Fink, Sandra Frederick, Charles Locke, Shirley Pearce, Kelly Reid, Albert Santiago, Thomas Whipple, and Howard Young. Not only did these fine students perform the necessary requirements for graduation, they exhibited exemplary qualities that shall profit them in their future careers.

The Operating Apprentice Engineers Program was established and is maintained under the auspices of the International Union of Operating Engineers which was organized in 1896. The tradition of ensuring that the field of operating engineering is constantly filled with qualified candidates is taken very seriously by this organization. The latest graduates are proof positive of this reality.

It is my pleasure, on behalf of the citizens of the 17th Congressional District, to express my sincere congratulations to such an outstanding group of people and bid them further success.

#### A TRIBUTE TO LISA REED

### HON. JAMES A. TRAFICANT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 26, 1988

Mr. TRAFICANT. Mr. Speaker, today I rise in order to pay tribute to Ms. Lisa Reed, a very special resident of my 17th Congressional District. It is one of my proudest moments as a Member of Congress to be able to announce that Ms. Reed was the 17th Congressional District winner in the seventh annual congressional art competition. It was a wonderful experience for me to have my picture taken with Lisa when she visited my office here in Washington.

Lisa's picture was a haunting and mysterious ink painting of a lonely old man called Look Again. I must say that I was greatly touched by the beautiful simplicity of this deeply moving painting. Lisa's art teacher at Salem High School, Ms. Janis Yereb, entered Lisa's painting in this competition. Lisa's proud parents are Bud and Joyce Reed.

Lisa graduated from Salem High School this spring, and will obtain her college education from the Pittsburgh Institute of Art. After college, Lisa intends to become a dazzling success in the fashion merchandising world. Lisa

has had her artwork displayed in New York and elsewhere across the United States. As the 17th District Congressman, it humbles me to know that the Youngstown area is producing great artists like Lisa.

Lisa, you have all of my best wishes as you embark on your conquest of the world of art. Thus, it is with thanks and special pleasure that I join with the people of the 17th Congressional District in saluting the artistic genius and dynamic personality of Ms. Lisa Reed.

## PUTTING THE COMMITMENT TO WORK

**HON. DON EDWARDS**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 26, 1988*

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring a speech entitled "Putting the Commitment to Work" to the attention of my colleagues. The speech, which was written by a dear friend and respected colleague, NANCY PELOSI, was delivered to the conference of the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials in San Francisco on July 10.

NANCY's insightful speech provides an overview of the many challenges which need to be met by rejuvenating the Federal commitment to providing decent homes and a suitable living environment for every American family.

I recommend this speech to my colleagues. It will be helpful in the reconsideration of our national housing policies.

The speech follows:

**SPEECH OF HON. NANCY PELOSI, "PUTTING THE COMMITMENT TO WORK," NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HOUSING AND REDEVELOPMENT OFFICIALS CONFERENCE, SAN FRANCISCO, JULY 10, 1988**

I am glad that you were all able to attend this conference and I would like to take this opportunity to welcome you to the city of San Francisco.

Perhaps no other city in the country is so well known for its neighborhood-orientation—the charm of San Francisco is based, in great part, on the existence of different communities within the city. San Francisco, like other places across the Nation, also faces a severe housing crisis. I believe that the strength and resources of our neighborhoods, in San Francisco and throughout the United States, must be combined with local, State and Federal initiatives to encourage cooperation between the public and private sectors and to solve our national housing crisis.

The Federal commitment to housing was codified in the Housing Act of 1949—to provide a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family—and we must once again focus our efforts on attaining that goal. Over the last 8 years, this goal has not only been ignored, but, unfortunately, many steps that had been taken by prior administrations to house all Americans have actually been undone. For example, the 1980's have seen a serious and rapid decline in both the federally assisted construction of new housing, and the substantial rehabilitation of existing housing for use as low income housing. In fiscal year 1981, the Federal Government provided

funds for 110,231 housing units; by fiscal year 1987, only 14,500 housing units were assisted.

All of you here today are aware of the dimensions of the crisis facing us—rapidly increasing costs relative to personal income; the cumulative effect of years of cuts in Federal housing assistance; tax changes discouraging construction and ownership of low-income housing; deterioration of the available stock of public and other subsidized housing all add up to the basic problem of trying to meet increasing needs in a time of diminishing resources. At times like this, we must work to identify and utilize the full range of expertise and creativity available. Much of this expertise is held by people like you, and you must actively participate in the development of solutions to these problems.

There is in Congress a growing belief that housing must once again be made a priority on the national agenda. The severity of the housing crisis has been elevated to a national level by the sight of homeless individuals and families wandering city streets. A national opinion poll conducted for the National Housing Institute in March 1988 illustrated that the American people want a new national housing policy and that they are willing to support Federal programs to expand affordable housing opportunities for the poor, the working poor, and the middle class. According to the poll, 2 out of every 3 Americans even indicated a willingness to pay an additional \$120 per year in taxes to support a series of housing assistance programs. The American people want the Federal Government to work for them in developing effective programs which will provide decent, safe, and affordable housing for all Americans.

In order to be effective, a Federal commitment to improving housing conditions must address a wider range of issues. The housing crisis is not merely the result of a lack of housing. Other societal conditions are integral factors. In this Nation, the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer. In the report, "The State of the Nation's Housing," the Harvard Joint Center for Housing Studies notes the connection between these facts and the housing crisis. The report states, "from 1983 to 1987 . . . the number of poverty-level renter households increased from 7.2 million to 7.5 million . . . the real annual incomes of renters has declined from an average \$18,000 in 1982 to \$14,000 in 1986 . . . from 1973 to 1986, the real income of young single parent renter households with children fell . . . from \$10,965 to \$7,271 in 1987 . . . the rent burden for young single-parent families with children increased from 34.9 percent in 1974 to 58.4 percent in 1987."

Over the past decade, real incomes have decreased, rent burdens have increased and the supply of affordable housing has been disappearing at an alarming rate. Between 1974 and 1983 alone, the number of units renting for less than \$300 per month dropped by nearly 1 million. At the same time, Federal policies have resulted in an increase in the number of low income households. Between 1974 and 1987, the number of households earning incomes of \$5,000 to \$10,000 and not receiving rental assistance grew from 3.8 million to 4.5 million.

As I mentioned briefly, there is a growing understanding on Capitol Hill of the critical need to do something about the housing crisis. This growing understanding is reflected in the recent publication of several major studies about the state of the Nation's hous-

ing, including "a decent place to live," the report of the national housing task force; and "preventing the disappearance of low income housing," the report of the National Low Income Housing Preservation Commission. These studies address the need to, at minimum, maintain the Federal commitment to housing. I believe that what we must do is rejuvenate the Federal commitment to housing. I also believe that we are at a critical point—this rejuvenation must be done and it can be done. The election of a new President provides us with an excellent opportunity to reassess the state of the Nation's housing programs and to set an agenda for housing which will carry us into the next century.

The Federal commitment to housing must be long-term and it must be flexible. If we have learned anything from the past 40 years of housing programs, it is that local participation in the development of successful housing programs is essential. It is clear as one looks at housing problems across the country that what works in one market may not work in another one. Urban and rural areas face very different problems, and even within urban areas, the problems of cities differ widely. San Francisco, for example, has a critical shortage of land, as well as a critical shortage of housing units. In San Francisco, there are 6,800 public housing units with another 204 under construction. As you look around the city, you will notice that there is not a great deal of space in which to build any housing, including low-income housing. Creative problem solvers have recently developed a successful project which will utilize the air rights over a standard brands paint home-decoration center for locating a 49 unit affordable housing project. This project represents the best of public-private partnerships.

Houston, meanwhile, is a metropolitan area which has between 10,000 and 35,000 homeless families annually, no public housing units available, and a waiting list of 23,000 families. At the same time, there are 70,000 vacant apartments, and an undisclosed number of foreclosures on houses. Clearly, any Federal policy which tries to assist low-income housing in San Francisco and in Houston, to name only two cities, must be flexible enough to address their very different needs.

The Federal commitment must also be long-term. We must make a commitment to develop new low-income housing and to maintain that housing, as well as to rehabilitate the housing stock we currently have. The housing crisis we face right now will seem small if we allow the current low-income housing stock to disappear. The available stock of low-income housing faces several threats, including expiring contracts, and upcoming options for prepayment. Expiring 20-year contracts under the section 236 and section 221(d)(3) programs could result in the loss of as many as 100,000 housing units.

Another problem with which many of you are familiar is the economic difficulties caused by the fact that operating costs for projects are rising, while tenants' wages and subsidies are not. Unless the Federal Government makes the commitment to save the several million units of public housing we have in existence now, it is unrealistic to add more.

In fact, it is cost-effective for the Federal Government to put resources into the "modernization" and rehabilitation of current public housing stocks. The estimated \$20 to \$22 billion needed to bring housing projects



up to decent standards, at an average repair cost of less than \$10,000 per unit, is manageable. The replacement value of these units would run about \$70 billion (at \$50,000 per unit). It would be penny-wise and pound-foolish not to invest that money for modernization. Quite simply, we are in a situation where we cannot afford to lose affordable housing units. It will take a combination of rehabilitation of the current housing stock and new construction to house all of our citizens.

The importance of a long-term Federal commitment to housing must also be reflected by a commitment to funding operating costs. Construction costs are not the only costs associated with public housing projects. I am sure that most of you have faced the problem of how to continue to operate housing projects in the face of rapidly escalating energy and general maintenance costs. Funding for operating subsidies is a continuing battle which we will have to fight over and over again.

While some congressional action, such as that handled by the House Subcommittee on Housing and Community Development, deals directly with housing, other action has just as significant an impact on the housing crisis. We are just now beginning to realize the adverse consequences of provisions included in the Tax Reform Act of 1986, and the subsequent technical corrections bill. These provisions directly affect the ability and the willingness of developers to develop and to construct low-income housing, as well as the ability and willingness of owners to make their units available and affordable.

This year's technical corrections bill is no exception. While the Committee on Ways and Means has not yet completed its consideration of this year's technical corrections bill, I am pleased to say that it, so far at least, includes a provision extending the tax exempt status of mortgage revenue bonds for an additional 2 years. The outcome of other provisions affecting housing is still uncertain.

Some of us in Congress have started the fight to place housing back in the priority position it merits. Part of the so far limited success is a result of the growing awareness of the national disgrace of homelessness. The passage of the Stewart McKinney Act of 1987 set the stage for dealing with the rapid increase in homelessness. Legislation to reauthorize the McKinney Act is now working its way through the congressional process. Passage of Public Law 100-242, the omnibus housing bill was also significant; it was the first major housing bill passed by Congress and signed into law by the President in 7 years.

Yet, those of us concerned about housing must always remember that authorizing legislation is only one step in the process. Without appropriations to back up the authorizations, legislation is of limited value. This year, during the consideration of the HUD/Independent Agencies appropriations for fiscal year 1989, I worked with other members of the Housing Subcommittee to try to reprogram \$400 million from space programs into programs for the homeless, UDAG, other housing programs and the Environmental Protection Agency.

My colleagues and I worked for this amendment because we believe that it is time for us to make a clear statement of our priorities. We support the space program; we also believe that it cannot and should not be funded at the expense of the poor of this Nation. As we make our long-term plans for high tech, we have to recognize that we

have some very low-tech emergency needs that must be addressed. A balanced budget means more than just making revenues and outlays equal; it also means that we must promote future goals without ignoring the needs of our citizens today.

Our amendment failed by a vote of 166 to 256. While I am sorry that the amendment failed, the vote was much closer than we had originally expected. I believe that this vote also reflects the growing concern on Capitol Hill about the housing crisis.

As you all may know by now, the HUD/Independent Agencies bill contained no funding for the UDAG program. I am very concerned about the demise of this program, because I recognize that successfully addressing the housing crisis requires a comprehensive approach, with a coordination of the delivery of housing, jobs, and human services. Community development programs, such as UDAG and CDBG's have provided essential resources in this endeavor.

The housing crisis is more than a lack of available housing units and an inability to rent or purchase them; it is a deeper crisis which affects our community. The solution involves programs offering mental and physical health services, education and job-training, literacy programs and child-care. Community development funds play a vital role in the development and operation of these kinds of programs.

We must rededicate ourselves to the task of building strong and viable communities, of strengthening local resources and small businesses, and of providing excellent educational facilities to train people for the needs of the future. We must look for solutions to the devastation of drugs on our youth, and we must strengthen the safety net for the growing numbers of people who are falling through the cracks in our society.

This task cannot be accomplished by the Federal Government alone. It requires a partnership of Government, private industry, financial institutions and non-profit organizations. As we struggle to develop solutions at the Federal level to the many problems facing us, we are turning to those of you with hands-on experience for your advice and expertise. I believe that we can solve the housing crisis, but that it will take the creativity, the energy and commitment of all of us to do it. Thank you.

#### CONSIDER THE SANCTITY OF LIFE

HON. DONALD E. "BUZ" LUKENS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 26, 1988

Mr. DONALD E. "BUZ" LUKENS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to your attention the testimony of my colleagues Mr. HENRY HYDE of Illinois and Mr. CHRISTOPHER SMITH of New Jersey on the subject of the Federal funding of in vitro fertilization [IVF] research.

Current Federal policy prohibits funding of IVF research. I join my colleagues in their position to maintain this policy.

It is documented that IVF programs include the objectionable practices of discarding, freezing, and experimenting upon human embryos. IVF also exposes the embryo to extraordinary risks beyond its capacities for sur-

vival as evidenced by the high rate of IVF embryo mortalities.

The practice of "throwing away" human embryos raises serious ethical and moral considerations that must be examined.

As my distinguished colleague from Illinois concludes in his testimony:

While some abuses along these lines might be reduced by regulation of IVF, others remain so integral to the procedure at this stage of its development that the federal government could not support it without funding morally unacceptable mistreatment of the human being at its earliest stages of life.

The statement follows:

TESTIMONY OF CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH, SUBCOMMITTEE ON HUMAN RESOURCES AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS, JULY 14, 1988

Mr. Chairman, the relatively new technology designed to facilitate the creation of human beings in a petri dish—the issue of test tube babies—has opened a Pandora's box of ethical and moral questions that simply cannot be shunted aside.

I am deeply concerned, Mr. Chairman, that in the rush to appropriate federal funds for IVF research or to provide coverage under the auspices of the Federal Employees Health Benefits Program or the Veterans Administration, some IVF enthusiasts have tended to gloss over or even trivialize unsettling ethical considerations involved.

There seems to be an emerging pattern of acknowledging the existence of ethical problems associated with the methodology employed by IVF without the requisite responsibility of ensuring adequate answers before proceeding.

Some would suggest a reversal of current policy of no federal funding for IVF, notwithstanding serious questions about the medical and ethical soundness of the practice. You will recall that Dr. Windom pointed out earlier today that a decade ago, the Department received comments on the Ethics Advisory Board (EAB) report on the issue of in vitro fertilization research from approximately 13,000 members of the public, and 80 Members of Congress. He noted that the overwhelming majority, "expressed opposition to federal funding of the procedure, particularly if the procedure were to involve the destruction of human embryos . . ." Significantly, Dr. Windom also pointed out that the Ethics Advisory Board concluded that the human embryo is entitled to "profound respect", but I believe the EAB misused badly by not giving any meaningful definition to these sentiments.

I believe that "profound respect" must minimally include safeguards to protect the embryos right to continue living.

Mr. Chairman, a decade of limited IVF experimentation has shown that the considerable broadbased opposition that IVF encountered in the late 70's appears to have been justified, well-informed and well-founded.

I would point out to my colleagues that even noteworthy practitioners of IVF have admitted being deeply troubled concerning the discarding of excess embryos.

In a recent Washington Post article Dr. Robert Stillman, Director of Reproductive Endocrinology and Fertility candidly admits, "We just continue to let it grow until it becomes nonviable . . . we are stepping out of the active role of destroying it. It just stops growing. It does that on its

own. It is its own fault. But even with these measures, discarding a pre-embryo, is a shameful and wasteful act. It gives us pause."

"Shameful and wasteful act" are strong words, Mr. Chairman. I would suggest that IVF should give us all, pause.

Mr. Chairman the price of assisting a relatively small number of infertile couples with this particular technology is extremely high and includes the wanton destruction of countless human embryos.

I believe that one of the overriding issues that must be squarely addressed by this panel, by the government, by society is the efficacy of tens of thousands of human embryos being poured down the drain like so much garbage.

But then again, Dr. Stillman has a creative rationalization for his preferred method of embryo destruction and notes that "it just stops growing . . . it is its own fault . . ." The doctor doesn't explain, of course, how a newly created human being can be "faulted" for not being provided the environment necessary to continue living. Surely no one has ever asked to be conceived but the presumption must be in favor of nurturing life and arbitrarily destroying thousands of embryos simply cannot be condoned.

The awesome legal and moral responsibility to protect, nurture, enhance and respect the sanctity and dignity of each human life is at stake and it seems to me that IVF practices fall short in that regard.

Moreover, we should not be surprised as to where IVF may take us in the future.

The late Dr. Paul Ramsey, Professor of Religion, Princeton University and internationally-known authority on medical ethics has warned that "We shall have to assess in vitro fertilization as a long step toward hatcheries, that is extracorporeal gestation, and the introduction of unlimited genetic changes into human germinal material while it is cultured by the Conditioners and Predestinators of the future."

This too should give us pause.

Mr. Chairman, according to the OTA Report: Infertility, Medical and Social Choice about 14,000 attempts at IVF were performed in 1987. Due to its extremely low success rate, in terms of a baby being brought to term and with its high cost and presumably due to ethical reservations, IVF was the choice of less than 1 percent of infertile couples.

As to whether IVF is a proven medical therapy or experimental, the OTA report says "in 1988, no blanket answer to that question is possible."

Yet Congress and the Executive Branch are being lobbied to fund this highly dubious procedure.

And then there is the ancillary issue of embryo freezing—embryo banking—presumably for later implantation after thawing or for unethical experimentation. The specter of hundreds—perhaps thousands—of embryos in cryogenic tanks in a kind of suspended animation conjures up frightening images of Huxley's *Brave New World*.

According to the OTA Report, two dozen or more IVF programs in the United States have stored frozen embryos. This practice is outrageous and dehumanizing and treats human life like lab mice or cattle.

Again, even proponents appear to have some reservations about this exotic procedure. The OTA report notes that the American Fertility Society deems the transfer of embryos from one generation to another as "unacceptable". While the ethical premise

for this view isn't explained, the Society raises a pertinent question concerning how long even they would countenance freezing human life. If its ok to freeze embryos for a year or ten years—why not 50 or 100 years?

The OTA Report also highlighted one particular case which is likely to become commonplace if this experimental practice continues—the issue of orphan embryos. In other words, what is to become of embryos whose genetic parents have died or who have abandoned their progeny? Are these embryos to be construed as mere property, as chattel? Can they be marketed for profit and sold to the highest bidder? I would note parenthetically that some states including Louisiana and Florida have looked at this and have concluded it to be an unconscionable act and have outlawed it. Can they be subjected to experimentation? Can they be destroyed at will by scientists assuming the role of God?

The plethora of unanswered questions regarding IVF and attendant technologies demand comprehensive and frank answers before this questionable technology is sanctioned or funded.

This debate, Mr. Chairman, is long overdue and I thank you and Mr. Lightfoot for scheduling this hearing today. I believe it's time for intense public scrutiny of this issue.

#### STATEMENT OF HON. HENRY HYDE

Mr. Chairman, I am grateful for the opportunity to comment on the current federal policy of not funding human in vitro fertilization (IVF) research. I will also explain why considerations involving the sanctity of human life argue in favor of maintaining this policy.

When the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare issued federal regulations on fetal research in 1975, it specified that federal support of IVF in humans could not be authorized until an Ethics Advisory Board had made recommendations to the Secretary regarding the "ethical acceptability" of such research. That provision was brought into play in 1978, when Louise Brown of England became the first publicized case of a live birth from IVF and American researchers applied for federal research grants to pursue similar efforts. But after almost a year of public hearings and deliberations, the HEW Ethics Advisory Board delivered to HEW what can only be described as ambivalent advice: Certain limited forms of IVF could be considered "acceptable from an ethical standpoint," but not in the sense that they would be "clearly ethically right." Rather, these procedures were "ethically defensible but still legitimately controverted"—or to put the matter in plain English, plausible arguments could be found for both sides in the ethical controversy. Among the unresolved issues cited by the EAB were the danger of abuse arising from experimental manipulation of human embryos, the "uncertain risks" to both mother and offspring, and the fact that the procedure remained "morally objectionable" to many Americans for a variety of other reasons.

I should note that the EAB's tentative acceptance of IVF was based on its view that the human embryo did not deserve "the full moral and legal rights attributed to persons." It admitted that those who promote respect for persons from the time of fertilization would necessarily come to a more negative conclusion on IVF, because the procedure involves so many risks of harm and death to human beings at the embryonic

stage. But in the end, even the EAB "decided not to address the question of the level of the funding, if any, which such research might be given," because such a decision involved "scientific, political, economic, legal and ethical" questions beyond the Board's competence (Federal Register, June 18, 1979, pages 35033-35058).

This left the final policy decision to the Secretary of HEW. After receiving the EAB's report, as well as thousands of letters from concerned organizations and individuals, HEW decided not to pursue federal funding of IVF in humans. Among the most prominent opponents of such funding were the Catholic Church, some organizations of Jewish rabbis, and non-denominational groups promoting the right to life of the unborn. A common concern raised by critics of IVF was what the U.S. Catholic Conference referred to as "the abortifacient character of this procedure." Characteristic of much public comment was a December 1978 letter to President Carter from the California Pro-Life Council, which read in part:

We oppose experiments on in vitro fertilization of a human egg by a human sperm because the experiments inevitably involve creating many new human lives which are then thrown away.

From a Right to Life point of view, we could not object to a procedure in which one human sperm fertilizes one human egg in the laboratory and the new human being is then grown to maturity in the mother's womb with no risks beyond the normal ones of pregnancy.

But such a procedure is not possible now. And it could not become possible without a vast number of experiments which involve purposely wasting human lives or exposing them to extraordinary and unnatural risks.

Faced with ambivalent advice from her own Ethics Advisory Board and strong opposition from many segments of the public, HEW Secretary Patricia Harris decided not to fund IVF procedures in humans, and this de facto moratorium remains in place to this day. I want to emphasize that this decision was made by an Administration and a Secretary of HEW that were not kindly disposed toward the concerns of the pro-life movement; if the same concerns are valid today as in 1979, an Administration publicly committed to the interests of the unborn would have even stronger reasons for continuing that moratorium.

My view is that these moral concerns are just as valid or more so today. As currently practiced IVF poses several threats to the sanctity of human life.

My first concern is the role played by deliberate destruction of the unborn in many IVF programs, both before and after transfer to the mother's womb. Most IVF programs remove several unfertilized ova at a time from a woman's body, after using fertility drugs to promote ripening of several ova in one cycle; in some programs, all the ova are fertilized together in a Petri dish, but only the most promising new embryos are transferred to the womb while others are simply discarded. In a speech promoting federal funding of IVF in 1982, Professor Leroy Walters said this is not a moral problem because a decision to discard an embryo which might develop abnormally is like "a decision not to employ extraordinary means to prolong the life of a newborn infant" with handicaps. But to me it seems bizarre to call a newly conceived child's residence in his or her own mother's womb as a form of "extraordinary" life sustaining treatment! Instead, this routine discarding of a develop-



ing human life is the moral equivalent of an early abortion. The almost frivolous indifference with which this is done is one indication of a deeper problem in IVF: By turning the process of procreation into something more like the manufacture of a product, the technique seems to invite researchers to treat new life as a commodity subject to the most cavalier forms of "quality control."

In some IVF programs all fertilized embryos that seem to be alive and developing are transferred to the womb, but this also raises abortion questions. As was reported recently in the April 21 issue of the *New England Journal of Medicine*, this approach sometimes results in a multiple pregnancy that can pose serious risks to both mother and children. Some physicians resolve this problem through what is euphemistically called "selective reduction" of the pregnancy—that is, doctors use sonography to locate the unborn children they consider expendable, and inject potassium chloride into their hearts so they will die without endangering the one or two children they intend to preserve for live birth.

The currently available means for avoiding both these scenarios (discarding embryos before transfer to the womb or directly killing the unborn afterward) pose moral problems of their own. Either one freezes all embryos not needed for a particular reproductive cycle, which itself poses a very high risk to the life of the embryo, or one removes only one ovum from the woman in any given cycle, which greatly increases the costs and risks to her because a new invasive procedure must be performed for each attempt at a pregnancy. This risk to the woman, incidentally, should not be underestimated, as there has already been at least one report from Brazil of a woman who died from complications of the anesthetic used during retrieval of her ovum for IVF (*Washington Post*, October 24, 1982, page A20).

Aside from deliberate discarding and destruction of the unborn, my second major concern has to do with the high rates of accidental embryo loss in IVF. Clinics promoting IVF often report "success rates" of up to 20 or 25 percent. Those reports have been called into question by medical experts who say the clinics mislead prospective patients about their chances for success; by their estimates the chances for achieving pregnancy from IVF in a given cycle may be less than 10 percent. But even if the higher figures were accurate, they would indicate only that a woman in an IVF program has a 20 to 25 percent chance of achieving a positive pregnancy test after the IVF procedure. To someone concerned about the loss of unborn lives, the most significant figure is the percentage of embryos that survive to live birth. According to congressional testimony of last May from the nation's most prominent IVF center in Norfolk, Virginia that figure is 5 percent at best (or in Norfolk's case, 230 live births out of 4500 embryos conceived). This is far higher than the rate of embryo loss in natural pregnancy. Judging solely by statistics like these, one could hardly call IVF an effective procedure for producing children—one is tempted to call it a fairly efficient procedure for preventing children from being born alive, with a 95 percent success rate!

My third and final area of concern is that of experimentation on the newly conceived human embryo. It is no secret that much of the scientific interest in IVF has to do with the prospects it offers for new kinds of genetic experiments. Observing and manipulating "spare" embryos produced by IVF is seen as necessary for developing human genetic engineering techniques, and some researchers in other countries are said to have taken steps in this direction. This kind of harmful and non-therapeutic research violates the fundamental ethical canons gov-

erning experiments on unconsenting human subjects.

Ironically, some of the research made possible by IVF is itself designed to develop more efficient means for destroying prenatal human life. For example, the aforementioned 1987 congressional testimony from Norfolk's IVF center proposed that "spare" embryos could be used to develop new tests for a wide range of genetic imperfections in the human embryo, so that human beings who may develop mental or physical disabilities could be eliminated at the embryonic stage even before being transferred to their mothers' wombs. This project was described as a major advance, because elimination of the genetically imperfect could be made less difficult and emotionally traumatic for the parents than under the current practice of amniocentesis followed by second-trimester abortion. With such proposals, we have begun to make Aldous Huxley's "Brave New World" into a frighteningly imminent reality—a reality in which human beings are treated like products made to order, and quality-controlled by a technocratic elite that tries to make up in technical knowledge what it lacks in genuine humanity.

Mr. Chairman, the hardships of infertile couples should move all of us to sympathy and support—support for ways to prevent and treat infertility, and for policies that will help remove obstacles to adoption as a way of building families. But the end of having children does not justify the means of IVF, because it is still inextricably linked to the denigration and destruction of nascent human life. While some abuses along these lines might be reduced by regulation of IVF, others remain so integral to the procedure at this stage of its development that the federal government could not support it without funding morally unacceptable mistreatment of the human being at its earliest stages of life. Thank you for your consideration.