

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

THE SO-CALLED JEWISH
PROBLEM IN THE U.S.S.R.

HON. JOHN EDWARD PORTER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, 60 years ago millions of Jews were murdered. And, for too long, the world was left unaware because no one came forward to reveal the atrocities being committed. Today, hundreds of thousands of Jews and other innocent citizens suffer in the Soviet Union. Many people are imprisoned, held in exile, or institutionalized, solely because of their religious beliefs or desire to leave their country. Many Soviet citizens suffer from serious illnesses and are being denied passage to the West for treatment.

Pam Cohen, President of the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews, recently sent me the translation of an open letter about the so-called Jewish problem in the Soviet Union. This letter was written by seven non-Jewish intellectuals, some of them associated with dissident human rights movements in the U.S.S.R., and sent to Mr. Yakovlev, Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., and four Soviet newspapers. This document emphasizes not the human and civil aspects of the Jewish problem in the U.S.S.R., but rather the danger threatening the mere existence of the Jewish community by the growing anti-Semitism in that country.

Mr. Speaker, I am inserting this letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as a statement of concern and a demonstration of a painful lesson history has taught us, and urge my colleagues to read it carefully. We must not remain silent during times of trouble.

UNION OF COUNCILS FOR SOVIET JEWS,
Washington, DC.

(The following letter was written in the fall of 1987 and transmitted to Dr. Lev Utevsky in Israel by former Prisoner-of-Conscience, Dr. Roald Zelichonok. It was translated by the Soviet Jewry Education and Information Center, Jerusalem, and edited by Dr. Lev Utevsky.)

To: Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Yakovlev.

Newspapers: *Vechernaya Moskva*, *Moskovsky Komosomolez*, *Dokumenty i Fakty*, *Moskovskiy Novosti*.

AN OPEN LETTER ABOUT THE SO-CALLED
"JEWISH PROBLEM"

For a long time we have been deeply concerned with the growth of the aggressive nationalistic and anti-semitic mood in modern Russian society. The persons who are promoting this mood appear to be the best prepared social force, ideologically and organizationally, in the present epoch of change. Attempts to resist them strictly according to official internationalism seems to be hopeless.

Therefore, the discussion in our press about the activity of the "Pamyat Society," which has been in existence since May 1987, is remarkable for the strange paralysis and avoidance of the Jewish question. There is an impression that "someone" or "something" is not permitting the discussion on a level which could help people work out their own clear attitude on the problem which can be based on complete understanding. It is evident that to achieve such a clear attitude, it is necessary to arrive at a true presentation of the situation.

The problem cannot be formulated clearly before there is an end to the assertion that the Jewish question does not exist in the USSR and until there is an end to the defense of manifestations of social anti-Semitism as being atypical.

But "Pamyat" is not the only issue: It must be understood that the political situation in our country is unstable.

This is not the place to discuss the prospects of the development of the present situation; these prospects may be as unclear to higher authorities as they are to us.

For our letter, the following is important:

In the existing instability, aggressive Russian nationalism—the manifestations of which are not limited to "Pamyat"—aspires to become a real political force and suggests its own national-socialist version of "perestroika." In such a situation, Soviet Jews have reason to be apprehensive.

It is important to note also, that even the part of our society which strives for democratic change has no clear moral position on the national question.

From *Vechernaya Moskva*, September 7, 1987 and September 8, 1987, we learned that Ispolkom Mossoveta (Moscow municipality) forbade the meeting against anti-Semitism. [Ed. note: Planned to be held in Moscow on September 13, 1987.] Reading the text we felt shame. The appeal of the "Initiative Group" which was published in *Vechernaya Moskva* was a bitter reproach to us because we, non-Jews, were not the initiators of this struggle against anti-Semitism. But we were silent and our silence creates a shameful situation for us when we're forced to take the lead in the struggle against social anti-Semitism. And what is written about this in the newspapers?

As far as we know, there were six publications in Moscow and the central newspapers about the forbidden meeting.

Let us take for example the lengthy, anonymous article in *Izvestia* from September 18, 1987, "For Whom Does Our 'Perestroika' Give No Rest?" Every person who has no preconception, can see the contrast between the extremely delicate process of separating the positive from the negative in "Pamyat" (on one hand, "the pure aspiration of people to preserve the memory of their past" and on the other hand, "the Great Power of Chauvinism") and the direct insults against the members of the "Initiative Group" who are simply labeled "provocators" and are denied the possibility of having any "pure aspirations."

Moreover, the anonymous author of the article in *Izvestia* ominously hinted that the members of the "Initiative Group" are paid

agents of Western intelligence. When it comes to this problem, our newspapers cannot take a step without using threats.

Thus, Orarefiev and Stokov in *Vechernaya Moskva* threaten the Jew with charges under Article 74 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR: "Breach of national and racial equality."

The anonymous author, who perhaps forgot that the letter of the "Initiative Group" was published in *Vechernaya Moskva*, wrote that in this letter, the activity of some leaders of "Pamyat" are identified as the official opinion of the authorities. There is nothing of the kind in this letter, in fact just the opposite is true—the "Initiative Group" was looking for a dialogue with the authorities. This inane statement is an invention of the author of the *Izvestia*, the same as his statement about state anti-Semitism, though in the last case he perhaps knows better. He declared the official position in the following way: "We are internationalists—our attitude toward both anti-Semitism and Zionism is equally negative." But the same attitude toward anti-Semitism and Zionism is achieved by juggling the text and as a result, the good word "internationalism" is compromised.

Anti-Semitism is a hatred towards Jews who are considered to be the source and tool of all kinds of evil. This hatred is molded in various forms and takes various mythical and ideological covers. It applies in many pseudo-rational arguments. We know the Hellenistic myth about the "stinky Jews—man haters." For centuries the myth about the Jews as murderers of God and ministers of the devil was also illuminated in Christianity. Inside Christianity, nearly all the ideas and slogans of religious and secular anti-Semitism were formed piece by piece. "Jewish usury," condemned by the Catholic Church, became "World Jewish plutocracy" and later "domination by Zionist capital."

The German national-Socialists, whose anti-Semitism was based on biological concepts of the nation, considered the Jews as creators of both capitalism and bolshevism.

Zionism is the movement of the Jewish people to their own state. Sometimes this movement may be intertwined with Messianic hope. After the State of Israel was created, this movement became a movement for the emigration of as many Jews as possible to this State, for the revival and development of national culture with Israel as a center of this process.

In most competent Western encyclopedias, Zionism is defined just about this way, but Resolution 3373, adopted by the United Nations on December 10, 1976, by voices of the countries of our block and of Arab countries define Zionism as a "form of racism and racial discrimination." Incidentally, according to Article 10 of the Charter of the United Nations, such resolutions may be considered only as recommendation, and are not obligatory.

It has to be emphasized that in the real situation of our country, such a definition of Zionism and the formula "against" anti-Semitism is only an ideological cover for anti-Semitism. This formula cannot have any other meaning. This formula was cre-

● 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.

ated just to make anti-Semitism legal in the frame of Communist ideology, i.e. without breaching internationalistic taboos.

Anti-Zionism became a pseudonym for officially approved anti-Semitism for the first time at the end of the 40's, the time of the great fight against "homeless cosmopolites" who were declared "agents of American imperialism."

Then the Jewish people, as a whole, took on the official image of the enemy, a target for hatred by all people, and under the threat of deportation. We see in this case, one of the classic variations of the anti-Semitic myth: The Jews as the tools and bearers of alien influence—in this case a Western one.

This version has been used up to the present by both official ideology and by Russian nationalism. Andrei Cherkizov, in the paper *Sovietskaya Kultura* on March 31, 1987, asked, "Why and what are the reasons for emphasizing the national structure of the Bolshevik Party?" Of course, he knows the answer.¹

Up to the present day, the Jews feel the consequences of the fight against cosmopolitanism. One of them, well known and impossible to prove, is the discrimination of Jews when they apply for a job or to be admitted to Universities.

Jewish culture was not given a possibility of recovering after the pogroms at the end of the 1940's and beginning of the 50's. Now the strategy of official anti-Semitism has changed: only those Jews who are self-willingly mindful of their Jewishness, who strive for revival of national culture and especially those who struggle for their right to emigrate to Israel are declared Zionists, traitors and agents of secret services; all other Jews appear to be hostages.

The most piercing evidence of the wretched and horrible state to which we have driven the Jewish people in our country are the letters of "Honest Soviet Citizens of Jewish Extraction."

Our press never misses an opportunity to publish such letters. *Vechernaya Moskva* openly reminded "the persons of Jewish extraction" about their hostage status when describing the "provocators from the "Initiative Group."

"It is impossible not to mention, let us put it straight, that this fuss puts many thousands of Soviet Jews, true citizens of the Soviet Union, in a bad light."

The reading of such letters makes an oppressive and horrible impression.

"The traitors, you will not succeed in dishonoring us . . . renegades, compromising with their treason all the Jews of the U.S.S.R. . . ."

All this is the voice of a hounded people who know with their skin and perhaps even with their genetic code, what the collective guilt is: it is the voice of a people who only wish that we would forget about their Jewishness.

1. Some Soviet anti-Semites emphasize the number of Jews who were involved in counter revolutionary parties.

Ninety years ago Theodor Herzl, the founder of Zionism, wrote: "If they would only leave us alone! But I think they will not leave us alone."

This prophecy of Herzl, as much as all the problems mentioned in our letter, make special sense in the light of the Holocaust of European Jewry.

We have to remember that it was Russia who gave the world "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion" which were used to stir up hatred toward the Jews in Germany in the

twenties and have been used since the 50's for the same purpose in Arab countries.

The memory of the Holocaust makes us write: The definition of Zionism as a kind of racism and an identification of Zionism with Fascism, used by Soviet literature is derisive abuse of the memory of the victims of genocide. It is no mere chance that almost nothing was published in our country from the vast literature on the theory and practice of Hitler's "Final Solution of the Jewish Problem."

Heinrich Bohl wrote that it was better to be a dead Jew than a living German.

For us, Soviet citizens of non-Jewish extraction, the alternative is fortunately not so sharp, but our silence may lead even now to our becoming assistants to a potential pogrom.

Signed: Sergey Liozov, philologist; Sergey Tishenko, physicist; Elena Vardigulova, philologist; Vladimir Pribylovsky, historian; Kyrill Popov, chemist; Margarita Petrosian, lawyer; Sergey Pestov, librarian; Andrey Shilkov, historian; Nina Lsovsky, biochemist.

PROGRESSIVES IN PUBLICATION

HON. JAMES J. FLORIO

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. FLORIO. Mr. Speaker, for many years, the Greek community throughout the Nation has demonstrated its support for cultural and academic excellence. Through programs and scholarships, the American-Hellenic Educational Progressive Association has galvanized the Greek-American community, bringing an appreciation of the Greek heritage and the United States an appreciation of the contributions of that Greek community.

Every year, the Ahepans come together to recognize the best among them. In 1987, the AHEPA Voice of the Fifth District was proudly selected as the premier publication from among the many other publications that foster the spirit and the excellence of the AHEPA family.

Not afraid of pursuing controversial issues in a frank and open manner, the newspaper of the fifth district, which is published in Trenton, NJ, has shown that it has the determination to put together a newspaper that stimulates and educates the Greek community.

Additionally, in recognition of the honors that the AHEPA Voice has brought to the fifth district, Editor Frank Gramas is being honored doubly by receiving the Homeric Award of the fifth district.

For 5 years, he has supervised and edited each edition of the newspaper with diligence and an attentive eye to the detail that has kept the community up to date and informed of everything that affects and interests them.

Recently, the AHEPA Voice recognized its own achievements and those of its editor, Frank Gramas, in the articles that follow:

[From the AHEPA Voice of the Fifth District, December 1987]

THE AHEPA VOICE IS NO. 1.

The Publication Awards Committee of the Order of AHEPA, at its annual meeting in New Orleans in August, selected District 5's,

the AHEPA Voice, as the best 1987 district publication in the domain. Evaluation for the award was based on the quality of the publication, journalistic proficiency, quality of layout, and design and quality of information.

The selection of the AHEPA Voice should come as no surprise. The Voice is read widely by the District 5 membership, and has been rendered a serious publication by other districts and chapters.

In regard to "quality of the publication", the Voice is an inviting news medium from its overall appearance. Adequate in size, but not bulky, it can be placed anywhere.

"Journalistic proficiency" has been maintained throughout the issues, in that the editorial staff strives to ensure that only relevant issues are incorporated. Also, in order to assure relevancy, articles relating to the domain as a whole have been particularly emphasized.

In evaluating "quality of layout", the Voice has been carefully supervised by its chief editor who has thorough knowledge, and who relies on professional expertise.

Finally, "design and quality of information" take priority in the planning of each issue. Great care and deep pride by the editor make certain that the contents are current and relevant to the District and to the AHEPA Family at large.

It would be remiss, if not mentioned, that the AHEPA Voice has not neglected the duty of journalism to include issues of controversy. The Voice editorials have often provided constructive criticism on several of the major issues which confront District 5 and the Order. These editorials have intended to induce thinking and dialogue necessary for a "progressive" (the "P" in AHEPA) organization.

Regardless of its high quality, in order for the Voice to continue its path of excellence, it needs the cooperative offerings of its public. It is to the best interests of the membership for chapters, and for individual members, to submit articles relevant and timely to the mission of AHEPA. It is only through such committed efforts that the Order can flourish in appreciation to our founding forefathers and in dedication to our next generation.

PBG FRANK GRAMAS RECEIVES HOMERIC AWARD

(By Dr. Dean Lomis)

Brother Frank D. Gramas, Editor of the District 5 publication, the AHEPA Voice, has won the Homeric Award for his editorial leadership to the award-winning publication. The AHEPA Voice won First Place in the publication awards at the August AHEPA Annual Convention in New Orleans.

Brother Gramas is an experienced Ahepan, both in matters about the Order and in its journalistic activities. A veteran Ahepan, he began his membership with the Sons of Pericles for six years, including service in the Sons District Lodge.

Brother Frank joined the AHEPA in 1949. An active member throughout the years, he was elected District Governor in 1963. He became Editor of the AHEPA Voice in 1982. During his five years at the editorial helm, the AHEPA Voice has been an instrument of journalistic excellence. In the course of these years, the AHEPA Voice has won several awards as an outstanding fraternal publication. However, it has been through Brother Frank's personal dedication and diligence that the journalistic excellence of

the publication has been maintained for an extended period of time.

The Homeric Award is the highest District Award that can be bestowed upon a Brother Ahepan. Furthermore, it is the third highest award presented by the Order after the Socratic and Periclean.

District 5 is fortunate to have Brother Frank in its ranks and, with membership support, his leadership and dedication will continue to provide excellence in the media of communication to the benefit of the District and the Order.

"TRIPLE WHAMMY"

HON. WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to share some highlights of an outstanding address which was recently given by our distinguished colleague, the Honorable WALTER FAUNTROY, at Howard University's charter day convocation. In the following article from the Washington Post, March 9, 1988, "Triple Whammy," William Raspberry shares Representative FAUNTROY's insightful comments about the real nature of the economic turmoil plaguing our society.

"TRIPLE WHAMMY"

(By William Raspberry)

If you think that you, Jesse Jackson and Richard Gephardt are the only ones worried about America's declining place in the world economy, you should have been at Howard University's charter day convocation the other day. There, in a speech as effective as any I have heard in years, Del. Walter E. Fauntroy (D-D.C.) spoke to the blind greed, misguided policies and misplaced priorities that have put the U.S. economy in jeopardy.

It begins, he said, with three faulty theses: "That the poor have too much, the rich have too little and our problems abroad lend themselves to military solutions."

"Because we believe the poor have too much," he said, "we cut, in the first years of this decade, \$280 billion from programs that met the needs of the old, the young, the sick and the poor. Since the rich have too little, we conducted a raid on the federal Treasury in the form of a tax-relief policy that gave away \$750 billion (\$55 billion of it invested in foreign productivity). And then we increased defense spending by \$123 billion, on the ground that our problems abroad lend themselves to military solutions."

And what has been the result? A generation of undertrained Americans, ill-equipped to fill the high-tech jobs that are increasingly important to the U.S. economy; an accelerating flight of American jobs to cheaper labor markets abroad, a disastrous balance of trade, and a budget deficit the interest on which drains the Treasury of some \$116 billion a year.

At one point, Fauntroy, mimicking besotted capitalists at a three-martini lunch, evoked the spectacle of Japanese and West Germans, forbidden by U.S. policy to "engage in the most inflationary kind of spending a nation can undertake—military spending," seeking permission to make alternate investments. "If we can't spend on defense, can we just make some little motorcycles and give them funny names? Can we

make some radios and televisions? Can we make some cars?"

Fauntroy said America has placed itself under a triple whammy.

"First, the very jobs in labor-intensive smokestack industries that were the means of upward mobility for America's poor have fled the country for cheaper labor markets abroad.

"Second, the programs that were designed to retool our young people in the capital-intensive, information-based, service-oriented skills of the future have been cut. Sixty percent of those studying for PhDs in America are from Asia and Europe, and we're cutting Basic Education Opportunity Grants and Guaranteed Student Loans. Unless we change this policy, we'll have the baddest defense in the world—and nothing to defend.

"Third, the money that fled the country for cheaper labor markets abroad, plus the money that others are now making on our enormous debt, is now coming back to our country. And it is buying America."

He ticked off some foreign purchases of American assets: the Exxon Building on Times Square, the Mobil Oil Tower in Dallas, the NBC Plaza and the ABC headquarters in Los Angeles, and the Dunes Hotel in Las Vegas, all bought by Japanese interest; General Tire, A&P and Celanese, now owned by West Germans; General Electric's TV and electronics production, now in the hands of the French.

Fauntroy's target is not foreign devils but American shortsightedness. He blames neither the Third World countries that will be doing America's smokestack work in the future nor the industrialized nations that would be insane not to exploit the breaks this country is handing them (while providing military security for their trade routes.)

"If we don't get something for U.S. businesses to invest in, they will continue to invest in the \$130 billion [illegal narcotics] industry that is destroying our young. If we don't abandon our faulty theses, we'll all be living on a vast plantation called America, owned by foreign investors, and high as a kite on cocaine."

IN HONOR OF AMBASSADOR EDWARD CLARK

HON. J.J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, on March 2, Texas Independence Day, a group of central Texas residents honored Ambassador Edward Clark for his more than 60 years of public service to our great State and our Nation. For years his was a voice not only of independence but of leadership and commitment to the very highest principles of good government.

Many of my colleagues will recall that Ambassador Clark was appointed by President Lyndon B. Johnson as Ambassador to Australia, where he served with great distinction from 1964 to 1967. His was a immeasurably outstanding record of achievement, and even today the nation of Australia remembers Ambassador Clark—"the Yellow Rose of Texas Ambassador"—with great affection and appreciation. He has given this same high level of service to his State as Secretary of State and to his alma mater, Southwestern University.

A group of trustees from Southwestern joined with other citizens of Austin and central Texas in honoring him with a special banquet to recognize his outstanding work. As a matter of personal association, I want to say that Ambassador Clark has meant as much to hundreds of citizens in Austin and Georgetown as any person who has lived in our midst during the last 75 years.

There is no way to measure his worth or the esteem in which the people of Texas hold him. I am personally proud to call him my friend and to constantly remind my associates of his great worth to our lives and times.

Mr. Speaker, I am attaching a few excerpts from the remarks of some of the speakers who made this evening so memorable:

"(Edward Clark) is a dear and cherished old friend, and I've had the pleasure of watching—sometimes with astonishment—all that he is able to accomplish in a myriad of areas. He gives of himself with utmost generosity, and brings truth to the cliché, 'if you want a job done well, give it to a busy person.'

"Through the years it was Lyndon's privilege and mine to know Ed Clark, and we appreciated him not only as a dedicated public servant, but also as one of our family's 'heroes.' None of us will ever forget the caring part he has played in our lives."—Mrs. Lady Bird Johnson.

"A few years ago, an old friend named Henry who was in Ed Clark's University of Texas Law School class phoned Ed on a Sunday morning. He was aware that Ed had achieved considerably more material success than had he . . . and Ed's friend sought the secret.

"'Ed,' he began, 'how have you accomplished so much more than I have? After all, we are the same age. We both hailed from good families and solid homes. Ed, based upon our law school grades, I am just as smart as you; in fact, I recall graduating with grades slightly better than yours. And, Ed, I know I am just as good looking. What is the difference? What happened?'

"Ed slowly and gently responded, 'Henry, how did you reach me on a Sunday morning?' His friend somewhat impatiently responded that he had Ed's home number, called it, and Ed's wife had told him Ed was at the office and gave him Ed's office phone number.

"'Well, Henry, you have taken a lot of trouble to phone me . . . indicating you must be serious. So, I'll answer your question. First, the comparisons you made are accurate . . . you may be smarter and better looking. But there is one difference.'

"'What's that, Ed? Tell me!'

"'Where are you calling me from, Henry?'

"'Ed, I'm calling you from my home. It's Sunday morning!'

"'Yes, Henry, and you reached me working on business in my office. That, Henry, is the difference.'"

BEN F. LOVE,
Chairman and CEO,
Texas Commerce Bancshares.

Mr. Speaker, our State loves Edward Ann Clark. I especially treasure their friendship. They are the rarest couple in central Texas.

FORBES' INSURANCE EXECUTIVE OF THE YEAR

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, my friend, John B. Amos, has been named the Insurance Executive of the Year by Forbes magazine. This recognition was based on the innovative initiative John has displayed by leading American Family Life Insurance Company in a peak-to-peak progression of successful, effective enterprise throughout the United States and overseas corporations. Currently his company insures over 15 percent of the entire Japanese population, making it the most successful American company doing business in Japan. I want to express my congratulations to John for this accomplishment and submit the following January 11, 1988 Forbes article for your review.

PATIENT INSURER

In the lexicon of remarkable innovations, consider the achievement of John Amos. The 63-year-old founder and chief executive of Columbus, Ga.-based American Family Corp. took a product that was controversial in the U.S.—cancer insurance—redesigned it and in 1974 shipped it off to Japan, a country with one of the biggest, most well-trenched insurance industries anywhere. American Family has now emerged as one of the 20 largest insurers in Japan, covering one of every six families. Last year 66% of the company's revenues and 70% of aftertax earnings came from Japan.

Amos' strategy is simple: "Stick to niche marketing and you're not big enough to scare anyone. Then you've got to be patient as Job and figure out how to do things the Japanese way." Back in the seventies he came up with an idea guaranteed to win favor with the Japanese Ministry of Finance: Use retired Japanese workers to sell his product to their former colleagues. "Their retirement benefits weren't good enough to last them forever, so American Family became a little like their social security," he recalls. American Family now employs about 10,500 mostly retired Japanese workers.

Tragically, Amos himself is currently grappling with lung cancer. But he remains involved in company affairs and has devoted himself in recent weeks to preparing American Family's listing on the Tokyo Stock Exchange. The firm's 25.5% return on equity last year led the major U.S. life insurers, thanks to favorable currency translations and Amos' decision in late 1986 to sell most of his Japanese stockholdings.

IN HONOR OF TED D. KIMBROUGH, CALIFORNIA SUPERINTENDENT OF THE YEAR

HON. MERVYN M. DYMALLY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. DYMALLY. Mr. Speaker, today, it is with great pride that I call your attention to an extraordinary constituent of mine in the 31st district. Recently, Superintendent Ted Kim-

brough of the Compton Unified School District was named "California Superintendent of the Year" by the American Association of School Administrators, who will hold a reception in his honor tomorrow evening in the city of Compton.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with you and my colleagues who Superintendent Kimbrough is and what he represents for the people in our community. First, I would like to say that seldom have I seen such an extraordinary and distinguished record of academic and community service by one individual. Superintendent Kimbrough's career spans over 32 years of active involvement as an educator, administrator, director, lecturer, and publisher. At the same time, he has devoted much time and effort as an active participant in numerous community organizations.

Throughout his 26 years at the Los Angeles Unified School District, Ted Kimbrough has taught a wide range of subjects such as U.S. history, government, drafting, general metal, woodworking, and crafts. Later, he served as dean of Jacob Riis High School and acting vice president before becoming principal at the Watts Skill Center.

In addition, Superintendent Kimbrough has provided leadership skills in his capacity as an administrative coordinator for legislative and governmental relations. He has also served as an education liaison for the city and county of Los Angeles.

Superintendent Kimbrough's personal commitment to public service encompasses a wide variety of leadership positions held, such as president of the Association of Black School Superintendents, a consultant on minorities and vocational education, chairman to the Coalition for Adequate School Housing, Governor's appointee to the State Board of Vocational Nurse and Psychiatric Technician Examiners, panelist on State Superintendent Riles' task force on governance of vocational education, and finally, a participant in the development of California's 5-year plan for vocational education.

Aside from his professional contributions, he serves as a member to numerous councils and organizations related to education and minority issues. I would like to bring your attention to Superintendent Kimbrough's list of memberships which include the Minority Engineering Advisory and Development Council and the Graduate School of Education Advisory Council at California State University at Long Beach, cochairperson to the Compton Minority Health Association, the Board of Directors for the Compton Education Fund, and member of task force on crime in the city of Compton.

We are greatly impressed with Superintendent Kimbrough, who has demonstrated to us his enormous capacity for hard work and education in his professional as well as public service career. As the Representative of the 31st district I am proud to join with the Compton Union Council PTA, the American Association of School Administrators and the city of Compton in saluting Superintendent Ted Kimbrough for his display of great fortitude and dedication in carrying out the goals of our community.

In closing, I would just like to say that we are very proud of you today, Superintendent

Kimbrough, in having been selected as "California's Superintendent of the Year." Indeed, you deserve this honor and in accepting it we are grateful for your solid commitment to our children and their future.

SOUTH AFRICAN CHURCHES SPEAK OUT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

HON. MIKE SYNAR

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. SYNAR. Mr. Speaker, on February 24 the South African Government announced sweeping new emergency regulations that effectively banned political activity by 17 leading anti-apartheid groups, including the United Democratic Front [UDF], and severely restricted the country's largest labor movement, the Congress of South African Trade Unions [COSATU].

The following week, the Government introduced legislation that would prohibit the use of donations from abroad by any individual or group "for political aim or objective." The measure would severely curtail the activities of the multidimensional South African Council of Churches.

On February 29 several prominent religious leaders—including Nobel Peace Prize laureate Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Roman Catholic Archbishop Stephen Naidoo, and the Reverend Allan Boesak, president of the Worldwide Alliance of Reformed Churches—were briefly detained after attempting to march to Parliament with a petition protesting the new Government restrictions.

The churches continue to speak out loud and clear against the violation of human rights. With the effective banning of COSATU and the UDF, the churches have become even more prominent in the people's struggle for freedom and democracy in South Africa.

Last week the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference issued a pastoral letter calling on the government "to lift all those restrictions—on anti-apartheid groups—to return to the rule of law, and to abolish apartheid and its evils."

Mr. Speaker, I would bring the text of this excellent document to the attention of my colleagues and request that it be submitted, in full, in the RECORD.

The text of the pastoral letter follows:

JOINT LETTER ON STATE ACTIONS

Dear People of God, as Bishops of the Catholic Church in South Africa, we want to convey to you our profound dismay at several state actions in this country in recent days.

These actions have heightened levels of fear and tension, and the degree of oppression, experienced by many of our fellow citizens. As pastors of a Church which represents approximately ten percent of the population, it is our duty to state unequivocally the Church's position when basic human rights are violated.

GENERAL POSITION OF THE CHURCH

The Church must point this out and plead for redress. The Church must do this no matter which government or political

system is in power. For example, the Catholic Church in Zimbabwe spoke clearly both to the Smith regime and to the present Mugabe government on the violation of human rights.

This duty of the Church must in no way be construed as meddling in politics, because the Church is not supporting any political party, but safeguarding basic human rights and ideals. By its very calling as an institution founded by Christ, the Church has a divine duty to involve itself in human affairs.

May we remind you that just four months ago, in his address to the Catholic Bishops of Southern Africa in Rome in November 1987, Pope John Paul II was both explicit and supportive when he declared the Church's position in political matters. He said:

"During these past years you have borne witness to hope in many ways, thus showing your people the relevance of Christ's paschal mystery for their lives. Year in, year out, you have stood with your people in their needs. At the same time you have withstood much unjust criticism in transmitting to them the uplifting message of the gospel. In statements that have spanned decades, you have insisted on justice and the need for the true commandment of love, and have invited your people to prayer and to universal fraternal solidarity. In particular you have raised your voices on human rights, the fundamental equality of all persons, the defence of the oppressed, and the concrete demands of justice throughout your region."

PRESENT RESTRICTIONS

In the light of declaration of support from the Pope, the Church views the restrictions on 17 organizations and on several individuals with indignation.

Organizations have the right to work for the common good, to develop democracy, to help those in need, to support the families of detainees and to dissent from political decisions which crush legitimate alternatives allowed in civilized countries.

We thus protest, in the strongest possible terms, the restrictions that have now been added to the very repressive measures which already shackle our society.

We call on the state to lift all these restrictions, to return to the rule of law, and to abolish apartheid and its evils. It should now be clear to all who value human dignity that apartheid destroys human dignity, cruelly divides communities, and that for these reasons it has been judged immoral and inhuman by the international community. We also call on the state to give to every citizen of this country their God-given rights so that they may develop as true children of God.

We make this call in the spirit of the universal teaching of the Church to oppose injustice wherever it exists.

THE PROMOTION OF ORDERLY INTERNAL POLITICS BILL

Several organizations in this country depend on overseas assistance for their development. Many of these organizations help the victims of apartheid. They also work to repair the damage apartheid has done to South Africa, and to reconstruct our shattered society on a more equitable basis. They reach the needy and underprivileged through education and through the formation of vital infrastructures appropriate to proper human development.

If the proposed legislation now before Parliament become law, it would mean in

effect that the government could decide arbitrarily which good works should be done in this country and which should not.

We therefore condemn the proposed legislation, since it could give the government totalitarian powers, and urge all those who value democracy and liberty to oppose it.

NEW NATION

Freedom of the press is basic to any civilized society. This freedom already has been severely restricted in South Africa. New Nation is now threatened with a restriction that would silence it for three months.

New Nation is a secular weekly newspaper owned by the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference. It enjoys editorial freedom and independence. It is an organ known for its vigorous debate on crucial issues. It is a voice which champions the rights of those without rights. It carries news and views which other newspapers tend not to publish in the present climate of punitive restrictions.

Even this freedom has been curbed by the state. This is a crushing blow to the very limited right to dissent that barely survives in this country.

We deplore this action, and while we may not necessarily agree with opinions published in New Nation, we uphold fully the right to editorial freedom and the right to dissent which that newspaper embodies.

CONCLUSION

We have expressed ourselves forcefully in this letter because we believe that the Church's position in the present repressive situation should be clear and unequivocal. While on the one hand we condemn the violation of human rights in South Africa, we want to stress with equal emphasis that the granting of those precious human rights would enable our society to be transformed in such a way that there could be justice, peace, and enough for everyone.

Human dignity is at the centre of the transformation we all desire. Pope Paul VI proclaimed himself very firmly on this issue when he was in Africa 18 years ago. He stated:

"We deplore the fact that there persist social situations based upon racial discrimination and often willed and sustained by systems of thought: such situations constitute a manifest and inadmissible affront to the fundamental rights of the human person."

We appeal to the government today to turn away from the disastrous road which it has chosen for our people. We echo the distress of Pope Paul VI when we say: "The cause is urgent and the hour is late."

Our Holy Father Pope John Paul tells us very clearly that the events of history have confirmed Pope Paul's judgement. At the same time he pleads that violence should not be accepted as the solution to violence. Rather violence must give way to reason, mutual trust, sincere negotiations, and fraternal love.

In the present context of apartheid, a call to conversion becomes ever more relevant and necessary for our people. The only adequate solution to the problem is the conversion of hearts.

May our Lady assumed into heaven, the patroness of our country, intercede for us and obtain for us the gift of a just peace.

Yours sincerely in Christ our Lord,

Reginald J. Orsmond, Bishop of Johannesburg, Acting President, South African Catholic Bishops' Council; Denis E. Hurley, O.M.I., Archbishop of Durban; Peter Butelezi, O.M.I., Arch-

bishop of Bloemfontein; George Daniel, Archbishop of Pretoria; Stephen Naidoo, C.S.S.R., Archbishop of Cape Town; Hans Brenninkmeijer, O.P., Bishop of Kroonstad; Michael O'Shea, O.S.M., Prefect Apostolic of Ingwavuma; and Zithulele Muemue, Auxiliary Bishop of Johannesburg.

This pastoral letter was issued by the information press office on behalf of the archbishops and bishops of the South African Bishops' Council who signed the statement, and was kindly supplied by Robert T. Henneymeyer, Ambassador (ret.), foreign affairs adviser, U.S. Catholic Conference, Washington, DC.

ANTIDISCRIMINATION PROVISIONS OF IMMIGRATION LAW ARE BEING ENFORCED

HON. BARNEY FRANK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. FRANK. Mr. Speaker, when we passed the immigration law in 1986, one important provision which many of us worked hard to include in the bill dealt with the potential of discrimination that could arise because of the employment sanctions section of the bill. In that provision, we explicitly provided protection for those residents of the United States who are not yet citizens but intend to become citizens, against employment discrimination based on the fact that they had not yet become citizens.

One concern that had been raised by people who were intended to be protected with this act dealt with the timing of their filing a declaration of an intent to become a citizen, and whether or not a failure to have filed that at a certain period would bar a victim from bringing a charge of discrimination. I was pleased to be informed by the Office of Special Counsel who enforces this law that the matter has been clarified in a way that is fully favorable to the rights of those who may have suffered discrimination. I ask that the press release explaining this be printed here, because I think it is essential that the widest possible circulation be given to this ruling so that the intended beneficiaries of this antidiscrimination provision can take full advantage of it.

I was also pleased to learn that the Department has begun enforcing this law in a very specific way, specifically by reaching a settlement with Pan American World Airways on behalf of a resident alien who was refused consideration for employment as a flight attendant. Under a settlement reached by the Office of Special Counsel with Pan American, the victim of this discrimination will receive back pay and other expenses, Pan American will discontinue some of its application policies and it will be distributing a statement about the antidiscrimination provisions of the new law. I do not know a great deal about the specifics of this case and I do not intend by this statement to comment as to whether or not I think exactly the right settlement was reached. What I do think important, however, is to publicize the fact that we have begun to get enforcement of this law which protects the right

of people in this country to be judged solely on their merits in terms of employment and not on other factors. I ask that the press release from the Department of Justice describing this early successful invocation of the anti-discrimination provision by an intended victim also be printed here.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE SETTLES DISCRIMINATION CASE WITH PAN AMERICAN WORLD AIRWAYS

The Department of Justice today announced that it has reached settlement with Pan American World Airways, Inc., over a charge of employment discrimination filed by a permanent resident alien after she was refused consideration for employment as a flight attendant.

The settlement requires the airline to provide back pay and other expenses to the victim, discontinue certain application policies and distribute to employees a statement about the anti-discrimination provisions of the new immigration law.

The settlement resolves a charge filed November 3, 1987, with the Office of Special Counsel for Immigration Related Unfair Employment Practices.

Lawrence J. Siskind, Special Counsel for Immigration Related Unfair Employment Practices, said he hoped the settlement would serve as "a model for the airline industry." He commended Pan American for demonstrating "an admirable sense of corporate responsibility and public-spiritedness" in entering into the settlement.

As part of the agreement, neither the victim's name nor the back pay amount was released.

According to the Justice Department's investigation, Pan American's hiring policy discriminated against certain classes of aliens who are authorized to work in the United States and who intend to become citizens. The airline's policy required applicants to be U.S. citizens or aliens with "green cards."

Under the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, employers are prohibited from discriminating against citizens, nationals, and "intending citizens" in hiring, discharging, or referring or recruiting for a fee on the basis of their citizenship status. The Act defines "intending citizens" as permanent residents, temporary residents admitted under the new legalization program, refugees, and asylees who evidence an intention to become U.S. citizens.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service issues Alien Registration Receipt Cards, I-551, commonly known as "green cards," to certain categories of permanent residents. Temporary residents, refugees, and asylees, as well as certain other categories of permanent residents, do not receive green cards, although they are eligible to work in the United States.

The charging party qualified as an intending citizen but Pan American refused to consider her for employment because she could not produce a green card.

The settlement requires Pan American to pay the charging party back pay and to reimburse her for her application fee. It also requires Pan American to distribute a statement describing the antidiscrimination provisions of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 to all its U.S. personnel offices. In addition, it requires Pan American to discontinue its policy of using green cards as the sole criterion for judging an alien applicant's right to work in the United States.

The settlement allows Pan American to continue to consider an applicant's alien

status for any position that requires travel on its international routes. This provision was included because immigration law imposes certain restrictions on the rights of aliens to travel freely abroad.

"This settlement is a good example of how government and the private sector can and should work together when confronting a new law," Siskind said. "Rather than adopting an adversarial posture, Pan American chose to cooperate with this office, to bring its hiring policies into compliance with federal law, and to enlist in the campaign to educate the public about the new law. We hope that the Pan American settlement becomes a model for the airline industry, as well as for other industries that may be following similar practices."

The Office of Special Counsel for Immigration Related Unfair Employment Practices was established by Congress under the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 to enforce the law's prohibition against employment discrimination based on national origin and citizenship status.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE HELPS QUALIFIED ALIENS

The Justice Department announced today that qualified aliens intending to become U.S. citizens will be allowed to bring charges of employment discrimination under the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 if they have completed a Declaration of Intending Citizen from any time before filing the charge.

Lawrence J. Siskind, Special Counsel for Immigration Related Unfair Employment Practices, said that to qualify for protection it is not necessary to have filed the form with the office before the alleged instance of discrimination occurs.

Under the Immigration Reform and Control Act, discrimination on the basis of citizenship status in hiring, firing, and recruitment or referral for a fee is prohibited. The prohibition protects citizens, nationals, and a new category of aliens called "intending citizens." The act defines "intending citizens" as permanent residents, temporary residents under the legalization program, refugees, and asylees, who show their "intention to become a citizen of the United States through completing a declaration of intention."

There has been confusion over the timing of the filing requirement. The preamble to Justice Department regulations published last October stated that the declaration had to be completed prior to the occurrence of the discriminatory act in order for the alien to qualify for protection. But the instructions on the back of the INS Form I-772, a form specially prepared for this requirement, state only that its filing is a prerequisite "to assert a claim," not to qualify for protection.

Siskind's announcement was also disseminated by letter to about a thousand private organizations and public agencies concerned with immigration and civil rights law.

He noted in his letter that measures had been taken to alleviate early problems with availability of the declaration of intention form.

"The form is now available at all INS district offices and legalization offices," he said. "The INS distributes I-772s to aliens who are issued employment authorization, who are adjusted to permanent residence status, who file petitions for naturalization, who are admitted as refugees, or who are granted asylum."

In addition, Siskind said, the Office of Special Counsel has distributed the form to organizations authorized by INS to distribute INS materials (known as Qualified Designated Entities) and to hundreds of interested private organizations and public agencies. The form is also available by direct request to the Office of Special Counsel.

The Special Counsel's Office was created under the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 to investigate and prosecute charges of employment discrimination based on national origin and citizenship status. While anyone authorized to work in the United States may bring national origin claims, Congress restricted those who may bring citizenship status claims to citizens, nationals, and intending citizens.

INS FORM I-772—DECLARATION OF INTENDING CITIZEN

DEAR ———: The filing of the INS Form I-772 Declaration of Intending Citizen has caused some concern among those who deal with the Office of Special Counsel for Immigration Related Unfair Employment Practices. Questions have been raised about the timing of the filing of the I-772 and its availability. The purpose of this letter is to address those concerns and to dispel any confusion that may have arisen.

Under § 102 of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA), protection from citizenship status discrimination is afforded to citizens, nationals, and intending citizens. Among other definitional requirements, an intending citizen is an alien who "evidences an intention to become a citizen of the United States through completing a declaration of intention to become a citizen." 8 U.S.C. 1324b(1)(A)(B). When IRCA was passed, the only form in existence suited to that requirement was INS Form N-315. That Form, however, had fallen into disuse and could be executed only by permanent residents. IRCA permits temporary residents under the new legalization program, refugees, and asylees, as well as permanent residents, to qualify for intending citizen status. A new form was needed. The Immigration and Naturalization Service created the I-772 to meet that need.

Confusion has arisen over the timing of the filing of the I-772. Neither the statute nor the regulations specifically address the question of when the Declaration of Intention must be filed. The preamble to the regulations states that the declaration must be completed prior to the occurrence of the alleged discrimination. 52 Fed. Reg. p. 37407. The instructions to the I-772 itself, however, state that filing the I-772 is a prerequisite only "to assert a claim," not to qualify for protection.

To dispel any confusion on this question, I am taking this opportunity to announce that the Justice Department views the declaration of intention filing requirement as satisfied as long as the declaration is completed and filed before the charge of discrimination is filed with the Office of Special Counsel. It is not necessary to complete and file the declaration before the occurrence of the alleged discrimination.

The Justice Department considers this treatment of the filing requirement a reasonable interpretation of the statute.

This letter will also serve as a reminder that the original I-772 must be filed with the Immigration and Naturalization Service. A copy of the fully completed I-772, showing that the form has been received and filed by an INS officer, should accompany

any citizenship status discrimination charges filed with this Office by or on behalf of intending citizens. For permanent residents, filing a Form N-315 with any court exercising naturalization jurisdiction remains an alternative. The same timing requirements for filing apply.

Concern has also arisen about the availability of the Form I-772. Fortunately, the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the Office of Special Counsel have already taken measures to remedy the problem. The Form is now available at all INS district offices and legalization offices. The INS distributes I-772s to aliens who are issued employment authorization, who are adjusted to permanent residence status, who file petitions for naturalization, who are admitted as refugees, or who are granted asylum. In addition, the Office of Special Counsel has distributed the Form to all Qualified Designated Entities, and to hundreds of interested private organizations and public agencies. The Form is also available by direct request to the Office of Special Counsel. The Form may be photocopied in case any office, organization, or agency finds its supply running low.

Wide distribution of the Form I-772, coupled with today's clarification of the timing of the filing requirement, should eliminate problems that intending citizens may have faced in the past in asserting claims. The Justice Department remains committed to ensuring that intending citizens receive the full protection against employment discrimination afforded by law.

Sincerely,

LAWRENCE J. SISKIND,
Special Counsel.

CONCERNS ABOUT THE PALAU COMPACT

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, in recent months, more and more attention is being focused on the western Pacific Islands of Palau. The United States is responsible for the governing of these islands under a 1947 agreement with the United Nations Security Council.

The 99th Congress approved a Compact of Free Association with Palau in concept, but withheld its implementation because Palau had not constitutionally approved the compact. Late last year, the President of the United States again asked that the compact be implemented, contending that Palau had now constitutionally approved it. There are, however, serious questions about whether or not this contention is correct.

In addition, serious allegations of potential criminal wrongdoing, including those relating to drug trafficking and corruption in high places in Palau and a lack of fiscal accountability, have come to our attention.

In light of all this, as chairman of the committee which has had jurisdiction over Palau since 1947, I believe that I need to share with my colleagues at this juncture some of my concerns with immediate approval of the compact implementing legislation.

These concerns are expressed generally in two letters my colleague RON DE LUGO, chairman of the Insular and International Affairs

Subcommittee, and I recently sent to President Lazarus Salaii of Palau, and to Chairman DANTE FASCELL of the Foreign Affairs Committee, whose committee has received a joint referral of the legislation along with this committee to implement the Compact of Free Association.

The Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs will propose measures to deal with the problems outlined in the enclosed letters. Once these problems are addressed, we will do everything we can to bring the compact to the House to authorize full implementation.

These problems—and our views on how to address them are outlined in letters that I ask be printed in the RECORD at this point.

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, DC, March 17, 1988.

HON. LAZARUS E. SALII,
President of Palau, Koror, Palau.

DEAR PRESIDENT SALII: In response to your requests that Congress immediately pass legislation to authorize implementation of the Compact of Free Association, we want to outline for you and the other leaders and people of Palau what we believe must be done before the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs can approve such a bill.

At the outset, we want to stress that what we are most concerned about in this regard are the needs and aspirations of the people of Palau, not only from a short-term but also from a long-term perspective. In our view, the interests of the people of Palau in this matter are equal in importance to the interests of the United States related to Palau.

We also want to preface what we say about Compact legislation by reiterating our pledge to do everything that we can to provide the government of Palau with enough financial assistance to pay its employees, operate its power and water system, and meet its other essential obligations until the trusteeship is terminated. We have requested the full cooperation of the Department of the Interior and other appropriate committees of Congress to see that the United States lives up to this responsibility.

As you know, the Department of the Interior disagrees with your government's calculation that it will need more assistance to be able to continue to function without drastic cutbacks in spending this fiscal year. We have not accepted the Department's calculation and we have requested that they work with officials of your government to accurately determine the need.

Departmental officials have told us that the extent of the need should be more clear to them in a week or so. At that time, we will move as quickly as possible to have provided whatever assistance may be necessary.

There can be no justification this fiscal year for letting the people of Palau suffer through a budget shortfall as serious as that experienced last year. What happened last year must not happen again.

This effort on our part should not be misunderstood as indicating that we do not want the Compact to be implemented as soon as possible. We do want it implemented, and we will support implementation just as soon as the problems outlined below are satisfactorily addressed.

THE CONSTITUTIONALITY PROBLEM

One of these problems is the continuing uncertainty about whether Palau has constitutionally approved the Compact.

Last year, a number of Palauans who were challenging the constitutionality of Palau's efforts to approve the Compact withdrew

their lawsuit in an atmosphere of intimidation and violence. Many of these people told us afterwards that they wanted to reinstate the suit when it was safe to do so. Several Palauans have now told us of their plans to file such a test of the constitutionality of Palau's approval of the Compact within the next few weeks.

We were pleased to learn of your recent statements indicating a willingness to have this issue go to court and a belief that it can be safely litigated. If a question as fundamental to Palau's future as this could not be freely resolved through the Palauan judicial system now, we would all have to seriously doubt whether the rights of the people of Palau would be secure after the trusteeship is terminated. We are sure that you will agree that it is essential in a democracy that the judicial system be strong and independent enough to rule on even unpopular, sensitive, and controversial cases.

We also know that you recognize that the question of whether Palau has constitutionally approved the Compact is one that must be answered before the Compact can be implemented. As the legislative history of this matter makes clear, it was precisely because of a similar question that the Congress did not authorize the Compact to be implemented in Public Law 99-658 but only approved it in concept in that law.

Both you and the President of the United States contend now—as you did in 1986—that Palau has constitutionally approved the Compact. We accord the position that you and the President of the United States have taken on this matter great weight. However, with all due respect to both of you, there is a legitimate question of whether this position is correct.

Some of the reasons for our reservations on this matter follow.

Officials of both your administration and that of the President of the United States persuasively argued in 1986 that Palau's constitution could not be amended before November 1988. The contention that the Compact has now been approved by Palau requires acceptance of the idea that Palau's constitution was amended last August and a repudiation of the position taken by officials of your administration and that of the President of the United States in 1986.

The Supreme Court of Palau ruled in 1986 that the Compact had not been constitutionally approved by Palau even though both you and the President of the United States had asserted then—as you both are asserting again—that it had been constitutionally approved.

The Supreme Court of Palau, which is the only body that can rule definitively on this issue, has not been able to rule on the current question of the constitutionality of Palau's approval as it was able to do when a similar question arose in 1986, even though there are Palauans who wish to test the constitutionality in court.

The American Law Division in the Library of Congress has concluded that the constitutionality of amending Palau's constitution prior to November 1988 is in doubt.

Because violence against those challenging the constitutionality of Palau's approval prevented the matter from being resolved last fall, conditions must be made safe for them to test the approval in court if they still wish to do so, as they have told us they do. Your "pledge to provide round-the-clock protection . . . to any litigant or . . . counsel" in such a court action on this matter is most helpful in this connection.

This issue would surely have been settled by now if there had not been interference with the earlier lawsuit. If it had been settled through the earlier suit, the United States and Palau would, in all likelihood, be well along the way toward addressing the other problems that we will discuss in this letter and either implementing the Compact or resolving the constitutionality problem.

At this point, the best way to answer the question of the constitutionality of Palau's approval still appears to be through a test in the courts of Palau. If conditions permit a lawsuit to be safely pursued now and those who have indicated that they want to challenge the approval decide, of their own free will, that they no longer want to do so, or if their legal challenge fails, the only remaining impediments to the Compact's implementation will be those which relate to the serious problems of fiscal accountability and law enforcement which were outlined in our letter of March 2 to Chairman Dante B. Fascell of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, a copy of which is enclosed.

These are problems which cannot be ignored. They are also, however, problems which do not need to delay implementation of the Compact if it is found to have been constitutionally approved and assuming we can work out ways to address them.

LAW ENFORCEMENT AND FISCAL ACCOUNTABILITY PROBLEMS

Our current investigation of problems related to fiscal accountability and law enforcement in Palau should be completed soon. After it is, we will propose measures to address these problems to you and the other leaders of Palau as well as appropriate officials of the Executive Branch of the United States.

Some of these measures would provide Palau with financial or other assistance that it needs to address these problems that the United States has not yet provided or committed to provide. Others would make possible necessary means of ensuring fiscal accountability in the use of Compact funds and proper enforcement of laws.

Law Enforcement measures should include an appropriate process for the investigation and prosecution, where warranted, of substantial allegations of wrongdoing during the trusteeship period. Such a process would help ensure that these problems are properly addressed during either the trusteeship or free association.

We appreciate the cooperation provided earlier for our oversight efforts and we request the government of Palau's continued assistance in this regard. Such cooperation will help the Committee to complete its oversight investigation as soon as possible. It will also enable the Committee to work out the problems the investigation identifies with officials of the government of Palau and the Executive Branch of the United States at the earliest possible time.

In this connection, we want to inform you that the Committee's Special Consultant on these matters, Thomas S. Dunmire, is scheduled to return to Palau in a few days to continue oversight work regarding Palau's approval of the Compact and the right of individuals to test it in court, as well as the other problems related to law enforcement and fiscal accountability cited in our letter to Chairman Fascell. Mr. Dunmire may be joined by other investigatory or support personnel from this Committee, the General Accounting Office, or agencies of the Executive Branch of the United States.

We would also appreciate the opportunity to meet with you and other leaders and people of Palau in the near future in connection with our current oversight effort. Our plan at this point is to take a congressional delegation to Palau in mid-April.

We will formalize our plans and discuss them with you further once we are able to obtain a firm commitment of aircraft and other support from the Department of Defense. As you know, we had planned to make this trip earlier but have twice had to delay it because the Department of Defense informed us that it could not provide the support necessary for the trip at the time that it was needed.

President Saliu, Members of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs have developed a deep respect for the people of Palau and genuine concern for their well-being during the past four decades that the Committee has had jurisdiction over matters affecting Palau. We believe that the United States has moral as well as legal obligations regarding them. It is because we do care about the people of Palau that we are taking the approach we have outlined in this letter to Compact implementation legislation.

There is no question that the first of our obligations is to help the people of Palau to become fully self-governing as soon as possible. This obligation carries with it a responsibility, though, to see to it that full self-government is attained in a way that meets the needs and aspirations of the people of Palau now and in the future to the greatest extent possible.

In closing, we want to assure you that we do support free association between the United States and Palau replacing trusteeship administration as soon as possible. We take the position because the Compact is supported by the majority of the people of Palau and is fair to the interests of both Palau and the United States.

We look forward to continue working with you and others who represent the people of Palau to bring about this new relationship in a manner that will enable the people of Palau to reach the full extent of their potential for prosperity and dignity as a community.

Sincerely,

MORRIS K. UDALL,
Chairman.

RON DE LUGO,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Insular and International Affairs.

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, DC, March 2, 1988.
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs,
U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: In follow-up to our recent meeting with Chairman Solarz of the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, we believe it necessary to briefly reiterate some of our concerns about passing legislation at this time to authorize implementation of the Compact of Free Association with Palau, although we conceptually support the idea of such a bill passing as soon as it is appropriate to do so.

This is a matter of great importance considering that the Compact legislation would, among other things, replace current U.S. responsibility for the governing of Palau; commit the U.S. to provide Palau with at

least \$428 million; deal with sensitive military rights; provide program aid as well as tax and trade benefits; grant Palauans free entry to the United States directly; and dramatically affect the lives of all Palauans for many decades to come.

There are two principal sources of our concerns. One has to do with legitimate questions of whether the Compact has been constitutionally approved by Palau and the other has to do with serious allegations of potential criminal wrongdoing.

With respect to the constitutionality issue, we continue to believe—as the Congress decided in conceptually approving the terms of the Compact in 1986—that implementation cannot occur until it is clear that the Compact has been constitutionally approved by Palau. This may well not be the case at the present time.

The effort by Palau to secure approval of the Compact which was relied upon in asking Congress to authorize implementation in 1986 was later found to be unconstitutional. There are once again very legitimate questions about the constitutionality of the effort by Palau to secure approval which is being relied upon in the current request for implementation authorization.

If the plaintiffs who wished to challenge the approval in court earlier had been permitted to do so without the violence which occurred and without having been subjected to threats of further violence, this issue would surely have been settled by now. If it were settled, the United States and the Palauan governments could be well on their way to implementing the Compact or addressing the constitutionality problem if it still needed to be addressed and otherwise responding to the financial needs of Palau which are creating pressures regarding Compact implementation. We could also be further along in addressing other problems in Palau which we will outline in this letter.

A number of Palauans have informed us that they now have definitive plans to reinstate the legal challenge to the Compact's approval this month, if it can be made safe for them to do so. Let us hope that whatever is necessary to protect the right of these plaintiffs to pursue a legal challenge to the Compact's approval in safety will be done, as the President of Palau has pledged it will be.

We cannot support implementation of the Compact if this is not the case, given United States responsibilities for the governing of Palau under its trusteeship agreement with the United Nations Security Council. Consequently, we are monitoring this situation closely.

We want you to understand that it is not our intent to delay the implementation of the Compact any longer than is necessary. Prior to the time when the Compact can be implemented, however, we should all do whatever we can to provide Palau with enough funds to operate its government and avoid another period of turmoil because of a shortage of funding for government worker salaries, electric power service, and other needs.

We have asked the Department of the Interior to increase the level of funding for Palau in Fiscal Year 1988 to assure that Palau has the funds needed to properly operate its government until the Compact can be implemented. The United States should not be in the position of intentionally or unintentionally reducing funding so as to pressure either Palau or the Congress to implement the Compact prematurely.

In addition to the fundamental question of whether the Compact has been constitutionally approved, there are equally serious matters involving allegations of possible criminal wrongdoing which we simply cannot fail to address, although these matters may not require a delay in implementing the Compact if satisfactory remedial measures can be worked out. Most of these allegations fall into one of the four categories which follow.

Heroin trafficking. The Drug Enforcement Administration has reported that some 400 of Palau's 15,000 people are heroin users (a rate 12 times the U.S. national average) and that the islands are being used to transship heroin from Southeast Asia to the U.S. Several senior Palauan government officials have been identified to us as being connected to this drug trade.

High-level Corruption. Senior Palauan officials have reportedly acknowledged taking six figure payments from the contractor which installed the islands' new power plant. It is alleged that the \$32 million price for the plant may have been substantially inflated. An informed source has told us that payments were also allegedly made to Palauan officials in connection with another multi-million dollar capital improvement project.

Violence, intimidation and violation of rights. Palauans—including members of the legislature—questioning the islands' latest effort to approve the Compact were subjected to violence and intimidation which left one man dead and which a Palauan judge has stated may have been responsible for the withdrawal of a suit challenging the constitutionality of the Compact's approval. Some Palauan officials favoring Compact approval have been implicated in the violence and intimidation.

Other allegations. Other serious allegations being investigated include: misappropriation of federal and local funds; the distribution of counterfeit U.S. currency; and use of unauthorized Palauan "passports" by Palauan officials.

A preliminary investigation of these allegations is being conducted by staff of this Committee with the assistance of the General Accounting Office. This preliminary investigation of these matters should be completed prior to a Committee oversight trip to Palau which we are planning to take during the Easter District Work Period.

During our planned trip, we intend to discuss the measures which will need to be taken in light of the matters being investigated with Palauan and Administration officials. It is also our intent to take whatever actions are necessary regarding the Palau situation reasonably soon after our return.

Based upon the information that we have already obtained regarding the payments to officials from the contractor for the power plant, we have already requested that the Secretary of the Interior exercise his full authority for the governing of Palau to see to it that the transaction is independently investigated and any violations of law related to it are prosecuted, if warranted. We would hope that procedures can be worked out with the Department of the Interior and other appropriate federal and insular agencies to ensure that any investigations and prosecutions which are initiated regarding this or any other matter can continue beyond the trusteeship period.

Both supporters and critics of the proposed Compact within Palau share some of our concerns related to the matters identified in the points above. An example of this

is a recent letter (a copy of which is enclosed) to the Assistant Inspector General of the Department of the Interior from the President of Palau's Senate, a Compact supporter. In it, he recommended audits on a number of matters, including allegations of bribery with respect to the power plant transaction, potential illegal use of unauthorized Palauan "passports", and the disposition of vessels supposedly owned by the government of Palau.

In conclusion, we want to assure you that we look forward to working with you, Chairman Solarz, and other Members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs on Compact implementation legislation. This will occur when the constitutionality of Palau's approval has been made clear by the Palauan judicial system (or if those who wish to challenge the approval decide of their own free will that it is safe to do so but that they no longer wish to) and when we have worked out means of addressing the other concerns which we have outlined in this letter. Again, we hope that all of these matters will become clear enough to justify legislative action reasonably soon after our planned trip to Palau in April.

Sincerely,

MORRIS K. UDALL,
Chairman.
RON DE LUGO,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Insular and International Affairs.

SECOND OLBIL ERA KELULAU,
REPUBLIC OF PALAU,
Koror, February 17, 1988.

HAROLD BLOOM,

Ass't Inspector General for Audits, Office of the Inspector General, U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. BLOOM: I am writing in response to your request for audit suggestions for Fiscal Year 1989. The following are matters which I feel merit your attention:

1. **IPSECO matter.** In 1983, the Palau government entered into an agreement for the construction of an electrical power plant with the British firm International Power System, Ltd. (IPSECO). As part of the financial arrangements for this deal, an escrow account was established into which was directly paid by IPSECO the sum of \$900,000, representing the prepayment of taxes. This was in violation of constitutional and statutory provisions requiring that all government revenues be paid into the National Treasury.

At the time of Palau's alleged default on the loan for this project, the guarantors of the financing, a British syndicate headed by the firm of Morgan Grenfell, were somehow able to obtain the funds in the escrow account. A study of the facts surrounding the establishment of this account and the process by which the money was paid out would assist in our understanding of the IPSECO affairs, currently the subject of a United States lawsuit and which, if an unfavorable decision is rendered, could be a financial disaster for Palau.

2. **IPSECO power plant.** A comprehensive audit of all financial arrangements for this project would be desirable, particularly because recent revelations from British bankruptcy auditors reviewing the records of IPSECO indicate that certain Palau government officials accepted payments from IPSECO at the time that the agreement to construct the power plant was being considered. These local officials admit the receipt

of the payments, but deny any illegality. It is critical to clear up the details of this matter, as the related rumors and recriminations threaten to further delay the implementation of the Compact of Free Association and cloud the integrity of key individuals in our government.

In light of the recent revelations of bribery, we have requested certain members of the United States Congress to consider sending an assessor to Palau to inspect the power plant and to determine its actual cost, for which the Republic of Palau may be liable, if that be the case. We do not deny that the power plant has been constructed and the people of Palau are benefitting therefrom. We believe, though, that the cost of the project was artificially inflated above its actual true cost, and Palau should be liable, if the case may be, for only the actual cost, not for the inflated cost which we feel was used to corrupt our officials. In this matter, we ask that the Inspector General assist in making a reality our request for an assessor to come to Palau and determine the actual cost of the project.

3. **Passport finding.** A private Palauan citizen and an American attorney retained by the President of Palau were recently found by custom officials in Guam to be carrying what have variously been described as blank Republic of Palau passports or diplomatic identification documents. In the course of subsequent events, it has been revealed that our government has had 10,000 Republic of Palau passports printed, and that part or all of this number are stored in a bank vault here.

Although I have profound questions as to why Palau is even having passports printed at this time and why private citizens and foreigners are transporting these, my more immediate concern is the source of funds for the printing. No appropriation for this purpose has yet been made, and thus any expenditure for this purpose would appear to be illegal. I suspect that our government frequently expends funds outside of the scope of specific appropriations, but this may be a particularly egregious case that should be looked into.

4. **Sale of confiscated vessel.** In 1983, the government of Palau seized the *M/V Aesarea*, a chartered Taiwanese cruise ship, for various violations of customs and other laws. Following a favorable court judgment in this matter (Civil Action No. 2-085), the Palau government proceeded with the sale of the vessel. In Civil Appeal No. 16-85, the judgment of the trial court was overturned, which may expose the Republic to legal liability for the fair market value of the vessel at the time of the seizure, claimed by the owners to be \$4 million.

The handling of this matter in general appears to have been poor, and the proceeds received from the sale of the vessel have never, to my knowledge, been accounted for. It is in this aspect that I request your audit.

5. **M/V Micronesian Princess.** When the Trust Territory government began its decentralization, the Republic of Palau received the *M/V Micronesian Princess* as its share of the vessels owned by the TTPI government. Subsequent to that, the vessel underwent repairs in Kaoshiung, Taiwan, after which it was chartered by some Chinese nationals. Since then, we have not had reports of the whereabouts of this vessel and whether or not it has been sold.

The above-cited matters represent substantial amounts of money which, if recovered, could help alleviate the financial problems we face and perhaps avoid another fur-

loughing of government employees as our President has forecasted. Therefore, I wish to thank you for giving us the opportunity to suggest matters to include in the audits, and further respectfully ask that you seriously consider including them in your audit.

Sincerely yours,

JOSHUA KOSHIBA,
Senate President.

THE SPACE SETTLEMENT ACT OF 1988

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, 30 years ago, Congress passed the National Aeronautics and Space Act [Space Act] which created America's space agency. America has come far in the past three decades as a space-faring Nation and can be proud of its many space accomplishments over the years. Today, I challenge my colleagues and the Nation to prepare for a new phase in the space adventure. I am proposing legislation that will help foster the understanding that space is not only an arena for exploration and science, but also as an extension of our home, planet Earth.

My bill, the Space Settlement Act of 1988, expands on the Space Act of 1958 by amending it to include the following declaration:

The Congress declares that the extension of human life beyond Earth's atmosphere for the purposes of advancing science, exploration, and development will enhance the general welfare on Earth and that such extension will eventually lead to the establishment of space settlements for the greater fulfillment of those purposes.

The measure would require NASA to obtain, produce, and provide information relating to all issues important for the development and establishment of space settlements. These activities would be performed in close cooperation with other agencies, the private sector, academia, and the international community.

The legislation also calls for NASA to prepare a report every 2 years for Congress and the White House on various issues relating to the establishment of space settlements, including technology needs, techniques for remote resource utilization, site options, architecture options, economic models for financing, mechanisms for international cooperation, and sociological issues.

Mr. Speaker, we now have the capability to traverse the heavens in the pursuit of science and commerce. A half century ago, space travel was the dream of only a few visionaries. During the last three decades, the space program has come to symbolize the best that America can achieve. The accomplishments of the Apollo Moon Program remain unchallenged by other nations. The United States is unmatched in astronomy, astrophysics, and planetary science. We have also paved the way for the international communications satellite industry.

There is no arguing, however, that the *Challenger* accident, and the public scrutiny which followed, have taken a heavy toll on the civilian space program. Despite impassioned

pleas to restore the space program to its original stature, budgetary realities have overwhelmed NASA's attempts to carry on as a viable R&D agency, and budget fights in Congress threaten America's leadership in space. Even now, the Budget Committee and the Appropriations Committee are discussing draconian cuts in NASA's funding request for fiscal year 1989. In one budget cycle, we are about to give up on the future of America, letting it fall into the hands of other nations that understand the ultimate value of the space frontier. If we do not take action within the next few years to significantly improve funding for NASA, all that will be left of NASA will be a directionless program, a bureaucratic shell.

During this bleak hour in the history of NASA, I am proposing legislation which I hope will help revitalize the spirit of the space adventure. I am introducing legislation to set as a long-range objective for the Nation the establishment of self-sufficient human settlements on the space frontier. This legislation is not only appropriate, but I think my colleagues will agree, it is also a responsible action which will help direct the space program for the next century.

In fighting the near-term battle for the very survival of NASA, the topic of space settlements may seem almost inconsequential. I would strongly argue, however, that it is the lack of long-range planning that has significantly contributed to the current crisis in the NASA budget. We cannot adequately rationalize a healthy space budget without a clear understanding of the ultimate implications of current space projects.

Congress recognized this shortcoming several years ago, creating the National Commission on Space in 1984. The President then assembled an impressive 15-member commission headed by former NASA Administrator, Dr. Thomas O. Paine. In early 1986, the Commission released a visionary report on the next 50 years in space, titled "Pioneering the Space Frontier." The report boldly declared that America should take the lead in building "institutions and systems that make accessible vast new resources and support human settlements beyond Earth orbit, from the highland of the Moon to the plains of Mars." Throughout the report, emphasis on space settlements as an element of the future space program is evident. The report states, "There will be a need for long-term human settlements in orbit and, at some point, on the surface of the Moon and Mars." The Commission correctly observes, however, that space settlements in themselves are not the goal; however, they are a means toward achieving the broader goal of opening the solar system for science, exploration, and development.

Rather than responding directly to the Paine Commission's recommendations, NASA formed its own in-house study group headed by Dr. Sally K. Ride. The Ride report also contained bold recommendations for the future of the space program. The report describes four specific directions for the space program to take over the next 20 years: "Mission to Planet Earth," "Unmanned Exploration of the Solar System," "Outpost on the Moon," and "Humans to Mars." While the Ride report presents these specific options for space goals, it also makes reference to the eventuality of es-

tablishing space settlements: "Exploring, prospecting, and settling have always been part of our heritage, and will assuredly be part of our future." In another part of the report, settling Mars is described as "the ultimate goal" of human activity on Mars. However, I strongly agree with the Ride report that settling any part of the solar system should not be the next goal for NASA, but should only come after a broad program of planetary sciences, conducted with manned and unmanned vehicles.

In addition, the long-awaited national space policy issued by the White House in January articulates for the first time that a goal of the U.S. space program is to expand human presence and activity beyond Earth orbit. With this policy, the administration has opened the door for lunar bases and manned exploration of Mars. I do not think we can discuss Moon and Mars missions as national goals in and of themselves, however, without discussing the ultimate implications of those activities.

In the process of planning and executing missions to other planets, we will improve our ability to conduct scientific research, exploration, and commercial development in space. Logically, we will continue to improve our capability to work in space, whether in low Earth orbit or on Mars. These increased capabilities will certainly include an ever-growing human presence in space. As the number of people working in space increases, efforts will be made to provide them with comfortable habitats. In addition, simple economics will force space outposts to higher degrees of autonomy and self-sufficiency. At first, the space population could mine the lunar soil for oxygen for fuel and life support and use the raw materials for radiation shielding. Later, space researchers and workers could grow their own food in space. These activities would be consistent with current research at NASA and at other research organizations, which I will discuss later.

To follow this logic out over the long term, the ideal manned facility will provide all the needs of the space population independently of supply lines from Earth, and be sufficiently large to provide comfort for all inhabitants. This facility would then be called a space settlement.

If we can achieve this level of self-sufficiency in space operations, scientific research, exploration, and commercial activities will increase exponentially, while Government and private investment in space could actually decrease. Space settlements will be a safe and comfortable setting for scientists and engineers to conduct research or commercial activities. They would also provide a way station for crews exploring and prospecting more remote parts of the solar system. And in the broad sense, space settlements represent humanity's social evolution beyond the Earth.

What I have briefly described here, Mr. Speaker, is not a manuscript for a science fiction novel, but a rational sequence of events that most members in the space community understand as reasonable—and which many feel is inevitable. If we can agree that space settlements are a part of our future, I see no reason not to fully articulate that vision so that all Americans can understand for themselves

where our space program is leading us. In fact, I would have difficulty supporting manned activities beyond Earth orbit were I not certain that settlements would follow.

The Honorable Don Fuqua, former chairman of the Science, Space, and Technology Committee, and now president, Aerospace Industries Association, included the following recommendation in his chairman's report of December 1986:

Congress must face the reality then that our national well-being requires that we move into space with a methodical program of exploration and colonization, and that this must be a major priority for the best use of Federal funds.

Mr. Speaker, we are all aware that other nations are not waiting for the United States to lead the world into space. For example, the Soviet space program is far in advance of ours in many respects. The Soviets have had the permanently manned "Mir" space station in order since 1986—the United States space station will be lucky to be deployed by the mid-1990's. The Soviets have unveiled their Energia heavy-lift vehicle which dwarfs the capacity of the most ambitious of the launch vehicles that exist only on paper in the United States. One of the main reasons the Soviet Union has such an impressive space program is that it has a national vision of what the development of space means to the future of the country and the world. The Soviets, for example, have often expressed their determination to send men to Mars—in the Soviet Union, there is no discussion of whether to go, only when. One of the most revered figures in the history of the Soviet space program, Konstantin Tsiolkovski, wrote in 1903:

Mankind will not remain on Earth forever, but in its quest for light and space will at first timidly penetrate beyond the atmosphere, and later will conquer for itself all the space near the Sun.

The words of this early thinker permeate the Soviet philosophy toward space. The long-term vision keeps the Soviet space program on a steady, nationally supported course. Our Nation would certainly benefit from this kind of broad understanding and vision.

If the Soviets have "old" vision to keep them motivated, the Japanese are generating some "new" vision of space. Having bested Western nations to become the strongest economy in the world, the Japanese have now set their goals in space. Already Japan has distinguished itself in space science; has a viable launch capability; and is a partner nation in the international space station project. Also on Japan's drawing board, however, are heavy lift launch capability, development of a space plane, and lunar bases. One Japanese company is aggressively conducting feasibility studies for lunar bases. Literature for the Shimizu Corp. contains the following passage: "Involvement in the development and construction of space stations and lunar bases is one of Shimizu Corp.'s highest priorities." Shimizu literature also indicates Japan's long-term objectives of space factories, Mars base, and even space colonies. Human expansion into space is clearly part of the Japanese national plan. And we know from experience that when the Japanese put their efforts

toward an objective, they are very likely to succeed.

Other nations, especially the countries of Europe, are also moving along aggressively in space. The development of space will happen. This Nation must decide whether or not it wants to be a player in that development.

Mr. Speaker, without question we have a long way to go before we can even consider initiating the construction of space settlements. Indeed, it may take several generations of Americans before our technology and society are mature enough to undertake such a challenging project. My legislation makes no assumptions regarding where a settlement should be established, what it should look like, or when one should be built. The Space Settlement Act simply begins the process of examining the issues and technologies associated with space settlement. In this way, once we arrive at the point that space settlements become desirable, we will have a comprehensive body of work to draw on. Legitimate research is currently under way inside and outside of NASA to provide preliminary data which can be applied to space settlement development.

I want to stress that most of NASA's programs form the necessary prerequisites to any consideration of a space settlement project. Life science, for example, is clearly a critical area of research for any long duration manned activity in space. Unfortunately, this field has been a low priority of the space agency in the past. In the forward of a 1987 National Academy of Science [NAS] report, "A Strategy for Space Biology and Medical Science," Chairman of the NAS Space Science Board Dr. Thomas M. Donohue clearly points out:

*** if this country is committed to a future of humans in space, particularly for long periods of time, it is essential that the vast number of uncertainties about the effects of microgravity of humans and other living organisms be recognized and vigorously addressed. Not to do so would be imprudent at best—quite possibly, irresponsible.

The NAS report describes key areas of space life science which are ripe for research.

In its fiscal year 1989 budget request, NASA is asking for a new start, called Pathfinder, which would authorize a broad set of space missions and strengthen the technology base of the United States' civil space program. Pathfinder will develop the emerging, innovative technologies that will enable both new and enhanced missions, including an intensive study of the Earth, a return to the Moon, and piloted missions to Mars. The program is organized around four major goals: First, exploration; second, operations; third, humans in space; and fourth, transfers vehicles. These categories include research in areas such as optical communications, automated rendezvous and docking, cryogenic fluid depot, closed-loop life support systems, and high-energy aerobraking.

The Pathfinder program must be allowed to start at the full funding level requested by the administration. Other NASA programs explicitly tied to the development of space settlement include space transportation, the space station, and planetary exploration. Therefore,

meeting the requirements of the Space Settlement Act is consistent with the activities within the Agency. I would hope that NASA will view this legislation as a way to articulate broad vision on the future of the space program.

In the process of pursuing the objective of space settlements, however, we must not compromise space science and applications programs. Manned activity in space should never be justified on the basis of mere human acrobatics, but should be a means toward fulfilling the broad goal of science, exploration, and development. I would object to any effort to construct space settlements if such an effort preempted comprehensive programs in astronomy, planetary science, and Earth and environmental observations. I want to make it clear that this legislation is not meant to justify the manner space program to the detriment of space and Earth sciences. Indeed, it is for the greater enhancement of these research areas that I propose this challenge.

Significant research in technologies necessary for space settlements is also being conducted outside of NASA, and therefore is not often brought to the attention of Congress. For example, the Space Studies Institute [SSI] of Princeton, NJ, has been conducting privately funded research on a variety of space manufacturing technologies. Dr. Gerard K. O'Neill, president of SSI, is the most recognized expert on space settlement concepts. His book, "The High Frontier: Human Colonization of Space," published in 1977, triggered broad public interest in space colonization. In recent years, Dr. O'Neill has focused his energies in developing the technologies to make accessible the resources of the solar system for commercial and social development. Some of the research conducted at SSI includes linear accelerators to propel raw materials off the lunar surface into orbit for processing; techniques for chemical and physical processing of lunar material; and design work on space habitats and colonies. SSI is founded on the expectation that the resources of the solar system can be used to create a third industrial revolution based in space, fostering vigorous new economic activity.

Another spectacular research effort underway, which will provide vital data on self-sustaining habitats in space, is the privately funded Biosphere II project in Arizona. In January 1990, eight research scientists are scheduled to enter the airlock of Biosphere II and spend the next 2 years inside, completely cut off from the external environment. This amazing facility will be a testing ground for future space settlements, and will also provide greater understanding about the Earth's environment. Biosphere II will be populated with plants and animals, in what is hoped to be a balanced ecosystem that will sustain life over long periods. The large greenhouse-like building will contain a rain forest, agricultural land, a desert, and even an ocean. The results from this experiment could change forever our image of space habitats as cramped inhospitable modules.

The Federal Government's lack of vision has not dampened the motivation of researchers who are convinced that humanity can live for extended periods in space in a self-sufficient and comfortable environment. My legis-

lation attempts to bring this understanding to a broader cross-section of Congress and the general public.

Before concluding my remarks, I want to discuss another element of the Space Settlement Act of 1988, which is not based in the hard sciences. Although I believe the pursuit of science, exploration, and development is justification enough for eventually establishing space settlements, we cannot deny the place that space settlements will take in the context of human evolution. Viewed from a sociological perspective, the extension of human life into the solar system is part of the logical progression of human development. Science and history show us that humanity is fundamentally a migratory species. It is clear that we are at a point in our history where we both are at the limits of terrestrial geography and have the capability to gain access to the solar system. Expressed in these terms, there seems to be no question that the next step in the human adventure will take us into the solar system—not only as a few explorers, but as whole communities of people.

Mr. Speaker, I would hope that some of my colleagues will understand what I have said today, and appreciate the legislative action I am offering. The space age is only in its infancy. Without some idea of what it will grow into, we risk continued frustration and fragmentation in our space efforts. Space settlements can be a symbol to inspire generations of Americans to reach for the seemingly unattainable, and by reaching, achieve the impossible. I hope that my colleagues can begin to see space as the extended home of humanity—a place for the continued development of our species. I welcome all Members who share my vision of America's future in space to join me as cosponsors of the Space Settlement Act of 1988.

AMERICANS FAVOR NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE BUT MAY NOT BE WILLING TO PAY FOR IT

HON. JOHN EDWARD PORTER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, a survey was recently published by Health Management Quarterly that I believe is worth calling to the attention of all Members of Congress.

I want to thank Health Management Quarterly, a publication of the Baxter Foundation, for providing this insightful information and commend them for this excellent contribution to advancing the health policy debate in this country.

The results of the survey show that the American people want to provide quality health care to all, but are unwilling to finance it. Congress should take notice of this survey as we consider catastrophic and long-term care proposals that rely on increased Medicare premiums and tax hikes for their financing.

I urge all Members to read the following summary of this important survey.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

[From the Health Management Quarterly, March 7, 1988]

AMERICANS FAVOR NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE, BUT MAY NOT BE WILLING TO PAY FOR IT

DEERFIELD, ILL.—Two out of three Americans say they would favor national health insurance, but they seem unwilling to pay much for it.

Americans also think health care has gotten better over the past five years because of new technology and growing knowledge among doctors and hospital staffs. People are less happy, however, with today's medical fees.

Those are among the findings of a new nationwide survey commissioned by Health Management Quarterly and reported in the First Quarter 1988 issue of the magazine, to be released March 11. The poll examined public opinions about the health-care system and its performance in recent years.

The survey asked people to base their answers not on values or hearsay but on their own experiences or those of their families. Major findings included:

NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE

Sixty-eight percent favor "a national health insurance program funded by tax dollars, where everyone is guaranteed as much health care as he or she needs."

WILLINGNESS TO PAY

Only 19 percent say they would be willing to pay more than \$50 a year in higher taxes or increased insurance premiums to cover the cost of health care for those who cannot afford it. Twenty-nine percent say they would pay nothing, and 18 percent say they would be willing to pay only \$25 a year or less.

QUALITY OF CARE

Fifty-six percent think the quality of care is better now than it was five years ago. Twenty-three percent think it's the same and 11 percent say it's worse. The highest perceptions of quality came from those who had recently undergone hospital care.

QUALITY UNDER NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE

Twenty-four percent think quality would improve under a national health insurance program, and 33 percent think it would stay the same. Thirty-four percent believe it would get worse.

TECHNOLOGY

Eighty percent agree that "health care is better because better technology and equipment is used to diagnose and treat patients than was used five years ago." (Sixty percent agree strongly.)

PROVIDER COMPETENCE

While 67 percent say they're more likely to question a doctor's orders or seek a second opinion, 62 percent say that doctors and hospital staff members "know more about what they're doing than they did five years ago."

MEDICAL FEES

Fifty-nine percent say the fees charged for medical care are less "reasonable" than they were five years ago.

LONG-TERM CARE

Sixty-six percent say they're aware that current government programs do not cover costs for long-term health care. A smaller number, 54 percent, are at least somewhat confident that they could pay for such care—implying that they may not realize that care in a nursing home can cost \$20,000 to \$30,000 a year.

Americans have "mixed emotions" toward health care, according to Gene Pokorny, president of Cambridge Reports Inc., the Massachusetts opinion-research firm that conducted the survey. Previous studies have found large majorities in favor of high-quality health care for all Americans. This survey differed in asking what they'd actually be willing to pay for such coverage.

"Saying you favor equality in health care and footing the bill are two different things," according to Philip Justin Smith, editor of HMO. "That disparity is of specific note in an election year when none of the presidential candidates has staked out a complete policy on health care."

"Most want assurance that care will be available to everyone, but few seem willing to pay additional taxes for it," said James H. Sammons, M.D., executive vice president of the American Medical Association, in response to the survey. "Care must be available to all who need it, and the best way to assure its financing is through a combination of public and private programs."

"As government payments for care to the elderly and poor lag far behind the cost of delivering the services, everyone's access to quality health care hangs in the balance," said Carol M. McCarthy, Ph.D., president of the American Hospital Association, also responding to the survey findings. "It is time for the American public to speak out in support of a national health policy for adequately financing government health programs."

Health Management Quarterly is a publication of The Baxter Foundation, the charitable arm of Baxter Healthcare Corporation. Baxter develops, manufactures and markets worldwide a diversified line of health-care products, systems and services.

The survey consisted of telephone interviews in November 1987 with 1,508 people selected to represent the U.S. population 18 years of age and older. The statistical margin of error is plus/minus 2.5 percentage points in 19 out of 20 cases.

SACRIFICES AND SURVIVAL

HON. JAMES J. FLORIO

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. FLORIO. Mr. Speaker, on May 17, 1987, the U.S.S. *Stark* was the victim of a misguided missile in the Persian Gulf where it was on maneuvers patrolling the gulf and ensuring the freedom of access to the Persian Gulf sea lanes. Thirty-seven sailors died in that attack on the *Stark*. Many more were injured and the consequences of destruction echoed beyond the confines of the gulf.

For the families of the sailors in the gulf, the tragedy and the potential that exists every day for tragedy in the gulf is not so distant as the miles between the shores of the United States and the gulf would indicate.

Indeed, for every sailor who suffered in that attack on the *Stark*, there is a family and group of friends who suffered as well.

In the First District of New Jersey, the family of Navy 1st Lt. Vincent G. DiAntonio, Jr., is one of those families whose lives were affected by the attack on the *Stark*.

Injured in the attack on the U.S.S. *Stark*, Lieutenant DiAntonio was one of those lucky

enough to survive. Thirty-seven of his crewmates were not that fortunate.

But in the hours after the Exocet missile had penetrated and devastated the *Stark*, Lieutenant DiAntonio did not let his injuries impede his service or his dedication to his fellow soldiers.

Despite his injuries, he ably assisted his crewmates. For 16 uninterrupted hours, Lieutenant DiAntonio led the survivors of the *Stark* in efforts to protect his crewmates. At the helm, in the course of saving the ship, he saved lives.

Although sailors and soldiers are routinely expected to face the extraordinary in their daily service, Lieutenant DiAntonio and the others aboard the *Stark* testify to the fact that their service is anything but the ordinary. Within 16 hours, the sailors of the *Stark* had sacrificed more of themselves and were willing to sacrifice more.

Lieutenant DiAntonio did not let his injuries stop him from fulfilling his commitment to his crewmates and to his country. In the tradition of all servicemen and women, Lieutenant DiAntonio was a witness to tragedy and a testament to courage.

Less than 1 week before the first anniversary of the attack on the *Stark*, Lieutenant DiAntonio will be discharged from the Navy, having fulfilled his time commitment to the Navy.

But in the time since he joined the Navy, he has given more than his fair share as a citizen to the service and to the service of his Nation. As a sailor, he has done his duty and he has done it well.

The community has already recognized the efforts that Lieutenant DiAntonio has rendered for his Nation. Just as his family, his friends, and as importantly, his crewmates aboard the *Stark* have witnessed, Lieutenant DiAntonio follows a tradition of commitment.

I commend Lieutenant DiAntonio for his service. Along with the community, his friends, and family, as the following article demonstrates, Lieutenant DiAntonio has earned these commendations:

[From the Camden Courier-Post, Feb. 29, 1988]

NAVY HONORS BARRINGTON SAILOR

(By Rose Venditti McIver)

Navy 1st Lt. Vincent G. DiAntonio Jr. of Barrington has been awarded the Navy Achievement Medal for "Heroic achievement" aboard the USS *Stark* after it was bombed last May in the Persian Gulf.

DiAntonio, who has won other Naval citations during his three-year stint, was serving as supply corps officer aboard the *Stark* when it was bombed by two Iraqi air-to-surface missiles. Thirty-seven sailors were killed. Others were wounded—including DiAntonio, who suffered a leg injury.

Despite his wound, DiAntonio was lauded for working 16 "grueling" hours after the attack. He assembled crews to fight the fire and assess the ship's damage "without regard to (his own) personal injury."

The citation, which was signed by then Navy Secretary James Webb, also praised the sailor for working with medical personnel to care for and evacuate wounded sailors.

"Lieutenant DiAntonio's superior performance, perseverance and steadfast dedication to duty reflected credit upon himself and were in keeping with the highest tradi-

tion of the United States Naval Service," according to the citation.

"We're very proud of him," his father, Vincent G. DiAntonio Sr. said. "We couldn't be more proud."

Vince Sr. said his son is at Ingalls Shipyard in Pascagoula, Miss., where he and other crew members are repairing the *Stark*. The repair may be completed by late summer, he said.

The junior DiAntonio is scheduled to be discharged on May 12—five days short of the one-year anniversary of the *Stark* bombing.

"He won't be going back out there again," Vince Sr. said. "I have to say I'm happy about that."

Vince Jr. hopes to get an accounting job for a local firm when he's discharged this spring, his father said. Vince Jr. has a bachelor's degree in accounting from Villanova University.

SWEAT MEETS GLITZ AT THE LOS ANGELES MARATHON

HON. WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, recently, I had the pleasure of viewing a spectacular sports event, the Los Angeles marathon. It is a race worth seeing and I believe it is well serving the Los Angeles community.

I am happy to take this opportunity to share the following article from Business Week, "Sweat Meets Glitz at the Los Angeles Marathon" about the founder of this event, Mr. William A. Burke.

SWEAT MEETS GLITZ AT THE LOS ANGELES MARATHON

(By Patrick E. Cole)

William A. Burke is the perpetual telephone dealmaker. Cruising the Los Angeles freeways a few days ago in his Mercedes—equipped with two phone lines—Burke sewed up a deal for African television rights for the city's marathon on March 6. A few weeks earlier, while fishing off Australia in his 40-foot boat, Burke used his ship-to-shore phone to wrap up a promotional deal for the footrace, which he founded three years ago. "People think I have a phone growing out of my ear," Burke confesses.

No matter, for those phone calls have paid off grandly. An upstart compared with the much older New York and Boston marathons, the L.A. event has proved itself amazingly quick off the mark, thanks to Burke's savvy marketing. By lining up such corporate backers as Seven-Up, John Hancock, Mercedes-Benz, and Pan Am, he has made it the nation's most heavily sponsored long-distance race.

The 17,000 runners expected this year will make it second only to New York in number of participants. Its \$4.5 million budget is already the biggest. Burke even wooed an army of 15,000 volunteers to help organize the race. And while only New York gets national TV coverage now, Burke aims for that in a year or two—when he thinks the West Coast race will lead the marathon pack.

Burke's success has stunned other marathon promoters—and opened some eyes to the possibilities of corporate sponsorship. Bicycle races and even music festivals have started hustling for sponsors, Burke-style,

says Lesa Ukman, editor of Special Events Report, an industry newsletter that tracks corporate sponsorship. "I'm jealous," admits Fred Lebow, president of the New York Road Runners Club Inc, owner of the New York marathon. Lebow concedes that he lacks Burke's flair as a salesman. "I'm going to the race to steal whatever ideas I can from Burke," he says.

To his evident success, Burke insists there are no great secrets—except a penchant for thinking up sponsorship tie-ins and then selling hard. Thus the L. A. race has an official vitamin supplier and an official messenger service.

Burke, 48, learned his promotional skills as commissioner of tennis for the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics, a heavily commercialized event that produced a \$214 million profit. The goal of keeping alive the city's Olympics euphoria gave Burke the idea for a marathon. Burke, who is wealthy, claims he runs the event just for the fun of it—for now. He owns 52 percent of Los Angeles Marathon Inc., which this year should break even. Once it starts generating a profit, Burke could start cashing in. That profit potential makes the L. A. race unusual: Both the New York Road Runners and the Boston Athletic Club, which runs the grandfather of all U.S. 26-mile races, are not-for-profit entities.

Burke's career is that tired-but-true story: Small-town boy makes good. Born in Zanesville, Ohio, he attended college on a tennis scholarship. He got a doctorate in education from the University of Massachusetts—where he became friends with classmate Bill Cosby. Later, Burke started a wine company and formed a gold mining outfit with friends in West Africa. He sold that to a small, independent oil company. Then, Burke says, he made millions buying and selling California commercial real estate.

Aside from corporate sponsors, Burke has used Hollywood's glitz to build his marathon. Along the route, 10 "entertainment centers," sponsored by Eastman Kodak Co., will offer music and dancing to amuse the crowd. Burke has persuaded 10 celebrities to run in the race, including Corbin Bernsen from "L. A. Law" and Jack Scalia of "Dallas." And he's throwing a "Pre-Race Carbo-Load Dinner" for 4,000 guests at a huge 20th Century-Fox studio sound stage. Burke's personal show-biz ties have helped. His neighbors include actor Karl Malden and composer Burt Bacharach. He also numbers among his friends Muhammed Ali and actress Cicely Tyson.

NOTHING SHABBY

To those who would criticize his methods as overly commercial, Burke has a simple answer. "If an event is not economically viable," he says, "it will not endure." Some also complain that Burke's marathon lacks the world-class runners of other races. Burke refuses to lure top marathoners with cash bonuses—also known as "appearance money"—as rival races do. Moreover, many top runners are sitting out this year's L. A. race to save their strength for Olympic marathon trials in May. But there's nothing shabby about the prizes awaiting the winners of Burke's race: \$25,000 and a Mercedes to male and female winners. A world-record time would reap a \$100,000 bonus.

Ever the promoter, Burke is cooking up more events for Los Angeles, including gala Fourth of July and New Year's Eve celebrations. And he's planning a star-studded centennial celebration for nearby Orange County. With such extravaganzas in the

works, Burke may have to add more phone lines in his car.

THE RETIREMENT OF DR. JOHN Q. TAYLOR KING

HON. J.J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, the career of Dr. John Q. Taylor King is truly one of outstanding perseverance, dedication, and accomplishment. The city of Austin, the State of Texas, and educators throughout our country will lose a strong voice for advancement of higher education when he steps down as chancellor and president of Huston-Tillotson College later this year.

Although born in Memphis, TN, John King was raised in Austin, TX, where he graduated from Anderson High School. He continued his education at Fish University in Nashville, TN, where he earned a bachelor of arts degree. He returned to Central Texas and earned a bachelor of science degree from Huston-Tillotson College. He continued his postgraduate studies, earning a master of science degree from DePaul University in Chicago and a Ph.D. from the University of Texas at Austin. He holds a Phi Beta Kappa key.

Dr. King entered World War II as a private, rising through the ranks to serve as a captain in the Pacific, and retired from the U.S. Army as a major general in 1983. Since the conclusion of the Second World War, he served in Alaska, Japan, Korea, Okinawa, Germany, Hawaii, and many other Army and Air Force installations.

His passion for education continued in the service, and he completed courses at several senior service schools, including the Command and General Staff College, the Air War College, the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, the logistics executive development course, and the SROC at the Army War College. He has received numerous military awards and decorations, and former Texas Gov. Mark White promoted him to the rank of lieutenant general in the Texas State Guard.

Dr. King joined the staff of Huston-Tillotson College in 1947, and held the post of professor of mathematics for several years. He served as dean of the college for 5 years, and was appointed president in 1965 and chancellor in 1987.

In recognition of his outstanding contributions to the field of higher education, he has received an honorary doctor of laws degree from both Southwestern University and St. Edwards University, as well as honorary doctor of human letters degrees from both Austin College, in Sherman, TX, and Fisk University.

I could fill much of this RECORD with Dr. King's civic activities, contributions to his community, and the awards he has received in recognition of these efforts. He is a life member of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, a member of Sigma Pi Phi, Phi Delta Kappa, several professional and honor societies, and is a 33d degree Mason and a Shriner.

Dr. King has been honored with alumni awards from Huston-Tillotson College and Fisk University, the Carl Bredt Award from the

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

University of Texas College of Education, the Brotherhood Award from the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the Roy Wilkins Meritorious Award from the NAACP, and the Martin Luther King, Jr., Humanitarian Award. He is reknown as a writer, a civic leader, and one of the most highly respected citizens of our community and our State.

But these accomplishments and awards do not fully illuminate this man's worth. Dr. King's life serves as unrefutable proof that a person's possibilities are limited only by his desire to reach for the stars and his dedication to achieve his dreams. By his own example, he has extolled young people, black and white alike, well-to-do and poor alike, to have the courage to dream and the heart and the will to make their dreams come true. For many, he has made their dreams possible by giving them the most powerful tool they possess—the power of a good education. If a mind is truly a terrible thing to waste, Dr. John King has shown us all that a mind is also a miraculaous resource to develop.

It has been my good fortune and great pleasure to have known and worked with Dr. John Q. Taylor King, and I want to offer him my personal thanks and congratulations. I wish him a long and happy retirement with his wife, Marcet, his three sons and his daughter, and his nine grandchildren. We are richer for his dedication and his service.

ILIFF R. McMAHAN'S RETIREMENT

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to your attention the March 25, 1988, retirement of Iliff R. McMahan, a public servant I have known since we were students at the University of Tennessee. I am happy to say he has been one of the most helpful, dedicated civil servants it has been my privilege to know. As a public servant, Mr. McMahan served the Federal Government more than 33 years. He also served as an enlisted man in the U.S. Navy in the Pacific during World War II; Regional Information Officer in Nashville, TN, with the U.S. Department of Labor; Associate Director of the WIN Program on the White House staff of President Gerald Ford; and, Associate Director of the Division of Information and Executive Assistant to the Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board.

Iliff's working life has been devoted to serving the public and this he has done well. In addition to his Federal service, he has been a one-room schoolteacher, and served his home county as the duly elected circuit court clerk for almost 10 years. He now leaves the Federal Government with an outstanding record.

Also, in between his public service, he has been an editor and publisher of three weekly newspapers and worked as an apprentice machinist with ALCOA.

An always cheerful, upbeat person, I will miss my good friend's optimistic outlook and disposition. And I am sure there are others in

the Washington area that will miss him and his attitude toward life. He is that type of man.

It is my understanding he will return to his native Tennessee and resume his newspaper career as a columnist on his hometown paper, The Newport Plain Talk, 1 of 10 excellent newspapers owned by the Sun Publishing Co. He is one of the best when it comes to finding unusual human interest stories. Further, Iliff is one of the most interesting and entertaining writers it has been my privilege to know.

I am of the opinion that I express the sentiments of all who know Iliff, when I wish him a long and happy retirement.

He has earned it.

THE PANHANDLE/SOUTH PLAINS WATER QUALITY IMPROVEMENT ACT OF 1988

HON. BEAU BOULTER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. BOULTER. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing the Panhandle/South Plains Water Quality Improvement Act of 1988.

This bill will put into place the recommendations contained in the report of the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Reclamation, issued in June 1985 for dealing with increasing levels of salinity in surface water at Lake Meredith, which is located in the Panhandle of Texas.

My bill will allow the Bureau of Reclamation to enter into engineering, construction, and operational agreements with the Canadian River Municipal Water Authority for the control of saltwater inflow into the Canadian River. This inflow is mainly caused by a shallow brine aquifer, located near Logan, NM, which "pumps" water almost as salty as seawater, into the Canadian River many miles upstream of the Lake Meredith Dam at Sanford, TX.

Mr. Speaker, since the midsixties Lake Meredith has been a vital source of water for nearly one-half million west Texans. The Canadian River Municipal Water Authority is funded by and serves the water needs of the citizens of Amarillo, Borger, Brownfield, Lamesa, Levelland, Lubbock, O'Donnell, Pampa, Plainview, Slaton, and Tahoka, TX. Since the first filling of Lake Meredith, however, high salinity levels have affected water quality.

The cost of control of this problem has been estimated at about \$6.4 million. I consider it a significant indication of the seriousness with which the citizens of west Texas view this problem that they are willing to pay nearly 70 percent of the costs of the project.

I urge my colleagues to support this bill which is of vital importance to the great people of west Texas.

Below is the text of the Panhandle/South Plains Water Quality Improvement Act of 1988:

A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, test, and maintain the Lake Meredith Salinity Control Project, New Mexico and Texas.

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

SECTION 1. AUTHORIZATION TO CONSTRUCT, OPERATE, TEST, AND MAINTAIN.

The Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, test, and maintain the Lake Meredith Salinity Control Project, New Mexico and Texas, in accordance with the Federal Reclamation Laws (Act of June 17, 1902, 32 Stat. 788, and Acts amendatory thereof or supplementary thereto) and the provisions of this Act and the plan set out in the June 1985 Technical Report of the Bureau of Reclamation on this project with such modification of, omissions from, or additions to the works, as the Secretary may find proper and necessary for the purpose of improving the quality of water to the Canadian River downstream of Ute Reservoir, New Mexico, and entering Lake Meredith, Texas. The principal features of the project shall consist of production wells, observation wells, pipeline, pumping plant, brine disposal facilities, and other appurtenant facilities.

SEC. 2. CONSTRUCTION CONTRACT WITH THE CANADIAN RIVER MUNICIPAL WATER AUTHORITY.

(a) **AUTHORITY TO CONTRACT.**—The Secretary is authorized to enter into a contract with the Canadian River Municipal Water Authority of Texas for the design and construction management of project facilities by the Bureau of Reclamation and for the payment of construction costs by the Canadian River Municipal Water Authority. Operations and maintenance of project facilities upon completion of construction and testing shall be the responsibility of the Canadian River Municipal Water Authority.

(b) **CONSTRUCTION CONTINGENT ON CONTRACT.**—Construction of the project shall not be commenced until a suitable contract has been executed by the Secretary with the Canadian River Municipal Water Authority of Texas and the State of New Mexico has granted the necessary permits for the project facilities.

SEC. 3. PROJECT COSTS.

(a) **CANADIAN RIVER MUNICIPAL WATER AUTHORITY SHARE.**—All costs of construction of project facilities (estimated at an amount not to exceed \$6,400,000) shall be advanced by the Canadian River Municipal Water Authority as the non-Federal contribution toward implementation of this Act. Pursuant to the terms of the contract authorized by section 2, these funds shall be advanced on a schedule mutually acceptable to the Canadian River Municipal Water Authority and the Secretary, as necessary to meet the expense of carrying out construction and land acquisition activities.

(b) **FEDERAL SHARE.**—All project costs for verification, design preparation, and construction management (estimated at an amount not to exceed \$2,000,000) shall be nonreimbursable as the Federal contribution for environmental enhancement by water quality improvement to assist in improving a Federally-constructed water supply project, subject to appropriation of funds.

SEC. 4. CONSTRUCTION AND CONTROL.

(a) **PRECONSTRUCTION.**—The Secretary shall upon entering into a mutually acceptable agreement with the Canadian River Municipal Water Authority proceed with preconstruction planning, preparation of designs and specifications, acquiring permits, acquisition of land and rights, and award of construction contracts pending availability of appropriated funds.

(b) **TERMINATION OF CONSTRUCTION.**—At any time following the first advance of funds by the Canadian River Municipal Water Authority the Canadian River Municipal Water Authority may request that the Secretary terminate activities then in progress, and such request shall be binding upon the Secretary.

(c) **TRANSFER OF CONTROL.**—Upon completion of construction and testing of the project, or upon termination of activities at the request of the Canadian River Municipal Water Authority, the Secretary shall transfer the care, operation, and maintenance of the project works to the Canadian River Municipal Water Authority or to a bona fide entity mutually agreeable to the States of New Mexico and Texas. As part of such transfer, the Secretary shall return unexpended balances of the funds advanced, assign to the Canadian Municipal Water Authority or the bona fide entity the rights to any contract in force, convey to the Canadian River Municipal Water Authority or the bona fide entity any real estate, easements, or personal property acquired by the advanced funds, and provide any data, drawings, or other items of value procured with advanced funds.

SEC. 5. AUTHORIZATION.

There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as are necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

CHILD SURVIVAL PROGRAM

HON. GUS YATRON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. YATRON. Mr. Speaker, last week the U.S. Agency for International Development released its third report to Congress on the Child Survival Program.

As chairman of the House Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations, which authorizes appropriations for the child survival fund, I believe the activities detailed in USAID's report demonstrate an unparalleled commitment on the part of the United States to save the lives of children. At a time when critics are suggesting that the period of achieving a bipartisan foreign policy has long since past, it is heartening to see a genuinely bipartisan effort to promote child survival.

Under the leadership of the USAID's Administrator, Alan Woods, and his capable and committed staff, the Child Survival Program continues to engender wide support from both sides of the aisle. The report details the outstanding cooperation between USAID, private voluntary organizations, and international organizations such as UNICEF, in combating the diseases which claim the lives of 14 to 15 million children every year.

USAID is a partner in a worldwide strategy to reduce infant mortality rates to 75 per 1,000 births by the end of the century. The task is enormous but achievable. The major enemies to children are measles, whooping cough, diphtheria, tetanus, and polio. Further, diarrhea, which causes dehydration, claims approximately 3 to 4 million children's lives yearly.

USAID health care interventions designed to attack these lethal diseases include oral re-

hydration therapy, immunization, nutrition, and child spacing. While methods are part of an overall international strategy and should therefore be readily available, the community of nations must do much more. Establishing health care systems and the technical assistance to deliver medical supplies in targeted areas of the world require strong support and cooperation on the part of host governments. Countries such as Morocco, Egypt, and El Salvador, just to mention a few examples, have been recipients of USAID child survival programs and have demonstrated a strong governmental commitment toward achieving our common goals.

Mr. Speaker, USAID's report is too extensive to insert for the record but I would call on all our colleagues to obtain a copy and read it carefully. The report demonstrates that while our efforts are succeeding, approximately 40,000 children a day continue to die from preventable diseases. This sobering reality indicates that an even greater resource commitment by the United States may be necessary if the child survival revolution is to be won.

AIDS PUBLIC EDUCATION ACT

HON. RON WYDEN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. Speaker, every day 38 people die of acquired immune deficiency syndrome [AIDS], while countless others unknowingly acquire the virus. To date, close to 50,000 AIDS cases have been reported to the Centers for Disease Control, and the Public Health Service estimates that more than 250,000 other people could be infected with the virus.

AIDS has overwhelmed the health care community, disrupted our cities' social service networks, and instilled fear throughout the Nation. Despite the attention AIDS has gotten in the last 2 years, our ability to fight the disease remains limited. There is no vaccine and no cure.

What we do know, however, is that educated individuals are responsible individuals. In areas where large-scale public education campaigns have been mounted, the spread of AIDS is slowing. Currently, education and precautions against high-risk behavior are our only weapons against this deadly disease.

Mr. Speaker, today I'm introducing the AIDS Public Education Act to require the Department of Health and Human Services to institute a large-scale public education effort through our Nation's workplaces and schools. The bill authorizes grants to agencies with experience in health education for seminars on AIDS and how it is transmitted. It requires grant recipients to collect and disseminate information on AIDS prevention and transmission, the medical resources necessary to treat AIDS, financial assistance for the treatment available, and the legal rights that exist with respect to AIDS infection.

Mr. Speaker, this bill will get the word out about AIDS through the environments individuals are most familiar with. As the Surgeon General, C. Everett Koop, pointed out on Oc-

tober 13, 1987, the workplace is one of the most effective settings in which to begin AIDS education programs. Most large businesses have personnel offices or benefit managers skilled at educating workers about medical and health policies and workplace hazards.

Unfortunately, few employers have instituted AIDS education programs or developed internal policies to help deal with employees with AIDS. A recent survey by TeleSearch Inc., found that only 29 out of 100 large firms had policies for dealing with employees with AIDS.

Those firms that have instituted company policies, however, have had tremendous success reducing workers' fear of AIDS. In a small New York accounting firm, an employee began showing symptoms of AIDS. After the boss brought in an expert to talk to other workers about the disease and their fears, the coworkers of the person with AIDS dropped their demands that the sick man be fired and helped share his workload during his illness. In this case, and in many others like it, everyone benefited from basic information about AIDS—employees, employers, and the infected individual.

Mr. Speaker, it's time the Congress took action to provide accurate information to all Americans about AIDS and the risk it poses to each individual. My legislation authorizes \$75 million for workplace education. Of course, much more will be necessary to adequately inform all Americans of the threat of AIDS. Only with accurate information about their risks can individuals take necessary and appropriate preventive measures to insure against the spread of this deadly disease.

I urge my colleagues to join me and the distinguished chairman of the Health and Environment Subcommittee, Mr. WAXMAN, in sponsoring the AIDS Public Education Act.

CONCERN OVER DIVIDED SPOUSE CASE

HON. E. CLAY SHAW, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Speaker, on several occasions I have expressed my concern over a divided spouse case which has been under consideration by the Soviet Union for 8 years. The couple in question is Dr. Galina Vileshina, who resides in my district in Fort Lauderdale, FL, and her husband, Pyatras Pakenas, who resides in Vilnius, Lithuania.

Dr. Vileshina emigrated from Lithuania in 1980 with assurances that her husband would follow in 6 months. That was 8 long years ago. Since then, Mr. Pakenas has been denied an exit visa 18 times.

Mr. Pakenas' situation has become quite desperate. He is in need of heart surgery, and his health is deteriorating at an alarming rate. Dr. Vileshina fears for her husband's life. In addition, Dr. Vileshina's own health has begun to fail due to the constant stress over this matter. Her desire to be reunited with Mr. Pakenas dominates her very existence.

Pyatras faithfully writes to Galina at least once every day, and recently Galina translated some of those letters for the Fort Lauderdale

News/Sun Sentinel. Today I would like to begin to share some of those letters with my colleagues and demonstrate their importance, and in coming days I will share others from important days in their lives. This husband and wife's only goal is to spend the rest of their lives peacefully together. Here are the first two excerpts:

[Galina's birthday]

May 11, 1987.

My love, my dear, I have today a bottle of Pepsi Cola, and I drink for you, for your health, for your happiness . . .

Don't cry if you don't have something in your life. It has to be like this. Everybody in his life has something not enough. It's very bad if somebody has everything and this person doesn't want anything more. This shows that this person has finished his life. But in your life, everything will be in the future . . .

Nobody will tell me not to kiss you in another day.

[The first letter after Galina's only visit.]

November 8, 1987.

Again, I sit down for my letters. What can we do? The time of our conversation gone, and we have to begin our conversation by letters.

My sunshine, you became sunshine in direct and indirect means. The whole time you were here, the sun was shining. Yesterday, when you left, it began to snow . . . Your visit changed everything in my life. Now it's very difficult to understand what it's worth.

All day yesterday, it was very difficult. I couldn't find a place to sit down, what to do, where to go.

I came back to the hotel. I ate. I couldn't eat. Then, I watched TV, and I couldn't do this, too. And I left the hotel and I went to the station because I couldn't stay in this room where I was with you together.

It was so lonely, that I couldn't find a place to survive. I went to the station, and then I went to the streets. It was very cold.

THE ABC'S OF CHILD CARE

HON. ROBERT G. TORRICELLI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. TORRICELLI. Mr. Speaker, our society today faces a fundamental need to grow up into the 20th century and into the responsibilities of the 20th century's labor force. For every mother who chooses to join the labor force, the need for a place to take care of the children grows by at least one family.

Indeed, fully half of the mothers who now have jobs also have children under the age of 6. Two years ago, that meant that over 10 million children were left without the supervision and care of their parents. In fewer than 10 years, the number of children at home whose parents will be at work will have increased to an estimated 15 million.

Fifteen million children under the age of 6 will live in homes where their parents—sometimes single mothers—will be out of the house bringing home the daily wage.

The question remains, "who will take care of those children? And who will ensure that the best care is provided?"

All across the Nation, the need is there, particularly in the cities, where more mothers have joined the labor force.

For those parents, the choice between employment and taking care of their children should not be a choice that they are forced to make. There really is no choice since parents must bring home the bacon and someone should be there to feed the bacon to the children.

In the most recent hearings that have been held on the question of day care for the young, the scope of the situation and the nature of the dilemma have been examined. And to deal with the need for adequate day care, Congressman DALE KILDEE has introduced legislation addressing this need. The ABC bill that he has introduced sets out to do two things, that is to provide child care through Federal funding of day-care centers and to ensure that the day care that is offered at those day-care centers is up to par.

While there are over 10 million children today with a need for day care, the room for those children just is not there. The current capacity of the Nation's day-care centers has enough space for only one-tenth of the children who need that day care.

The Act for Better Child Care Services would help create additional centers to meet the demand for child care facilities. Through funding, the Federal Government can ensure that the children who need day care can have access to programs that will not just babysit them but will help them and foster their development.

The need for child care is not going to go away. In bottom-line terms, the funds from the Act for Better Child Care Services is an investment ensuring that working mothers and parents have the opportunity to go to work knowing full well that their children are being taken care of in the best possible hands.

Recently, Congressman JAMES J. FLORIO has been examining the need for day care, particularly in New Jersey. His editorial on the need for day care in the Nation and on what the Federal Government's role in meeting that need should be follows:

[From the Record, Mar. 2, 1988]

NATION MUST HELP WORKING PARENTS

(By James J. Florio)

Back in the simple, sanguine days of the Fifties, America developed a view of the family in which Dad went out to work and Mom stayed home to raise the kids. For the most part, the picture was true: In 1950, 18 percent of married women with children under 18 were in the labor force. Today, that version of the American family is largely confined to black-and-white reruns of "Leave It to Beaver."

Today, some 64 percent of married women with children under 18 are working. Some women are working because they want to. Others have to. Either way, the women in the workplace has become a reality in our society. Yet it has taken us too long to catch onto that reality.

The United States is far behind other Western nations when it comes to providing quality child care for working parents. While some 9 million mothers of children under 6 are working, fewer than 800,000 day-care slots are available.

To many people, day care conjures up an image of a roomful of infants. And while that often is the case, children of all ages are in need. Throughout the nation, "latch-key" kids come home from school to spend several hours in an empty house while their parents are at work.

Some youngsters can handle it, but others waste their time watching soap operas or take to the streets and shopping malls. Meanwhile their parents performance on the job is affected by their concern about their kids. What a waste of potential for children and adults.

There is evidence that the situation is changing. People who are concerned about children have made their voices heard, and they have forged the issue into the political agenda.

Dr. T. Berry Brazelton, the noted pediatrician, is touring the country to raise consciousness on child care. In New Jersey, the state Child Care Advisory Council, headed by Ciro Scalera, recently has completed a comprehensive plan that assesses future needs.

In Congress, legislation is gathering momentum amid signs that the administration finally is backing down from its stand against federal action to promote child care. A bill known as the Act for Better Child Care, of which I am a cosponsor, has a good chance of passage in this election year.

The legislation would set the federal government, to the task of improving, promoting, and expanding day-care and after-school programs. Through the development of model programs, it would give states the foundation for helping parents who work. And it would set basic health and safety standards for childcare centers.

What can you say about an issue that unites organized labor and the chamber of commerce? I say it's about time.

But federal participation is only part of the answer. This is going to take a far-reaching partnership that must include businesses, labor, schools, religious groups, communities, and parents. It will require creative thinking such as that displayed recently in Maryland, where local officials agreed to plans for a major office complex when the developer promised to provide day care for workers there.

Making quality child care available and affordable also means training and encouraging people to become part of what should be a burgeoning new profession.

Testifying almost two years ago before a hearing of the New Jersey Child Care Advisory Council, Bettie Witherspoon, a day-care center director, said, "It is difficult, but not impossible, to instill a series of professionalism in your staff when you know in your heart that parking-lot attendants earn more money than they do."

We must give providers of child care the standards, respect, and compensation that they deserve.

It isn't hard to come up with reasons why affordable child care is a necessity, whether for low-income families whose day-care costs keep them from rising above the poverty line or seemingly well-to-do parents for whom the basics of previous generations are now luxuries.

Our nation will be better able to compete in the global economy, if our workers can concentrate on their jobs, knowing that their kids are all right. Skilled female workers will be able to fill key jobs, because they won't be caught in the Catch-22 of work or family. Youngsters will be better prepared for their future, if their days are filled with solid, developmental educational activities.

But this is more than an issue. It's a challenge. As we head toward the 21st century, the way we care for our children will determine what kind of a society we're going to have.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

HON. JIM MOODY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. MOODY. Mr. Speaker, during the week of March 7, 1988, I was unavoidably absent for three votes.

Had I been able to record my vote, I would have voted "aye" on rollcall No. 26, to approve the Journal; "aye" on rollcall No. 27, to approve the Journal; and "aye" on rollcall No. 28, passage of House Resolution 399 calling for the resignation of General Noriega of Panama.

OUR LATIN NEIGHBORS CONTINUE TO CALL FOR PEACE

HON. GEO. W. CROCKETT, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. CROCKETT. Mr. Speaker, while the Reagan administration invents new scenarios to convince the Congress of the need for more assistance for war in Nicaragua, our friends and allies in Latin America continue to call for peace.

Following the February 26 meeting of the Contadora Group and the Group of Support, the Foreign Ministers issued a communique supporting the "contributions made by the Presidents of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua to the peace process," by signing the Guatemala accords. The communique also stressed "the need to put a stop to the assistance given to irregular forces operating in the region." Moreover, the Foreign Ministers reiterated their pledge to continue their role as mediator "in the continuation of negotiations pertaining to issues pending in the agreement on security matters."

Mr. Speaker, we would stop trying to develop new formulas to pass more assistance for the Contras, and instead focus our energies on supporting the peace process in Central America. The Presidents of the Contadora and Support Group nations, in their communique following the Group of Eight Meeting in Aca pulco, stated that "peace and stability in Central America are priorities for our governments." The Reagan administration and this Congress must also make peace in Central America—not renewed aid to the Contras—the priority.

The full text of the communique follows:

COMMUNIQUE ISSUED BY THE MINISTERS OF THE CONTADORA GROUP AND THE GROUP OF SUPPORT, IN CARTAGENA DE INDIAS, COLOMBIA, ON FEBRUARY 26, 1988

At their meeting in the city of Cartagena de Indias, Colombia, on February 26, 1988, the Ministers of Foreign Relations of the Contadora Group and the Group of Support

evaluated the situation in Central America as well as the outlook for the region's peace process. At the closing of their meeting, the Ministers issued the following communique:

1. We emphasize, once again, the great value of the contributions made by the Presidents of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua to the peace process, by signing the document establishing the procedure for achieving a solid and lasting peace in Central America. Depending on the maintenance and the strengthening of this political will is Central America's potential for achieving democracy, peace, development, and self-determination, as well as removing the obstacles that are still hindering the true solution to the region's controversies.

2. This solution takes on special relevance with regard to the urgent need for progress in terms of the security of the Central American isthmus, since the region is still suffering from armed confrontations, an arms race, destabilizing actions and violations of international law.

3. Recent developments indicate that there is a growing conviction of the absolute need to put a stop to the assistance given to irregular forces operating in the region. We hope that this trend will gain in support, and that all commitments contained in the Guatemala Procedure be fulfilled in a unilateral, unconditional and immediate manner, both with regard to the consolidation of pluralistic democracies in the region, and concerning security. Such is the desire expressed by the Central American presidents themselves.

4. In order to achieve such objectives, and in answer to the call made in San Salvador by the Central American Governments for a meeting of the Security Commission this coming March, the Contadora Group reaffirms its willingness to participate (in its role of mediator and with the endorsement of the Group of Support) in the continuation of negotiations pertaining to the issues pending in the Agreement on security matters, according to point seven of the Guatemala Procedure:

(a) Commitments with regard to armaments and troops.

(b) Commitments concerning military maneuvers.

(c) Issues regarding procedure and operation of the by-laws or statutes of the Commission for Control and Verification in Matters of Security.

(d) Steps for the disarmament of the irregular forces that wish to benefit from the amnesty laws.

5. The success of said negotiations, as well as the entire peace process, requires not only the political will of the Central American governments, but also strict compliance, where applicable, with the Guatemala Procedure by the countries with ties and interests in the region.

6. The progress of the peace process demands the maintenance of an impartial and objective procedure for verification of compliance with the commitments made; and for this purpose it is essential to have an adequate framework of national and international mechanisms.

This verification is particularly important in regard to security issues and issues concerning political commitments leading to the creation of conditions for the consolidation of democracy in the region.

The report of the International Follow-up and Verification Commission has presented a clear and impartial description of regional conditions. The commitments remaining un-

observed require an immediate need to agree on new specific ways to carry out the verification process.

7. Economic and social deficiencies are a threat to the stability of political institutions in Central America, and a hindrance to achieving independent and sovereign development. There is an urgent need to expand economic cooperation with the region, and to contribute in solidarity with the reconstruction of the Central American countries' economies. Consequently, the Contadora Group and Group of Support call for the participation of the international community in an international emergency program of cooperation with the Central American countries, according to the terms of the Acapulco Commitment.

8. We reaffirm the legitimate demand that the juridical order be fully respected as the essential basis for peaceful coexistence in the region. Also, we are convinced that the peaceful solution of the Central American conflicts is a legitimate aspiration of the Latin American countries, as stated by our presidents in the Acapulco Commitment.

"Peace and stability in Central America are priorities for our governments. At risk are not only the consolidation of democracy and development following the Central American countries' own self-determination, but also the national interests of our countries."

Consequently, we, the Contadora Group and Group of Support, are expressing today our firm determination to continue seeking regional peace, in an active manner and following a jointly accepted criterium.

TRIBUTE TO UNIVERSITY OF SCRANTON BASKETBALL TEAM

HON. JOSEPH M. McDADE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. McDADE. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to the University of Scranton men's basketball team, which made it to the finals of the NCAA Division III Final Four Tournament before losing to Ohio Wesleyan.

Rarely is a coach bold enough to predict outstanding accomplishments for his team before the season begins. But that is just what University of Scranton coach Bob Bessoir did last November, when he stated that the royals would make the Final Four. The team compiled an impressive 23-2 won/loss record during the regular season and won 6 games in the NCAA tournament before encountering Ohio Wesleyan.

The men's basketball team from the University of Scranton did much more than provide enthusiastic athletic entertainment for the community this year. During the 1988 season this group of athletes displayed tremendous pride, class, and sportsmanship throughout. I speak for the entire community when I say thank you for representing the University of Scranton and the entire region this season.

This group of young men dedicated the season to the late Rev. John Fitzpatrick. The qualities of togetherness and friendly competition exhibited by this team would have made Reverend Fitzpatrick very proud.

A special note of praise goes to University of Scranton coach Bob Bessoir and his assistants, Bob Walsh, Canio Cianci, and Bob

McGoff, as well as athletic trainer John Robertson. They have been inspirational in their methodic and caring work with the team this year.

Congratulations to the athletes, coaches and staff of the University of Scranton's 1988 men's basketball team.

SUPPORT OF DEMOCRACY IN PANAMA

HON. JOSEPH E. BRENNAN

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. BRENNAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of democracy in Panama. Confusion reigns in that country today, and it is imperative that the United States do all it can to work for a free and democratic Panama.

Panama's crisis centers on one person—General Manuel Noriega. The evidence against Noriega shows that he has been involved in selling narcotics, running guns, laundering money, selling visas, committing election fraud, and in the murder of Doctor Hugo Spadafora.

His leadership of the Panamanian defense forces, and position as Panama's ruthless, nonelected head of state, has resulted in the violence we see today. And, I must add, this violence is responsible for a major threat to the security of the Panama Canal—a waterway important to the world's security.

The Panamanian people, longtime friends of the United States, believers in free enterprise and democracy, want only what freedom-loving people around the world want:

Elections without fraud resulting in a democratically elected government;

Respect by the government for the rule of law;

Respect by the government for human rights; and

Freedom of speech and expression.

With America's assistance, Panama's tomorrow can be brighter.

By forming a vital link between the America's Atlantic and Pacific fleets, the Panama Canal gives our Navy the chance to respond quickly to any threat to the world's freedom.

Indeed, the canal carried many of the supplies needed by U.S. Forces in Korea and Vietnam. During the Cuban missile crisis, a contingent of marines traveled through the canal to be on the ready. More recently, in 1983, the U.S.S. *New Jersey* went through the canal to join a multinational flotilla off the coast of Lebanon.

In 1985, more than 17 million tons of United States grain went from Atlantic and gulf ports through the canal to markets in the Far East. For many manufacturers in the eastern half of the United States, the Panama Canal is the most economical route to ship products to Asia. And for western producers, the same holds true for shipping their products to Europe.

The security of the Panama Canal is essential to the economic and military security of the free world. General Noriega's continued position as Panama's leader endangers the Panama Canal.

Congress and the administration are united in speaking out for the ouster of General Noriega.

America has placed funds for Panama in an escrow account.

I, along with my colleagues on the Panama Canal Subcommittee, pressed the United States administration to continue the pressure for reform.

We must move in the direction of helping Panamanians to develop the ideals of freedom and democracy shared by America and all free peoples of the world. Working with the OAS and the countries of Central and South America, we can do just this.

A prosperous people living in a society which guarantees its freedom and human rights is the world's greatest guarantor of security and peace.

Let us work together for democracy in Panama.

PENNSYLVANIA'S OUTSTANDING VOTERS

HON. WILLIAM F. GOODLING

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to bring to your attention, and to that of my colleagues, four citizens from the 19th District of Pennsylvania who were inducted into the Voter Hall of Fame. There are now a total of 31 inductees in the Pennsylvania Hall of Fame from my district.

Membership is open to all registered Pennsylvania voters who have voted consecutively in every November election for which they were eligible for at least 50 years. The candidates must also encourage the registration of new voters.

Lyndon B. Johnson once said:

This right to vote is the basic right without which all others are meaningless. It gives people—people as individuals—control over their own destinies.

I am especially proud of the four citizens from my district who have shown through the years that the right to vote is a most powerful instrument in participating in our Government's legislative process.

Congratulations to Frank H. Menaker and Romaine S. Menaker, of Spring Grove, George A. Anderson, Jr., of York, and Mary Perry Null, of York, for their outstanding record of citizenship.

TRIBUTE TO LODWRICK M. COOK, CHAIRMAN OF ARCO

HON. TOM LANTOS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, those of us who serve here in the Congress of the United States frequently deal with business leaders—men and women of varying abilities and varying commitment.

Today, Mr. Speaker, I would like to pay tribute to one of the truly outstanding leaders of the American and international business community—Lodwick M. Cook, chairman of the board of directors and chief executive officer of ARCO.

Although he has been chief executive officer of ARCO only since January 1, 1986, he has been a leader of the ARCO corporate team since he became vice president in 1970. The task he assumed as CEO was a particularly difficult one—he had to complete a major restructuring of the corporation at a time when the oil industry was under severe economic pressures. An indication of just how well Lod Cook has succeeded as CEO of ARCO is in this week's edition of *Forbes* magazine. ARCO, says *Forbes*, "may well be the best-managed U.S. company in the game."

Lod Cook's leadership, interests, and accomplishments go well beyond the corporate boardroom, however. He has an interest in education, youth, and minority programs. He serves as chairman or board member of the National Junior Achievement, the Aspen Institute, and the Los Angeles Music Center, to name only a few.

Under his leadership, the ARCO Foundation has pursued a number of important and beneficial cultural projects of interest to all Americans. I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to one of the most recent of his valuable contributions to our Nation's culture.

In the Rotunda of the Cannon House Office Building is a display of paintings by contemporary American artist Alice Lok Cahana, "From Ashes to the Rainbow: A Tribute to Raoul Wallenberg." The exhibit, which my wife Annette and I are sponsoring together with Lod Cook, has been made possible through the generosity of the ARCO Foundation.

At the age of 15, Alice Cahana was brutally uprooted from her birthplace in Sarvar, Hungary, and began a year and a half of terror in Nazi concentration and labor camps. Alice and her father, who was saved through the efforts of Swedish diplomat and humanitarian Raoul Wallenberg, are the only members of her family to survive. This exhibit is her personal testimony of that experience.

The ARCO Foundation, under the leadership of Lod Cook, provided a grant to Skirball Museum of Hebrew Union College in Los Angeles to organize this exhibit and arrange for it to travel to Washington, as well five other cities in the United States.

Furthermore, Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to report that I have been able to arrange for Lod Cook and the ARCO Foundation to donate the panels on which the art is being displayed to the House of Representatives. These striking panels were custom-built for the Rotunda and will be a wonderful addition to that space. As my colleagues know, having appropriate means to display art in the Cannon Rotunda has been a continuing problem. Now—thanks to Lod Cook and the ARCO Foundation—it will be possible to display other outstanding art here on Capitol Hill.

Mr. Speaker, it is a great pleasure for me to call to the attention of my colleagues the accomplishments and the outstanding civic commitment of Lod Cook. I invite my colleagues to join me in paying tribute to him.

MAINE WEST HIGH GIRLS WIN CHAMPIONSHIP

HON. HENRY J. HYDE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, recently, the students and supporters of Maine West High School in Des Plaines, IL, had cause for celebration when their girls' basketball team, one of the Nation's highest ranked teams, won the Illinois State championship.

Throughout this season the Warriors met and defeated their opposition by large margins and entered the championship tournament with an undefeated record. In a semifinal game against Chicago's Marshall High School, a team also undefeated in regular season play, the Warriors won the game at the final buzzer with a difficult baseline shot—an unforgettable moment for all who were present. The Warriors continued on in the championship tournament to defeat York High School for the State Class AA title.

Coached by Derril Kipp, the team competed often in games in which all members participated in play, a somewhat unusual practice that permitted victory to be shared by the entire group. They are a talented group of people who finished where they deserved—first.

The team included among its members Moira H. Kennelly, Kerin W. Joerg, Mary E. Spielman, Susanne M. Hardiman, Stephanie E. Pinske, Nancy M. Kennelly, Kristin M. Lund, Anastasia Georganas, Diana M. Raupp, Margarette Georgoulis, Heather D. Ertel, Cristy L. Nelson, and Kristine L. Bonney.

I want to also extend my heartfelt congratulations to Coach Kipp, Athletic Director Dave Winter, Principal James Coburn, and Dr. James Elliott, superintendent of district 207.

Des Plaines has reason for celebration.

INTRODUCTION OF COMPENSATION COST-OF-LIVING ADJUSTMENT BILL FOR VETERANS' COMPENSATION AND DIC

HON. DOUGLAS APPLIGATE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. APPLIGATE. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing legislation to effect a statutory 4.5 percent cost-of-living adjustment in veterans' service-connected disability compensation and survivors' dependency and indemnity compensation benefits. This percentage is consistent with the Congressional Budget Office baseline for fiscal year 1989 and with the recommendation of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs submitted to the Budget Committee on March 10 of this year. The effective date for this increase would be December 1, 1988. Last December, we increased these benefits by 4.2 percent in line with the increase provided for Social Security benefits and nonservice-connected VA pension.

The bill also contains an amendment to title 38, United States Code, that would conform

marriage requirements for all potential DIC recipients. This provision was passed by the House last year as part of H.R. 2945, but it does not appear that it will be accepted by the other body.

The bill would also extend and expand the eligibility for participation in the temporary program of vocational rehabilitation for certain veterans in receipt of nonservice-connected disability pension. The temporary program is set to expire on January 31, 1989. This bill would extend the duration of the program period until January 31, 1992. This is a good program and one which ultimately will pay for itself by helping veterans get off the VA's pension rolls and resume productive lives.

Finally, the bill contains a provision to extend the authority of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to operate the VA regional office in the Republic of the Philippines. Under current law this authority is set to expire on September 30, 1988. This bill would provide authority for the operation of the regional office until September 30, 1991.

NATIONAL AGRICULTURE WEEK

HON. NORMAN D. SHUMWAY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. SHUMWAY. Mr. Speaker, March 20 through 26 has been designated as "National Agriculture Week" and, as one Member with the privilege of representing a highly agricultural district, I am pleased to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the Nation's farming community.

Agriculture's contributions to America's economy are significant, through both production and the creation of jobs. Additionally, we are blessed with both quantity and quality of harvests, enabling us to feed and clothe the people of the world.

California's 14th District produces a rich and diverse variety of specialty crops, including asparagus, almonds, cherries, peaches, apricots and walnuts, just to name a few. It is the most rural district in the State, and it recognizes the value of its farming community.

I am honored to have this opportunity to recognize American agriculture, and I strongly urge my colleagues to join with me in encouraging appropriate tribute during this special week.

UNIVERSAL AID FOR CHILDREN HONORS LEE KLEIN WITH 1988 KATHRYN LEHMAN WEINER ADVOCATE OF CHILDREN AWARD

HON. WILLIAM LEHMAN

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. LEHMAN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I would like to congratulate Lee Klein of North Miami Beach, FL, on being selected as the recipient of the Kathryn Lehman Weiner Advocate of Children Award for 1988.

Founded in memory of my late daughter Kathryn Lehman Weiner, who devoted her life to educating and improving the well-being of children, this will be the 10th annual award to be given in Kathy's memory. Universal Aid for Children, Inc., a licensed non-profit adoption agency in my congressional district, founded and directed by Lorri Kellogg, will present the award at its annual luncheon on March 26, 1988.

Selected from many other fine nominees, Lee Klein is a very special person, and I am most pleased that she will be honored this year. Lee is a founding member of the Deed Club which has created our Nation's only totally free, comprehensive medical care clinic for children with cancer. The Deed Club Children's Cancer Clinic opened in 1965 at the University of Miami's Jackson Medical Center. Lee Klein's love and concern for these children kept her at the clinic long hours but brought here beyond the clinic into the homes of the young patients' families. Her support for a full family-oriented program involved here in finding solutions for the awesome psychological and financial devastation caused by this number one killer disease of children. She set out and succeeded to do the impossible—to develop a total care program for cancer-stricken children at no cost whatsoever to the families regardless of race, religion, socioeconomic status or nationality.

Over 350, youngsters, newborns to 19 years of age, from Dade, Broward, Monroe, Collier counties as well as the Caribbean and South and Central America are receiving long-term, multidisciplinary medical treatment at the Deed Club Children's Cancer Clinic. Lee Klein insists that no child coming to the Deed Clinic will ever be denied the life-giving treatment he or she deserves.

Lee's leadership, creative genius, financial wizardry, and administrative expertise has over the years catalyzed the formation of a totally free ancillary network of programs to compliment the total care medical program at the clinic. These programs include the Deed Club Love and Wishes Program, Family Calendar of Events, Family Friend, The Deed Club Lodging (at Ronald McDonald House), the Deed's Camp F.I.R.E., the first summer oncology camp in South Florida, as well as a research and education program in pediatric oncology at the University of Miami School of Medicine.

Universal Aid for Children, Inc., whose program not only places adoptable children in loving homes but has an active medical care and relief program for children in need, has made an excellent choice in Lee Klein. She has been the guiding light in making it possible for the community to have the Nation's only totally free, family-oriented total care program for children with cancer supported entirely by volunteers and private funds. For this profound contribution and the limitless love she has given to so many in need, and for all her accomplishments, I am honored to applaud Lee Klein as the recipient of the 1988 Kathryn Lehman Weiner Advocate of Children Award.

On previous occasions, Lee has been the recipient of numerous other awards, including the University of Miami School of Medicine Helping Hands Award, Humanitarian of the

Year, 1987; Dade County Outstanding Citizen of the Year, 1987; University of Miami School of Medicine Helping Hands Award Woman of the Year, 1986; Miami Herald Spirit of Excellence Finalist, 1985; Greater Miami Chapter Woman's American ORT, Outstanding Woman of the Year, 1981; National Jefferson Award for Outstanding Service to the Community, 1980; Zonta Club of Greater Miami 1, International Year of the Child, Outstanding Service Benefiting Children, 1979, and Women in Communication, Community Headlines Award, 1974.

To Universal Aid for Children, Inc., its executive director, Lorri Kellogg, to its dedicated employees and board of directors, I also wish to congratulate you on the very fine job you are doing. Your dedication to our children, and to our future, is commendable.

TRIBUTE TO DONALD L. WATSON

HON. VIC FAZIO

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. FAZIO. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to Donald L. Watson, current deputy and former interim director of the California Department of Transportation who was recently named "Black Engineer of the Year" by the deans of America's black colleges.

Mr. Watson received the President's Award for his outstanding contributions in science, engineering, and technology. Over 150 individuals were nominated from all over the country, yet, Mr. Watson's impressive civil engineering background and his superb work as director of the 16,000-person California Department of Transportation was recognized by the selection committee as worthy of this prestigious award. As I am familiar with Mr. Watson's dedication and commitment to his job, I know that a finer man or individual could not have been chosen.

I would also like to take this opportunity to commend Mr. Watson for his work as head of Caltrans, and thank him for his assistance on road and highway projects in the Fourth Congressional District of California.

I know that my colleagues join with me in offering sincere congratulations to Donald L. Watson for being named "Black Engineer of the Year," and wish him the best of luck in the future.

THE RENEWABLE ENERGY AND ENERGY CONSERVATION COMMERCIALIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT ACT

HON. PHILIP R. SHARP

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. SHARP. Mr. Speaker, today I rise on behalf of myself and my good friend and colleague the Honorable MARILYN LLOYD to introduce the Renewable Energy and Energy Conservation Commercialization and Development Act.

The purposes of this legislation are to reaffirm the importance of renewable energy and energy conservation in our national energy policy; to orient DOE's renewable energy research more toward achieving commercial applications; to provide stable authorization levels for the renewable energy and energy conservation research and development programs over the next 3 years; and to expand commercial markets for renewable energy products both here and abroad.

THE IMPORTANCE OF RENEWABLE ENERGY

Renewable energy has multiple benefits for our economy. The most obvious benefits are environmental. While renewable energy technologies do have some environmental impacts, by and large they are not as severe as those of more conventional technologies. This becomes increasingly important as we learn more each year about the dangers of the "greenhouse effect" caused by carbon dioxide buildup and the severe institutional difficulties with storing radioactive waste.

Renewable energy technologies also offer us diversity and therefore security. The more different types of energy we rely on, the less chance that any one of them will be interrupted or curtailed. Diversification is a sort of insurance policy against interruption. Renewables also contributes to energy security more directly to the extent that they displace imported energy supplies.

Finally, renewables help with the trade deficit. Not only do they displace imported energy, but perhaps more importantly, they provide a growing international opportunity for exports. This last point is worth expanding upon.

The international market for wind turbines today is roughly \$200 million per year and is expected to rise to \$1 billion per year by 1994 and \$3 to \$6 billion by the year 2000. But, in the last 7 years the share of the U.S. wind machine market captured by foreign imports has gone from zero to 70 percent.

The international market for photovoltaics is currently \$500 million and is expected to increase to \$5.4 billion by the year 2010.

Not all this benefit is in the future either. These technologies are contributing right now. Wind generated 1.7 billion kilowatt-hours in California in 1987, roughly enough electricity for the residential customers in a city the size of San Francisco. Geothermal contributes roughly 1,600 megawatts of capacity in California. Photovoltaics are currently cost effective in remote applications such as buoys, communication towers and oil and gas wells and pipelines. Between 5 and 10 percent of all homes in the United States rely primarily on wood for home heating.

FEDERAL FUNDING FOR RENEWABLE ENERGY

Funding for renewable energy has been steadily declining since the beginning of the 1980's. For example, DOE renewable energy R&D funding dropped from \$647 million in 1980 to \$103 million in 1987 and \$97 in 1988. This comes at a time when international markets are expanding and other countries are increasing their spending in these areas.

In 1988, for the first time, the United States Government will spend less on research for photovoltaics, \$35 million, than either Japan, \$43 million, or West Germany \$61 million. The same is true in wind research where the

United States will spend \$8.5 million while West Germany and the tiny Netherlands will spend \$10.2 and \$9.7 million, respectively.

While the deficit compels us to limit spending in all areas, cuts of the size we have seen in renewable energy are not the way to maintain our technological leadership and international competitiveness.

THE IMPORTANCE OF ENERGY CONSERVATION

Efficiency has already saved the United States tremendous amounts of energy. Between 1973 and 1985 the GNP grew 33 percent while energy use has stayed steady at 73 quads. If the economy had continued to grow at that same level of energy use per GNP, we would have used an additional 25 quads. That 25 quads is more energy than the total new supplies from all other forms of energy since 1973. It also represents an estimated \$150 billion savings per year.

Compared to historical trends, our savings in oil and gas alone equal roughly half of OPEC's current capacity. This reduction in demand was a major factor in reducing OPEC's grip on the market.

There is much additional efficiency left to exploit in the economy. Various studies estimate there are between 5 and 18 million barrels of oil equivalent per day of efficiency improvements available in our economy. Many of these savings are available at fractions of the cost of new supply.

Many exciting efficiency technologies are available to us such as heat mirror glass, electronic ballasts for fluorescent lights, cars in the 30 to 50 miles per gallon range, and refrigerators, air conditioners and furnaces that use far less energy while offering the same comfort and convenience.

Just as renewable energy can help with the trade deficit, so can energy efficiency. Obviously, greater efficiency can reduce imports. In addition, lower energy costs mean lower production costs and hence more competitive U.S. products.

There is also a burgeoning world market for efficient products including appliances, efficient motors and motor controls, automobiles and computerized energy management systems. Federal research and development can help us enhance our competitive edge in these growing markets.

Conservation R&D spending has undergone the same kind of cutbacks that have occurred in renewable energy. Funding dropped from \$344 million in 1980 to \$162 in 1987 and \$156 million in 1988.

WHAT THIS BILL DOES

This bill requires DOE to set technical performance goals, with consultation from industry, for the year 1995 for its photovoltaics, solar thermal, wind, biofuels, solar building, ocean energy systems and geothermal research programs.

It also requires DOE to propose three renewable energy joint venture demonstration projects for the year 1990. The Federal Government shall contribute 50 percent of the cost and industry will have to contribute 50 percent.

These provisions are in response to industry criticism that the Renewable Energy R&D Program is too oriented toward long-term research and not oriented enough toward nearer term research that firms can use to de-

velop commercial products. A delicate balance needs to be struck between doing basic research which private firms would not undertake but may never have commercial application and development work that can lead to direct commercial applications.

The bill authorizes higher, 3-year funding levels for the Renewable Energy and Energy Conservation Research and Development Programs.

The 3-year authorization levels have two purposes. One is to redress the imbalance which has occurred in absolute funding levels through cuts in recent years. Hence, the small increases in budget authority. Second, by providing authorizations for 3 years we hope to provide some stability for the researchers and firms depending on them. Such stability should lead toward better planning and efficiency for these programs.

The bill authorizes higher, 3-year funding levels for the Committee on Renewable Energy, Commerce and Trade [CORECT]. CORECT is an interagency task force that coordinates the Government's effort to encourage markets for renewable energy products.

The bill requires DOE to provide a strategic plan that shows how its research and development plans help achieve the policy goals in the national energy policy plan [NEPP]. The intent is to more closely tie the allocation of DOE resources in research to the goals specified in the NEPP. We should have some idea of the relative ranking of how much energy is potentially going to be produced or saved per dollar spent.

CONCLUSION

Renewable energy and energy conservation are too important to give up on now. We need to build on the progress we have already made through more emphasis on commercial application and by stabilizing funding for these programs. We welcome our colleagues' support and cosponsorship.

OUR PROMISE TO BIKINI

HON. RON DE LUGO

OF THE VIRGIN ISLANDS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. DE LUGO. Mr. Speaker, the Compact of Free Association Act of 1985 established a new political relationship between the United States and the Marshall Islands, which have been a part of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

In reporting the legislation, the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs felt that it was imperative that it provide for United States trusteeship obligations to be fulfilled as the islands entered a new political status.

One of the most important aspects of completing trusteeship business in the Marshall Islands that remained was to restore beautiful Bikini Atoll for its original inhabitants. As Members will recall, Bikini had been despoiled by testing of atomic weapons and the people of Bikini have spent some 40 years waiting to be returned to their homeland.

The executive branch settled a lawsuit in 1985 with the people of Bikini Atoll with a promise to clean up Bikini. The Compact Act

put this promise into law with a pledge that the full faith and credit of the United States was committed to restoring Bikini to "habitability."

With this background, I would like to share with my colleagues an editorial regarding some recent actions of the executive branch that run contrary to the history of this subject. I therefore insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point an editorial from the March 11, 1988, issue of the Marshall Islands Journal. I agree wholeheartedly with the facts and sentiments expressed in the editorial.

The editorial follows:

[From the Marshall Islands Journal, Mar. 11, 1988]

AN UNLIKELY STORY

MBC Television aired National Geographic's special feature on the Bikinians, "Nuclear Exiles," last week. The program expressed with striking clarity the roadblock the Reagan administration is throwing up against the proposed nuclear cleanup. Though the U.S. signed an agreement in 1985 to underwrite a nuclear cleanup and rehabilitation at Bikini, U.S. officials appear to be suffering from a serious case of amnesia. The film interviews the leading U.S. official on Micronesia, Jim Berg of the State Department, telling the world that the cleanup is entirely the Bikinians' affair, and if they want to the people can certainly use their Compact compensation money to pay for it. What rubbish. Besides its moral obligation, the U.S. has a legal commitment documented in black and white to restore Bikini to its former inhabitants. Compact compensation money is entirely separate from the U.S. commitment to clean up Bikini. Why the Director of the Office of Freely Associated State Affairs spends his time issuing this type of disinformation is beyond us. The State Department's time could be more constructively spent debating and analyzing cleanup options now under consideration by other U.S. agencies and the U.S. Congress.

OAKLAND PRIVATE INDUSTRY COUNCIL

HON. RONALD V. DELLUMS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. DELLUMS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to bring to the attention of my colleagues the fine work of the Oakland Private Industry Council. Particularly, I would like to describe activity that Oakland PIC has undertaken to focus attention in the community on the outstanding contributions of older workers.

The second week in March has been proclaimed "Employ the Older Worker Week" by Gov. George Deukmejian. The purpose is to acknowledge the worth of the mature worker and is a means of publicly recognizing the expanding role the older worker plays in the labor force. Several national and statewide demographic trends indicate that there is a potential labor and skills shortage on the horizon—a shortage that can be filled by the older worker.

America is growing older: In 1980, one of every five Americans—over 46 million—was 55 or older.

The older population will continue to grow as the birth rate declines and as the "baby boomers" age. By the year 2000, people 65 and older will represent 13.1 percent of the Nation's population; in 2030 it could reach 21 percent.

According to a recent AARP survey, 36 percent of all retirees would rather be working. Additionally, 75 percent of those 65 or older who still work would prefer to continue working, even if they could afford to retire.

More companies are bringing new jobs to California than to any other State: therefore, new jobs are being created at an ever increasing rate.

Older workers are increasingly staying in or reentering the labor market, but many experience difficulty due to poor education, outdated skills, limited work experience, health restrictions, and age-bias.

The Oakland Private Industry Council has responded to the challenges faced by the older job-seeker by implementing PIC Experience, a JTPA employment and training program for low-income Oakland residents aged 55 or older. Over a period of 15 months, PIC Experience has assisted approximately 200 seniors strengthen their employability skills, learn to market themselves, and most importantly, learn to believe in themselves.

PIC Experience is playing a role in changing employers' attitudes toward hiring older people. Employers are now realizing that older workers are dedicated, loyal, and committed employees with productivity rates equal to younger employees in most jobs.

In celebration of Employ the Older Worker Week, the Oakland PIC is sponsoring a contest designed to find Oakland's oldest worker and a worker over 65 who is making an especially unique or noteworthy contribution. A total of 16 winners will be honored at a luncheon paid for by contributions of three PIC board members. The luncheon event, scheduled for March 31, will be attended by 100 community leaders and other older worker advocates. Extensive media coverage will serve to raise the community's awareness of the continuing contribution the mature offers, as well as publicize the service of the Private Industry Council.

Once again, Mr. Speaker, I congratulate Oakland PIC for this fine effort and am pleased to share with my colleagues the news of their continued fine work.

PRIEST HELPS FOCUS:HOPE LIVE ITS NAME

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, this past week, a Detroit News columnist paid tribute to Father William Cunningham, a Catholic priest whose achievements on behalf of the city's poor, uneducated, and unemployed have been legion there since 1968.

Father Cunningham was recently named an Outstanding Michiganiaan by the newspaper's

weekend magazine staff, and columnist Pete Waldmeir tells us a bit about why that honor has been so appropriately designated. I am pleased to share it with my colleagues, particularly those from urban areas, who will most assuredly benefit from Father Cunningham's message of "Hope":

[From the Detroit News, Mar. 9, 1988]

PRIEST HELP FOCUS:HOPE LIVE ITS NAME

(By Pete Waldmeir)

The Rev. Bill Cunningham canned several workers at the 25-acre Focus:HOPE industrial complex on Oakman Boulevard a few weeks ago.

It sounds out of character for the Catholic priest, who each week busts his beads to see to it that thousands of Detroit's less fortunate are fed, clothed, employed and educated. But he says it might be the best thing that ever happened to them.

And if it's not, it may be the best thing that's happened to the more than 400 others who still have their jobs because they know that he's serious about them knuckling down to help him help them help themselves.

"We have something really strong going here," says Fr. Cunningham, who founded Focus:HOPE in the wake of the 1968 Detroit riots and who had almost single-handedly built it into a multimillion-dollar industrial-educational complex and a clearing-house for various charitable groups.

"Our works has to survive and to survive, it has to have cooperation from everybody. What we're trying to do is make getting and holding a job a goal in itself; something that people want to strive to achieve, to be proud of.

"So we set some standards and we establish some rewards. In order to make our companies profitable—and keep operating and benefitting everyone involved—we ask the workers who can't read, for instance, to attend free classes and make an attempt to learn. It makes sense. The better they can read, the farther they can advance.

"We conduct the classes, make them convenient and dozens attend. But if they don't attend—and don't learn to read on their own somewhere else—then we have no choice but to let them go. Believe me, it's not easy. But it's the fair way, because the others see what's going on and realize we don't play favorites."

There are many advantages to working at the companies in the Focus: HOPE industry mall, which occupies most of the north side of Oakman between Rosa Parks Boulevard and Linwood, buildings that once belonged to General Motors and Vickers. Among them is the opportunity for workers' kids to attend Focus: HOPE's Center for Children, a bright, inviting educational center, which opened in September and will be the beneficiary of a \$150-a-ticket "Hocus: Focus" magic party from 7 to 10 p.m. Friday.

The party, to be catered by 21 Detroit-area restaurants ranging from Opus One and Van Dyke Place to Little Caesars and Mrs. Morgan's Boarding House, hopefully will raise enough to get the center rolling at full tilt before summer.

The center provides care for infants as young as 6 months old, preschool training through 6 years, after-school "latch key" for kids from 6 to 12. It is designed for the offspring of Mall employees. But Fr. Cunningham has some interesting theories about how enrollment should be handled.

"We're going to try to recruit about 20 percent of the children from outside the Focus: HOPE workforce," he explained.

"One of the values we try to instill in workers in the mall industries is that they are not only helping themselves but that because they are being productive, their children can have a chance at a better life, too. So if, say, a young mother who has an infant and is working at her first job with us knows that her child is in the same class with the kids of people who have achieved something in life, she'll work hard to stay employed with us—if for no other reason than to give her child that added chance.

"Does that make sense? I guess we'll find out, won't we?"

Fr. Cunningham's goal: 240 toddlers and preschoolers, including 90 infants. "They tell me that's a lot of kids," he said smiling. "But what would I know about kids, right?"

THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF JONATHAN DAYTON HIGH SCHOOL

HON. MATTHEW J. RINALDO

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. RINALDO. Mr. Speaker, I wish to offer my congratulations to the student body, faculty, and administration of Union County Regional High School District No. 1 Board Members of Jonathan Dayton Regional High School in Springfield, NJ, which celebrates its 50th anniversary on March 30. Thousands of its graduates have gone on to successful careers in college, the business world, the professions, and in community service.

It remains a school of enormous opportunity and up-to-date curriculum for new generations of Americans in Union County, NJ.

Union County Regional High School District, one of the first regional high school districts in New Jersey, prides itself on being a quality comprehensive high school district. It provides college preparatory programs, business education, vocational education, and a large adult school program. In addition, it has been approved as a local area vocational district by the NJ State Department of Education. It also serves as a receiving district for special education students from numerous counties. Both handicapped and adult students find it a ready place for learning. It is truly a comprehensive and compassionate school district.

Jonathan Dayton first opened its doors in September 1937, to 849 students from the communities of Berkeley Heights—then known as New Providence Township, Clark, Garwood, Kenilworth, Mountainside and Springfield.

The school building on Mountain Avenue, with its distinctive clock tower, was named for Jonathan Dayton, a distinguished New Jersey patriot and statesman who, at the age of 27, had the distinction of being the youngest delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1787.

The construction of the new school, and the new regional high school district, was expedited by a shortage of secondary education facilities in Union County. Prior to 1937, the six communities which now form the regional district had to send their high school students to neighboring towns to continue their education. By the mid-1930's, finding a school in which to place their students became an annual

problem. Eventually, only three school districts could accommodate a limited number of students from the regional communities.

After a careful 2-year study, and on the advice of the State Department of Education, the six communities and their respective boards of education considered the formation of a precedent-setting regional high school district. The Union County Superintendent of Schools at the time, Dr. Arthur L. Johnson, appointed a temporary board of education, consisting of two representatives from each of the constituent school districts. Meetings were then held in each of the communities, with members of this temporary board promoting the idea of a regional district and studying the problems and concerns of each of the local school districts.

On October 1, 1935, President Franklin D. Roosevelt approved the loan and grant which would partially fund the school project. The construction of the school, which cost \$533,635, was one of 71 school projects carried out in New Jersey by the Public Works Administration during the difficult period of the 1930's. It is even more remarkable that this project got off the ground when one considers that a temporary board of education, with virtually no corporate standing, was the overseer of the initial proposal and plans for the Jonathan Dayton Regional High School.

When completed, the Jonathan Dayton Regional High School had a student capacity of 1,032. Warren W. Halsey, the school's first principal, was in charge of a 37-member faculty and a curriculum which featured strong vocational and business training as well as a comprehensive academic program. In the 50 years since then, Jonathan Dayton has been expanded twice—in 1953 and 1972—and three more high schools have been constructed to serve the students of the Union County Regional High School District 1—Arthur L. Johnson, 1956, Governor Livingston, 1960, and David Brearley, 1966.

The families in Union County Regional School District 1 have been well served these last several years by Superintendent Dr. Donald Merachnik, who has worked closely with the regional board of education. I salute the school board members, headed by Mrs. Natalie Waldt of Springfield, president of the board, and its vice president, David M. Hart of Mountainside, as well as the assistant superintendent of schools, Charles Bauman, and the school's business administrator, Harold R. Burdge, Jr. They are an outstanding team committed to quality education and to preparing today's students for the challenges of the next century.

IN MEMORY OF A VIETNAM
VETERAN

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, as we debate the assignment of 3,200 of our troops to Central America, I think it is appropriate that we make note of another conflict 20 years ago, the Vietnam War, to which American men and

women were also sent, ostensibly to maintain the peace.

On March 22, 1968, Pfc. Thomas Ptak of Highlands, NJ, was killed at Hue, Vietnam. Like many of our soldiers in Honduras today, he was the member of an airborne division, stationed at Fort Bragg, NC.

Last Saturday on the grounds of the Highlands, NJ, Grammar School where there is a stone monument to Pfc. Ptak, the family and friends of this hero conducted a memorial service. Veterans of Foreign Wars Post 6902 sponsored the service in honor of Pfc. Ptak and in that way are paying tribute to all men and women who died in the Vietnam War.

Pfc. Ptak was the second oldest of 11 children. Four others in the family have served in the military and of these, three are still in the service. Surely the Ptak family has contributed a great deal toward the defense of this country.

We must remember that in any conflict to which we send our troops, we risk exacting a great price such as that paid by the Ptak family. Let us hope that our troops in Honduras do not see any action and that their stay there will be cut short by the success of the Central American peace process.

CHILD CARE VERSUS A TRUE
FAMILY CARE PACKAGE

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, child care legislation and what the Federal Government's responsibility in this area should be, is becoming one of the hottest topics before Congress. The issue centers around the Federal Government's role in assisting the recorded number of mothers entering the work force that results in the obvious need for someone to care for their children.

To date, both legislation and hearings to date have focused on this issue. The majority of these proposals have not addressed the real issue; how do we provide the best child care? Throwing billions of dollars at the problem, toward grants that expand or create child care centers, and drafting minimum Federal health and safety standards for day-care centers, is not the answer.

Telling parents that they can use their child care tax money for day care centers, as long as those centers meet with Federal standards or are not church affiliated, is not the solution either. What we must not do is drag legislation through Congress or the courts. That, without a doubt, will heighten the controversy on the separation of church and state. Organizations that oppose spending tax dollars on church child care will insist that doing so violates the first amendment's ban on State "establishment" of religion. They will challenge in courts any law allowing funds to go to church-based centers.

Our children are too important to allow the Federal Government to enact legislation that instead of addressing the child care issue, centers on the first amendment and constitutional separation of church and state. Roughly

one-third of the current day care children go to centers run or sponsored by churches, or to facilities leased by churches. Enactment of irresponsibly worded legislation would no doubt swamp the courts with first amendment cases. I certainly hope that Congress' intention is to address what is best for our children, not how the first amendment should be applied.

Many skeptics of one piece of legislation, H.R. 3660, the Act for Better Childcare Services [ABC], or the Dodd-Kildee bill state that it promotes a trickle-down day-care policy. Most of the \$2.5 billion would go to Federal and State bureaucracies and to State-subsidized institutions. There is no guarantee that any of the money would go to parents with small children. They are the very ones it is supposed to be helping. Unfortunately, history shows that this type of approach leads to great escalations of costs without any improvements in service.

Further, if it is not bad enough that the funds would be wasted by Government bureaucracies, H.R. 3660 would assist only a tiny fraction of young children. Most children under the age of 5 do not receive paid day care. In addition, 80 percent of day care providers are unlicensed and unregulated and therefore ineligible for funding under the legislation. According to the "Choice For Families With Children," a coalition of pro-family groups, less than one young child in 10 would receive assistance under the ABC bill.

The coalition further states that among children under age 5; 54 percent have mothers who are not employed, 22 percent are cared for by a relative while the mother works, 13 percent are cared for by a nonrelative in an informal setting while the mother works, and only 11 percent attend professional group care centers of the sort directly subsidized in the ABC plan.

One reason for the shortages of day care in the United States is the result of excessive Government regulations. Another is the threat of astronomically costly law suits that may be brought against day care centers. If we enact legislation that demands stricter Federal regulations, it is likely to actually reduce, rather than expand the supply of day-care available to American parents. Congress must be aware of this before it enacts additional regulatory measures. Furthermore, Government regulation of day care promotes large scale professional organizations and discourages competition from smaller neighborhood facilities. In addition, there is no evidence that large, regulated day care centers are safer than nonlicensed neighborhood providers of day care. One must not forget that most of the incidents of sexual abuse that have been reported by the press occurred in large, professional day care centers. Home care by the mother, care by relatives, and care in small neighborhood day care facilities is best for the physical and mental health of children.

If legislation is not carefully drafted, Congress will make a mockery out of our current child care system. Do people really want Congress telling parents what they think is in the best interest for their children? Whatever happened to the parents' right to decide what

they believe to be in the best interest of their own children?

It is essential that the central issue not be lost in the debate on the merits of the various proposals extant. What is missing in those measures is provision of aid directly to the family. But most importantly, preserving the family's right to choose what they believe is best.

I am introducing legislation today to address the pressing need for child care. But it also addresses another important need that is being overlooked. The need to take care of handicapped family members and also our aging family members. My bill, the Family Care Package of 1988, will give a tax deduction to the family and allow them to have more take home pay, after taxes. A parent will be able to use this extra money to choose what is the best child care for that family. In addition, it encourages care of our parents, and other dependent family members often forgotten in today's nuclear family environment.

My legislation would address pre-school age dependents by allowing a parent to receive a tax deduction of \$5,000 from birth to age 6, and a \$4,000 deduction for children between the ages of 6 and 18. Furthermore it would allow a taxpayer to receive a \$5,000-tax deduction in the case of any qualified dependent who is physically or mentally incapable of caring for himself. Finally, it would allow a \$5,000 deduction for any dependent who has reached the age of 55. All of these deductions would also be indexed yearly for inflation.

The taxpayers who provides more than 50 percent of financial support to a dependent over 55 qualifies for this deduction. The dependent's earned income will be only those distributions stemming from direct compensation such as wages, salaries, and other forms of direct compensation. Not included as earned income are pension income, retirement benefits, interest income from retirement accounts and other such proceeds.

Current law provides for a deduction for any dependent child of \$1,900. The current dependent care credit ranges from 20 percent for upper income individuals to 30 percent for lower income individuals, of care cost. This credit is provided for a percentage of up to \$2,400 for one child or \$4,800 for two or more children. A 30-percent credit would only return \$720 for the lowest adjusted gross income level and \$1,440 for more than one child. My legislation would increase the deduction for children and at the same time abolish the highly ineffective existing child care credit.

The need for this increase in tax deductions is twofold. First, the value of the dollar when the dependent deduction was added to the Tax Code has failed to be adjusted for the rate of inflation over the years. The proposed deduction would allow the family to regain some equity from this indexing. Second, the family has suffered financially because of the lack of indexation.

The reason the United States is facing this current child care problem is not because of the lack of day care programs, but because of the erosion of family income. That is caused by a tax code that is increasingly biased against dependent children. Rearing children is something which is socially necessary and

desirable, and so our Tax Code should be trying to encourage that. But it is not. The heavy tax burden shouldered by young families is exacerbated by inflation. Consequently that inflation has steadily undermined the value of the income exemption for children. My legislation would take one giant step in the direction of restoring the relative value of the exemption for young children to the level which existed in the 1950's. With the higher exemption, families would be free to use the added income for any purpose they chose, including choosing the day care system of preference.

Over the years, the American three-tier family has disintegrated into today's nuclear family. America has benefited materially and culturally from the three-tier family concept. My legislation will encourage reformation of that time honored and valued concept. The deduction that I propose guarantees parental choice. They could choose a professional day care center, a church affiliated center, or care provided by grandma, or even a mom or dad. A tax deduction for other individuals who are dependents would encourage families to take care of their older parents, as well as other handicapped family members instead of institutionalizing them. All too often today, families are finding it economically unfeasible to take care of their older parents and relatives. We, the Members of Congress, must stop penalizing the great American family and its proud heritage. We must take the time to allow the family to be reunited.

CLARIFYING THE TAX TREATMENT OF NONELECTIVE DEFERRED COMPENSATION AND CERTAIN OTHER BASIC EMPLOYEE BENEFITS

HON. ROBERT T. MATSUI

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. MATSUI. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing along with Congressman GUY VANDER JAGT H.R. 4221, the section 457 clarification of 1988. This legislation is intended to update and perfect H.R. 3312, the section 457 clarification of 1987, that Congressman VANDER JAGT and I introduced along with 22 other members of the Ways and Means Committee. Both H.R. 4221, and H.R. 3312 are intended to clarify that section 457 does not apply to nonelective deferred compensation or certain basic employee benefits.

H.R. 3312 was included in its exact form in tax legislation passed by the House of Representatives last fall. It subsequently was deleted from the Revenue Act of 1987 as a consequence of the decision made by the budget summit conferees to delay consideration of all tax legislation, except revenue raising legislation, until this year.

The legislation that I am introducing today with Congressman VANDER JAGT is intended to perfect the statutory language which was originally included in H.R. 3312. The legislation we are introducing would indicate that section 457 does not apply to nonelective deferred compensation. In addition, it would spe-

cifically indicate that certain basic employee benefits also are not subject to section 457. Included within the scope of the basic employee benefits would be bona fide vacation pay, sick pay, compensatory time, severance time, employer inducements for employment termination, force reduction, payments in lieu of tenure, disability, death benefit, paid sabbatical leave plans, and other similar plans, programs or arrangements. This legislation is needed to insure that these employee benefits will not be treated as taxable to employees until actually paid to them. Following my statement is a detailed explanation of the legislation that both I and Congressman VANDER JAGT hope the Congress will be able to enact as expeditiously as possible.

EXPLANATION OF PROVISION

The bill exempts nonelective deferred compensation and basic employee benefits from the scope of section 457. Thus, nonelective deferred compensation and basic employee benefits are disregarded in determining whether a plan is an eligible deferred compensation plan. Such benefits also are not subject to the rule which includes such benefits in income when they are not subject to a substantial risk of forfeiture if such benefits are not provided under an eligible deferred compensation plan. Instead, nonelective deferred compensation is taxed when received (or, if applicable, earlier under the general principles of constructive receipt) and basic employee benefits are taxed under the rules of the appropriate Code section governing the taxation of a particular type of benefit.

For purposes of section 457, "basic employee benefits" are defined as compensation provided under bona fide vacation pay, sick pay, compensatory time, severance pay, employer inducements for employment termination, force reduction, payments in lieu of tenure (also known as faculty buy-out programs), disability, death benefit (including spousal benefit), paid sabbatical leave plans, and other similar plans, programs or arrangements. Cost of living or "gender neutral" adjustment payments are also to be treated as basic employee benefits. A plan, program or arrangement shall be treated as "bona fide" if, for example, the basic employee benefits are provided pursuant to state or local law, rule, regulation or procedure, or are provided under a collective bargaining agreement entered into between a governmental unit or other tax-exempt employer and employee representatives.

The Secretary is to provide a definition of nonelective deferred compensation. For purposes of this definition, the conferees intend that the Secretary create a "safe harbor" definition that makes it clear that any non-qualified deferred compensation plan or arrangement that meets the following criteria be treated as nonelective:

1. Benefits are provided pursuant to the terms of a written plan or agreement either (a) approved by the employer's board of directors or other governing body (or by a committee of such board or body), (b) authorized by state or local statute, ordinance or regulation, or (c) provided under the terms of a collective bargaining agreement (or other similar agreement generally governing the terms of employees' employment with employer);

2. The individual (or individuals) receiving benefits under the plan or arrangement does not (or do not) vote (except in the case of benefits provided pursuant to collective

bargained agreements) in connection with the decision of the board of directors or other governing body (or by a committee of such board or body) approving such plan or agreement;

3. The written plan or agreement does not grant the individual (individuals) accruing benefits under the plan or arrangement an option to receive increased current compensation in lieu of plan participation or benefits; and

4. Either—

(a) The compensation of individuals accruing benefits under the plan or arrangement is not reduced as the result of the establishment or maintenance of the plan arrangement; or

(b) The plan applies to 100 percent of the employees above a compensation level or officer status specified by the employer that do not change frequently over time.

If deferred compensation is provided pursuant to the terms of an individual employment contract entered into by an executive or a managerial employee with his or her employer (as opposed to a written plan or arrangement under which more than one employee participates), the criteria described in paragraph 3 and 4 above will be deemed to be satisfied if deferred compensation provided under the contract is subject to substantial performance conditions (e.g., the performance of a minimum of three years of service before benefits will be vested). The three year service requirement also will be deemed to be satisfied if the employee in question is being provided with deferred compensation income under a contract entered into within the three year period preceding his or her termination of service which is in recognition of a period of substantial service to his or her employer.

The conferees also recognize that some tax-exempt organizations face salary limitations (either formal or informal) in compensating able administrative and management personnel on a competitive basis. If such salary limitations exist, and the employee cannot be paid a current base salary in excess of a given amount, but can be paid additional amounts of deferred compensation, then the criteria described in paragraphs 3 and 4 above will be deemed to be satisfied with respect to such deferred compensation.

IN RECOGNITION OF THREE
TUOLUMNE COUNTY ELEMENTARY
SCHOOLS

HON. RICHARD H. LEHMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. LEHMAN of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor and commend three outstanding elementary schools located in Tuolumne County, CA, part of the 18th Congressional District.

Tenaya Elementary, Sonora Elementary, and Summerville Elementary were recently recognized as superior primary education institutions by California State School Superintendent Bill Honig. The schools were selected as winners of the California Elementary School Recognition Program.

These three elementary schools serve small rural communities which are located in the Sierra Nevada Mountains. They, as do all similar rural educational institutions, face

many challenges and obstacles in their efforts to provide quality education. Through combined efforts, however, on the part of the teachers, administrators, students, parents, and legislators, these schools have met the challenges of providing quality education and deserve this special recognition. This special statewide recognition has gone to only a small handful of the thousands of elementary schools in California.

For the Nation to prepare for the future and meet the challenges which lie ahead, all children and young adults must receive quality education. Teachers must be trained and adequately compensated for their efforts. Parents must be involved and supportive of these efforts, and administrators and policymakers must work to provide the necessary resources. It is only through a combination of these ingredients that programs will be developed to meet the many and diverse needs of the Nation's students.

Tenaya, Sonora, and Summerville Elementary Schools have taken these key ingredients and have provided to the children of the Tuolumne County region the type of education which is vital for all of America's children. Let these schools stand as examples and inspirations as we seek to give all children in this country the chance to be the best they can be, for themselves and for the future of this great Nation.

I wish to congratulate and extend to these three elementary schools, the praise they deserve.

DESERTED BY THE PRESS

HON. DAVID R. OBEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, as most Members of this body are aware, one of our colleagues, Mr. GEPHARDT of Missouri, has been the subject of a great deal of national press attention in recent months. In addition to many good things that have been said about him, his surprise victory in the Iowa Democratic caucuses and his advocacy of a tougher trade policy have stimulated a good deal of criticism by his opponents and members of the press who disagree with his position on trade. I think most of us in this Chamber, whether we support the GEPHARDT candidacy or not, share a sense of dismay and concern over how far off base much of that recent criticism has been. It is hard to find a Member whose intellect and integrity is more broadly respected by the people who work with him day in and day out.

Last week, one brave member of the national press corps also directed attention at how badly his colleagues had treated the GEPHARDT campaign. Columnist Mark Shields argued in the Washington Post that:

The pervasive intellectual elitism of what was once called the "Working Press" has created insensitivity to the values and experience of everyday Americans.

And, therefore, to the importance of what GEPHARDT has been saying on trade, according to Shields:

After GEPHARDT won the Iowa caucuses, he was savaged in the papers and on the

networks. Economic nationalism was mostly forgotten and the target became the Missourian's alleged cornfield conversion to populism.

There is one point which Shields did not make concerning this affair which I think is very important. The real victim of this mistreatment has not been DICK GEPHARDT. The real victim has been the national dialog that we should have been having on trade. Many serious scholars with no particular involvement in Presidential nominating politics believe that the current world wide imbalance in trade has placed the United States and the world on the brink of economic disaster. How public policy can be used to prevent that disaster should be a central topic of national debate. Instead of that dialog, we have had an argument over how Mr. GEPHARDT should be labeled and what were his true motives in putting forward such proposals. That kind of coverage short-changes not only those who think GEPHARDT is right and deserves to be heard but also those who think his followers are wrong and should be persuaded to view the problem differently. Neither side has had their day in court.

I would like to insert the Shields' column in the RECORD at this point and express my hope that others in his profession will begin to see the need for an open and full discussion of this topic free of labels or challenges to the character or motives of those who may choose to participate:

DESERTED BY THE PRESS: GEPHARDT DESERVES BETTER

In his sudden emergence as a presidential challenger, Albert Gore Jr. of Tennessee hit the jackpot using somebody else's nickel—a message of economic populism that had been fashioned by Rep. Richard Gephardt of Missouri. As long as Gore concentrated on his defense and foreign policy differences with the other Democratic candidates, he remained stuck at the back of the pack. The Tennessean's move upward began only when his TV spots presented him as the champion of the struggling "us" against the powerful "them."

That the beneficiary was Gore rather than Gephardt is mostly attributable to the pervasive intellectual elitism of what was once called the Working Press.

That is right, elitism. Too many in the press are no longer ink-stained wretches, but instead theologians of an internationalist economic dogma in which the assertion of national interests (always branded "protectionism") is a mortal sin. In his campaign, Gephardt has articulated two powerful themes, populism and economic nationalism, which are distinctly different from each other.

After eight years of an administration ethic, borrowed from George Bernard Shaw, that "lack of money is the root of all evil," a populist reaction was probably inevitable. But Gephardt's economic nationalism is rooted in the values and experience of everyday Americans.

First, the exclusionary acts of our trading partners offend our fundamental American commitment to fair play. Next, when the first TV news of almost any day reports the latest battering of the dollar in Hong Kong, Tokyo or London, our national pride is wounded: we wonder why our leadership, without resistance, has yielded control over our economic destiny to an assortment of

lesser nations that seem to have a clearer sense of their national interest. And, although Gephardt has mostly failed to address this element of our character, our native American optimism tells us that, yes, we can do something to reassert control of our national economic destiny.

Gephardt boldly grabbed the opening that Ronald Reagan left him. Reagan's uncanny instinct for expressing the popular will failed him on the political issue of trade because of his blind devotion to the doctrine of free trade. Diplomatically, Reagan's policy has been mostly one of aggressive nationalism. On trade, Reagan turned uncharacteristically internationalist and passive. While American factory workers and farmers do not view more and more foreign ownership of the United States as the route to national recovery and autonomy, the economic and governmental elites, according to a recent survey for Smick-Medley Associates, are unconcerned. The press, on this one, sips sherry with the elite.

After Gephardt won the Iowa caucuses, he was savaged in the papers and on the networks. Economic nationalism was mostly forgotten and the target became the Missourian's alleged cornfield conversion to populism. How could the consummate congressional operator, the question was raised several thousand times, really be a populist outsider? In order to be a genuine populist, apparently you can only be ineffectual. It is true that his switches on both abortion and tuition tax credits encouraged his critics to raise doubts about his philosophical fickleness. So the press criticism of the Iowa winner focused not on the content of his message but on the character of the messenger himself.

For effectively raising the trade issue, Gephardt was accused of "pandering."

According to the published tabulations of media watchdog John Merriam, Gephardt has received far and away the most negative TV coverage of any Democratic candidate. Only Pat Robertson has gotten worse coverage. Deprived of free media to deliver his distinctive message to voters in some 20 states, Gephardt lacked the funds to buy enough commercial time to compete with Gore and Gov. Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts. Then the Missourian had to watch the lavishly financed Dukakis attack him in TV spots that charged Gephardt with taking unclean political action committee contributions. The irony went unnoticed in the press: Gephardt had apparently not taken enough PAC money to be able to make a rebuttal. He could not point out that it was the Bradley-Gephardt fair tax bill that led to the elimination of \$90 billion worth of loopholes for the rich and the powerful.

But the press has mostly not seen the Gephardt story this way. On the issue of economic nationalism, the press has chosen overwhelmingly to join the ranks of the privileged and to desert the people. Dick Gephardt and working Americans deserve better.

GRAZING ON AMERICAN RANGELANDS

HON. JAMES V. HANSEN

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. Speaker, we all well know the problems that occur when public policies

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

are guided by misinformation. It is difficult to turn around the tide of emotionalism that can accompany such accounts. I believe this has occurred to a certain extent in the case of America's rangelands and the perceived effects of grazing on these ranges.

In a paper written by Thadis W. Box and John C. Malechek, professors of range management at Utah State University, they demonstrate that on the whole, America's rangelands are in the best condition they've been in since the 1930's and on the average they are improving. This is a different picture than is painted by many extreme environmentalists.

It is vital that we, as elected officials and the public at large, take the time to learn the facts. Public policy that governs rangeland must be guided by clear objectives based on accurate information. I am submitting an abstract from this paper which, I believe, is a good starting point for all of us:

GRAZING ON AMERICAN RANGELANDS

(By Thadis W. Box and John C. Malechek)

Grazing is a natural process on all plant communities. The American rangelands evolved under heavy pressure by bison, elk, and other large grazing animals. Livestock replaced the native animals soon after settlement, and the settlers from more humid areas overestimated the capacity of the semi-arid western range. Overstocking, combined with drought in the last half of the 19th century, caused most western ranges to deteriorate badly within three decades after settlement.

Most ranges continued in poor condition until the late 1930's when modern range management techniques developed. Western ranges have improved substantially since World War II and are now in the best condition they have been in this century.

The effect of grazing on plants is related to the forage preference of the animal, the animal's behavior, the resistance of the plant, the timing of grazing, and climatic events. The process is complex and not well understood, but research information and experience is expanding at a rapid rate. Two research areas show particular promise for increasing production: stress physiology of plants and animal behavior in grazing. Recent physiological research has helped redefine the response of bunchgrasses and shrubs to grazing. Studies in the early learning of grazing animals indicates that animals can be conditioned to graze the ranges more uniformly and enter feedlots more receptive to concentrate feeding.

More is known about managing rangelands than is currently applied. With proper extension of research results, most range goals can be met with today's knowledge. More information is needed in the basic biology of plants and behavior of the grazing animal if ranchers are to become competitive with other industries.

Public policies guiding rangeland use are poorly developed and are not likely to improve unless the public is better informed about the needs of society and the effects of grazing.

[NOTE.—The complete text of this paper may be found in the Proceedings of the Western Section of the Animal Science Society of America, pages 107-115.]

ALPHA EPSILON SIGMA OF MINNEAPOLIS COMMUNITY COLLEGE AWARDED FIRST ANNUAL DISABLED AWARENESS PROJECT AWARD

HON. PETER A. DeFAZIO

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. DEFAZIO. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to the first annual Disabled Awareness Project Award winners, the Alpha Epsilon Sigma chapter of the Phi Theta Kappa. This award is given to the chapter of the Phi Theta Kappa that promotes the National Disabled Awareness Project in an exemplary fashion.

Throughout the year Alpha Epsilon Sigma has involved its members in projects that have enhanced the quality of life for the disabled members of their community. The members volunteered their time for reading and note taking, read text books onto tapes, and sponsored outdoor activities for the Minneapolis Community College physically disabled students.

Mr. Speaker, we should be proud of these young men and women. They have volunteered their time and talents to promote handicap awareness in both their community and on their college campus.

MOTHER TERESA AND THE MIRACLE OF LIFE

HON. ROBERT K. DORNAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. DORNAN of California. Mr. Speaker, former California Gov. Jerry Brown and I have often found ourselves at odds over fundamental family values. While we continue to disagree on certain issues, thanks to the grace of God, and the compassion of Mother Teresa of Calcutta and her Sisters of Charity, abortion is no longer an issue that separates us.

It is a sign of hope that Governor Brown, an Irish Catholic politician from my home State of California, has seen the light—the right to life light—after a 3-week visit with Mother Teresa. I am heartened that he has broken his links to the chains of death forged within the liberal elements of his Democratic Party. I urge my colleagues to read about Governor Brown's profound conversion on the key life issue and ponder its meaning for their own fragile careers. "What doth it profit a man to gain the whole world and * * *"

[From the Arlington Catholic Herald, Feb. 18, 1988]

EX-GOVERNOR JERRY BROWN CHANGES VIEW ON ABORTION

(By Sr. Mary Ann Walsh)

WASHINGTON (NC)—Former California Gov. Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr. sees "the killing of the unborn as crazy" after a three-week stay with Mother Teresa in Calcutta, India.

Brown spoke in a telephone interview Feb. 10, the day after he returned from Mother

Teresa's Home for Dying Destitutes, where he worked with the Missionaries of Charity Jan. 13-Feb. 9.

Now a lawyer in Los Angeles, Brown said he did not support efforts to ban abortion while governor, but he said working with the nuns "gave me a different perspective on the whole question of abortion."

It does not make sense to support abortion, he said, after spending time "comforting and protecting the lives of the suffering with not as high a quality of life as a three-month fetus that is healthy and has potential."

That "this country and Europe see the need to kill so many unborn does not seem to be justified," said Brown, who sought the Democratic presidential nomination in 1976 and 1980.

"It's just that we've organized society to be anti-life," added Brown, who said he plans to re-enter politics, but not immediately.

In Calcutta, Brown, a former Jesuit seminarian, began his day with morning Mass with the nuns and then, with other volunteers from several nations, worked with the sick.

He said he "helped bathe patients, serve food, take care of whatever needs there were—cut hair, shave, hand out medicine."

He saw many get well at the home, where many are treated for tuberculosis, but also saw about a dozen people die. The nuns' "respect" for the dead impressed him, he said.

A man was brought in from the streets with "a gaping wound in his shoulder," he said. "The socket was exposed. Two to three nuns 'changed the wound every day,' but the man still did not get well.

When he died, they wrapped his body in a white cloth, placed a rosary on him, covered him with flowers and left him there for a few hours. "It was like he was in state," Brown said.

The nuns showed "more respect for someone just off the streets than some people with substantial means get in developed countries," Brown added. "It would be great to take the attitude that created that environment and spread it around the world."

Brown said Mother Teresa's belief that one sees Christ in the poorest of the poor showed clearly at the hospital.

The day he left, he said, he was "holding a man—some are very feeble, they can't stand up." A passerby commented, "You're holding the body of Christ, and just walked on," Brown said.

"Anywhere else that would seem artificial," he added, but not with Mother Teresa.

Brown attended Mother Teresa's evening lectures to her sisters, following adoration of the Blessed Sacrament. He described the setting as "400 Missionaries of Charity kneeling on a cement floor with the (automobile) horns of Calcutta as background" while the Nobel laureate nun spoke.

She taught that "Christ is in your hand" in "what you do for me (the poor), what you do with me, and what you do to me," he said.

The words were simple, but in Calcutta from Mother Teresa they had "more immediacy," Brown said.

Her nuns give a pure message of Christianity, Brown said.

It is "very clear when people are devoting their lives to taking care of the poor, sharing similar conditions, doing it with good humor, joy, laughter and compassion," he said. "That's as pure a message of Christianity as I can imagine."

Seeing people die made Brown "realize there's a lot of suffering in the world." He

cited a need for developed countries to help underdeveloped nations, especially with medical supplies.

"Tuberculosis, malnutrition, dysentery," the diseases he saw, he said, are "all preventable."

Countries such as the United States, Soviet Union and Japan "should talk more about reducing human suffering," Brown said.

FATHER FRENCH MARKS 50 YEARS IN THE PRIESTHOOD

HON. BERNARD J. DWYER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. DWYER of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to share with my colleagues in the House a wonderful event which will be celebrated in the very near future in my district. On April 10, the clergy and parishioners of St. Thomas the Apostle Church in Old Bridge, NJ, will honor Father Walter French on the occasion of his 50th anniversary in the priesthood.

Father French's story—a story of a lifetime of service and faith—should serve as an inspiration to us all. The eighth of nine children, he went to live with an older brother following the death of his mother when he was 10 years old. He answered the call to the priesthood, graduating from the Seminary of Our Lady of Angels at Niagara University.

On April 2, 1938, he was ordained in Trenton and served at various parishes in New Jersey for 10 years. In 1948, he was appointed pastor of St. Thomas the Apostle Church in Old Bridge, which was a small, rural parish in those days.

The growth which occurred in the Old Bridge area, and in St. Thomas, during the 1950's was unprecedented. Father French met the challenge and in October 1960, a new church, school, and hall were opened. The population growth continued and additional classroom space was added in 1966. The small rural parish finally reached maturity, relieving the constant press for additional space.

On January 2, 1973, Father French retired as pastor and was appointed pastor emeritus. He continues to reside at St. Thomas, ministering to those who seek his guidance, available to serve the parish he, more than any other person, built.

Mr. Speaker, I know that you and my colleagues in the House of Representatives will join me in offering to Father Walter French the most sincere best wishes of the U.S. Congress on this joyful occasion. His commitment to his church—to the service of its people—and his lifetime of dedication to God have made a major contribution to the quality of life of thousands of his parishioners. For this, we offer our congratulations and best wishes for the future.

HONDA NORTH AMERICA CEO ADDRESS CONGRESSIONAL AUTOMOTIVE CAUCUS

HON. BOB TRAXLER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. TRAXLER. Mr. Speaker, recently Members of the congressional automotive caucus had the pleasure of hearing from Mr. Tetsuo Chino, chairman of the board for Honda North America.

Mr. Chino wanted to let us know of recent developments at Honda's facilities in Ohio, as well as the recently started program of exporting vehicles from the United States to Japan—a most pleasant action.

I am sure that our colleagues would be most interested in Mr. Chino's comments, and I ask that they be inserted in the RECORD at this point.

The statement follows:

MR. CHINO'S REMARKS: THE CONGRESSIONAL AUTO CAUCUS MARCH 10, 1988

Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. It is a privilege for me to be invited to the luncheon today. I am delighted to have an opportunity to update you on Honda's growing commitment to the United States.

As you may know, earlier this week, the first lot of Honda accord coupes, a model that is only built at our plant in Ohio, was loaded onto a ship in Portland, Oregon—bound for sale in Japan. This time we ship 540 units. Though this year it will be 4,000.

Building cars in the United States and selling them in the world's market places is a significant part of the overall strategy for Honda.

Let me explain briefly our strategy we recently announced.

It consists of five elements, namely:

The expansion of Honda's research and development activities to design and engineer Honda products here in the United States.

The expansion of Honda's production engineering activities to develop and manufacture unique production equipment in the United States.

The expansion of parts and raw materials sourcing in the United States to increase domestic content from its current level of 60 percent to 75 percent in 1991.

The continued expansion of manufacturing facilities in the United States to meet worldwide customer demand; and,

Of course, the export of our American-made cars and motorcycles to Japan and other countries.

Through these steps, not only we create thousands of additional jobs both directly and in spin-off in related industries but our capabilities of research and development and production engineering in the United States are vital to worldwide competition and eventually to the growth of industry.

Now, I would like to talk about our production and export operations in the United States.

In 1979, we began producing Honda motorcycles at our Marysville, Ohio plant. The Honda Gold Wing Motorcycles were added soon afterwards.

The Gold Wings are our top-of-the-line motorcycles originally designed to be marketed in the United States, and are now exclusively made in the United States. Actual-

ly, the Gold Wings have been exported to 15 countries.

In 1982, we began producing Honda Accords in a new adjacent auto plant in Marysville. In 1985, we began engine production—first for motorcycles, and then for cars.

Last year, we produced 324,000 Honda automobiles in the United States, and this year it will be 360,000 units, which is the current maximum capacity of the plant.

As part of our strategy I talked about earlier, we are building a second auto plant in Ohio. Ground breaking will be later this month. The total production of both plants will be 510,000 units in 1991. The engine will be increased to the same number.

Our exports of automobiles from the United States then will be 70,000 units. Honda will be major American exporter.

Thus, all through our operations in the United States, beginning with research and development, production engineering, increasing domestic content, and going on to export, Honda will be an integrated and self-reliant American automobile company, which will have invested \$1.7 billion in the United States by 1991.

I would like to stress one point—that is, Honda would not have been able to make those investments and operations in the United States without the opportunity to compete freely here. By being able to compete, we were able to win strong customer acceptance of our products. And once we achieved a certain level of sales, we were able to construct manufacturing plants here.

I sincerely hope free trade will be maintained on both sides of the Pacific to our mutual benefit.

Now, I am more than happy to add that the first shipment to Japan this time is being carried by an American-flag ship, named "Green Bay," of the Central Gulf Lines. We chartered this ship to transport Honda automobiles between the two countries, the United States and Japan.

I hope you will agree with me, when I say that the Honda Accord coupe being exported to Japan is more than a symbol of cooperation. It is the effort by many American people of various sectors, as well as that of opening Honda's new ERA across the Pacific.

In closing, let me reassure you, ladies and gentleman, that Honda's commitment to the United States has become and will continue to be stronger through team-work by people of the United States and Japan.

Thank you for your kind attention.

CONGRESSIONAL TRIBUTE TO
LOS ANGELES ATTORNEY,
JOHNNIE L. COCHRAN

HON. JULIAN C. DIXON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pride and admiration that I rise to recognize the accomplishments of a distinguished member of the Los Angeles legal community and close friend, Johnnie L. Cochran, Jr., Esq. On March 31, 1988, the University of California at Los Angeles Black Alumni Association [UBAA] will honor Johnnie by presenting him with their second annual UBAA Distinguished Achievement Award. Mr. Speaker, that award is richly deserved.

Johnnie was born in Shreveport, LA, and he has resided in California since 1943. He received his undergraduate degree in business administration from UCLA, the eminent university honoring him with the award. He completed his juris doctor degree and graduate legal studies at Loyola Marymount University and the University of Southern California, two distinguished institutions of higher education that are located in my congressional district.

As a deputy city attorney for the city of Los Angeles, Johnnie served in the criminal division from January 1963 until April 1965. In 1966, he founded the law firm of Cochran, Atkins, & Evans, and developed a thriving practice handling a substantial volume of both civil and criminal cases. He earned a reputation as an outstanding trial lawyer, a reputation which resulted in the Los Angeles Criminal Courts Bar Association naming him Criminal Trial Lawyer of the Year in 1977.

From 1978 through 1980, Johnnie served as the assistant district attorney for Los Angeles County, with general administrative responsibility for the 60 attorneys in the office. In 1981, he returned to private practice, specializing in personal injury litigation, entertainment law, public financing, and criminal defense under the firm name, Johnnie L. Cochran, Jr., Inc.

Johnnie has taken time from his active legal career to display a solid commitment to community service. He has spoken throughout the country on various aspects of the criminal justice system and has served as an adjunct law professor at UCLA School of Law, where he taught a course in trial tactics and technique. He also taught a similar course at Loyola University's School of Law. He is an active member of the Second Baptist Church, where he serves as legal counsel. He has served on the board of directors of such diverse organizations as the Criminal Courts Bar Association, the Langston Bar Association, LA Urban League, the Oscar Joel Bryant Foundation, the UCLA Foundation and the 28th Street Y.M.C.A. He also serves on the Mayor's Task Force for Africa, and the Los Angeles Black/Jewish Coalition.

Johnnie's expertise in his field and his contributions to LA's legal community have not gone unrecognized. In 1981, Mayor Tom Bradley appointed him to the Los Angeles Board of Airport Commissioners. In 1982, he was nominated for LA County District Attorney, and he became one of the four finalists for the position. In 1983, the John M. Langston Bar Association awarded him the Honorable Loren Miller Award as trial lawyer of the year. In 1984, he received the Equal Justice in Law Award from the Legal Defense Fund of the NAACP, and was elected to the board of the American Civil Liberties Union [ACLU] Foundation of Southern California. During the Democratic National Convention in June of that year, he was also appointed special counsel to the chairman of the rules committee. In 1986, Johnnie was appointed special counsel to the committee on standards of official conduct.

Mr. Speaker, Johnnie Cochran is an exemplary citizen who has made outstanding legal contributions to the Los Angeles community. I am pleased to have this opportunity to call attention to his many accomplishments, and

proud to inform my colleagues in the House of Representatives of the well-deserved honor being bestowed upon him by the UCLA Black Alumni Association. Please join me in congratulating Johnnie on his achievements and wish him, his wife Dr. Sylvia Dale Cochran, and children Melodie, Tiffany, and Jonathan much happiness and continued success in their future.

INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT
MOBUTU

HON. MERVYN M. DYMALLY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 22, 1988

Mr. DYMALLY. Mr. Speaker, I hereby submit for review an interview with President Mobutu of Zaire, conducted by Dr. Jeffrey M. Elliot and myself, in January of this year, in Kinshasa, Zaire. The article appeared in the March 7, 1988 issue of *Africa News*.

[From *Africa News*, Mar. 7, 1988]

I HAVE A CLEAR CONSCIENCE

(By Jeffrey M. Elliot and Mervyn M. Dymally)

(Sitting astride Africa's mid-section and bordering nine other countries, Zaire has an importance that is both strategic and symbolic. Its size—roughly equal to the United States east of the Mississippi River—its rich natural resources and its firmly pro-Western policies have ensured continuous financial and political backing from western Europe and North America.

(But enthusiasm for that support has recently been tempered by questions about the nature of Zaire's government. The conservative Washington, D.C.-based Heritage Foundation says Zaire "is one of America's most consistent allies in Africa" but calls President Mobutu Sese Seko a "corrupt Third World strongman."

(Mounting criticism of continuing U.S. aid to Zaire recently prompted Representative Mervyn Dymally (D-CA.), who currently chairs the Congressional Black Caucus, and Dr. Jeffrey M. Elliot, a writer and political scientist from North Carolina Central University who advises Dymally on foreign affairs, to visit Zaire, where they spent ten days traveling with Mobutu. For the third installment in our series on Zaire, we present the following excerpts from their conversations.)

Jeffrey M. Elliot: According to Amnesty International, your government has, over the past two decades, either ordered, approved, or condoned myriad human rights violations, including detention without charge or trial, imprisonment of political opponents, torture and ill treatment of prisoners, extrajudicial executions, and illegal surveillance and extortion. How can you justify such flagrant abuses?

Mobutu Sese Seko: First, let me say, I appreciate your candor. I can say, however, without equivocation, that I have a clear conscience. Most political outsiders view human rights in the context of a multi-party system. They demand that I institute such a system, which I refuse to do. Africa's history and traditions will not permit a two-party system. Nowhere in this continent have there been two chiefs in one village: a majority chief and an opposition chief. Dating back to ancestral times, there has

been only one chief. In the United States and Europe, it is commonly accepted that enlightenment emanates from the clash of ideas. In Africa, we follow an ancestral policy in which, when a problem arises, we rally around the leader and work out a solution. Zaire is a shining example of this policy in action. For this reason, we have become the most stable country in Africa.

In Zaire, freedom of expression, which is guaranteed by the Constitution, is respected. During my tenure as president, I have struggled hard to restore peace, unity and security. My efforts are based on a firm belief in human rights. To demonstrate my commitment, and to quash the baseless charges against my country, I established a high-level department on human rights, which reports directly to me. You will not find a similar department anywhere in Africa. Moreover, I urged Amnesty International to return to Zaire. Their delegation spent eight days here this past November. They conducted a thorough investigation, during which time they spoke to everyone they requested to see. In the end, they left satisfied. Later, the Association of African Lawyers which, like Amnesty International, is deeply concerned with human rights issues, and whose current chairman is a Senegalese, requested my permission to establish a branch in Zaire. I immediately approved the request.

Let me ask you a question: How many of Africa's 50 independent states have a multi-party system? Of these 50, how many can boast a better record than ours? Zimbabwe, for example, experimented with a multi-party system, but was forced to abandon it and return to a one-party system. Ask Zimbabwe's socialist president, Robert Mugabe, why it failed. His answer should prove instructive.

When I took power in 1965, I inherited the Belgian system—a system that was totally corrupt. At the time, the Belgians had established Catholicism as the official state religion, relegating Protestantism, Kibanguism, and Islam to second-class status. That act was a direct assault on religious freedom. Although I am a devout Catholic, I abolished religious inequality and placed all religious denominations on an equal footing. I did so in order to serve freedom and justice.

Mervyn M. Dymally: But Amnesty International maintains that hundreds of political prisoners have been arrested, detained or imprisoned, often without ever being charged or tried. Do you dispute these accusations? If so, why do you think they persist?

Mobutu: I wonder if a head of state should swear, but if anyone can cite the name of a single political prisoner, supported by hard fact, who is presently in any Zairian prison, I will immediately resign. As far as Amnesty International is concerned, I indicated that they were in Zaire last November at the invitation of the special department that oversees human rights and civil liberties. They left satisfied, and so am I. Without overstating the case, I am convinced that Amnesty International's attitude towards Zaire has changed markedly as a result of their investigation.

Elliot: You opponents contend that the government does not respect the fundamental rights of workers. There is no freedom of association with respect to independent trade unions; collective bargaining agreements are not guaranteed; working conditions are abysmal; purchasing power has plummeted; and unemployment is at a

record high. How can your government be described as anything but antiworker? Don't these facts speak for themselves?

Mobutu: They would if they were true, but they're not. In fact, they bear no resemblance to the truth. The truth is, my government recognizes fundamental worker rights, a fact acknowledged by our membership and participation in the International Labor Organization. The National Union of Zairian Workers (UNTZA), a federation of several earlier independent and Christian trade unions, is active on the international scene, affiliated with international labor organizations, and enjoys close relations with your AFL-CIO. Collective bargaining agreements—approximately 600—are guaranteed. While working conditions may fall short of Western standards, they are much better in the organized sector represented by UNTZA than in the informal sector. No labor leaders are presently in detention, and several former leaders who have disagreed with union policies are now free and pursuing their personal interests.

Dymally: Despite several presidential amnesties to Zairian political exiles, reports persist that many of your critics have been subjected to detention and/or arrest. Are you prepared to welcome home all of your political opponents, both those in the United States and abroad, with the promise that they will not be harassed or imprisoned?

Mobutu: Absolutely. In fact, tens of thousands of Zairians who fled the country during or after the rebellions of the 1960s and the Shaba events of 1977 and 1978 have already returned to their homeland. They know they are welcome—that Zaire belongs to them, not to President Mobutu. If you meet any of them in the United States or Europe, assure them that they have my word; that they may return home without fear. Those who are most qualified will certainly find jobs. That is a national priority, not simply mine.

CORRUPTION

Elliot: According to top officials of the International Monetary Funds (IMF), Zaire is plagued by "uncontrollable corruption" and the "illegal outflow of wealth from the country." The IMF charges that money for improving farms, roads and agricultural projects has been diverted into personal use by government officials. In one speech, you yourself called bribery "the Zairian illness." If this is true, why hasn't your government punished the guilty parties and adopted strong measures to prevent future corruption?

Mobutu: Your last quotation is inaccurate. I never stated that bribery is "the Zairian illness." I once condemned corruption, but I never described it as my country's illness. To be accurate, I stated—while expressing New Year's wishes to my officers—"We keep hearing about corruption, without knowing who is corrupt and who is corrupting."

At the time, I was specifically referring to you—the American and Europeans—who taught us the art of corrupting. When you come to Zaire to sell your products, you tell our officials, "It costs \$800. But for you, I'll set aside \$200 per piece. That would amount to one million dollars—all yours." That is corruption, and you introduced it. You are therefore unfit to educate us on public morals, since you have yet to address the same ethical concerns in your respective societies.

Corruption is not a Zairian problem; it is a world problem. Take the Lockheed case, for example, which involved high-ranking gov-

ernment officials in the United States, Germany, and Japan—and ultimately the President. No, the sole purpose of these rumors is to spoil the good name of Zaire. If our critics were honest, they would point the finger at those nations which are most guilty of corruption. We all know which are the most corrupt nations in Africa. Unfortunately, for diplomatic reason, I can't cite them.

Dymally: Your critics argue, with strong conviction, that Zaire's security forces have, over the past two decades, engaged in wanton corruption. Doesn't this reflect a failure of leadership?

Mobutu: Although some abuses and lack of discipline among low level security personnel may occur from time to time, major efforts have been made since 1985 to improve security force conduct. For example, regular police roadblocks have virtually disappeared. While incidents of extortion are reported on occasion, the practice is not condoned by the government and the perpetrators are increasingly brought to justice. Practices introduced during the colonial period, when security forces under Belgian control employed harsh measures, are presently being corrected.

Dymally: Your critics contend that you are fabulously wealthy, with an estimated personal fortune of \$5 billion, which includes 11 palaces in Zaire and numerous villas in various European countries. How did you accumulate such enormous wealth? Isn't your lifestyle incongruous with the abject poverty that plagues Zaire?

Mobutu: Although this question has been raised—and answered—many times, I will respond to your inquiry with total frankness. My conscience is clear. I challenge the existence of these alleged international financial experts—who frequently choose to hide under the cloak of anonymity in order to spread false propaganda against me. Who are these financial experts? These reports emanate from the press. Why do they persist? Frankly speaking, some reporters have been manipulated by questionable interests. Who are these interests? In truth, I have been singled out for attack because I am a nationalist. Moreover, I am intransigent on the subject of nationalism. In 1967, for example, I nationalized the Union Minière, today known as Gécamines, making it the exclusive property of the Zairian people. Ironically, from that date on I became the object of scorn and derision, as I was widely considered to have pilfered Gécamines' profits in order to enrich myself, even though its finances are closely monitored by company auditors. Yet, its balance sheet bears no budget titles suggesting my involvement in its financial operations. Let me repeat: Gécamines is the exclusive property of the Zairian people.

When I assumed power, my budget was called a "dotation"—a special presidential fund. However, unlike other presidential funds, mine is known and is subject to parliamentary approval. Every year I submit a budget proposal which must be approved by Parliament. At times, it has voted to disapprove various presidential requests. This year, without my requesting a raise, Zaire's elected representatives voted to increase the presidential fund, after assessing the uses to which it was put. Thus, my budget is officially known by the Parliament and the people.

In the past, when I went to Europe, I stayed in sundry hotels. However, my European friends repeatedly advised me, "Mr. President, your security is not assured when

you reside in such hotels. We strongly urge you to purchase several homes, as your security is of the utmost importance. You should own your own homes, where you can guarantee your security. Look at such and such head of state. He has proper security. By the way, if Zaire can afford to spend so much on your security when you travel abroad, then buying homes should not prove exorbitant." The very friends who gave me this advice are the same ones who disseminated the false rumors about the myriad castles and villas I am supposed to have. These are typical of the kinds of intrigues and conspiracies to which I have been subjected.

Clearly, I would be lying if I said I do not have a bank account in Europe. I do. I would also be lying if I said I do not have considerable money in my account; I do. Yes, I have a fair amount of money. However, I would estimate it to total less than \$50 million. What is that after 22 years as head of state of such a big country?

As for my alleged fortune, do you recall the remark which a Belgian once made to one of his country's top-ranking officials? The man who made the remark has been my subordinate for over 20 years, first in the army, and now at the Presidency. He was asked a similar question about my finances, to which he replied: "From the way things are going, I am afraid for this man. He has a large family, with many children. If he dies, he will do so in misery. He has spent his money building chapels, temples, cathedrals, schools and clinics. Patients who could not be treated at home were flown to Europe or the United States. That is how he has spent his money."

Besides, of Africa's 50 independent countries, can you name one leader—just one—who can boast of having spent as much of his own money to benefit so many people? No, I have a clear conscience. I am an honest man. I have not pocketed one dollar of the people's money.

Finally, my so-called fortune has proven extremely beneficial to many African causes. An American journalist should be sent to Mozambique, so that that country's president, Joaquim Chissano, could tell him how helpful I have been to that nation's freedom fighters. The former president, Samora Machel, was likewise aware of my assistance. Thanks to my alleged fortune, I sent trucks, jeeps and officers to train Mozambique's army in Tanzania, while arms and ammunition were sent day and night via our pilots. On Mozambique's independence day, 3,000 Mozambique soldiers marched into that country through Tanzania, all of whom were clad in helmets, boots and uniforms supplied by Zaire.

The same alleged fortune has proved extremely helpful to the security of my neighbors and other African states. It enabled me to train five battalions of paratroopers—two for Burundi, one for Rwanda, one for Togo and one for Benin. It also enabled me to train 250 Mauritanian commando-paratroopers, as well as to help Chad score a crushing victory over Qaddafi. We trained five battalions in Zaire, and a sixth is presently being trained. All of this has been done without publicity, very much unlike France, the United States, Great Britain, Japan or Canada, who would typically follow up such good deeds with self-serving press releases.

Moreover, when Mauritania, Senegal, Mali, Cape Verde and Guinea were hit by a drought, for two years running I sent them checks drawn on the Bank of Zaire to help

them to ease the crisis. This was done quietly and without fanfare. Similarly, when Sekou Toure's Guinea was hit by an earthquake, I sent a check for one million dollars to help them as a sister nation. They were the ones who made it public. Last year, when yet another African country, Cameroon, suffered a gas explosion, I sent them \$200,000, as well as doctors and 20 soldiers who delivered tents and medicines worth over \$200,000.

That is how I have used my alleged fortune—to strengthen the security of African countries and to lessen the plight of disaster victims. We have not done this because Zaire is rich; we are no richer than any other African nation. No, we want to teach our fellow African citizens the noble art of sharing.

During 22 years as head of state, I have never disclosed such inside information to anyone, for my mother taught me never to brag about my deeds of kindness to others. Because your question was so searching, I decided to be forthright and to open my mind to you, not for the pride of it, but in order to lay out the facts.

Elliot: Still, after over 20 years of your rule, the evidence reveals little improvement in the quality of life for the average Zairian. Indeed, the ordinary Zairian earns one-tenth of what he or she earned in 1965 before your government took power. It has been reported that half of the children die before the age of three, and one-third of those who survive past the age of three will die of malnutrition. Are you fighting a losing battle? Can the present situation be reversed? Is there reason for optimism?

Mobutu: The statistics and criticisms you cite, which have been published by *The Washington Post*, come from the Belgian press. They stem from the kind of dishonesty and unfairness that you would expect to find, given our checkered historical relationship.

There is, however, a major difference between the People's Republic of Zaire, my fatherland, and many other African countries. Let's go back to 1960 to 1965, a period I know quite well. At the time, Zaire was in complete ruins, following the most destructive civil war ever fought in Africa. Schools, churches, ports, roads and ferries stood in ruin. When I took power in 1965, my priority was to launch a massive reconstruction effort, whereas other African nations, such as the Ivory Coast, Gabon and Morocco began by building on what the colonial powers had left behind. This is an important difference, both from a social and economic standpoint. I rebuilt schools, bridges and hospitals throughout the country. I also repaired damaged tracks and replaced both broken engines and railroad cars. The projects culminated in the construction of the Inga Dam and the conveyance of hydroelectric power, which spans a distance of over 2,000 kilometers, from Inga to Shaba. In addition, I opened a much-needed maritime company, the Zairian Maritime Company, as well as Air Zaire. Reconstruction took a long time.

Meanwhile, I still had to deal with the problem of terrorism. For nearly a year, I left the capital and assumed residence in Shaba province in order to conduct the war. These obstacles should be considered when assessing my record. The rehabilitation program, coupled with the war against terrorism, cost Zaire billions of dollars and plunged my nation into debt—one that now totals \$5.1 billion.

My friend, when you criticize me, please do not cite the foreign press, for these arti-

cles originate from Belgium. I can produce copies of all of them from my home library. There is not a grain of truth in any of them, for their sole purpose is to spoil the good name of Zaire. I hold nothing against the Belgians, or Belgium, for that matter. I simply cannot harness my nationalistic pride. It is only natural for me, as an unabashed nationalist, to resist any attempt by another country smaller than mine to interfere in our internal affairs, even if by a historical misfortune they once colonized us. I will never live to see that happen again. I place the interests of my country first; everything else comes after. I might sound like an unprogressive leader, but before criticizing Zaire, compare it with other African countries. In my view, we have made enormous progress.

Elliot: Granted that you have made considerable economic progress, most experts insist that the economy of Zaire remains fundamentally weak and vulnerable. Indeed, many observers contend that the Zairian people are deeply resentful of their economic plight—the "pauperization of the masses," as one analyst put it—but that they have been frightened into silence. Specifically, what measures have you initiated to improve the economic plight of the average Zairian?

Mobutu: As you know, Zaire, like many other sub-Saharan African countries, has experienced slower economic growth and deteriorating terms of trade since it won its independence in 1960. However, we are among those few nations fortunate enough to have benefited from a prolonged period of civil stability and peace, which has provided our people with relative physical security for the past 20 years.

Since 1982, I have initiated several major economic reforms which have increased business confidence in Zaire's future and have had a positive impact on the overall standard of living. Owing to the elimination of exchange and price controls, parallel markets have virtually disappeared and profits now accrue to legitimate marketers and small farmers, thus encouraging more regular supplies to markets. As a result, the supply of both foreign and domestic goods in Zaire's markets has noticeably increased, eliminating the periodic shortages that used to occur.

Moreover, improved fiscal controls since 1983 insure that key industries like mining now receive the foreign exchange and local currency they need to operate and to maintain their productive capacity, thus providing continued employment to Zaire's industrial workforce. In addition, improved fiscal and monetary policies have reduced rates of inflation and currency depreciation, and have encouraged a modest resumption of business investment. Although there have been setbacks in the external environment, the reform program has survived and conserved its momentum, leading to realistic hopes of progress and real growth in the medium term.

HEALTH CARE

Dymally: Many experts argue that your government has done little to improve health care in the country. For example, isn't it true that your government has not built one new hospital since 1965? They point out that in 1965, Zaire had at least two hospitals in every city. Today, less than 50% of these hospitals are functioning at 80%. Of the five hospitals in Kinshasa, only two are accessible to the general public. Why does your government tolerate such a

situation? Isn't this reason enough for action?

Mobutu: First, I must take strong exception to the statistics you've cited. They're simply not accurate. I suspect you obtained them from *The Washington Post*, which, as I stated earlier, simply parrots whatever the Belgian press reports. These sources are completely unreliable.

Let's talk facts. At independence, Zaire had one of the most extensive infrastructures in Africa, with more than 400 hospitals. The current need is not to build new hospitals but to make the existing ones more functional. A few hospitals have been constructed, such as the one at Goma. With the help of foreign assistance, construction is nearing completion on a new hospital in Kinshasa.

During the pre-independence era, there were always two "hospitals" in each administrative zone—one for the Europeans and one for the Africans. This "double standard" was abolished and the expatriate clinics have been closed and/or converted into other service establishments, such as health centers. Today, there are several public hospitals in Kinshasa, including Mama Yemo, Kinois, Kintambo, University Clinic, Ngaliema and Kimbanseke. My goal is to create 22 urban health zones and hospital centers, which will make health care more universal available.

As for the doctor-to-patient ratio, according to international sources, the ratio of patient-to-nurse-to-doctor has improved greatly since 1960. The population-to-physician ratio improved from 79,620 to one in 1960 to 14,780 to one in 1980. The population-to-nurse ratio improved during the same period from 3,510 to one to 1,920 to one. These figures compare favorably to those of other sub-Saharan countries. This past year, Zaire graduated about 1,700 nurses; in 1988, the number is expected to increase to 2,400. Those are the facts.

Dymally: Like many other African nations, Zaire faces a serious AIDS epidemic. It has been reported that one out of seven women is infected with the disease. What steps, if any, have you taken to meet this crisis?

Mobutu: Once again, your statistics are inaccurate. In fact, the AIDS virus is estimated to be present in approximately 6% to 8% of the urban population. Still, there is ample reason for concern. Although we have a lower incidence of AIDS than many of our neighbors, we have nevertheless vigorously addressed the AIDS problem. In this regard, we have initiated an aggressive information campaign aimed at educating the general population about the dangers of the disease. In a country of marginal literacy, this program has been innovative and creative in its approach, and has included: 500,000 leaflets warning of the dangers of the disease and the best ways to avoid it have been distributed; two episodes of the nation's most popular television show have addressed the AIDS problem, and several documentaries have been broadcast; a song about the dangers of AIDS by a widely popular singer has been recorded; newspaper and radio accounts of AIDS and question-and-answer columns and programs have been produced; churches and other organizations have been used to spread the word at services and special meetings; and 100,000 copies of a comic book has been published, which tells the story of a businessman who ignored warnings about promiscuity and caught the disease, passing it on to his family and friends.

In addition to these preventive measures, Zaire is presently collaborating with the international medical community, including the Pasteur Institute of Paris and the United States Centers for Disease Control, in an effort to find a cure for the disease.

Only recently, a team of Zairian and Egyptian doctors announced promising findings with a new drug known as MM1. During a six-month study of 39 AIDS patients, 12 of the 19 members of the test group survived and showed definite signs of improvement in their immunological responses, while all 20 of the control group died. A new study is presently underway, involving a larger group of patients, in order to verify the initial results to determine if MM1 is indeed a cure for this deadly disease.

Elliot: Many analysts charge that Zaire's socioeconomic infrastructure has broken down due to neglect by the nation's leaders. Your once extensive road network is now covered with bush. Eighty-three percent of the people live without electricity and telephones, many in mud huts. Do you dispute these statistics? If not, why haven't you attempted to correct the situation?

Mobutu: Despite the assumptions implicit in your question, the road system in Zaire has shown some improvement in recent years. Before 1960, the rural road network was maintained by forced labor under the Belgian colonial administration. During the civil disturbances from 1960 to 1965, bridges were blown up and roads mined, closing thousands of kilometers to vehicular traffic. At the same time, trucks became bigger and heavier and contributed to the rapid deterioration of fragile dirt roads, particularly during the rainy seasons. Starting in 1972, however, I created a National Roads Office that has been increasingly effective in improving road maintenance. Despite funding problems, this department has reopened some of the roads that were closed during the 12 years following new independence and is presently maintaining 30,000 to 40,000 kilometers a year.

DEBT AND FOREIGN POLICY

Elliot: In order to resolve the debt crisis stemming from the \$5.1 billion you said Zaire now owes, you signed an unprecedented agreement with the International Monetary Fund, which your critics contend will produce deepening poverty and misery among the Zairian people. Why did you agree to such stringent IMF demands? How long can Zaire hold out without the danger of civil disorders—or worse?

Mobutu: First, I deserve credit for having limited Zaire's foreign debt to \$5.1 billion, irrespective of our nation's wealth. Not long ago, I asked an eminent professor of international economics to evaluate the percentage and likely impact of this debt as compared to Zaire's known wealth. He concluded that it represented less than 2.5% of our national wealth. Clearly, \$5.1 billion is modest when measured against the staggering debts of other African countries—for example, \$8 billion, \$12 billion, \$19 billion, \$26 billion, \$40 billion. In addition, these nations owe their foreign debts to private international banks, while only 5% of Zaire's foreign debt is due private international banks. The remaining 95% results from financial assistance and government loans granted by the friendly countries, including the United States, France, Great Britain, Belgium, Canada and Japan. Thus, no one could claim that Zaire would be endangering the international banking system if it failed to repay its debts. For instance,

we owed \$40 million to Canada, but they chose to cancel it.

Let me discuss our agreements with the International Monetary Fund. These agreements were signed at the end of 1982. Up until 1986, Zaire had fully complied with the terms of the agreement with her international partners, including the World Bank and the IMF. In October, 1986, the Central Committee of our national party (the Popular Movement of the Revolution), met to evaluate the austerity measures imposed by our partners. It found that those measures had been extremely costly to Zaire.

The assessment showed that Zaire had, for four years (1983 to 1986), disbursed \$1.9 billion toward the payment of our credits. Meanwhile, over the same period, we had received only one billion dollars in foreign assistance. In other words, Zaire had become a net exporter of \$900 million of hard currency, as compared to what we had received. This upset many Central Committee members, who subsequently ordered my government to discontinue the austerity program.

We are prepared to fulfill our commitments as best we can, but this must not involve austerity measures intended to make the Zairian people suffer. The Central Committee also placed a 2% limit on any payments from export earnings. That is, if we receive one billion dollars in export earnings, we should pay back no more than \$200 million.

Dymally: Many African leaders, yourself included, have been extremely critical of American foreign policy, particularly as it concerns Africa. In your view, is the Reagan policy doomed to failure? If so, why?

Mobutu: First, it is not my place to dictate United States foreign policy in Africa. However, present policy does not enhance the image of a great power like the United States. For example, recent statistics on American aid to Africa reveal that Egypt receives over one billion dollars, followed by Morocco and Tunisia, which receive hundreds of millions of dollars. Yet, famine and misery have exacted a heavy toll on several African countries south of the Sahara. How do you explain this disparity? How can you justify the billions of dollars given to North Africa, while many of the neediest countries receive next to nothing?

I don't mean to criticize your government's policy; I am merely pointing out certain facts. Unfortunately, the situation is not likely to improve, what with President Reagan's recent announcement that American aid to the Third World would be cut by 20%. The International Monetary Fund has, as you know, created a special fund estimated to total \$11.5 billion over the next three years. This fund was intended to help ease the crisis in the developing world, especially Africa. The major participants in this partnership include the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, France, Great Britain and Japan. The United States refused to participate. What explanation can you give for its refusal?

Elliot: As you know, Rep. Ronald V. Dellums (D-CA), has introduced legislation to withdraw military aid and put controls on economic aid to Zaire by the United States. How do you respond?

Mobutu: Does Zaire, in fact, receive military aid from the United States? In my view, such legislation only complicates our present relationship. You know all too well that American military aid is, for the most part, negligible. Two years ago, it amounted to the equivalent of 21 jeeps and assorted

spare parts for our aircraft. If that is the extent of your aid, how would we suffer if it were curtailed?

Since independence, Zaire has been a dependable ally of the United States. However, we are paying dearly for our friendship. Indeed, time after time, the United States has invented myriad excuses for denying us aid—human rights violations, South Africa, corruption, etc. These charges are completely unfounded.

In all sincerity, I believe that those African countries which are inclined toward a Marxist-Leninist ideology, with close ties to the Soviet Union and its Eastern Bloc allies, are treated far better than is Zaire, which has opted for close ties with the West. For us, it has been a virtual sea of troubles. I expressed this same view to Vice President Bush, when he visited Zaire. In reality, Zaire receives little if any aid from the United States. How are we repaid? With ingratitude and criticism. Bush himself acknowledged that America's strongest critics are always rewarded, while their faithful friends are always poorly treated.

Let me cite a case in point—namely, the August, 1975 OAU summit, which was held in Kampala under the auspices of Ugandan President Idi Amin. President Jaafar Numeiry of Sudan introduced a virulent motion aimed at the Western powers. Although I am not paid by these nations to defend their interests at the OAU, I strongly opposed Numeiry's motion, not wanting the OAU to be regarded as ideologically anti-West or at the disposition of the East. President Numeiry again took the floor and lambasted me, stating, "He [Mobutu] can't speak up. He is a servant of the United States, a puppet of the West." This caused an uproar. The motion was then put to the floor for a vote. Almost everyone else followed my lead, and the motion was defeated. Two years later, President Numeiry chased out the Russians and his Eastern allies from Sudan and opened his doors to the United States. Since then, Sudan has been a yearly candidate for \$100 million in American economic assistance.

In answering your question, I am making a great effort to choose my words carefully, for when I recall that trying accident, I am tempted to break all ties with your country. Numeiry insulted me, condemned you, and then reversed his stand, only to be rewarded with \$100 million each year for additional aircraft, cannons, etc., while Zaire hasn't received a cartridge. At the same time, the United States has been fulminating a variety of problems in Zaire under the pretext of human rights violations, political corruption, South Africa and the like. If I have, against all odds, decided to remain a faithful friend to the United States, it is because in politics one must be courageous. Political courage cannot be defined as dotting after a great power in the anticipation of future aid; what matters most to be are friendship and faith. That is the true meaning of courage.

Elliot: Isn't it true that Zaire has, at the urging of the CIA, allowed the Kamina Base to be used to provide covert American aid to Jonas Savimbi's rebels in Angola and that you have provided direct assistance to Savimbi?

Mobutu: No. You know very well the geography of Africa. If you examine a map of Africa, you will discover that Angola stretches 2,600 kilometers along our southern frontier. This boundary line is controlled by the legitimate ruling government of Angola. Everyone knows that for aid to

reach this land-locked country, it must pass through South Africa or some other country, but not Zaire. Any aid that we might provide would inevitably fail to reach Savimbi, who is well off to the south—indeed, less than 20 kilometers from Angola's southern border with South Africa.

Not long ago, I officially requested that the chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) appoint several military experts to improve the surveillance system at Kamina Base. They would be paid by OAU member states—although Zaire would be prepared to shoulder all of the expenses—and would be charged with the responsibility to examine the contents of every aircraft that lands or takes off. Although this approach would run contrary to current military practice, it would go a long way toward monitoring any possible violations.

Dymally: The Organization of African Unity has, for many years, supported a boycott against Israel. Yet, Zaire was the first African country to renew diplomatic relations with Israel that were severed during the 1973 Middle East War. At the same time, you have openly criticized Israel before members of Congress and castigated Israel for its Palestinian policy. How do you explain this seeming contradiction?

Mobutu: No contradiction exists. I view Israel as a friend, but this does not imply that I am slavishly obliged to endorse her policies. Even within Israel, where the government has hitherto enjoyed the complete backing of the people, voices of disapprobation regarding her West Bank policy can be heard. Thus, we are friends with Israel, but we have voiced strong opposition to those actions that we deem unjustifiable. Therefore, no contradiction exists. The United States supports Israel 100%. Yet, you recently criticized her West Bank policy, but are still friends. We view our relationship much the same way.

Elliot: In recent years, you have expressed strong opposition to Libyan President Muammar Qaddafi and his efforts to expand his sphere of influence. How serious is the Libyan threat in the region?

Mobutu: First, my goal is not to oust Qaddafi as head of state. Rather, I oppose many of his policies aimed at his sister countries in Africa, including Zaire. His occupation of Chad, for example, is in direct violation of one of the major clauses of the OAU Charter, which prohibits the occupation of one African country by another. The Charter recommends that all disputes be settled through peaceful negotiations.

Obviously, Qaddafi has resorted to military occupation for the simple reason that Libya is far more powerful than Chad. While Zaire is also less powerful, it still condemns Libya, both verbally in international forums and through its unconditional support for an independent Chad. Our position is consistent with the OAU Charter, which calls for non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

In this regard, I decided to brave Qaddafi's threats by intervening in Chad. This may be called the "right of interference," since Zaire does not share a common boundary with Chad. We are merely close friends. I do not expect praise for my position; it is a question of justice. Unfortunately, I have become a target, and wherever I travel in Europe I am heavily guarded. We are aware of, and are closely monitoring, Zairian Libyan-trained terrorists seeking to destabilize our country. Regardless of the personal consequences, I will not haul down my flag

or retreat from Chad. Recently, we dispatched 3,000 paratroopers to Chad. Since that time, we have lost 22 of our best young men.

Dymally: Many critics have argued that consistency is not your most prominent trait. You speak of the need for African "authenticity" and for Africans to cast aside the bonds of "neocolonialism," yet Zaire is one of white-ruled South Africa's top African trading partners. How do you square this apparent inconsistency?

Mobutu: Your question makes me laugh. But, please don't think that I am laughing at you. You are an American, a citizen of the United States. You are fully aware that your country enjoys diplomatic ties with South Africa, as evidenced by the existence in Washington and in Pretoria of your respective embassies. My situation is quite different. We are drawn together by one simple fact: the transportation of our minerals through the Southern Road to our land-locked country. That is the extent of our relations. By the way, are Western journalists unaware that all European countries have embassies in South Africa—that they engage in economic trade and military cooperation?

Don't forget, Zaire is hemmed in, and is required to use the Southern Road, which transports 25% to 30% of our minerals. The national port simply cannot accommodate more than 40% of our imports or exports. The remaining 60% is transported by the Southern Road or the Tanzanian Road. Therefore, our relationship with South Africa is, strictly speaking, a matter of survival. Moreover, it is not a gift from the South African government; we are billed for using their railway.

Obviously, my policy has drawn sharp criticism. However, consider those other African nations that cannot survive without South Africa; nothing is said about them. Zaire is the only scapegoat. That is my response.

Elliot: As far as South Africa is concerned, do you support President Reagan's policy of "constructive engagement"? Do you favor stronger sanctions or direct military intervention in South Africa?

Mobutu: Let's not go too far afield. If only the actions recommended by the United Nations were implemented to the letter, and with the full backing of the Western powers, we would not be where we are today. Clearly, the great powers are playing games in South Africa.

Dymally: According to your critics, you bear direct responsibility for the death of former Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba, who was arrested by your troops and flown to Katanga, where, it is believed, he was killed by Congolese or Katangese troops. Indeed, some observers maintain that you were part of a CIA plot to assassinate Lumumba. What role, if any, did you play in the collapse of the Lumumba government and the subsequent assassination of Lumumba himself?

Mobutu: As a black leader in your country, you are obviously sensitive to the plight of Africa and its peoples. However, your interest in Zaire's internal affairs is consistent with your nation's treatment of African countries as a whole. It seems to me that you are here in search of a scapegoat, as reflected by your probing questions concerning human rights, Savimbi, South Africa and now Lumumba. In some ways, I feel that I am on trial. In any event, let me respond.

First, I was not a high-ranking government official in 1961; I was in charge of the armed forces, not the Head of State. I don't wish to criticize my predecessor, President Kasavubu, but it was he who ordered Lumumba's arrest and his subsequent transfer to Lubumbashi in Shaba province, where he died.

When Lumumba was assassinated, I was in Kinshasa, carrying out my duties as chief of staff of the army. I was as surprised as anyone when the news of his death was reported. Since I wasn't there at the time, I don't know exactly what occurred. Neither do I know President Kasavubu's motives for transferring him to Shaba province. I don't know who assassinated Lumumba, and thus can't be of much help. To repeat: I wasn't the head of state; I was a soldier. I did not initiate policy; I merely executed orders from above. Besides, Lumumba's transfer was not within my jurisdiction. Nonetheless, I was, and remain, implicated in Lumumba's assassination because I was a member of the ruling government.

Let me try to shed some light on the actual sequence of events. In January, 1961, the period in which Lumumba was transferred and later murdered, the troops that were stationed in Shaba province, then known as Katanga province, were not under my command. This absolves me of the charge that "It was you, the army officers, who gave the orders." I had no control over the troops in Shabva, but was under orders from the government to suppress the secession. Thus, I held no position of power, either politically in Kinshasa or militarily in Katanga, to be held accountable for anything.

Why did I begin my answer with such a prologue? It appears that some people in your country would like to tie economic and military assistance to African countries to events such as this. Liberia is a case in point. As head of state, I shouldn't criticize another nation. However, you force me to give you an example. If you calculate American aid to Liberia, dating back to when Samuel Doe took power up until 1987, you would find that it is double that of Zaire's. Why don't you question Doe on his predecessor's assassination? Liberia receives far more aid, but is not asked such questions; we receive virtually no aid, and can't live in peace. How can you compare Zaire's president, who did not murder his predecessor but merely removed him from power, to someone who brutally murdered his predecessor? [Note: Mobutu refers here to his overthrow of President Joseph Kasavubu in 1965.]

Until his death, for example, President Kasavubu enjoyed all of the privileges due an ex-president: a full salary, car, etc. When he died, he was given full military honors at his funeral. Thus, how can you compare these two cases?

Today, you can still see the small home President Kasavubu left in Kinshasa, and in which his widow and family resided. In my

view, it wasn't dignified for the wife of an ex-president, so I decided to erect a more spacious home for her and her family. All of Kasavubu's children, who survived him, studied in Europe at my expense. His eldest son, a veterinary surgeon, is presently working closely with me; his daughter is a member of the Central Committee; and his wife is earning a salary equivalent to a full cabinet minister. Where else can you find a similar situation in Africa? It would be instructive if you could meet and talk to Mrs. Kasavubu, so that you could learn the facts first-hand.

As for Lumumba, his son, a virulent critic of my government, and one who fomented rebellion in Europe, is slated to return to Zaire within a fortnight. Go to Cairo, where Mrs. Lumumba has taken up temporary residence, and ask her whether she has received help from President Mobutu, what favors I've done her. I would like you to act as an intermediary in securing her return home, either through the intervention of a journalist or a friend. I am prepared to finance the mission.

The widow of Liberia's former president, William Tolbert, is presently residing in New York. Ask her if I have been helpful to her and her son, a law student in New York, whenever I visit there. Ask her son whether I have provided him with financial assistance? Ask him how many times he has visited Zaire? Ask him how President Mobutu received him? These are facts that shouldn't be overlooked, although, of course, I don't mean to blow my own trumpet.

Elliot: Your opponents insist that you are extremely egotistical. Indeed, a Zairian presidential hymn includes the words: "Today, we are going to admire the Guide Mobutu. If you see him, admire him. If everyone sees him, let them admire him. The country is called Zaire." Why have you so attempted to personalize Zairian politics? Aren't there dangers in establishing a government based on the cult of personality?

Mobutu: Believe it or not, there is no "cult of personality" in Zaire. It exists only in the minds of our critics. Zaire is not France, Great Britain, Denmark of the United States. Zaire is Africa in miniature. The customs and traditions you have witnessed over the past week do not even represent a quarter of what is tribal, authentic Africa. Since becoming head of state, I have supported a policy of cultural revival, in the hope that Zairians will rediscover themselves and their heritage.

Ambassador [Nguz a] Karl-i-Bond, for example, comes from a tribe in Shaba province, which has dedicated a song to its paramount chief. The song is called "Ndjalele", which means "Hail to the Chief." In that tribe, the chief appeared only once a year, and when he did the event was celebrated for days on end, sometimes up to a week.

I am unable, however, to disappear for a year; I must be visible every day. The paramount chiefs of that province decided to dedicate the song to me, stating, "He is

more popular and more successful than was any emperor in our history." That is how I came to be honored with the song "Ndjalele," which is now sung not only when I visit Shaba province, but whenever I salute the army.

This reverence has never been imposed on the people. It emanates from deep within them, and it is a demonstration of their personal loyalty. Yet, this treatment is far short of what our African traditions require of the people. Therefore, when the Zairian people pay tribute to me as their chief, they are simply following their authentic, indigenous traditions.

Dymally: Finally, at age 57, you have survived it all: coup attempts, invasions by Katangese rebels, defections by your highest officials. To what do you attribute your longevity—your survival? What explains your remarkable durability?

Mobutu: The answer is quite simple. My support over the past 22 years has come from the Zairian people—their loyalty and their love. Beyond that I can't say more. That relationship, viewed on a somewhat formal level, is one of complete loyalty. Although I am the boss, when I meet the troops, they regard me more or less as a comrade, particularly the paratroopers. As you know, I was a paratrooper myself. Among the military pilots, I am considered to be one of theirs. Since the army issues from the people, it is a reflection of their faith and confidence. My political survival is that simple.

I cannot judge myself, only the people can. For a country as large as Zaire, the leader must know his job, and must be accepted by the people. I know I am doing my job—that I am responding to the people's needs. Thus, I shouldn't brag about it. The people are the ultimate judge.

I've never had any illusions about the people's loyalty and faith, for there are clear signs and these signs do not mislead.

You might have heard rumors, for example, about my so-called illness and alleged death, which surfaced recently when I was out of the country. When I returned to Zaire and the people discovered that these rumors were baseless, I was accorded an unprecedented welcome by the Kinshasa population.

According to the media, of that city's 3 million inhabitants, 2.5 million men, women and children flooded the streets to give me a triumphant welcome. Neither me, nor a visiting statesman, had ever before received such a welcome. That is a clear sign—an unmistakable sign—of the people's affection. I will not belabor the point.

I have an idea. Let's drive to the university in my car, without a bodyguard, and without notice. I'll just bring my hat. Don't leave me for a second, so you won't think it was pre-planned. Let's try this experiment. It will reveal, most clearly, how I am viewed by the people.