

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

MANASSAS NATIONAL
BATTLEFIELD PARK

HON. MICHAEL A. ANDREWS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, on May 4, I introduced legislation to preserve the historical integrity of the Manassas National Battlefield Park (H.R. 4526). Congressman ROBERT MRAZEK of New York joined us in this effort. Today, we have more than 200 cosponsors.

This influx of bipartisan congressional support exemplifies a national concern that Americans have regarding the preservation of our national parks. In addition, this sends a strong proclamation that development adjacent to our most pristine landmarks will not be tolerated.

As you may know, Manassas National Battlefield Park is being threatened by the pending construction of a 1.2-million square foot shopping mall on a 600-acre plot of land on the battlefield. Construction on this historic piece of property will dominate the area's landscape, destroy the integrity of the park itself, and eliminate yet another part of the actual battlefield.

It is our belief that it is the responsibility of the Federal Government to preserve the integrity of national parks from the threats posed by the commercial developers. We believe that the preservation of the Manassas National Battlefield Park is crucial in our efforts to maintain and pass on American history, heritage, and national dignity to future generations. Newspaper articles and editorials on the preservation of the Manassas National Battlefield Park have appeared in newspapers and periodicals all over the Nation; below I have drawn together a few of these editorials:

A HERITAGE IMPERILED

(By Tom Wicker)

Bull Run is a creek that meanders through Virginia so near Washington that members of Congress and ladies of fashion could take horse and buggy out to witness the first battle of the Civil War, fought along the creek banks near Manassas Junction on July 21, 1861.

Confederate victory sent them scrambling back to Washington in panic. After a year of war, no sightseers ventured to the same bloody fields when a second, more terrible battle in August 1862 resulted in Robert E. Lee's most complete victory, the retreat of most Federal troops from Virginia and a forced delay in Abraham Lincoln's planned Emancipation Proclamation.

One of the first postwar acts of veterans from both sides was to return in amity to this dual battleground (Manassas, as Confederates called it; Bull Run to the Federals). Together they erected primitive monuments of local stone on the Henry Hill, where Stonewall Jackson earned his nickname in 1861, and at the Deep Cut, where at

the climax of one of the war's great charges, Jackson's battered defenders threw rocks at Fitz-John Porter's bluecoats in 1862.

A century and a quarter later—in a nation that sometimes seems not to care about, much less honor, its past—the biggest developer in Virginia has been cleared by Prince William County authorities to build on part of the Manassas battlefield a monster shopping mall and a housing development. Heavy new auto traffic, moreover, will suffocate the roadways that give access to the inadequately protected battlefields and their many monuments.

Congress authorized a small Manassas National Battlefield Park around the Henry Hill in 1940, expanded it in 1954 to include some of the second battle sites, then took in much of the rest of the area in 1980. But in a compromise with local authorities, a segment between U.S. 29 (the important Warrenton Turnpike during the Civil War) and the new Interstate 66 was left out of the expanded park, obviously for development purposes.

The excluded area, however, had been in 1862 the site of General Lee's headquarters and the staging area for Gen. James Longstreet's massive counterattack that drove the Federal army of Gen. John Pope from the field. Bounded also by Pageland Lane and Groveton Road, which were important arteries during the battle, the excluded land was of unquestioned historical importance. Its development, moreover, could have great impact on the national park, as Prince William officials recognized.

"The county board of supervisors has absolutely no intention whatever to violate the integrity of that park." Donald L. White, then vice chairman of the board, said twice during Senate hearings on the park bill sponsored by John Warner of Virginia. That may not have been a legal pledge, but it gives what's happening now an even more duplicitous aura.

First, in 1986, the Hazel/Peterson Companies obtained the county's approval for a housing development, an office park, a small shopping center and parking lot, all to be screened by a narrow landscaped strip from the parkland the site abutted. Considerable opposition was heard from local citizens and historical groups, but they succeeded only in scaling down the project (from 975 houses to 560).

But three months ago, Hazel/Peterson announced that it would cut the office park in half, and substitute for the shopping center a huge mall (1.2 million square feet) featuring five major department stores. From the slope in front of Brawner's farmhouse, where in 1862 Stonewall Jackson determined to attack King's Division as it passed on the turnpike below ("the road was blue with them," the Confederate general William C. Oates wrote later), an observer soon will see jammed parking lots and a blight of modern mall architecture.

When Park Service officials protested the sudden switch, which has been kept from the public until it was accomplished, the current board of supervisors fired right back: two parks and the Quantico Marine base, occupying 20 percent of Prince Wil-

liam's territory, provide only \$20,139 a year in Federal payments—but the mall will provide 2,900 jobs and, over 20 years \$135 million in net revenues.

The county may have a legitimate complaint, but is desecrating hallowed ground the remedy? And Manassas is only one example of a national heritage imperiled by development. Stay tuned for a second article, about mounting opposition that may include the House Interior Committee.

[From the New York Times, Apr. 5, 1988]

MALLING OVER THE PAST

(By Tom Wicker)

The Campeau Corporation of Canada, having just swallowed Federated Department Stores Inc., has agreed with the Edward J. DeBartolo Company to spread a new rash of shopping malls across an American countryside that's already in danger of being paved over.

That's bad news that could be worse, if this new retail and real estate giant proves as callous everywhere else as the DeBartolo Company has been in its plan—concealed from the public until recently—to throw down the second-largest shopping mall in northern Virginia on part of the Manassas-Bull Run battlefield.

This 1.2 million square feet of commercial development will put parking lots and fast-food shops on historic ground, where thousands of Union and Confederate soldiers died in August 1862. It will foul the area surrounding and force the widening of roads through the Manassas National Battlefield Park, which the mall will directly abut.

DeBartolo is in cahoots with the Hazel Peterson Company at Manassas, as far as I know, Campeau has nothing to do with that project, which was "cussed and discussed" in a previous article. But commercial development of this kind, all across the nation, already is having an adverse impact on historical, recreational and other sites that ought to be protected as part of the national heritage and patrimony.

Private development is creeping up Marye's Heights—where on a single day in 1863 the Federal Army of the Potomac took 12,500 casualties—to the edge of the Fredericksburg-Spotsylvania National Military Park in Virginia. Historically significant battlefields surrounding Richmond, at Stone's River in Tennessee, and at Sharpsburg, Md., are similarly endangered. At Chantilly, near Dulles Airport outside Washington, where the Union generals Philip Kearny and Isaac Stevens were killed in combat in 1862, housing tracts and shopping centers already cover the battleground.

Nor is it just Civil War sites that are being despoiled. Outside Tucson, Ariz., development is moving inexorably toward the Saguaro National Monument, which supposedly protects the wild desert environment with its giant cactus plants. South Carolina preservationists are trying to raise \$2 million to buy the farm of Charles Pinckney, a signer and one of the architects of the Constitution, to save it from subdividers.

On a strip of privately owned land knifing into Yellowstone National Park, something

● 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.

called the Church Universal and Triumphant has erected a tall game fence that halts the natural passage of animals and violates the park's ecosystem. Private development also threatens national recreational areas in the Santa Monica Mountains of California and along the Chattahoochee River in Georgia.

Nothing yet damages the Custer battlefield near Rosebud Creek in Montana—in its mournful silence and loneliness one of the most moving of all American historical sites. But the National Park Service does not own nearly enough land there to protect the battlefield, should private developers start moving in.

In Loudoun County, VA., a planned housing tract threatens the pristine character of the village of Waterford a designated national landmark that looks today much as it did in the 18th and early 19th centuries. County authorities and the developer still are trying to work out an alternative.

So it goes, without hindrance from the Reagan Administration, which opposes restraints on private property and won't put up the money for land acquisitions to extend the national park system or to protect existing parks, monuments and landmarks.

Now, however, the House Interior Committee is considering legislation that would give the park service more power to prevent damaging development in areas abutting or surrounding such sites. The chairman, Mo Udall, recently took a publicized walk over the threatened segment of the Manassas battlefield; and Representative Bruce Vento, who heads the relevant subcommittee, is optimistic about the legislation.

Increased appropriations for the Park Service's partnership with state historical preservation programs also would help. The service is authorized already to make grants for preservation purposes to these state groups; but the funds available are "bare bones" and their distribution is opposed by the Reagan Administration.

Action now will lock the barn door after a good many horses have been stolen. It's still action worth taking before developers consume what's left of our national heritage.

[From the Los Angeles Times, Feb. 8, 1988]

IF YOU'VE SEEN ONE BATTLEFIELD . . .

Sometimes it seems that life is just one shopping mall after another. Take, for instance, the 1.2-million-square-foot William Center Mall that is to be built in Prince William County about 20 miles west of the White House and the Washington Monument. But then the mall is only part of it. Ultimately the 600-acre development will include 1.7 million square feet of office space and 650 new homes.

The mall, the brainchild of Edward J. DeBartolo Corp., the nation's biggest builder of shopping malls, will have some competition. Within a 25-mile radius of William Center Mall, according to the Washington Post, there already are three shopping centers. A fourth is under construction. A fifth is planned. The nearest major competitor is the 1.4-million-square-foot, 213-store Fair Oaks Mall.

But there will be something special about the William Center Mall, for on two sides it will be built smack up against Manassas National Battlefield Park, the site of the first and second battles of Bull Run in the Civil War. Manassas is appropriately described by Post columnist Jonathan Yardley as "one of the few pieces of land in America to which the word 'hallowed' applies without reserva-

tion." There in 1861 was fought the first major battle of the war. And there in 1862 was fought a second critical battle that wiped out all the gains of the Union Army in Northern Virginia the previous year. Each time the Union feared for the life of the nation's capital.

National Park Service officials have expressed concern about encroaching development in and around national landmarks of the capital region, especially Manassas. Now their worst fears have been realized. The Park Service has no legal authority to stop the mall—it should have, but doesn't. Local historic-preservation groups vowed to fight the mall, but the deck is stacked against them. The county rezoned the property in 1986 shortly after the real-estate firm working with DeBartolo bought it.

Local officials in fact are delighted as they struggle with neighboring Fairfax County for the region's booming commercial and residential business. "It excites me in the sense that we're no longer going to stand in the shadow of Fairfax County," County Supervisor Robert L. Cole said. "This is going to be nicer than Fair Oaks."

And think of it: a mall with its own national historic shrine.

[From the Houston Post, May 30, 1988]

MEMORIAL DAY

This is Memorial Day, the one day Americans set aside as a time for special remembrance and honor of our war dead. No Memorial Day would be complete without at least one orator denouncing our apathy, our forgetfulness, our don't-give-a-damn attitude toward our fallen men and women in the military.

Don't believe it. Americans still care and care very deeply. Look no further than the rolling woodlands outside Washington. There a developer is trying to put up a shopping mall, bigger than the Houston Galleria, right next to the battlefield of First and Second Manassas (or Bull Run, depending upon your accent). Americans from North and South are up in arms over the proposed desecration. In Washington it seems to be generating more angry discussion than the budget, the INF treaty or the summit.

It is another example of American's continuing concern for our warriors on Memorial Day or any day. And, no, it is not weakening.

A CONGRESSIONAL SALUTE TO JOSEPH E. O'CONNELL

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to an outstanding man in my district, Mr. Joseph E. O'Connell. Joe will be honored on June 10, 1988, on the occasion of his retirement. I am pleased to have this opportunity to say a few words about him.

Joe O'Connell is retiring after working for General Telephone Co. of California in various positions for 31 years. Joe began working for General Telephone in 1957 as an equipment installer, and it was that year that he started his march to the top of the company. He was quickly promoted to foreman and then maintenance supervisor. By 1968, he was working in

administrative and technological supervisory positions, preparing \$3 million budgets and being held accountable for 100 employees. Since 1978, he has been installation and maintenance superintendent. In addition to this, he has been a part-time instructor at Long Beach City College since 1983.

Besides being committed to his career, Joe has found the energy to give his time to many community organizations. He is the vice president of operation of the Goodwill Industries of southern Los Angeles County, vice president of the Long Beach Kiwanis Club, secretary of the Pacific Hospital Foundation of Long Beach, a member of the advisory board of the Long Beach Boy Scouts of America, past president of the Los Alamitos Chamber of Commerce, a member of the Knights of Columbus and a member of the General Telephone Management Club.

But Joe O'Connell is more than just a glittering résumé. Mr. WALKER, and a 30-year veteran of General Telephone Co. He is committed, sincere, talented and full of energy. His dedication to his work and his community is highly valued by the people of Long Beach. My wife, Lee, joins me in extending our warmest congratulations to him on this auspicious occasion. We wish Joe and his children, Joe Jr., John, Joan and, Lindsay all the best in the years to come.

ETHIOPIA

HON. JOHN MILLER

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. MILLER of Washington. Mr. Speaker, today I rise to protest the Ethiopian Government's interference in the efforts to reduce hunger in Ethiopia.

In 1983 during the last major drought in that region, 850,000 metric tons of food were distributed to the hungry in Ethiopia. Still, over 1 million people died. Today the problem is much worse. In a country of 45 million people, up to 7 million are at risk, with 3.2 million of them in the northern provinces of Tigray and Eritrea. Estimates are that over 1.3 million metric tons of food are needed to save those starving to death in Ethiopia.

But instead of aiding the world wide famine relief effort, Colonel Mengitsu has used the country's scarce resources to maintain his own power and on futile attempts to crush the insurgency of the north.

Fuel and planes needed to transport food to drought stricken areas are used by Mengitsu's army. So, the food rots in ports, while the people starve. Ethiopia has much fertile land. Yet, the Government's mandate of collective farming and forced communal farms has hurt the family farmers who produce most of the nation's food supply.

On April 6, 1988, all foreign relief workers including United Nations and private organizations, were kicked out of Eritrea and Tigray. All the assets of these programs were nationalized. The Ethiopian Government says they are forcing these organizations out of the north to protect the workers' safety. This is false—rather it is to ensure that all money,

food, and industrial equipment is diverted to aid the largest standing army on the continent.

Assistant Secretary of State Richard Williamson stated in his May 19 United Nations speech that Col. Mengitsu Haile Mariam's actions are ones "which starve an innocent population" and are "cold-blooded neglect of millions of Ethiopians in pursuit of military objectives in an intractable and unwinnable civil war." The Soviet Union continues to aid Colonel Mengitsu in his murderous efforts.

There is one hopeful sign: Recently, United Nations Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar received permission from the Ethiopian Government to send United Nations observers to monitor the distribution of food to starving people in the northern provinces of Eritrea and Tigray.

The Ethiopian Government should reconsider and allow the International Red Cross and other famine-relief organizations to resume operations to help the 3 million hungry men, women, and children in the region. I applaud the recent efforts of the Reagan administration to start a major assistance program through Sudan, despite warnings by the Ethiopian Government. The millions of starving people in the rebel-held northern areas of Ethiopia are in desperate need of assistance.

Colonel Mengitsu is taking all the young men, airplanes, fuel, and grain to fight his war against the north. I believe that if the Colonel will end his deplorable actions, then we can again someday call Ethiopia, the breadbasket of Africa.

**A TRIBUTE TO ANN WATKINS
AND ANNE SCHIERDING**

HON. JACK BUECHNER

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. BUECHNER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor two great American businesswomen located in St. Charles, MO, who through their hard work, quality products, and creative enterprise were recently recognized by the St. Charles Chamber of Commerce as "Small Business Persons of the Year."

Ann Watkins and Anne Schierding opened Patches, Etc., at 337 South Main Street in St. Charles in 1979. The two had met while restoring homes on Main Street, and decided to move their own business into a narrow brick house originally built in 1870. From there, Ann Watkins brought her professional background in fashion and a family history of generations of quilters, and Anne Schierding brought her professional background in business education and a love of needlework. Together, they created a business sensation, which through creative marketing, not only gave work to 12 employees, but engendered a new interest in quilting and other crafts.

Customers at the shop have come from St. Charles, from St. Louis, from St. Louis County, from Illinois and all over the country, even New York City. Long before they were recognized by their business colleagues in St. Charles or their Congressman in Washington, Ann and Anne were recognized daily by an enthusiastic and continuous clientele, which is

the ultimate recognition for any business, and the true test of efficiency for a free enterprise system.

Anne Schierding passed away Monday, May 30, after courageously suffering through months of Creutzfeldt-Jakob disease, a debilitating brain disorder. Her success in business and in 19 years of teaching at Hazelwood Central High School are in themselves a fitting tribute to a life of success, tragically cut short. We remember her fondly and share that memory and our prayers with her loving family.

But I am sure Ann Watkins will continue in their joint effort, with the spirit of Anne Schierding remaining in the traditional ambience of their store, and in the love for arts and crafts she created among her friends and neighbors, and a number of strangers as well. The living example of Patches, Etc., is the spirit which moves our economy, through which creatively engaged men and women enrich their lives and the lives of others in a responsive exchange of supply and demand. May the work of Anne and Ann not only be recognized for their success and efficiency, but for their love of their work, and the way that love made their customers return again and again.

**CORONADO NATIONAL TRAIL
STUDY ACT**

HON. BILL RICHARDSON

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to introduce a bill that directs the National Park Service to study the Coronado Trail for inclusion in our National Trails System Act. Francisco Vasquez de Coronado was one of the great European explorers of the New World. In his expedition through New Mexico and neighboring States, Coronado was among the first Europeans to see the wide variety of cultural and natural features that make the Southwest so unique. This bill will amend the National Trails System Act to mandate a major study of the approximate route taken by Coronado. The study would lay the groundwork for eventual designation of the Coronado Trail as part of the National Historic Trail System.

Between 1540 and 1542, Coronado led an expedition from the southwest coast of Mexico into the American Southwest in search of the legendary Seven Cities of Cibola. His party of 300 Spanish soldiers and 1,000 Indian allies and servants marched through the present States of Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas. During his expedition Coronado discovered what many believe was one of the fabled Seven Cities of Cibola at the Zuni Pueblo in western New Mexico. He also encountered the Acoma Indians along the Rio Grande River. The expedition traveled north to the Taos Pueblo and east to the Pecos. The large pueblo complex seen by Coronado is still home to the Taos people and can be seen to this day. Coronado met the Hopi in Arizona and the Plains Indians in Texas, Oklahoma and Kansas. Members of

this expedition were the first Europeans to see the Grand Canyon and other Southwestern landmarks.

The study of the Coronado Trail will provide invaluable information to ethnohistorians on the Spanish explorers and the Indian populations living in the Southwest at that time. It will also shed light on this important but sadly neglected era in the history of our Nation.

The study of Coronado's route and the eventual inclusion of the Coronado Trail in the National Trails System will complement the celebration of the 500th anniversary of Columbus's voyage to the New World. Coronado's expedition was the first significant exploration in the American Southwest after the European discovery of America.

Study and designation of the Coronado Trail will preserve an important part of our history and stimulate tourism in the States through which the Coronado Trail passes. Fortunately, most of the sites visited by Coronado and his expedition are readily identifiable and thus can be marked for tourists to investigate and appreciate.

Mr. Speaker, today we have the opportunity to preserve the most significant expedition route in the Spanish colonization of the Southwestern United States—the Coronado Trail. I urge all my colleagues to join me in support of this legislation.

**PERSECUTION OF BAHAI MUST
STOP**

HON. JIM LEACH

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. LEACH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I join with Congressman PORTER and many of our colleagues this week in introducing a resolution which once again urges the Government of Iran to respect the human rights of members of the Baha'i faith. This House and all similarly constituted parliamentary bodies around the world have a responsibility to make clear that the Iranian regime is accountable for its persecution of these courageous people.

While there have been recent reports of the release of a number of Baha'is from prisons in Iran and while executions appear to have declined, the international community dares not be silent until all such grievous human rights abuses have ended.

Far too fresh in our memories are the executions of over 200 Baha'is in Iran since 1979, the pattern of brutal torture and imprisonment, the desecration of property sacred to members of the faith, and the economic hardships visited upon the Baha'is. The terror which has befallen this vulnerable religious community is unconscionable.

It is important to point out that in its persecution of the Baha'is the Government of Iran carries a legal as well as moral and humanitarian burden of accountability. As a party to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Iran is bound by its provisions to protect religious freedom within its borders, including the right of minorities, in community with like believers, to profess and practice their faith. In addition to breaching internation-

al norms of decency and civility, Iran's failure to adhere to international human rights standards constitutes outlaw conduct.

Until the campaign of religious persecution and genocide against the Baha'is comes to an end, this body and the executive branch have an obligation to monitor events in Iran, to work with other governments to bring pressure on Iranian authorities to cease their human rights violations, to press the case of the Baha'is in international fora, and to provide appropriate assistance to those fleeing persecution. It is the least we can do for this suffering people who desire nothing more than to worship freely according to their conscience.

THE CHANGING WATER DEBATE

HON. GEORGE MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, it is an old Western saw that "whiskey is for drinking and water is for fighting over."

The Members of this body are well aware of that truth about water. This floor has seen some of the most bitter, most prolonged and most contentious of its debates in the last 10 years over the issue of water.

In California, our geographic distinctions have bred differing perspectives on the questions of water development, usage, and pricing. As time passed and the competition for dwindling resources increased—and as unforeseen problems like toxic drainage arose—the debate grew in pitch and intensity.

Yet I believe, as the chairman of the Subcommittee on Water and Power Resources and as a member whose district is deeply affected by water decisions we make in Washington, that we are building bridges to a more constructive and less polarized water policy for the future. Our delegation has worked on a more cooperative and more unified basis in recent years because we have all recognized the need for a water policy that is fiscally responsible and environmentally sound.

To many, however, water policy remains extraordinarily complex. That is why Peter Milius of the Washington Post has accomplished such an admirable feat: explaining briefly and cogently the political and environmental issues at stake in the continuing debate about the future of water policy.

I commend his recent column to all Members of the Congress:

CALIFORNIA WATER FIGHT

California has a ninth of the nation's population and, in dollar terms, produces more than an eighth of the crops. The people and agriculture both need vast amounts of water, but are concentrated in the drier parts of the state—from San Francisco south—where there are only three important sources of the precious product.

The first is an uneven supply of groundwater, already heavily mined.

The second is the Colorado River along the state's southeastern border—but California's share of this is also about to decline as Arizona and up-river states begin to take their full entitlements.

The third is the system of lesser rivers that arise in the state's eastern mountains and come together in San Francisco Bay.

Over the years the state and federal governments have greatly developed this third source, and it now is one of the most ambitious water storage and diversion projects in the world. Upstream are dams whose function is to spread the water over time, capturing excess flow in wet months for release in dry. In the flatlands are two aqueducts—government rivers—to move the water to unaccustomed places. Some is used to irrigate the broad desert valley down the center of the state. The rest is pumped over an intervening mountain range—a trifle in a project such as this—to support the civilization along the southern coast whose center and symbol is Los Angeles.

Now this third supply is also tightening. Population growth is one of the reasons, but the major tension is between environmental groups and agricultural interests. The environmentalists say that too much water is being diverted from the Bay-Delta area, a bog about the size of Rhode Island just east of San Francisco where the mountain rivers intertwine, then flow to the sea. The Delta is itself a prosperous farming area whose shallows and marshes double as important breeding grounds for plant and animal life, including several leading Pacific fisheries.

The water that envelops and supports all this activity is a particular mix of fresh and salt. When the state and federal governments flick on the pumps to move water south, they reduce the flow of fresh, letting salt spread inland. Farming and natural life are both adversely affected; the bay is not properly flushed; and as a political proposition, the interests of the wet northern part of the state are partly sacrificed to the dry, hundreds of miles away.

The critics would restore a more natural balance by recovering some of the water that now goes to agriculture, the larger farmers in the Central Valley particularly. They say the farmers could easily withstand the loss if only they could be made to conserve; five-sixths of the water in the state now goes to agriculture, and much of it is wastefully applied, in part because it is so cheap. The environmentalists point out that part of agriculture's share of the subsidized water is used to produce crops that must then be further subsidized because they are in oversupply—the water is used to grow things for which there is an insufficient market. The redistributionists also note that agriculture compounds the environmental problem by contaminating the excessive amount of water it consumes.

The Central Valley is the most dramatic example of this, as well as of the broader proposition that man only solves one problem in nature by creating another, equal and opposite. The government engineers knew that they would face a drainage problem in some parts of the valley if they transported large amounts of water there. Their cheerful solution was to propose still more construction, of a massive drain to take the water back north to the Delta after it had been used. The Delta's defenders resisted, for fear the used water would be contaminated by agricultural chemicals and the salts in the valley soil, and the half-built drain was allowed to empty into the marshy Kesterson wildlife refuge instead. Then birds at Kesterson began to be born deformed (stunted wings, twisted beaks, single eyes), apparently because the effluent contained too much of the element selenium. Now the drain has been closed, and no one

knows quite what to do. Other water from the aqueducts is filtered through the valley soil into the San Joaquin River, which carries it back north to the Delta—whence some is promptly pumped south again. The valley is stewing in its own salts.

The environmental groups can imagine three ways of prying more water away from the farmers. The first is by fiat: the state is now studying how much water to require be reserved for the Delta on environmental grounds before the pumps can be turned on. A second is to raise the price (which is to say, lower the subsidy) of the government water, on the theory that a price increase will inspire healthy conservation just as it did with that equally basic commodity, oil, in the 1970s. A related third idea is to create a market in water so that urban and other users could buy it away from the farmers. The urban areas in Southern California are now trying to buy some water away from the farmers in the Imperial Valley; they are offering to line the irrigation ditches there in return for the water that would save. The farmers are holding out; they want the cities to pay for the water as well as the ditches.

But sooner or later they will strike a bargain. In California and the rest of the arid West, the politics and economics of water both are changing. The government's old easy-water policies may have made good sense when the state was empty, and the object was to grow. A tighter regimen is coming now that the reverse is true.

A CONGRESSIONAL SALUTE TO ARTHUR STANLEY SBISA

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to bring to my colleagues' attention the long and distinguished career of an outstanding citizen in my area, Mr. Arthur Stanley Sbsa. Arthur will be honored for his 31 years of service as a faithful postal employee at a breakfast meeting on the North Redondo Beach Business Association [NRBBA] on June 9, 1988. This auspicious occasion gives me an opportunity to express my appreciation for his dedicated service to his community.

Mr. Sbsa began his career with the U.S. Postal Service in 1957, and has served the people of his community with dedication ever since. He will be greatly missed by all upon his retirement this month.

While dedicated to a career with the U.S. Post Office, Arthur has given an enormous amount of his time and energy to various civic duties. He has volunteered as a foster father with the Los Angeles County Foster Parent Program for the past 23 years. His service to the many young people whom he has helped is an inspiration to us all.

It gives me great pleasure to recognize and pay tribute to Arthur Stanley Sbsa on the occasion of his retirement from a long career of postal service to his community. Clearly, Stan's accomplishments highlight the truly remarkable contribution he has made during his long and distinguished career. My wife, Lee, and I would like to extend our gratitude to Arthur for his civic spirit and contributions to

our community, and wish him all the best in the years ahead.

VLADIMIR AND ASYA KNOKH

HON. JOHN MILLER

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. MILLER of Washington. Mr. Speaker, with the conclusion of the summit in Moscow, I want to remind us of the continued abuse of human rights in the Soviet Union. I can think of no better way than raising an individual emigration case—indicative of the still widespread denial of free emigration in the Soviet Union.

When I was in the Soviet Union in January I met with a variety of refuseniks, including Vladimir and Asya Knokh. The Knokhs have been attempting to emigrate since 1975. Mr. Knokh is a radio engineer and has been repeatedly refused an exit visa on the grounds of state security. After first applying to emigrate, Mr. Knokh was fired from his job and was out of work for 9 months. Since that time he has not been allowed to work in this field and has been subjected to harassment by the Soviet authorities. On August 30, 1977, Vladimir was summoned by the KGB for interrogation on his activities and as a witness in the case of Natan Scharansky. Mr. Knokh filed a complaint stating that his treatment and questioning by the KGB was not in accordance with the Russian Republic's Code of Criminal Procedure. But later that fall, Mr. Knokh's apartment was searched by KGB agents and several of his tapes of Jewish music were confiscated.

During the summit, we continued to hear some encouraging words by General Secretary Gorbachev. But the time for words is over; now we await action to fulfill those words. We wait for the Soviets to treat people such as the Knokhs with basic human dignity and to respect their fundamental rights. Until that time, we will continue to speak out for Vladimir and Asya Knokh and for all the rest whose basic rights are being trampled in the Soviet Union.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

HON. JACK BUECHNER

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. BUECHNER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to explain my absence for the votes taken on June 1, 1988. Had I been present, I would have voted "nay" on rollcall No. 159, the conference report to H.R. 1212, the Employee Polygraph Protection Act. I would have voted "yea" on rollcall No. 160, the Walker amendment as amended by Kildee to H.R. 1801, the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act, and "yea" to final passage of H.R. 1801, the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act. Due to the incorporation ceremonies of the newest and one of the largest cities in my district, I was unable to be present for these votes.

ZUNI SETTLEMENT FUND ACT
OF 1988

HON. BILL RICHARDSON

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to introduce the Zuni Settlement Fund Act of 1988. This bill will settle out of court two lawsuits of the Zuni Tribe against the United States for allegedly causing, through acts or omissions of the United States, environmental damage to the Zuni Indian Reservation in the State of New Mexico.

This settlement is unique in that it provides that the money received by the Zuni Tribe in the compromise of claims will be used for land conservation projects under the control and direction of the tribe. The bill provides for the money to be put into a trust fund, while only the interest on the fund can be spent pursuant to a Zuni Reservation restoration plan to be jointly agreed upon by the Department of the Interior and the Zuni Tribe.

Instead of spending more valuable time and money on trying to determine ultimate responsibility for the damages to the Zuni Reservation in the Court of Claims, the Zuni Tribe and the Department of the Interior will work together at solving continuing erosion problems. By concentrating on the causes of the damage and the remedial measures, both the Zuni and the United States will be enabled to prevent further wasting of Zuni Reservation natural resources.

The Zuni people and the residents of the State of New Mexico will be the great beneficiaries of this far-sighted settlement. I wish to personally congratulate and thank the Governor of the Zuni Pueblo, the superintendent of the Zuni Agency and the Albuquerque Area Director of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, in seeing beyond the flurry of litigation to the extent that they were able to work out a compromise which will be of lasting value to future generations. The environmental concerns which have plagued the Southwest for the past 100 years are squarely addressed.

We envision the Zuni people themselves being the key to the future success of damage control on the reservation. This bill will enable labor intensive projects or reseedling and reforestation of the watershed areas to be funded in perpetuity. The building of check dams and other erosion control measures will be closely monitored and supervised with technical expertise provided by the Zuni Tribe and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The genius of the Zuni Settlement Fund Act of 1988 is providing a special fund which will allow the Zuni Tribe to take a proactive roll in protecting the environment of the Zuni Reservation on a perpetual basis, instead of spending the claims money on per capita payments or other tribal programs which have no relevance to the issues addressed by the litigation.

This is an important milestone in the history of the Zuni Reservation which will allow the Zuni people to play the leading role in the restoration and conservation of their reservation resources. The cooperation of the United States and the Zuni Indian Tribe in working to

protect the natural beauty and productivity of the Zuni Reservation is to be highly praised.

Mr. Speaker, I urge all my colleagues to join me in supporting this legislation.

CONGRESSIONAL CALL TO CONSCIENCE VIGIL FOR SOVIET JEWS

HON. JIM LEACH

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. LEACH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, as a participant in the Congressional Call to Conscience Vigil for Soviet Jews, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues the plight of Iosef and Olga Latinsky and their daughter Anna.

Since 1979, the Latinsky's have been seeking permission to leave the Soviet Union. However, Soviet authorities have refused to grant them visas and their quest for freedom has resulted in great personal hardship to the family. Both Iosef and Olga have lost their jobs and have had difficulties at various times obtaining the necessary waivers from family members for their visa applications. Most recently, the Soviets have turned down their request for a visa citing insufficient kinship as the basis for doing so. Iosef and Olga also served brief prison terms for demonstrating, for making public their convictions.

Mr. Speaker, it is my hope that Soviet authorities will reconsider their refusal to permit the emigration of the Latinsky's and will allow them to leave the Soviet Union. Although there has been recent improvement in the numbers of those from the Jewish community who have been allowed to emigrate, it is apparent, as the Latinsky case demonstrates, that the Soviets have a long way to go to be in compliance with their obligations under international law.

At a time when serious efforts are underway to improve bilateral United States-Soviet relations in such areas as arms control, it is crucial that progress be made on the humanitarian front as well. A positive response by Soviet authorities to the Latinsky's request to leave the Soviet Union, and to the desire of others in the Jewish community for greater religious freedom, family reunification, and related human rights concerns, will go far in promoting an improved United States-Soviet relationship.

GIVING CHILDREN PRIORITY;
INVESTING IN CHILD CARE

HON. GEORGE MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, over the past 4 years, the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, which I chair, has heard from families in the inner cities and families in the suburbs on the need for a Federal response to the child care crisis.

The facts speak for themselves:

More than half of all preschool and school-age children have mothers who work outside the home.

Nearly three-quarters of mothers who work report that their incomes are vital to their family's economic security.

The shortage of child care presents a major obstacle to welfare mothers who want to work and teenage mothers who wish to return to school.

The select committee has also documented that quality child care benefits children as well as working parents. Child care programs that pay attention to early childhood development—programs similar to Head Start—greatly enhance a child's later academic performance.

Mr. Speaker, as we in Congress prepare to consider the various child care initiatives before us, I urge my colleagues to consider the words of William Raspberry of the Washington Post.

The information follows:

[From the Washington Post, Wednesday,
June 1, 1988]

CHILD CARE—FOR ALL CHILDREN

(By William Raspberry)

Child care in America is a consensus in search of a policy.

Whether the question is equality between the races and the sexes or welfare/workfare reform, the flood of middle-class women into the work force or adolescent parenting, economic competitiveness or functional illiteracy, a part of the answer is likely to be: child care.

Except for a handful of conservatives who see tax-supported day care as an intrusion into the inner sanctum of the family, and a smaller number of futurist philosophers who doubt the wisdom of pushing women out of the home in pursuit of full employment, there is a growing consensus that child care is a critical element in addressing America's economic and educational woes.

But the move toward consensus has come in such herky-jerky, differently motivated surges that we have neglected to spell out what we want child care to produce or how best to achieve it.

The women's movement sees the ready availability of day care as crucial to the problem of sexual equity. As long as women are expected to see to the care of their children and produce family income, they cannot hope to achieve on-the-job equality.

With black women even more likely than their white counterparts to be primary breadwinners, day care has emerged as an important civil rights issue.

The growing proportion of teen-age mothers and the difficulty of moving poor mothers from the welfare rolls to economic self-sufficiency have made day care a key element in nearly every welfare reform proposal. There are even calls for making day care a sort of cottage industry, providing employment for some welfare mothers while freeing others to go to work.

Predictions of a labor-short American future have some of us looking for ways to bring more mothers into the work force (already more than half of all preschool and school-age children have mothers who work outside the home). And others, like Julie Mabus, whose husband, Ray, is governor of Mississippi, have focused on the link between inadequate day care and adult illiteracy.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

But we remain a long way from fashioning a policy designed to meet the requirements of the disparate groups demanding day care.

"Having allowed American child care to be shaped by market forces and the ability to pay," says Lisbeth Schorr in her new book, "Within Our Reach," "we now have a grab bag of arrangements in which the children at highest risk are least likely to get the kind of child care that could reduce the chances of adverse outcomes."

Minnesota's lieutenant governor, Marlene Johnson, having spent three weeks last fall studying child care in Sweden, is calling for the development of a child care policy that "would allow our society to understand its responsibilities to our children and to guide our discussion about program development, employment practices and the general needs of children."

Her model: the Swedish system, which "reflects a commitment to teaching children family values and giving children the sense of being nurtured."

The best child care, whether provided private homes, public housing facilities, work sites or government-run centers, would do a good deal more than simply provide affordable baby-sitting. It is already true (though not yet recognized in public policy) that kindergarten is too late for children from low-income families to start catching up to their middle-class counterparts. Widely available child care facilities with a strong preschool intellectual development component—along the lines of Project Head Start—could go a long way toward closing that gap.

Minnesota's Marlene Johnson says she was "impressed and inspired by the Swedish child care system, not because it is perfect or because we can replicate it here, but rather because it is a system that reflects a society willing to make children a priority. . . ."

"In Sweden, the care of children whose parents work or attend school is recognized to be an important responsibility of society."

The American public, after decades of ambivalence regarding publicly supported child care, may be lurching toward a similar view.

Indeed, early childhood development is so crucial to subsequent academic success that education-based child care centers ought to be an option for all children, even those whose mothers are at home.

THE CIVIL AIR PATROL

HON. JAMES M. INHOFE

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to pay tribute to the Civil Air Patrol, a group of patriotic and dedicated Americans. These dedicated people flew 17,787 hours last year and were credited with saving 108 lives. In addition to search and rescue missions, the Civil Air Patrol [CAP] provides assistance to forest firefighting crews, helps stranded and isolated people during blizzards and floods, and transports live tissue and organs for transplants.

In 1985, CAP entered into an agreement with the U.S. Air Force and the Customs Service to support the Government's drug interdiction effort by performing air surveillance reconnaissance flights along the borders of the United States. About 1,100 CAP members

have been trained in the Customs drug mission, and they now fly about half of the Customs Service surveillance/patrol flying hours.

Another mission performed by CAP is to maintain a reliable, nationwide point-to-point ground and air mobile radio capability. This network provides vital communications support to local, State, and Federal agencies during disaster relief, search and rescue, and other emergency situations.

The Civil Air Patrol also pays an increasingly important role in getting young people involved in flying. Last year, CAP spent \$33,000 on solo flight training and orientation flights for cadets: \$8,000 for 53 solo flight scholarships to pay for ground school and flight training leading to solo qualification; and \$25,000 to partially fund the orientation flight program conducted at the wing and unit level. CAP's 52 wings and overseas units provided 6,691 cadets their first flight experience and 7,713 cadets were provided flights number two and three in the ongoing 6-flight series.

By exposing more young people to the fun and fascination of flight, the CAP cadet program helps attract and train the pilots of tomorrow. This program not only assures the continued health and capability of CAP, it could also be a major resource in meeting the increasing demand for pilots in the commercial airline industry as our air transportation system continues to grow.

The Civil Air Patrol was established 6 days before Pearl Harbor was bombed in 1941. Congress granted it a charter in 1946 in recognition of its major contributions during the war, and later gave it the status of civilian auxiliary of the Air Force. It plays continuing and vital role in serving and protecting our Nation, and fully merits the support of the U.S. Congress and the American people.

FRANK KNOREK HONORED BY NANTICOKE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

HON. PAUL E. KANJORSKI

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. KANJORSKI. Mr. Speaker, today I rise in tribute to a man who will be honored for his lifetime of community service by the Nanticoke Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Frank Knorek will be honored at a testimonial dinner held on his behalf on Sunday, and I am pleased to join the chamber of commerce in honoring this fine public-spirited gentleman.

The son of Polish immigrants, Frank Knorek was born in the Wyoming Valley of northeastern Pennsylvania and has lived his entire life there. A lifelong resident of Sheatown, he attended Newport High School and King's College before establishing his own insurance business. He has served as the president of many civic organizations, including the Nanticoke Chamber of Commerce, the Newport Chapter of the American Red Cross, the Nanticoke Lions, the Nanticoke State General Hospital, the Nanticoke Knights of Columbus, and the Wyoming Valley Country Club. Mr. Knorek is a charter member of the King's College Century Club and President's Club, and

has served as a member of the Holy Name Society and trustee of the Holy Trinity Church.

Although Frank and his late wife Theresa had no children of their own, they cared about every child in Nanticoke as if it were theirs. My father knew Frank well when he served as solicitor for Nanticoke and he passed along to me some good advice; whenever Nanticoke really needed help, speak to Frank Knorek. After the flood of 1972, the major services of the city of Nanticoke were restored, and the facilities were repaired. But there was no money left for Christmas decorations. Mr. Knorek contributed half of the cost of the decorations on one condition: That no one knew he made the contribution. Later when the city was planning to buy a building to renovate as a center for senior citizens, Mr. Knorek bought the option for the benefit of the city, again on the condition that no one know. He did not want to draw attention to himself. I hope Frank will forgive me for sharing this information now, but the chamber of commerce seems to have caught on to his many good deeds, and I think it is a little late to avoid drawing attention to the community service of Frank Knorek.

Frank Knorek is one of the finest citizens the city of Nanticoke has ever produced, and I am proud to join the Nanticoke Chamber of Commerce in honoring him for his many decades of devoted service to our community.

STATUS OF MFO PEACEKEEPING FORCE IN THE SINAI

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, in late April, pursuant to Public Law 97-132, the Department of State submitted a report of the status of the multinational force and observes [MFO] peacekeeping force in the Sinai and United States participation in that organization.

I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues some correspondence I had with the Department of State regarding that report and its conclusions concerning the forced 300-person cut in MFO personnel in the field due to budget reductions. The MFO remains an important peacekeeping and peacemaking force and its continued viability is crucial.

The Secretary of State's letter which accompanied the April report as well as the exchange of letters with the Department of State follow. The report remains in Committee of Foreign Affairs files:

THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
Washington, DC, April 26, 1988.

HON. JAMES C. WRIGHT, Jr.,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: In accordance with Public Law 97-132, I am submitting to you the seventh report on the activities of the Multinational Force and Observers (MFO) and certain financial information concerning United States Government participation in that organization.

The MFO assumed its responsibilities when Israel withdrew from the Sinai on April 25, 1982. This report covers the period from January 16, 1987 to January 15, 1988. The MFO continues to enjoy the full coop-

eration of Egypt and Israel in the exemplary performance of its mission.

The report highlights U.S. involvement in the MFO both as a participant, supplying troops and civilian observers, and as a financial contributor. The MFO is unique in that it is the only peacekeeping organization whose beneficiaries provide the bulk of its operating expenses. Israel and Egypt each contribute one-third of its costs, while the United States has undertaken to provide the final one-third. (The U.S. contribution and the MFO budget are discussed in the Congressional Presentation Documents on Security Assistance Programs for FY-1989.) You will also note that the Department of Defense (DOD) continues to provide the MFO with extensive logistical support on a reimbursable basis. In FY-1987, the MFO purchased more than four million dollars worth of equipment, spare parts and food from the DOD. The Department of the Army, which is the DOD executive agent for matters involving the MFO, consults regularly with the MFO on logistic problems in an effort to help it obtain its requirements promptly at prices consistent with applicable legislation and agreements.

During this reporting period the MFO reached an out-of-court settlement with Arrow Air and Arrow Air's insurers, ending more than one and one-half years of complex litigation arising out of the December 1985 crash of an Arrow Air DC-8 which killed 248 U.S. soldiers at Gander, Newfoundland. The litigation, initiated by a claim filed by Arrow Air's insurers, confronted the MFO with a potential unfunded liability to Arrow Air of approximately \$135 million. In June 1987 the claim was settled resulting in the termination of all litigation and arbitration matters relating to the Arrow claim and payment to the MFO of \$10 million. The MFO expects to apply the \$10 million toward reimbursement of the U.S. Government for certain statutory costs incurred as a result of the death or disablement of U.S. service personnel, which are attributable to their service with the MFO.

At the annual trilateral budget conference in December, the MFO Director General announced that, due to funding constraints brought on by reduced funding levels, he would be reducing the MFO's annual operating budget to slightly more than \$73 million. He indicated the reduced amounts would be adequate for FY-1988 operations, but would, in FY-1989, require reducing the overall size if the MFO force in the Sinai by 300 troops. Although the proposed reductions are not expected to materially affect the ability of the MFO to carry out its mission, the MFO feels that further reductions would require a fundamental change in its concept of operations.

Both Egypt and Israel remain firmly committed to the peace treaty and continue to rely on the MFO to provide a neutral security presence and channel through which they can discuss a range of bilateral issues on a regular basis. In addition to regular discussions, Israel and Egypt concluded negotiations to reach an agreement on arbitration of the Taba dispute. The arbitral proceedings are currently under way in Geneva and the MFO observation post, established to provide an interim presence in Taba during the arbitration process, continues to function without incident. While on occasion, in the broad context of relations between Israel and Egypt some treaty-related issues do arise, in more than five years of MFO operations there have been none which could not be resolved within the system established for that purpose.

Ten nations (Canada, Colombia, Fiji, France, Italy, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Uruguay) continue to participate in the MFO and are expected to do so for the foreseeable future. The routine renewal of expiring participation agreements is an indication of the credibility the MFO has achieved as an international peacekeeping organization. It is, however, the effort that both Israel and Egypt put into making the Treaty work and their willingness to use the MFO as a forum to discuss differences in a cooperative and constructive manner, which has enabled the organization to continue to perform its mission with such quiet efficiency.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE P. SHULTZ.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, DC, May 18, 1988.

HON. GEORGE P. SHULTZ,
Secretary, Department of State, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I write with respect to the seventh report on the activities of the Multinational Force and Observers (MFO), submitted by you to the Congress on April 26, 1988.

I note particularly the conclusions that the budget reductions are forcing a 300-person cut in MFO personnel in the field. I would appreciate your response to the following questions:

Were other methods of cost reduction for the MFO in fiscal year 1989 considered, other than the proposed reduction of a total of 300 troops from the Colombia, Fiji, and United States infantry battalions?

What are the implications of these reductions for MFO operations?

Your report details the reaction of the Government of Israel to the proposed reduction in the size of the MFO. What was the reaction of the Government of Egypt to the proposed reduction in the size of the MFO?

Given the shortfalls in recent funding for the MFO, are you seeking at this time any involvement of the United Nations in covering costs or providing personnel for the MFO?

Given the shortfalls in recent funding, do you plan further reconfigurations in the structure of the MFO?

What would be the implications of further such cuts in future years on MFO operations?

Given the MFO's clear record of success, how long do you believe the mission of the MFO will be necessary?

Your prompt attention to these questions is greatly appreciated and I look forward to your response.

With best regards,
Sincerely yours,

LEE H. HAMILTON,
Chairman, Subcommittee on
Europe and the Middle East.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, DC, June 1, 1988.

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Europe and the
Middle East, House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: The following responses are provided in reply to questions regarding the seventh report on the activities of the Multinational Force and Observers (MFO), contained in your letter of May 18, 1988:

Question. Were other methods of cost reduction for the MFO in fiscal year 1989 considered, other than the proposed reduction of a total of 300 troops from the Colombia, Fiji, and United States infantry battalions?

Answer. By emphasizing management efficiencies, the MFO has been able to bring operating expenses down in the face of inflation and a dramatic decline in the value of the U.S. dollar. To stay within its FY-1988 budget the MFO sold excess aircraft engines, deferred some capital equipment replacement and facility maintenance, and reduced flying hours by ten percent. The MFO sought further measures of this nature, but now feels that the practical limits of savings through management efficiency and deferral of maintenance have been reached.

Question. What are the implications of these reductions for MFO operations?

Answer. The MFO indicates that the proposed reductions are not expected to materially affect its ability to carry out its mission; however, it cautions that further cuts will require fundamental change in its concept of operations.

Question. Your report details the reaction of the Government of Israel to the proposed reduction in the size of the MFO. What was the reaction of the government of Egypt to the proposed reduction in the size of the MFO?

Answer. Both Egypt and Israel have indicated that they are satisfied with the MFO as it is currently operating. The Government of Egypt accepts the FY-1989 reductions proposed by the MFO as a realistic and appropriate response to the anticipated financial situation.

Question. Given the shortfalls in recent funding for the MFO, are you seeking at this time any involvement of the United Nations in covering costs or providing personnel for the MFO?

Answer. The Governments of Israel, Egypt and the United States are not currently seeking any United Nations involvement with the MFO. The MFO was established outside of the United Nations framework because the United Nations was not able to undertake the role envisioned for it in the Israeli-Egyptian Peace Treaty.

Question. Given the shortfalls in recent funding, do you plan further reconfigurations in the structure of the MFO?

Answer. The proposed troop reductions were carefully calculated to have minimum impact on MFO operations. Further budget cuts would necessitate larger troop reductions and would require the MFO to change its operational concepts. The Israelis have indicated that they accept the FY-1989 reductions proposed by the MFO; however, they consider that the MFO has reached a "red line" and further reductions should not be considered.

Question. What would be the implications of further such cuts in future years on MFO operations?

Answer. The precedent of force reductions driven by financial constraints could put the MFO on a "slippery slope" and could ultimately have an adverse effect on the ability of the MFO to carry out its mission.

Question. Given the MFO's clear record of success, how long do you believe the mission of the MFO will be necessary?

Answer. Both parties strongly support the continued presence of the MFO. The MFO protocol states "The two Parties may consider the possibility of replacing the arrangements hereby established with alternative arrangements by mutual agreement."

Both Israel and Egypt have expressed satisfaction with the MFO and the role it is playing as they seek ways to improve their bilateral relations. Although the Israelis accept the force reduction scheduled in FY-1989, they would prefer the MFO to remain unchanged for the foreseeable future.

Should you have any further question concerning activities of the Multinational Force and Observers, please do not hesitate to contact us.

Sincerely,

J. EDWARD FOX,
Assistant Secretary,
Legislative Affairs.

RICKEY KARROLL, AMATEUR BARREL RACING CHAMPION

HON. KENNETH J. GRAY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. GRAY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I don't often insert material in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD but a special honor was earned by a good friend and constituent, Mr. Rickey Karroll of Thompsonville, IL, when he won the highest points in the amateur barrel racing competition in the United States for 1987 with 72 points on his quarter horse Go Tash Go.

I am pleased to insert an article from the Quarter Horse Journal about the 10-State travels of Rickey Karroll.

GO TASH GO—AMATEUR BARREL RACING

The first time Rickey Karroll of Thompsonville, Illinois, rode Go Tash Go was in a barrel race. "I had second, but knocked a barrel," he said. "After that I bought him."

Karroll was looking for a horse when he happened to go to a show at the Horse Palace in Missouri. At the show, Karroll saw John and Sheila Ricketts who sell futurity colts and aged horses. He had known "Tash" through them for a few years, and found out that they were willing to sell him.

Karroll had been showing since 1980, and became the lucky owner of Tash, a 1974 chestnut gelding, in 1986. He said his horse is really a proud horse. "He likes to run barrels and wants everyone to get out of his way so he can run. He is a very gutsy horse, he keeps trying and gives it his all."

Going for the high-point wasn't Karroll's intention at first, but being in the top-three was definitely a goal. "I didn't think it was possible until I had seen the results and I was leading. I thought I would see if I could continue in the number one spot, and then about April, I thought it was possible."

Karroll admitted that last year was one of the greatest, but saddest times in his life. "I met several nice and interesting people, but also one of my best friends, Leon Dalton, was seriously injured at a horse show in Louisville, Kentucky. Besides my horse, Leon and all the Dalton family are probably one of the biggest reasons I won this award. Leon took the time to help me with my riding before I had Tash. He taught me everything I know about horses."

Others which Karroll credits much of his success to are his family and his girlfriend, Becky Gray.

During his campaign, Karroll has some interesting stories to tell, including the time when he was trying to make two shows in the same day. "On the way, the cable to the starter grounded against the transmission line. It melted the battery and burnt the

transmission line. Eighty dollars and several hours later, I was on my way and made the show.

Karroll said he never gave up trying to win the high point. He said there were several people in the running, and he fell several points behind in August and September, and was unable to earn any points. "In November, at Evansville, Indiana, I was 15 points behind, and was able to pick up 11 points. Then I knew I could do it. Like they say it's not over till it's over."

Last year, the team placed in several county fairs in surrounding states. They were the winners of amateur barrels at the Illinois State Fair, and qualified for the World Show in amateur barrels. Tash earned his ROM and Superior in amateur barrels, too.

Plans are to show at the World this year. Tash and Karroll are qualified in amateur barrels and are working toward qualifying in the senior division. "I will show him until sold," he said. "I have a stallion that I will be breeding and showing in 1989."

The amateur exhibitor said he's not involved in many other activities. Showing is his main interest. "I put my horses first over most things I do."

REFORMS NEEDED FOR STUDENT AID PROGRAMS

HON. RICHARD K. ARMEY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. ARMEY. Mr. Speaker, today, at the request of the Secretary of Education, I am introducing the Department's proposed legislation to address serious problems in our student aid programs. In recent years, there has been an alarming increase in the rate of student loan defaults, a pattern of apparent exploitation of unqualified students by some schools, and a continuing lack of accountability for educational results on the part of schools participating in our assistance programs. These problems, if not addressed, could threaten the integrity and viability of Federal student aid. Reform is urgently needed, and I believe that the Secretary's well-considered proposals should serve as the basis for the discussion of this pressing issue in Congress.

I would like to read for the RECORD the Secretary's letter to Speaker WRIGHT explaining the need for this legislation and explaining its major provisions:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION,
THE SECRETARY,
May 5, 1988.

HON. JAMES C. WRIGHT, Jr.,
Speaker of the House of Representatives,
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Enclosed for the consideration of the Congress is a proposed bill entitled the "Student Aid Integrity and Accountability Act of 1988." Also enclosed is a section-by-section analysis explaining the proposed amendments. An identical letter has been sent to the President of the Senate.

These reforms are urgently needed in order to address a number of serious problems that threaten the integrity and viability of our student aid programs. Such problems include an alarming rate of student loan defaults, the exploitation of unquali-

fied students by some schools, and a lack of institutional accountability for educational results in the student aid programs. These amendments would strengthen the Secretary's ability to hold individuals and institutions accountable for maintaining the integrity of these important programs. Major provisions of the proposed bill are highlighted below.

REDUCING STUDENT LOAN DEFAULTS

This year, defaults in the Guaranteed Student Loan program alone are expected to cost taxpayers \$1.6 billion. Every means available must be used to reduce these defaults, which endanger the integrity and the viability of our student loan programs. The bill would remove the current statutory prohibition against use of the newly authorized rules, such as aggregate loan limits and the prohibition against student loan defaulters receiving further Federal student assistance. To deprive the Government of the ability to enforce these statutory rules in the most effective manner is a mistake. The Administration cannot justify seeking funds for the Data System until this prohibition is removed.

In order to prevent defaults by individuals who have already demonstrated their lack of credit-worthiness, lenders would be required to check the credit histories of all Perkins Loan, Income-Contingent Loan (ICL), regular Guaranteed Student Loan (GSL), Parent Loan (PLUS), and Supplemental Loan (SLS) borrowers over age 21. Lenders would be allowed to charge applicants up to \$25 to cover the cost of such credit checks. Borrowers with poor credit records would be required to obtain a credit-worthy co-signer. The loan access of students with little or no credit history, who would be the vast majority of applicants, would not be affected.

In order to facilitate loan collection, the bill would require a GSL, SLS, ICL, or Perkins Loan borrower to provide his or her driver's license number, and, as part of the school's exit interview, the address of his or her next-of-kin, his or her expected address and the name and address of his or her expected employer after graduation.

In order to introduce a real incentive for lender diligence in GSL collection and default prevention, the bill would reduce a lender's insurance level from 100 to 90 percent. Lenders would thus bear a small share of the financial responsibility for meeting the cost of defaults. Several Federal loan guarantee programs already include such a risk-sharing feature (e.g., FHA) as called for by OMB Circular A-70 for all such programs.

Similarly, in order to stimulate greater default prevention efforts by GSL guarantee agencies, the basic level of Federal reinsurance would be reduced from 100 to 90 percent. Reinsurance coverage would fall to 80 percent or 70 percent—in place of 90 percent or 80 percent under current law—depending on an agency's default experience. Also, in order to make these reinsurance "default trigger" provisions more effective and equitable, the statutory formula which determines an agency's reimbursement rate would be amended (1) to take into account a guarantee agency's collections on defaulted loans, and (2) to apply any reinsurance rate reduction to the next entire fiscal year—rather than applying the reduction only to the remainder of the year in which the trigger level is reached.

PREVENTING THE EXPLOITATION OF UNQUALIFIED STUDENTS

Recent studies have documented the exploitation of unqualified students, who are often admitted through vague "ability to benefit" provisions in the statute, by some proprietary schools. These students drop out at an alarmingly high rate, frequently default on their student loans, and otherwise waste Federal grant, loan, and work assistance. In order to curtail such abuses, this bill would delete the "ability to benefit" eligibility provisions, and simply require that all student aid recipients possess a high school diploma or pass a State-approved high school equivalency test. The Higher Education Amendments of 1986 added a number of provisions intended to limit a school's authority to dispense Federal student aid to non-high school graduates admitted on the basis of "ability to benefit" judgments. However, these new requirements (e.g., "counseling" prior to admission and completion of an institutionally prescribed remedial education program before completion of the postsecondary program) are clearly prone to manipulation by schools and, in our view, will not significantly reduce the enrollment of likely dropouts and defaulters—a situation that is a disservice to the students themselves as well as the taxpayer.

PREVENTING THE ABUSE OF STUDENT AID

In order to reduce opportunities for program abuse, the bill would allow the Secretary to limit, suspend, or terminate the participation of individuals or organizations that act as agents of participating schools in administering title IV student aid programs (such as recruiting or loan collection agents, general servicers and consultants) when these agents have violated Federal law or regulations. The bill would also clarify the Secretary's authority to take a short-term emergency action to suspend the participation of a school or its agent when Federal funds are at risk.

HOLDING SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES ACCOUNTABLE FOR RESULTS

When schools and colleges benefit from and have considerable discretion over the use of campus-based Federal student aid, they should be expected to be held accountable for providing students a high quality education. This bill would tie institutional allocations for the Work-Study and Supplemental Grant programs to institutional success in meeting various student outcome goals.

These outcome goals, which could include, for example, job placement rates, program completion rates and student gains on standardized academic achievement tests, would be set by the institution itself within guidelines established by regulation. Schools that meet or exceed their objectives would be eligible to receive additional funds based on relative institutional need. Schools that do not fully meet their objectives would have their allocations proportionately reduced. This policy would not affect other Federal student assistance, such as Pell Grants and Guaranteed Student Loans.

CONCLUSION

I urge the Congress to give early and favorable consideration to this important legislation. The Office of Management and Budget advises that there is no objection to the submission of this legislation to the Congress and that its enactment would be in accord with the program of the President.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. BENNETT.

MISPERCEPTIONS

HON. BOB McEWEN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. McEWEN. Mr. Speaker, there are lingering misperceptions about the size and scope of America's nuclear arsenal. In light of the recently ratified intermediate nuclear forces [INF] agreement, it is important that we understand the exact status of our strategic weapons.

In Thursday's Washington Post, syndicated columnist Norman Podhoretz detailed a poll taken for the committee on the present danger by Penn and Schoen Associates. The results of the poll are startling.

Fully 75 percent of all Americans believe that the nuclear arsenal of the United States has increased over the past 20 years while another 11 percent believe it has remained the same. These notions come despite the fact that, as measured in megatonnage, the total yield of our nuclear stockpile has declined by three-fourths.

Mr. Speaker, I'd like to commend Mr. Podhoretz's column to the attention of my colleagues:

DO WE HAVE MORE NUKES THAN WE HAD 20 YEARS AGO? GUESS AGAIN

Question. By how much has the American nuclear arsenal increased over the past 20 years?

If you recognized this as a trick question—if, that is, you know that the American nuclear arsenal has become not larger but smaller, much smaller, over the past 20 years—then you are one of the very tiny minority of your fellow countrymen who know what they are talking about when they discuss the arms "race" and arms control.

Thus, in a recent poll taken for the Committee on the Present Danger, Penn and Schoen Associates asked a random national sample of Americans (not in the tricky form I have just used but in straightforward terms) whether the total number of nuclear weapons in the U.S. arsenal has increased, decreased or stayed the same over the past 20 years.

Now, the plain fact is that we have 8,000 fewer nuclear weapons of one kind or another today than we had in 1967. Yet an astonishing 75 percent of the American people believe that the number has increased, and another 11 percent labor under the delusion that it has stayed the same.

As against this 86 percent who are ignorant or misinformed, only 7 percent of the American people are aware of the true situation, at least in general terms. And things get even worse as we examine the poll a little further.

For example, in addition to being asked about numbers, the respondents were questioned about the explosive power of our nuclear stockpile. On this point, 84 percent gave the wrong answers (that it has either increased or stayed the same), while only 4 percent said correctly that our nuclear arsenal is less powerful than it was 20 years ago.

Not even this 4 percent, however, had more than a vague idea of how large the decrease in explosive power has been. In fact, when asked about that, not one of the 802 persons polled, not a single one, picked the correct category of "50 percent or more."

In other words, practically nobody in America realizes that the total yield of our nuclear stockpile, as measured in megatonnage, has declined by about 75 percent—yes, 75 percent—in the past two decades.

Nor have arms control agreements had anything to do with these reductions. They are mainly the result of technological developments that have made nuclear weapons more accurate. Furthermore, such developments would ironically have been prevented if some arms-control enthusiasts had had their way.

Given the abysmal level of knowledge revealed by the Penn-Schoen poll about the trends over time, it is less surprising than it might otherwise have been to discover that very few people in America have an accurate notion of what has happened to our nuclear stockpile during the Reagan administration.

Here again only 7 percent know that under Reagan (and of course without counting the weapons that will be eliminated by the newly ratified INF Treaty) there has been a decrease in the size of our nuclear arsenal.

True, the decline under Reagan (about 3 percent) has been much smaller than was registered in the period between 1967 and 1980. But a decline it still is, and not the increase that nearly two-thirds of the American people imagine Reagan has brought us.

The Penn-Schoen poll did not go into the issue of defense spending. But it is a safe bet that no more than a comparably minuscule number of Americans realize that only 15 percent of the defense budget is devoted to nuclear forces. And how many Americans understand that even the 50-percent cuts in long-range missiles contemplated by the proposed START agreement would amount to only about 2 percent of the defense budget?

Stop for a minute and consider how it has come to pass that so many of us in this country are either ignorant or misinformed on issues that are literally matters of life and death to us all, and that we hear and read about almost every day.

Does the explanation perhaps lie in a lack of education? On the contrary. The respondents in this poll who went to college proved to be more (and on some questions a lot more) ignorant or misinformed than those who had not enjoyed the benefits of a higher education.

The reason for this discrepancy, I suspect, is that the college educated have paid more attention to the clamor about nuclear weapons that has for so long been filling the American air with distortions and outright lies. By contrast, people who have averted their eyes and ears—either because they thought they would be unable to understand the discussion, or because they found it too unpleasant, or because they had more interesting things to do—have undergone a less thorough course of brainwashing than their intellectual "betters."

Yet even without excessive exposure to the relentless campaigns waged in and through the media against the arms "race," the relatively unschooled have also for the most part been left with three flagrantly false impressions: that the United States has been engaged over the years in a massive buildup of its nuclear forces; that this process has escalated to unprecedented heights since Ronald Reagan became president; and that it is one of the main causes of the growth in the federal deficit.

In the face of this egregious illustration of how hard it is for a simple set of facts to

penetrate the mind of the public against the will of the media, what becomes of the theories of liberal democracy on which our political system is built? What, in particular, becomes of the belief that the truth is bound to prevail in a free competition of ideas? And what becomes of the Jeffersonian faith in the protections that are supposed to be afforded by a well-educated citizenry against the deceptions of demagogues?

WE CAN STOP LOOKING FOR A COMPETITIVENESS SOLUTION; THE ANSWER IS A COMMITMENT TO QUALITY

HON. DON RITTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. RITTER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues, the following article, "Closing the Quality Gap," by David B. Luther, senior vice president and corporate director of quality at Corning Glass Works.

Corning is doing an outstanding job promoting total quality management, both within and outside the company boundaries. Since Corning committed itself to total quality management, it has rebounded from a position of trouble, due to international competition, to a position of strength and growth. It went from having to almost abandon glass fiber production, due to Japanese competition, to selling glass fibers in Japan and expanding production. And, all due to a dedication to quality.

The U.S. Congress and American industry can learn a great lesson from Corning Glass Works. In his article, Mr. Luther says:

We have learned that workers, at all levels of the organization, are capable of much greater contributions than we ever thought possible. We have learned that the person on the job usually knows more about the job and how to improve it than anyone else in the organization. We've learned, through experience, that the individual, if allowed, can be one of the most powerful forces for improvement.

I encourage my colleagues to consider this article and the ramifications of having our Nation's industries, schools, and Government, commit themselves to quality. We can stop looking for a competitiveness solution; the answer is a commitment to quality.

The following is Mr. Luther's article:

CLOSING THE QUALITY GAP
(By David B. Luther)

Closing the door of a Honda may be more critical to U.S. competitiveness than trade deficits, exchange rates, or trade negotiations.

The sound of a Honda door closing is a function of quality. It sells Hondas. For many buyers, the sound is as important as the price.

Achieving high quality is not a trade deficit issue or even a political issue. It's a work issue, entirely within our control.

It's much tougher than a political issue, because of the change implied for all of the individuals involved. But if we can tackle the work issue, then we can solve a large part of the trade balance problem.

The flow of wealth from America to the Pacific rim has become a popular cover

story subject and topic of Washington conversation. Competitiveness, trade deficits, exchange rates, and trade negotiations dominate the discussion. Some see in the issue the decline of America as an economic leader.

The trade imbalance is also a cause of concern in many companies, which wrestle with the implications of lost markets. In the last five years, the United States has lost shares in both foreign and domestic markets. The loss of domestic markets alone accounts for two-thirds of the \$169-billion trade deficit.

A casual observer could conclude that unfairness is the cause when offshore companies make a profit selling in America while American companies cannot do the same. Restricted markets, agreement violations, and dumping are all charges suggesting that we do not have a "level playing field."

The second conclusion an observer might reach is that the answer must be a political one. Certainly exchange rate stability, tariffs, and voluntary quotas are the stuff of legislatures and politicians. When activity does occur, the focus is political, whether it is Congress threatening protective tariffs or the president in private conversation with Prime Minister Nakasone. The trade problem seems so large that it can only be solved by governments.

This is partly correct. There are some unfair practices occurring, and there are a number of political actions that could have a major impact.

But government action will not be enough, no matter how optimistically one views it. A private sector response is also needed if we are to make the necessary changes.

Much of the trade problem has occurred simply because offshore companies have done a great job. Manufacturers in Japan and Korea and Singapore have paid attention to what the U.S. consumer wants, and in meeting those desires they have focused on detail, reliability, and quality. Offshore companies have demonstrated hundreds of times, in dozens of products and service areas, that quality products can be made and sold profitably.

They have also demonstrated that attention to detail and quality can be achieved at levels that American companies have long considered impossible, or at least impractical. Time and again, foreign manufacturers have been able to supply a well-designed product that does what it is supposed to do, reliably, and continues to do so for a long time.

The fact that American work must be done differently is not news for most U.S.-based companies. The quietest of industrial revolutions has begun; more and more companies are making the changes required to compete on the basis of quality. Ford, IBM, Xerox, Caterpillar, and many other firms have made the attainment of quality a key strategic objective.

Corning is another. Our 28,000 employees worldwide have been taught to strive for error-free work, to spend more time preventing problems than solving them, and, most important, to know what their customers want and then meet those requirements, on time, every time. The concepts are easy to agree to, if sometimes difficult to follow.

Corning is not particularly unique in its approach. Phil Crosby first made the concept popularly known in his book *Quality Is Free*. Many companies, having adopted some form of Crosby's principles, are making major changes in their products, services, and the very way they do business.

The lessons we have learned at Corning imply a partial answer to the trade problem.

We have learned that workers, at all levels of the organization, are capable of a much greater contribution than we ever thought possible. This was especially surprising to us because we prided ourselves on our progressive human-resource practices. But, as a result of changing expectations, we learned that people are willing and able to take on tasks that had previously been reserved for technical or administrative staff.

We have learned that the person on the job usually knows more about that job and how to improve it than anyone else in the organization. We've learned, through experience, that the individual, if allowed, can be one of the most powerful forces for improvement.

One example is a young man whose job it is to silk-screen the measuring marks on glass laboratory vessels, such as beakers and flasks. Corning has been producing and silk-screening laboratory glassware for many years and thought the process pretty well defined. The young man, after performing the job for some time, decided he could improve the process. In fact, with his boss' encouragement, he designed and built a new machine in his basement. The machine was brought into the factory and is now used in production.

The result is increased capacity and a 38 percent reduction in setup time (the time required to change from one product to another). Before the advent of quality, this could not have happened. We would not have believed that a worker with a high school education was capable of such a feat, nor would we have encouraged him to try.

A second example involves the catalytic converter used to remove pollutants from automobile exhausts. Corning invented and developed the product, sold the concept to Detroit, and built a plant to manufacture it. A short time later, Japanese competition supplied a better product at an attractive price.

Threatened by the loss of Detroit's business and 1,000 jobs, a determined Corning plant manager led a rigorous quality drive, reducing the error rate to 30 defects per million pieces made. This averages out to about one mistake per person every six weeks. As a result, we currently have the U.S. business and we now sell to Japanese automobile manufacturers.

People can indeed perform, if management provides the environment that allows them to. They can even make products good enough to export to Japan.

Another lesson we've learned is that people really want to do a good job. People don't want to go home at the end of the day feeling that they have not performed well.

In our environment, training is an important part of quality. Our target is to spend five percent of time worked on training, and in some cases people think we still are not doing enough. In a local glass-tubing plant the workers in one area were distressed by losses that were occurring because people new to their department received no specific training about the operation.

A team of production workers designed a training program, piloted it, and then got union and management agreement that the training be mandatory for anyone joining the department. The program included a video, classroom training, on-the-job training, and a skills-certification process. The people in this plant not only want to do a good job themselves, they want their fellow workers to do a good job as well.

The most popular examples are from factories. Equally relevant, and often a lot more difficult to address, are the areas occupied by administrators and clerical and technical personnel. The environment is different, but the idea is the same.

For example, a team of administrative workers who run and distribute computer reports for international locations decided to economize its function by better assessing customer need. They interviewed everyone to whom they distributed reports and, through consolidation and elimination, got rid of a pile of computer reports that, over a year's time, would equal the height of a two-story building and weigh 500 pounds.

Small stuff? Perhaps, but over time and with a lot of people it becomes a potent force.

It is almost a cliché that we in America are in a competitive struggle for worldwide markets that we pretty much owned following World War II. It is clear that workers in other nations are willing to work very hard for a lot less, just to get a share of the way of life that they perceive exists in this country.

It is also true that a portion of the solution can only be accomplished politically. We do need a level playing field to take care of some of the trade imbalance. Perhaps, through political means, over time we can achieve as much as half of the trade improvement needed.

The other half of the problem has to be fixed the old-fashioned way—by doing more with what we have. Fortunately, we have a lot with which to work. If the experience at Corning is an accurate representation, the United States has great numbers of workers who want to turn out superior products and services, who know how to do it and have the insights to make it happen.

They need wise leadership, able to recognize the potential that's available and the consequences of inaction. They need leadership prepared to manage the change of age-old workplace practices and the problems that such change brings about.

And that is a lot tougher than signing a trade agreement.

INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL
SURVIVAL ACT OF 1988 (H.R.
4738)

HON. BENJAMIN A. GILMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation (H.R. 4738) that will help prevent the further destruction and elimination of cultures and societies around the world. Most of us, regardless of our political leanings, assume that indigenous peoples and tribal societies are bound to disappear—destined to the dustbin of history. Most of us would assume that this process is as lamentable as it is inevitable.

Historical processes do not make small traditional societies disappear. Greed and a lack of understanding, however, do. Such groups are weak and tempting targets to the development programs that they are presumed to hinder or in the name of States that they are assumed to subvert.

There is no reason, however, that indigenous and tribal peoples cannot survive, both

physically and culturally, the rapid changes that contact with expanding industrial societies and economic and political institutions brings.

Seen as impediments to progress and development, small societies throughout the world are facing extinction. Those that survive are often decimated by diseases introduced by outsiders and denied a political voice. Usually deprived of their lands and means of livelihood, they are forced to adapt to a national society whose language they do not speak. Without educational, technical or other modern-day skills, they generally suffer permanent poverty, political marginality and cultural alienation.

As the push to exploit the resources of the Earth reaches the remaining untouched areas of the world, contact with isolated societies is inevitable—but their destruction is not. These vulnerable societies need the benefits of modern life, but to survive they need the ability to choose how much they will adapt and how long the process will take.

Their survival is important for our own; it is imperative that we prevent their extinction. They perceive us as barbaric and strange, too. Yet, not only do we share a common humanity, but we can benefit from each other's knowledge. Indigenous peoples have rich storehouses of information about nature, man and the balanced relationship of the two. From their beliefs about the spiritual world to their traditional knowledge of rain forests, healing and agriculture, these societies provide the opportunity for new interpretations about the world and ourselves.

Toward that end, I have introduced this bill to help indigenous and tribal peoples have as much control as possible over their destinies—to retain their rights and culture as they adapt to the modern world. In this way we can insure that progress and development are by all the people and for all the people.

Accordingly, I invite my colleagues to support the International Cultural Survival Act of 1988 (H.R. 4738) and I request that a full text of this measure be inserted at this point in the RECORD:

H.R. 4738

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

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "International Cultural Survival Act of 1988".

SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

(a) DETERIORATING SITUATION FACING INDIGENOUS AND TRIBAL PEOPLES.—The Congress makes the following findings:

(1) The situation of indigenous and tribal peoples in developing countries is deteriorating world-wide.

(2) Many of these populations face severe discrimination, denial of human rights, loss of cultural and religious freedoms, or in the worst cases, cultural or physical destruction.

(3) If current trends in many parts of the world continue the cultural, social, and linguistic diversity of humankind will be radically and irrevocably diminished.

(4) In addition, immense, undocumented repositories of ecological, biological, and pharmacological knowledge will be lost, as well as an immeasurable wealth of cultural, social, religious, and artistic expression, which together constitute part of the collective patrimony of the human species.

(5) The pressures on indigenous and tribal peoples, about 10 percent of the world's population, include denial of political and civil rights and of opportunities for self-determination, destruction of natural resources necessary for survival, and ethnic, racial, and economic marginalization.

(6) In many cases unsound development policy that results in destruction of natural resources seriously jeopardizes indigenous and tribal peoples' physical survival and their cultural autonomy, frequently also undermining the possibility for long-term sustainable economic development.

(7) The loss of the cultural diversity for indigenous and tribal peoples is not an inevitable or natural process.

(8) In light of United States concern and respect for human rights and basic human freedoms, including rights to express cultural and religious preferences, as well as the United States desire for sustainable economic development, it is incumbent on the United States to take a leadership role in addressing indigenous and tribal people's rights to physical and cultural survival.

(b) **DEFINITION OF INDIGENOUS AND TRIBAL PEOPLES.**—Indigenous and tribal peoples in developing countries are those populations that are ethnically, culturally, or socially distinct from the politically dominant society on the regional or national level. These peoples are often (but not invariably) minorities, and invariably have little, if any, political representation or influence in governments. Many such peoples are marginally integrated into market economies and practice traditional, partially or wholly subsistence-based forms of economic activity. Examples of indigenous or tribal peoples include lowland South American Indians, Basarwa of Botswana and Namibia, Mayan Indians in Central America, registered tribes in India, and Tibetan people in the area traditionally referred to as Tibet (which consisted of the province of U-Tsang, currently administered by the People's Republic of China as the Tibet Autonomous Region, and the provinces of Amdo and Kham, currently in the Tibetan autonomous prefectures and counties in the Chinese provinces of Sichuan, Yunnan, Ganbu, and Qinghai).

SEC. 3. PROMOTING AND PROTECTING THE RIGHTS OF INDIGENOUS AND TRIBAL PEOPLES.

The Secretary of State and the Administrator of the Agency for International Development shall ensure—

(1) that United States foreign policy and foreign assistance vigorously promote the rights of indigenous and tribal peoples throughout the world; and

(2) that United States foreign assistance is not provided for any project or program detrimental to indigenous or tribal peoples' rights or livelihood.

SEC. 4. BASELINE REPORT ON INDIGENOUS AND TRIBAL PEOPLES.

(a) **PURPOSE.**—The purpose of this section and section 5 is to help—

(1) guide future United States foreign assistance and other actions that could affect indigenous and tribal peoples, and

(2) permit United States actions that would assist these peoples.

(b) **PREPARATION OF REPORT.**—The Administrator of the Agency for International Development, in consultation with the Secretary of State, shall prepare a report on indigenous and tribal peoples in developing countries. This report shall include the following:

(1) A description of the economic, political, and social situation of indigenous and tribal peoples.

(2) A discussion of the effects of United States bilateral foreign assistance and United States-supported multilateral assistance on indigenous and tribal peoples, including a description of those projects and activities currently being funded by the Agency for International Development—

(A) which have a positive impact on indigenous and tribal peoples, or

(B) which have a negative impact on indigenous and tribal peoples.

(3) A comprehensive strategy for regularly monitoring and improving the situation of indigenous and tribal peoples, including—

(A) a description of the methodology and the guidelines to be used in carrying out the monitoring required by section 5, and

(B) a description of the specific actions that the Agency for International Development proposes to take to improve the situation of indigenous and tribal peoples.

(c) **CONSULTATION WITH NGOS.**—The Administrator shall consult with United States-based nongovernmental organizations with experience in monitoring and reporting on indigenous and tribal peoples, and with other interested persons, throughout the preparation of the report required by subsection (b), but in particular—

(1) in determining the scope of that report; and

(2) in developing the methodology to be used in preparing that report.

(d) **SUBMISSION TO CONGRESS.**—Not later than 6 months after the date of enactment of this Act, the Administrator shall submit the report prepared pursuant to subsection (b) to the Congress.

SEC. 5. MONITORING REGARDING INDIGENOUS AND TRIBAL PEOPLES.

(a) **MONITORING.**—The Agency for International Development (in consultation with the Department of State), on a regular basis, shall collect information concerning and shall analyze the situation of indigenous and tribal peoples in developing countries, with particular regard to the human rights situation.

(b) **USE OF NGOS.**—In carrying out subsection (a), the Agency shall, wherever appropriate, use United States-based nongovernmental organizations with experience in monitoring and reporting on indigenous and tribal peoples.

(c) **ANNUAL REPORTS TO CONGRESS.**—Following completion of the report required by section 4, the Administrator of the Agency for International Development shall submit to the Congress, not later than February 1 each year, a report which—

(1) presents the findings resulting from the monitoring of indigenous and tribal peoples carried out pursuant to subsection (a);

(2) updates the information provided in the report submitted pursuant to section 4; and

(3) describes the activities which the Agency for International Development proposes to fund for the coming fiscal year to address the problems facing indigenous and tribal peoples in developing countries, specifying which activities will be carried out by the Agency and which will be carried out by nongovernmental organizations.

**JOHN J. THOMAS NAMED
CITIZEN OF THE YEAR**

HON. PAUL E. KANJORSKI

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. KANJORSKI. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to John J. Thomas of Laffin, PA, who is being honored Saturday by the Wilkes-Barre Lions Club as "Citizen of the Year." This annual award is given to an outstanding member of the community who has made a special or significant contribution to the growth and development of the Wyoming Valley. This year the Lions Club has made an especially appropriate choice.

John Thomas is the 77-year-old president of the Thomas C. Thomas Co. and the Thomas C. Realty Co. For decades he has been active in civic organizations throughout the Wyoming Valley. He is known especially for his efforts on behalf of St. Jude's Children's Research Hospital in Memphis, TN, of which he is a director and a member of the board of governors. He is also active with the Pennsylvania Economy League, the United Fresh Fruit and Vegetable Association, the Pennsylvania Society, and the Committee for Economic Growth.

Attorney John Moses, the chairman of the Lions' Club selection committee describes John Thomas as having made a substantial yet unselfish contribution to the growth and development of the business and civic life of Wyoming Valley. Another member describes John as "a saint; basically a very compassionate man."

Many people attain material success, but few have shared their success so generously as John Thomas. He has touched the lives of many unfortunate children and their parents from his work at St. Jude's hospital. John J. Thomas has truly demonstrated that the true wealth of a man is measured by how he spends that wealth to do good for his fellow man.

TRIBUTE TO GEORGE W. LEHR

HON. ALAN WHEAT

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. WHEAT. Mr. Speaker, some people are blessed with an energy and spirit that seems to triumph over all obstacles put in their way. Such a person was George W. Lehr.

In Jackson County, MO, the young George Lehr was the most promising political figure of his generation, a driving force for political reform who would not be denied the attainment of that goal. His integrity was absolutely beyond reproach; no one commanded more respect and admiration.

George Lehr is gone, but he leaves a legacy in Kansas City—indeed in Missouri and throughout the Nation—that will not be forgotten. His personal strength, his public leadership, and his faith in others will always serve to remind us that no task, no dream, is impossible to achieve. We can always overcome.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to submit for the RECORD a testimonial from the Kansas City Star that sums up the remarkable career of George W. Lehr:

GEORGE W. LEHR

George Lehr had a way about him. He rose to the pinnacle of any chosen endeavor. His successes in politics and the private sector are all the more impressive because Lehr did not engage in the mundane.

Lehr relished a challenge. He launched his political career by joining a reform-oriented movement overshadowed by the old-line factional Jackson County Democratic establishment. At the county level, the remnants of Kansas City's machine seemed invulnerable.

Lehr ran for county collector on the reform slate and defeated the factional candidate in the 1966 Democratic primary. He and other candidates backed by the newly formed Committee for County Progress swept to victory except in one race.

It was virtually the end of county bossism. It also opened the way for the organization of charter government here.

By the time home rule arrived in 1973, Lehr had served as presiding judge for two years. He became the first county executive. It was a critical time for the new form of government; under Lehr it functioned as envisioned in the charter. Merit, not patronage and favoritism, prevailed.

The impact of the reform ranged beyond Jackson County. It allowed the development of young political leaders aspiring for statewide office. Jackson County had had few because the factions tried to stifle all but their trusted lackeys.

Lehr used the new-found platform to run statewide. In 1974 he ousted the incumbent auditor, now-Gov. John Ashcroft, from office. Lehr was considered likely to win the 1976 governor's race, but he did not run.

This created an opportunity for Joseph P. Teasdale, another product of the Jackson County reform movement. Teasdale upset Christopher S. Bond, former governor and now a U.S. senator.

At the peak of his political career, Lehr resigned as auditor and entered the banking business. He was a chief executive officer until 1981. He then took on the awesome job of cleaning up the Teamsters Union Central States Health and Welfare and Pension Funds in Chicago. The General Accounting Office has found that the fund has been run properly under Lehr's many reforms.

His private life was a challenge, too. Lehr was crippled by polio in his teen-age years, which forced him to walk with crutches. His only son died of muscular dystrophy 11 years ago. Lehr had suffered inoperable brain tumors for more than a year, yet continued to work until recently.

Despite his disability from polio, and perhaps because of it, he was a driving force. George W. Lehr, who has died at age 51, had completed what he set out to do at the Teamsters fund. It capped a lifetime of excellence.

TRIBUTE TO GEORGE W. LEHR

HON. WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to Mr. George

W. Lehr, who recently passed away. As I'm sure many of my colleagues are well aware, since 1981 George Lehr served as the executive director of the Central States southeast and southwest areas health and welfare and pension funds. It was under his direction and leadership that the Central States funds were restored to respectability and the pension and welfare benefit security of the thousands of working men and women covered by those funds were protected.

As a native of Missouri, George Lehr dedicated his life to public service, both to Missouri and to our Nation. I commend to my colleagues' attention, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch's glowing editorial tribute to a man who benefited our country greatly and whose untimely death was a loss to us all:

A MAN WHO LIVED RIGHT

Occasionally, public figures move through life and leave behind the seeds of legends. George Lehr was such a man. While Missouri state auditor more than a decade ago, he resigned from a promising political career that could have led to the governors' mansion in Jefferson City. He wanted to spend more time with a son dying of muscular dystrophy.

It was a decision that saddened Missouri Democrats as it gave them pride. Mr. Lehr was a politician who, very possibly, could have staved off the decline in electable talent in the state party. A Lehr administration could have introduced new talent to state politics. The impact of his departure is still felt today. But at the same time, no one could argue with the value and rightness of his exemplary choice to put the needs of his family ahead of politics.

Now Mr. Lehr is dead of brain cancer at the age of 51. In a relatively short life, he moved up the ladder of Jackson County politics until he was the first county executive under the new charter. He then moved on to state politics in a race for auditor in 1974, where he beat John Ashcroft, the present governor. His audit of St. Louis remains the best evaluation of this city's operation in memory.

After leaving office in 1976, Mr. Lehr became a Kansas City banker. His most controversial and least understood move, though, was in 1981 when he accepted an offer to be chief executive of the Teamster's Central States Pension and Health Funds. Friends and acquaintances wondered if Mr. Lehr was of sufficiently strong character to end the corruption of the pension fund at that. By virtually all accounts, he was—under the scrutiny of federal agents, who checked his moves and then grew to respect his integrity. Of few people can it be said that they left their world a better place, but for George Lehr, the statement fits exactly.

**SANDINISTAS CLOSED RADIO
CATOLICA NEWS**

HON. JAMES M. INHOFE

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. Speaker, in yet another violation of the Sapo agreement and the Arias peace plan, the Sandinistas have closed Radio Catolica News for 10 days.

By this action, the Sandinistas violate their promises to protect freedom of expression.

Furthermore, they have timed their action to deny the Nicaraguan people information on the next round of talks between the Sandinistas and the Nicaraguan resistance. These talks currently are scheduled for June 7 through 9.

Mr. Speaker, by defeating even minimum amounts of military assistance for the Nicaraguan resistance, this House has placed its entire reliance on the good faith of the Sandinistas to achieve peace and freedom in Nicaragua. I think it is important for my colleagues to be kept informed of the Sandinistas' record on keeping its promises under Sapo and the Arias peace plan. To date, their record is miserable.

**HENRY A. WAXMAN'S STATEMENT
IN INTRODUCING H.R.
4739, THE "FOOD SAFETY
AMENDMENTS OF 1988"**

HON. HENRY A. WAXMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. WAXMAN. Mr. Speaker, if you ask the American people to express any concerns they have about the safety of their food, time and time again they will tell you they genuinely fear the pesticides we use to produce food. Yes, they want a plentiful, varied, and economical food supply. But they do not believe they have to sacrifice their health in return.

I believe their fears have been exacerbated by the constant flow of studies and reports, like the 1987 National Academy of Sciences report, "Regulating Pesticides in Food," which have criticized our pesticide regulation authorities and efforts. I agree with the criticism in these reports and have conducted a series of hearings on them and on the food safety concerns associated with pesticides since the EDB crisis in 1984. It is easy to understand why the American public is concerned.

I have found the current leadership of the EPA's pesticide program to be dedicated and concerned. They have made major strides in resolving questions about the safety of the older food-use pesticides being used today. However, they are digging out of the deep backlog left by earlier, irresponsible pesticide officials. They are encumbered by inadequate resources and staff. They have not gotten the assistance they need from the Congress.

The legislation I am introducing today amends the EPA's current authority under the Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act [FFDCA] to set tolerances, or limits, on the amount of pesticides that may remain on food when eaten. This authority is distinct from the basic pesticide registration system under the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide and Rodenticide Act, which covers all pesticides—including non-food-use and household pesticides—as well as many other herbicides and chemicals. The bill makes many important changes that will clarify and strengthen EPA's authority regarding tolerances for food-use pesticides and will streamline EPA's procedures. I believe these changes are balanced and fair to agricultural chemical manufacturers, farmers and food companies while giving the public

much-needed confidence that a new food safety system is in place to protect them.

The bill is written as a substitute for current section 408 of the FFDCa, but much of current law remains intact. The bill incorporates many of EPA's current practices and is based on the fundamental reforms that has been discussed and recommended by the National Academy of Sciences.

I am including in the RECORD an extensive section-by-section analysis to assist Members in understanding the bill and this complex area of our laws. There are several major features of the bill I want to explain here.

The bill establishes a risk-based food safety standard that is consistent with the other regulatory authorities of the FFDCa—regarding food additives, color additives and environmental contaminants. Using a "negligible risk" standard, EPA would regulate all residues of pesticides in food under section 408. This consolidation of authority removes the regulation of pesticide residues in processed food from coverage under the food additives section (section 409) that includes the Delaney Clause. The Administrator of EPA would be authorized to consider the benefit of using a pesticide chemical in food only under certain circumstances that are spelled out in the bill.

The bill addresses one of the more vexing problems—the older pesticides that appear to have risks far in excess of a negligible risk standard—by allowing EPA to incrementally reduce the high risk associated with certain types of pesticides. Under this special negligible risk rule, the Administrator could allow a new pesticide with greater than a negligible risk to be substituted for an older pesticide that has an even greater risk. While I am always concerned about unnecessary exposure to harmful chemicals, I believe an incremental approach to risk reduction is practical and will improve food safety.

One other important change involves EPA's current lack of authority to require the submission of new data after a tolerance is established if the Agency believes additional data is necessary to assure food safety. This is a glaring omission for any regulatory agency mandated to protect public health.

Under the bill, the Administrator of EPA could require the submission of new health and safety data in accordance with deadlines established by the Administrator. Strict enforcement is provided for, with exceptions to assure that food on which the pesticide was lawfully used prior to the new enforcement actions is not affected.

Mr. Speaker, the changes in this bill are long overdue. It provides important public health protections while fairly balancing the economic interests of farmers and food and chemical companies.

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS OF H.R. 4739, THE "FOOD SAFETY AMENDMENTS OF 1988"

SECTION 1: SHORT TITLE: THE "FOOD SAFETY AMENDMENTS OF 1988"

SECTION 2: DEFINITION

Section 2(a)(1) amends section 201(q) of the Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act (FFDCa) to define "pesticide chemical" and "pesticide chemical residue." It adds to the current definition of "pesticide chemical" by specifying that pesticide chemical residues in processed foods, inert ingredients of pesticide chemicals, and substances result-

ing from the metabolism or degradation of a pesticide chemical are included.

Section 2(a)(2) amends section 201(s) of the FFDCa, which is the definition of "food additive," to specify that pesticide chemical residues in processed food and pesticide chemicals used in the production, storage, or transportation of processed food are not food additives, and therefore will be regulated under section 408 of the FFDCa. Food additives are regulated under section 409 of the FFDCa.

Section 2(b) adds new definitions to section 201 of the FFDCa. In conjunction with the definition of "new agricultural commodity" currently in section 201(r), the new definition of "processed food" clarifies that all food to which pesticide chemicals are applied are regulated by section 408.

SECTION 3: ADULTERATED FOOD

Section 402(a)(2) is amended to specify that pesticide chemical residues in processed food are regulated by section 408 and that, if the residues in such processed food are within the tolerances set under section 408, the food is not adulterated.

SECTION 4: TOLERANCES AND EXEMPTIONS FOR PESTICIDE CHEMICAL RESIDUES

This section contains a substitute for current section 408.

Section 408(a)(1): General Rule for Tolerances or Exemptions

This section establishes the general rule that any pesticide chemical residue in or on food, and any pesticide chemical added to food (regardless of whether residues remain), requires either a tolerance or an exemption, and that the residue remaining on food must be within the tolerance limit or consistent with the exemption.

Section 408(a)(2): Processed Food

This section specifies that pesticide chemical residues in or on processed food which do not have a separate tolerance are lawful if those residues have been removed to the extent possible in good manufacturing practice and are within the tolerance for the raw agricultural commodity from which the processed food was made.

Section 408(a)(3): Effect of Tolerance or Exemption

This section specifies that raw agricultural commodities and processed food that contain pesticide chemical residues pursuant to a tolerance or an exemption under section 408 are not to be considered "adulterated" (and thus illegal) under section 402(a)(1) of the FFDCa.

Section 408(b): General Rule for Tolerances

Section 408(b)(1): Authority

This section authorizes the Administrator of the EPA (who is responsible for administering section 408) to promulgate regulations that establish, modify or revoke tolerances either in response to a petition under section 408(d) or on the Administrator's initiative under section 408(e). The Administrator may establish expiration dates for such tolerances.

Section 408(b)(2): Standard

Section 408(b)(2)(A): Negligible Risk Standard

This section specifies that a tolerance may be established, or left in effect, only if the risk to human health, including the health of identifiable population groups with special food consumption patterns, from dietary exposure to the pesticide chemical or pesticide chemical residue, is negligible.

Section 408(b)(2)(B): Special Negligible Risk Standard

This section provides for the only exception to the negligible risk standard in subparagraph (A). Under this special rule, a new tolerance may be established even though its risk is greater than a negligible risk.

In order to establish such a tolerance, the Administrator must first attempt to reduce the risk of the pesticide chemical residue below the negligible risk standard in accordance with section 408(b)(2)(E). If such risk reduction actions do not produce a risk that is less than negligible, the Administrator may establish the tolerance under the following circumstances:

(1) the Administrator must revoke a tolerance or exemption for the same raw agricultural commodity or processed food for a different pesticide chemical that is in use and that presents a risk greater than the risk of the pesticide chemical for which a tolerance is requested; and

(2) there is no other pesticide chemical in use that presents less than a negligible risk and that can be substituted for the pesticide chemical whose tolerance is to be revoked under (1); and

(3) the pesticide chemical for which a tolerance is requested can be substituted for the pesticide chemical whose tolerance is to be revoked under (1); and

(4) the person requesting the tolerance demonstrates (or, if the Administrator is proposing the tolerance, the Administrator determines) that the benefits from the use of the pesticide chemical for which the tolerance is requested clearly outweigh the dietary risk of the pesticide chemical.

Section 408(b)(2)(C): Criteria for Negligible Risk

This section specifies how the term "negligible" is to be implemented. Clause (i) specifies that, for pesticide chemicals which are believed to cause or contribute to adverse human health effects only above a certain level of exposure, negligible means the level of human exposure which will not cause or contribute to any known or anticipated adverse human health effects. In establishing the level, the Administrator will include an ample margin of safety.

Clause (ii) specifies that for pesticide chemicals which are believed to cause adverse human health effects at all levels of exposure, negligible means the level of human exposure which could cause or contribute in the population exposed to the pesticide chemical to a theoretical risk (using conservative models) of cancer which does not exceed a rate of one in a million.

Section 408(b)(2)(D): Exposure

This section specifies how dietary exposure is to be calculated for purposes of subparagraphs (A) and (B). The Administrator would take into account all dietary exposure to the pesticide chemical, including exposure under the proposed tolerance (or the tolerance in effect in the case of a petition to modify and revoke an existing tolerance) all other tolerances or exemptions in effect for the same pesticide chemical, and all other sources of dietary exposure (including drinking water) to the same pesticide chemical.

The Administrator would calculate dietary exposure to the pesticide chemical based on the amount of residue that is lawful. The Administrator would assume that residues are on all authorized raw agricultural commodities and processed food at the tolerance

levels and exposure occurs for a lifetime. The Administrator could deviate from this calculation in two ways. First, the Administrator could use the percent of food actually treated with the pesticide chemical, rather than assuming that all authorized food is treated, if the Administrator has reliable data indicating that the pesticide chemical is only used on a certain percent of all authorized food and that the treated food is evenly distributed throughout the consuming public. Second, the Administrator could use the actual residue levels which occur, rather than assuming that residues are at the tolerance levels, if the Administrator has reliable data indicating that the pesticide chemical leaves residues at a certain lower level. If the Administrator used actual residue levels, he could not leave the higher tolerance in effect, but would modify it to the level of actual residues.

Section 408(b)(2)(E): Risk Reduction

This section specifies how the Administrator would do the risk reduction required by subparagraph (B). The Administrator would take the specified actions, unless they were not applicable to the particular pesticide chemical, plus any other actions the Administrator determined were appropriate. The specified actions are (1) to establish a tolerance that is lower than the proposed tolerance, (2) to modify or revoke other tolerances for the same pesticide chemical to assure a lower total residue from the chemical, and (3) if the proposed tolerance applies to processed food, to permit the tolerance to apply to such food only if the food is processed with those methods that reduce residues of the pesticide chemical.

Section 408(b)(2)(F): Benefits

This section specifies how the Administrator would consider benefits when authorized to do so by subparagraph (B). The Administrator would consider the various factors described in the section and would publish the basis for his determination when acting on the tolerance petition.

In addition, the section requires the Administrator to propose regulations within 90 days of enactment specifying how the analysis of benefits will be conducted, the data that will be relied upon, and the factors that will be considered.

Section 408(b)(2)(G): Rules for Levels

This section specifies, in clause (i), that the tolerance level for a pesticide chemical applied to food could be no higher than the Administrator determines is necessary for the pesticide chemical to have its intended effect. Clause (ii) involves the case of a pesticide chemical which leaves no detectable residue. The Administrator would establish a tolerance at the most sensitive limit of detection of the analytical method for detecting residues that the Administrator approves under subparagraph (H).

Section 408(b)(2)(H): Practical Method of Analysis

The section specifies that the Administrator may not establish a tolerance until a practical method for detecting and measuring residues is specified by the Administrator after consultation with the Secretary of Health and Human Services. (Consultation would occur with the Food and Drug Administration (FDA).) The method must be the best available practical method, and it would be practical only if it could be performed by the FDA on a routine basis with the personnel, equipment and other resources available to FDA.

Section 408(b)(3): Factors to Be Considered

This section specifies the other factors that the Administrator must consider in establishing, modifying or revoking a tolerance for a pesticide chemical. These factors include (1) the probable consumption of treated food by the population group which consumes the greatest amounts of the food or which is most sensitive to the chemical; (2) the cumulative effect of the chemical, taking into account related chemicals and non-dietary routes of exposure; and (3) safety factors that are appropriate for animal experiments.

Section 408(c): General Rule for Exemptions

Section 408(c)(1): Authority

This section authorizes the Administrator to establish, modify or revoke an exemption from the requirement for a tolerance in response to a petition or on the Administrator's own initiative. An exemption may have an expiration date.

Section 408(c)(2): Standard

Section 408(c)(2)(A): Risk Standard

This section specifies that an exemption may be established, or left in effect, only if the pesticide chemical residue presents no risk to human health, including the health of identifiable population groups with special food consumption patterns, from dietary exposure at any level of residue that could result from use of the pesticide chemical on food.

Section 408(c)(2)(B): Exposure

This section specifies how dietary exposure is to be calculated for purposes of subparagraph (A). The Administrator would take into account all dietary exposure to the pesticide chemical, including exposure under the proposed exemption, all other tolerances or exemptions in effect for the same pesticide chemical, and all other sources of dietary exposure (including drinking water) to the same pesticide chemical.

The Administrator would calculate dietary exposure to the pesticide chemical based on the maximum amount of residue that could reasonably be expected to occur if the instructions for use of the pesticide were not followed.

Section 408(c)(2)(C): Practical Method of Analysis

The section specifies that the Administrator may not establish an exemption until a practical method for detecting and measuring residues is specified by the Administrator after consultation with the Secretary of Health and Human Services. (Consultation would occur with the Food and Drug Administration (FDA).) The method must be the best available practical method, and it would be practical only if it could be performed by the FDA on a routine basis with the personnel, equipment and other resources available to FDA.

Section 408(c)(3): Inert Ingredients

This section specifies that certain inert ingredients may not have an exemption from the requirement for a tolerance. They are inert if (1) are essential for an active ingredient to have its intended effect, (2) cause or contribute to adverse biological effects in any organism, (3) may have an adverse effect on human health, and (4) meet any other requirement established by the Administrator.

Section 408(d): Petitions for a Tolerance or Exemption

Section 408(d)(1): General Rule

This section specifies that any person may file a petition for the issuance of a regula-

tion that establishes, modifies or revokes a tolerance, or establishes or revokes an exemption.

Section 408(d)(2)(A): Petition Requirements

This section specifies the information and data that must be contained in a petition to establish a new tolerance or a new exemption. The required information includes a summary of the scientific reports respecting the safety of the pesticide chemical and the exposure to the pesticide chemical. The petitioner must authorize the publication of the summary by the Administrator.

Section 408(d)(2)(B): Modification and Revocation

This section authorizes the Administrator to establish requirements for the contents of petitions to modify or revoke tolerances or exemptions.

Section 408(d)(3): Notice

This section specifies that the Administrator will publish a notice of the filing of a complete petition within 30 days of such filing. The notice will announce the availability of a complete description of the analytical method for the detection and measurement of the pesticide chemical in food, and will include the summary required in petitions to establish tolerances or exemptions.

Section 408(d)(4): Actions by the Administrator

This section specifies the actions that the Administrator may take after considering the petition and other available information. The Administrator may publish a final regulation approving or disapproving the petition. In addition, the Administrator may propose a regulation that is different from the regulation requested in the petition. If he proposes a new regulation, the Administrator would provide notice and the opportunity to comment as prescribed in section 408(e)(2) before publishing the final regulation.

Section 408(d)(5): Effective Date

This section specifies that a final regulation issued under paragraph (4) would be effective upon publication.

Section 408(d)(6): Further Proceedings

This section specifies the manner in which objections to the final regulation published under paragraph (4) would be considered by the Administrator. Within 30 days after the Administrator's action, any person adversely affected (including a person without an economic interest) would file objections. The person who filed the petition (if different from the objector) would have 30 days to reply to the objections. The Administrator could hold an evidentiary hearing if needed. The Administrator would publish an order describing his actions on the objections. Any new regulation or order would take effect in 90 days or earlier if the Administrator determined that emergency conditions existed.

Section 408(d)(7): Judicial Review

This section provides for judicial review for any person adversely affected (including a person without an economic interest) by the Administrator's decision. Such review would not operate to stay the Administrator's decision unless specifically ordered by the court.

Section 408(e): Action on Administrator's Own Initiative

Section 408(e)(1): General Rule

This section authorizes the Administrator to establish, modify or revoke a tolerance or

to establish or revoke an exemption on his own initiative. Any regulation pursuant to this authority would be subject to section 408(d) (6) and (7).

Section 408(e)(2): Notice

This section requires the Administrator to issue a notice of any proposed rule under paragraph (1) and provide for at least a 30-day comment period. The comment period could be shorter if the Administrator determined that the public interest required such a period or if the Administrator acted under section 408(j).

Section 408(e)(3): Imminent Hazard

This section authorizes the Administrator to revoke an exemption, or to revoke or modify a tolerance, without following the required procedure if such action is necessary to prevent an imminent hazard. The Administrator would provide notice of the action and would be required to hold a public hearing within 5 days of receipt of a request (which request was made within 5 days of the Administrator's action) for a hearing. The effective date of the action would not be delayed for the hearing, and would not be stayed while the Administrator's action was being judicially reviewed, and would not be judicially reviewed until after the hearing.

Section 408(f): Special Data Requirements

This section authorizes the Administrator to request additional data when the data supporting tolerances and exemptions are inadequate.

Section 408(f)(1): Determination of Inadequate Data

This section requires the Administrator to act if the data contained in a petition (including a petition submitted before the date of enactment) to establish a tolerance or exemption are inadequate to support the continuation of the tolerance or exemption because (1) the Administrator has reason to believe the pesticide chemical presents greater than a negligible risk (based on data in the petition or otherwise available), or (2) the data in the petition do not meet the current requirements of section 408 (d)(2)(A) (iv) and (v).

Section 408(f)(2): Action by Administrator

This section specifies that the Administrator would require the submission of the necessary data, or would initiate an action under section 408(e) to modify or revoke the tolerance or exemption.

Section 408(f)(3): Submission of Required Data

This section specifies that if the Administrator requires the submission of data, the Administrator would publish an order in the Federal Register that establishes deadlines for the identification of the persons who will submit the data and the submission of necessary data and reports.

Section 408(f)(4): Deadlines

This section specifies that if the deadlines in the order issued under paragraph (3) are not met, the tolerance or exemption would be automatically revoked. The Administrator could delay the effective date of the revocation for (1) 12 months to allow food treated (within the tolerance or exemption) before the deadline to be sold, or (2) such other period that is necessary to allow the submission of the data if extraordinary circumstances prevented the submission within the deadline.

Section 408(f)(5): Review

This section specifies that an order issued under paragraph (3) shall be subject to ad-

ministrative and judicial review in accordance with section 408(d)(6) and (7).

Section 408(g): Confidentiality of Data

Section 408(g)(1): General Rule

This section specifies that data contained in a petition is entitled to confidential treatment until publication of a regulation or order under section 408(d)(4), unless disclosure has been made previously, or is allowed by paragraph (2) or section 408(h), or is required by other law.

Section 408(g)(2): Disclosure

This section specifies the persons to whom confidential data may be disclosed. Congress and employers and contractors of the Administrator are included.

Section 408(g)(3): Summaries

This section specifies that the Administrator may publish the informative summary required in the petition (under section 408 (d)(2)(A)(i)) and other summaries of the data relating to the proposed or final regulation or order under section 408(d)(4).

Section 408(h): Access to Data in Support of Petition

This section specifies the procedures by which there can be public access to the health and safety data submitted or cited in support of a petition under section 408 (d). A person requesting review of the data would notify the Administration and the petitioner within 30 days of notice of the filing of the petition, and would make certain affirmations to the Administrator in accordance with paragraph (2). A petitioner could object to the affirmations. The Administrator would determine whether access would be granted. Review of the data would be solely for the purpose of commenting on the petition. No other disclosure of the data would be permitted.

Section 408(i): Other Regulations

This section specifies how the Administrator would treat certain section 406(a) and 409 regulations. Section 409 food additive regulations for processed food would be deemed regulations under section 408 only if they meet the negligible risk standard under section 408(b)(2)(A)(i). If they do not meet that standard, the Administrator could establish a section 408 tolerance which is lower than the section 409 regulation and which meets the section 408(b)(2)(A)(i) standard. The Administrator would initiate such action under section 408(e).

Section 408(j): Conforming Actions

This section specifies how the Administrator would act under section 408 to conform to actions on the registration of pesticide chemicals under the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide and Rodenticide Act. (FIFRA).

Section 408(j)(1): Cancellation

Section 408(j)(1)(A): Revocation of Tolerances or Exemptions

This section specifies that the Administrator would revoke section 408 tolerances or exemptions for pesticide chemicals which have had their registrations cancelled under FIFRA due, in whole or in part, to dietary risk to humans, unless such revocation had previously occurred in accordance with section 408(b)(2) (A) and (B). The Administrator would act under section 408(e) within 60 days of FIFRA cancellation.

Section 408(j)(1)(B): Delay of Effective Date

This section specifies that the Administrator could delay the effective date of the revocation required under subparagraph (A) for up to one year to permit the sale of food

treated with the pesticide chemical prior to the cancellation if there is no dietary risk to human health from such food during such period.

Section 408(j)(1)(c): New Tolerances

This section authorizes the Administrator, when a cancelled pesticide chemical will unavoidably persist in the environment and contaminate food, to establish a new tolerance that permits the unavoidable contamination. The Administrator would review the tolerance every year to assure it was no higher than necessary.

Section 408(j)(2): Suspensions

Section 408(j)(2)(A): Suspension of Tolerance or Exemption

This section specifies that the Administrator would suspend section 408 tolerances or exemptions for pesticide chemicals which have had their registrations suspended under FIFRA due, in whole or in part, to dietary risk to humans, unless revocation had previously occurred in accordance with section 408(b)(2) (A) and (B). The Administrator would act under section 408(e) within 60 days of the FIFRA suspension.

Section 408(j)(2)(B): Delay Effective Date

This section specifies that the Administrator could delay the effective date of the suspension required under subparagraph (A) for up to one year to permit the sale of food treated with the pesticide chemical prior to the suspension if there is no dietary risk to human health from such food during such period.

Section 408(j)(2)(c): New Tolerance

This section authorizes the Administrator, when a suspended pesticide chemical will unavoidably persist in the environment and contaminate food, to establish a new tolerance that permits the unavoidable contamination. The Administrator would review the tolerance every year to assure it was no higher than necessary.

Section 408(j)(2)(D): Effect of Suspension

This section specifies that the suspension of a tolerance or exemption would be effective (except as provided for in subparagraph (A)) for as long as the registrations are suspended.

Section 408(k): Fees

This section specifies that the Administrator would establish fees by regulation that would in the aggregate cover the cost of the functions required of the Administrator under section 408.

SECTION 5: INERT INGREDIENTS WITHOUT TOLERANCES

This section requires the Administrator, within 90 days of enactment, to establish deadlines for the submission of necessary health and safety data to establish tolerances for the inert ingredients that are described in section 408(c)(3). If the deadlines are not met, the pesticide chemicals containing the inerts would be considered unsafe, except that the Administrator could delay the effective date of the determination (1) for 12 months to allow food which contained the inerts on the date of the deadline to be sold, or (2) for such period as is necessary to submit the data if the timely submission was prevented by extraordinary circumstances.

The order of the Administrator requiring the submission of the data would be subject to administrative and judicial review under section 408(d)(6) and (7).

**SECTION 6: GENERALLY RECOGNIZED AS SAFE
PESTICIDES**

This section requires the Administrator, within 90 days of enactment, to establish deadlines for the submission of necessary health and safety data to establish tolerances or exemptions for any pesticide chemicals which, on the date of enactment, do not have tolerances or exemptions because they are generally recognized as safe under section 408 prior to this legislation. If the deadlines are not met, the Administrator would be authorized to issue an order declaring the pesticide chemicals to be unsafe for purposes of section 402(a)(2)(B). The order of the Administrator requiring the submission of the data would be subject to administrative and judicial review under section 408(d)(6) and (7).

Pesticide chemicals subject to this section would not be considered unsafe under this legislation (which requires them to have tolerances or exemptions) solely because the chemicals do not have a tolerance or exemption.

SECTION 7: REVISION OF EXISTING EXEMPTIONS

This section requires the Administrator, within 90 days of enactment, to establish deadlines for the submission of necessary health and safety data to establish tolerances or to continue the exemptions. If the deadlines are not met, the exemptions would be automatically revoked, except that the Administrator could delay the effective date of the revocation for (1) 12 months to allow food treated in accordance with the exemption to be sold, or (2) such other period as is necessary to allow the submission of the data if extraordinary circumstances prevented the submission within the deadline.

The order of the Administrator would be subject to administrative and judicial review under section 408(d)(6) and (7).

**SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA'S WILD
AND SCENIC RIVERS SYSTEM**

HON. ROBERT J. LAGOMARSINO

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. LAGOMARSINO. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation to designate two wild and scenic rivers, establish two new wilderness areas and expand an existing wilderness within the Los Padres National Forest. The legislation would implement key recommendations of the U.S. Forest Service following completion of the final management plan for the Los Padres National Forest. I am pleased to sponsor these bills which will protect and preserve these outstanding natural and scenic resources for the enjoyment of future generations.

The first bill would add portions of the Sespe Creek and the Sisquoc River to the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System. As proposed by the Forest Service, the 27.5-mile segment of the Sespe Creek extending from its junction with Trout Creek just east of the popular Lions Campground to the Devil's Gate Area north of Fillmore would be designated as a wild river. As the river winds through the national forest, it offers numerous scenic and recreational opportunities. Many varieties of plants and trees can be found along the river's banks, including willow and sycamore.

The unique landscape also serves as important habitat for several species of birds and mammals, including beavers. The 53,000-acre Sespe condor sanctuary is located on lands adjacent to the river and protects critical nesting and roosting habitat for the endangered California condor. The Sespe is also known as an excellent trout fishery and a portion of the river was recently designated as a State wild trout stream. Recreational activities along the Sespe include swimming, camping, hiking, horseback riding and fishing. Several trails parallel or cross the river at various points.

This portion of the Sespe Creek lies entirely within an area of the Los Padres Forest I am proposing for wilderness. This dual designation would serve to protect the many outstanding features of the river.

The 31-mile segment of the Sisquoc River flows entirely through the San Rafael Wilderness and would therefore be designated as a wild river. It is known for its recreational opportunities, including hiking, horseback riding and fishing which are enhanced by a foot and equestrian trail paralleling the entire length of the river.

The Sisquoc flows through diverse terrain, including rugged and rocky slopes, dense chaparral and several small meadows. Deer, black bear, and several other species of wildlife can be found along the river. The upper reaches of the river border the Sisquoc condor sanctuary and provide critical bathing and roosting habitat for the endangered condor. Several cultural sites are also located along the river, including remnants of early homesteads and Chumash Indian villages.

The Sespe and Sisquoc Rivers deserve the protection this legislation will afford. The second bill I am introducing today would establish the Sespe and Matilija Wilderness Areas and expand the existing San Rafael Wilderness.

The proposed 197,000-acre Sespe Wilderness begins just east of the Dick Smith Wilderness which was established largely through my efforts with passage of the 1984 California Wilderness Act. This area is characterized by rugged and diverse topography and serves as a major watershed for the Piru, Sespe and Cuyama Rivers. Although the wilderness lies almost entirely within the Los Padres National Forest, a small portion of it extends into the adjacent Angeles National Forest.

The Sespe area is known for its unique natural and geologic features, including Topatopa Mountain, Sepse Hot Springs and the Pristine Sespe condor sanctuary. Wilderness designation for the sanctuary will provide even stronger protection for this critical habitat. The Sespe also serves as an important habitat for other sensitive bird and animal species, including the recently reintroduced bighorn sheep.

Nature study, fishing and hunting are popular recreational activities in this area. Numerous trails through the area and several trail camps enhance other activities such as cross-country hiking and backpacking. Recreational access to the Sespe Hot Springs would be allowed to continue via the Johnston Ridge Trail pending completion of a study by the Forest Service to determine appropriate future management of the area.

My legislation would also establish the Matilija Wilderness encompassing 30,000 acres in the Santa Ynez Mountains. This region is noted for its steep canyons and rugged chaparral-covered slopes. It was extensively burned during the Wheeler fire of 1985 and is currently an excellent example of a recovering southern California chaparral ecosystem. The Matilija provides habitat for numerous animal species including deer, bear, mountain lion, bobcat and fox, as well as the California condor.

Finally, my bill would establish the La Brea addition to the San Rafael Wilderness. The 16,500-acre addition would extend westerly along the southern slopes of the Sierra Madre Mountains, bringing the total acreage of this wilderness to approximately 167,500 acres. The proposed addition encompasses the entire Horse Canyon watershed to its junction with the Sisquoc River.

Mr. Speaker, the legislative package I am introducing today represents a comprehensive and far-reaching addition to the National Wilderness System and the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System. It will preserve and protect in perpetuity some of our most serene and secluded canyons, rivers and peaks. In addition, by virtue of their close proximity to the urban areas of southern California, these resources will provide numerous diverse recreational opportunities to meet the demands of an ever increasing population. Therefore, I urge my colleagues to cosponsor and support this important legislation.

**A TRIBUTE TO BISHOP L.
ROBINSON**

HON. KWEISI MFUME

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. MFUME. Mr. Speaker, it is a great privilege to honor an outstanding citizen of Baltimore, Secretary Bishop L. Robinson. Mr. Robinson will be honored at the Victorine Q. Adams Humanitarian Award Dinner on June 9, 1988. This event presents the opportunity for me to express my sincere appreciation for the many years of service he has given to our community and State.

Growing up during a period of economic and social unrest in our Nation, Mr. Robinson overcame numerous obstacles and pursued his aspirations to become one of the State's most respected citizens, and its top law enforcement official.

He began his elementary education in the public school system of Baltimore. After receiving a bachelor of science degree in Police Administration from the University of Baltimore, Mr. Robinson went on to pursue a master of education degree from Coppin State College and a Certificate in Police Science and Administration from the University of Louisville. The University of Baltimore later awarded him an honorary doctor of laws degree. Robinson has attended a number of professional training institutions throughout the Nation and is also a graduate of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's National Executive Institute.

Mr. Robinson began his career in 1952 as a foot patrol officer for the Baltimore Police Department and worked his way up through the ranks. In July 1984, he was appointed Police Commissioner by then Mayor William Donald Schaefer and provided the community with a strong and responsive police force. Under Commissioner Robinson's leadership, our law enforcement officers worked diligently to ensure that our city was safe for us all. I sincerely thank Mr. Robinson and the officers that served with him for their invaluable service. After 35 years of proven leadership and dedicated work with the Baltimore Police Department, he retired.

While committed to a public service career, Mr. Robinson still devoted an enormous amount of time to the community. He was an adjunct professor of criminal justice at Coppin State College. In addition, he has lectured at numerous universities and colleges throughout the country. As one of the original founders and president of Black Law Enforcement Executives [NOBLE], he displayed dynamic leadership in building a distinguished organization.

Gov. William Donald Schaefer recognized Mr. Robinson's abilities and appointed him to the position of Secretary for the Department of Public Safety and Correctional Services on March 12, 1987.

Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure in taking this opportunity to honor Secretary Bishop L. Robinson for his outstanding career and unselfish service to the State of Maryland and our Nation. He is an American role model we all can be proud of.

JOHN SMITH: LEADING THE WAY

HON. WILLIAM LEHMAN

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. LEHMAN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, on May 20th, John Smith, one of north Dade's leading citizens, was honored at the 14th annual Dade County Schools Volunteer Recognition Ceremony. As the essential, ultimate volunteer, John's award was most deserved.

John Smith is the kind of volunteer who does a lot more than just help out. He is an activist who makes things happen. His vision, energy and ability has made a substantial difference in north Dade's parks, recreation, transportation, education, and business.

His activities for the benefit of our community are legend. As chairman of the Transportation Appropriations Subcommittee, I know first-hand that the south Florida tri-county commuter rail system would never have happened without his leadership and dedication.

We have some special people in our community, but no one like John Smith. He's truly one of a kind, and we are lucky to have him. I would like to share with my colleagues an article that appeared in the Miami Herald which describes some of his other achievements.

The article follows:

[From the Miami Herald, May 29, 1988]

FOR LEADING VOLUNTEER, HONORS COME HIS WAY—DADE SCHOOLS HAIL MAN WHO AIDS KIDS

(By Jeffrey Kleinman)

John Smith's office is full of awards. About 80 of them. All recognizing the quintessential volunteer.

"It's my hobby," said Smith, the manager of the Cloverleaf Bowling Lanes in North Dade. "Some people would rather play golf. I volunteer."

Smith, in his 70s, does most of his volunteering for Dade County public school students. Representing Cloverleaf, he doles out awards, conducts rap sessions and opens up the lanes for achievers.

For his efforts during the past year, the Dade school system honored Smith and 146 others Thursday morning at the 14th annual School Volunteers Recognition Ceremony. The honor was for volunteers who worked at least 150 hours last year.

There are 14,000 school volunteers in the county, said Carol Renick, director of the school system's Department of Community Participation.

"John Smith as a volunteer has made a world of difference," she said. "He's lent an extra hand to the teachers and created the one-on-one rapport so often missing because of classroom size."

Smith also was singled out at the ceremony as a southeastern regional finalist in the national awards program.

"I don't think it's possible to exist without getting involved," said Smith, who lives in Norwood.

Smith started volunteering in the schools in 1957, the year that Cloverleaf Lanes opened and he became manager. He contacted the principal at Norland High, said he planned to give out awards for scholastic achievement, and did just that.

Cloverleaf's awards program grew and grew. Smith recently hosted a luncheon for students from more than 100 schools. He also recently awarded 10,000 certificates for students who excelled in math and English.

At Hibiscus Elementary, Smith set up a program to improve attendance. All students with a perfect record at the end of this semester get two free games of bowling.

"We all need to be recognized and be loved," he said.

One of Smith's current projects is helping to arrange for first- and second-grade public school classes at the Sunshine State Industrial Park, which employs about 10,000 workers just west of the the Golden Glades Interchange.

No doubt that he will see it through. History is on his side.

Two years ago, at a run-down government housing complex in Carol City, Smith helped turn things around. He helped bring about the cleanup of neglected property and organized a community center that now provides adult classes and day care.

"You can't take out of a community without giving back," Smith said. "Some don't realize the need."

VOICE OF DEMOCRACY SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM

HON. ANDY IRELAND

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. IRELAND. Mr. Speaker, each year the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States and its Ladies Auxiliary conduct the Voice of Democracy Broadcast Scriptwriting Contest. This year more than 300,000 secondary school students participated in the contest competing for the nine national scholarships totaling \$42,500, which was distributed among the top nine winners. The contest theme this year was "America's Liberty—Our Heritage."

The winning script from the State of Florida was written by one of my constituents, Manisha Singh, of Lake Alfred, FL. I would like to submit Manisha's work in today's RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues:

AMERICA'S LIBERTY—OUR HERITAGE

The shrill sounds of gunfire intrude upon a quiet night, erupting constantly in harsh, angry tones. Men in different shades of green cross the front line. A soldier dives into a nearby trench—grenades exploding behind him. The fury of an M-16 lashes out violating a peaceful summer day. The endless wall of a helicopter clashes with the hum of a tank in the distance.

The sharp click of the soldiers heels turns my thoughts to reality once more. The soldier, clad immaculately in blue, turns to march twenty-one even steps on the smooth white marble. As I look out I see perfect rows of small white crosses extending over hills of green. Our heritage lies here in the souls of those who gave their lives for liberty—our most precious heritage. It also lies in the hearts of those today who remember crossing a lonely battlefield hoping to raise the American flag in triumph of liberty.

As I pass the grave of John F. Kennedy, the delicate orange glow of the eternal flame catches my eye, and I recall his immortal words—"Ask not what your country can do for you: Ask what you can do for your country." These words are filled with dedication—dedication to our liberty, our America. Many people devoted their lives to make our America great. One of the first of these was Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson dedicated his life to the fight for the independence of America. In drafting the declaration of Independence, he established a tradition of freedom and embodied the liberties that every American would have.

In America today, we do not have to fight for our freedom; it is granted to us at birth. This is why so many people from other nations flock to America. Over the years it has provided a home for people of many different ethnic backgrounds. It has also provided the freedom and the opportunity to succeed. In no other country in the world can a person find as many opportunities to fulfill his highest dreams.

America's liberty is the result of the dream of our founding fathers. They also left us with many magnificent symbols of liberty. I remember standing in awe of them in the nation's capital. The Washington Monument stands proudly in remembrance of the great Father of America. The enormity of the statue of Lincoln in the Lincoln Memorial is symbolic of his role in the making of American liberty.

The beauty of the Iwo Jima Memorial, brave Marines struggling to raise the Star-Spangled Banner in triumph of liberty, creates a vivid impression of the true American dream. I remember standing in front of the Vietnam Wall marveling at the number of names engraved in the cold stone. There were flowers and flags placed along the wall. I saw an elderly woman kneeling in front of the wall crying, and a young man standing beside her. The young man, in a somber tone, uttered these words—"Dad, I'm the son you never got to see."

Our heritage, liberty, is present in all of these symbols. The most symbolic, however, is Lady Liberty herself. She stands proudly representing the freedom that rings from coast to coast. She represents America's liberty, our heritage that has been handed down from generation to generation as a priceless heirloom our heritage which we should always cherish and work to preserve; our heritage—life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness for all.

WHY GLASNOST CAN'T WORK

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, the New Republic has recently published a brilliant analysis of the facts of the new glasnost and perestroika initiatives undertaken by Communist Party boss Mikhail Gorbachev. I emphasize the word "facts" because, unlike so much of the reports of glasnost we read today, this one doesn't seek to praise or blame the initiatives, but to understand them within the context of one-party rule in the Soviet Union.

I strongly suggest that this piece be read by anyone who may have been caught up in the euphoria that has accompanied so many discussions of the Gorbachev program. David Satter, who wrote this piece, avoids any kind of propagandizing, for or against, but raises important questions. Again, this is a fine article and should stimulate much discussion.

At this point I wish to insert in the RECORD, "Why Glasnost Can't Work," by David Satter, in the New Republic, June 3, 1988:

WHY GLASNOST CAN'T WORK

(By David Satter)

Moscow—Under Mikhail Gorbachev the Soviet Union is changing. A lull in political arrests has enabled independent social organizations to proliferate in scores of cities. The regime has legalized private enterprise in the form of "cooperatives," and there are plans to give decision-making power to the heads of factories. Despite these developments, however, there is an odd sensation of events taking place in a time crystal, acted out in an abstract dimension and motivated, like some exotic fertility rite, by a gully need to propitiate the gods rather than by any real hope of achieving a concrete objective.

The problem is that discussion remains encased in ideology. The participants in the reform battle are free to describe society's problems and even to suggest superficial causes, but they cannot identify their ultimate source in the nature of the communist system, and this lacuna forces them to fall back on wishful thinking. No matter how severely they criticize existing conditions,

they must pretend that it is possible to engender economic dynamism while preserving the Soviet totalitarian system. The elliptical nature of conversations, the half-truths and inconsistencies in official publications are, in some ways, more striking now than during the period of "stagnation," when the leadership was content to defend the existing system.

The impetus for reform in the Soviet Union came from the decline of the economy. For many years it could survive under conditions of spectacular wastefulness resulting from total centralization because it drew on unlimited numbers of workers and materials. By mid-1970s it was faced with an exhaustion of inputs. Even more serious, the West entered a new phase of the scientific revolution that emphasized not production in bulk but access to information and precise technology. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union was degrading steadily under the weight of the communist system. Food was rationed outside the major cities. It was the only industrial country in the world where life expectancy was falling (infant mortality is four to five times the rate in the West, and 16 percent of the children now being born have mental or physical debilities). Yet none of this would have been enough to motivate the present Soviet reform effort.

What mattered was that economic inefficiency began to threaten the effectiveness of the Soviet military. The danger was first described in 1985 by Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov, the former Soviet chief of staff, in a book titled *History Teaches Vigilance*, and is now acknowledged by Soviet military and political leaders. "We should understand clearly," wrote Alexander Bovin in *Izvestia* in July 1987, "that if restructuring does not succeed . . . if not socialism but capitalism succeeds in mastering the new wave of the scientific technical revolution, then the balance of forces in the world can change in favor of capitalism."

Two Russian words, *glasnost* (publicity, not openness) and *perestroika* (reconstruction), have become associated with the two aspects of the Soviet reform program. *Glasnost* applies to political reforms—in particular, the lifting of various restrictions on information, speech, and social organization. *Perestroika*, the program of changes in the economic and political mechanism, is less advanced because it bears directly on the structure of power. In response to the military crisis, Gorbachev has called for "revolutionary transformations" in the economy, but so far structural changes have been hesitant. The Party owes its monopoly of power to its concentration of both economic and political control. Any adjustment toward individual initiative weakens the Party's control even as it improves the economy.

For the moment the authorities have concentrated on *glasnost*, which is expected to create an air of change and the impression that finally Soviet society is going to deal with its unacknowledged problems. It is also a way of making citizens aware that more is expected of them. Culture and the press are strikingly more liberal, and the limits on allowable political activity are much wider. It would have posed a risk to the legitimacy of the system had not the regime prepared Soviet citizens by disassociating Gorbachev from past repression in a major rewrite of Soviet ideology. The new, "correct" version, which will soon be taught dutifully in every Soviet school, divides Soviet history into two parts: "genuine socialism" under Lenin until 1924 and now under Gorbachev, and

the "distortions of socialism" during the intervening 61-year period. With this ideological preparation, the faults of the system can now be acknowledged and attributed to any of the five past leaders.

In terms of its impact on the population, the most important aspect of *glasnost* has been the change in the press, which in 18 short months has probably published more critical articles than in the entire previous 60 years. It has stunned Soviet public opinion. The exposure of the crimes of the Stalin era goes far beyond Khrushchev. With a few exceptions—such as the Katyn Forest massacre and the fate of Raoul Wallenberg—there seems to be no hesitation about publishing the truth of Stalin's period in power. The literary monthly *Novy Mir* published an estimate that ten million peasants died in the forced collectivization of agriculture, and the Soviet weekly *Nedelya* has indicated that 50 million Soviets died as a result of Stalin's policies.

Historical truthfulness ends, however, in the discussion of Lenin. He remains a saint. There is no chance to connect Lenin to one-party dictatorship, the concentration camps, and subordination of justice to police terror. He and Stalin must be depicted as polar opposites to preserve the legitimacy of the system.

There now are relatively few forbidden topics, but the coverage of every subject must avoid any attempt to analyze underlying causes. A good example of what Soviet citizens can now read was a recent story in *Literaturnaya Gazeta* entitled "Zone of Silence," which described how Akhmadjan Adilov, the director of a collective farm in Uzbekistan and a hero of socialist labor, as well as one of the most powerful men in the republic, turned his collective farm into a slave colony with a guarded perimeter, his own private army, palace, courts, and underground prison. Adilov was protected by his ties to the top Party leaders in Uzbekistan, and in the Soviet Union, the organs of law enforcement are always under the Party's control. In the Adilov case, *Literaturnaya Gazeta* could ask how it was possible for Adilov to have committed such crimes with impunity, but was not free to give the obvious response.

Another example of the self-limiting nature of press coverage was a report in *Moscow News* about the attempted hijacking of a Soviet airliner by 11 members of the Ovechkin family, from Irkutsk, which ended with the storming of the plane and the deaths of five hijackers, a stewardess, and five passengers. The hijackers had asked to be flown to Finland, but the pilot landed the plane at an airport near Leningrad, where it was stormed by an anti-terror squad. *Moscow News* asked whether the decision to land the plane on Soviet territory had not been a costly one, but it failed to ask the much more obvious question, which was whether a family like the Ovechkins would have resorted to hijacking if they had been able freely to leave the country.

The liberalization in the press has been accompanied by a dramatic opening in the field of culture. But it still takes place within a Leninist framework. With the exception of the works of Solzhenitsyn and other émigrés, such as Vassily Grossman's novella *Forever Flowing*, which touch directly on Lenin, almost all of the suppressed classics of Soviet literature are now being published, including the works of Platonov, Zamyatin, Pasternak, and Bulgakov. The censorship that weighed so heavily in literature has been lifted. Nonetheless, political

writing remains controlled on the same lines as journalism, and so imaginative literature is deprived of its intellectual context. Artistic works are also often the subject of deliberately misleading criticism. Novels and memoirs of the Stalin period are said to indict Stalin, not socialism, and the introduction of excerpts of Orwell's 1984, which has just been published, explains that the novel is about fascism.

In an effort to inspire citizen activism, the Gorbachev leadership has also granted limited political self-expression. The authorities have released hundreds of political prisoners and, in general, are not making new political arrests. In order to be arrested, it once was enough to write an article and show it to a friend or to criticize the regime in the compartment of a train. The regime has now decided to grant some freedom of expression. Previously the authorities acted quickly to suppress any type of independent organization, no matter how insignificant. Now they appear ready to accept a limited freedom of association. For the moment the only persons who are singled out for persecution are those who undertake independent political action, such as Pairur Arikyan, an Armenian nationalist who played an important role in demonstrations in Armenia, or members of the Democracy and Humanism seminar who are trying to organize an independent political party.

To some extent this tentative political tolerance is useful to the authorities. In the past, any independent group or publication was regarded immediately as a focal point of opposition. Today, when the Gorbachev leadership is anxious to put pressure on uncooperative local authorities to implement its policies, independent organizations have suddenly become useful, especially if they lack political sophistication and can be put to work fighting against local "enemies of perestroika."

The diminution of political persecution has changed the atmosphere in Moscow and created the odd situation of a wave that is always just about to break. Every Soviet citizen who has been unfairly denied an apartment or fired from his job can now come to Moscow to seek justice in the reception halls of government organizations. These petitioners—"truth-seekers," as they are called—are arriving in thousands only to find that the press's indignation does not extend to individuals. As in the period of "stagnation," no one is interested in their complaints.

Reflecting the strange spirit of the times, Abulfazfizza Aliskerov, an Azerbaijani woman who said she had been cheated out of her home by local officials, set herself on fire on February 12 in the reception hall of the Supreme Soviet, the fictitious Soviet parliament. "I've been coming here for ten years," she shouted, "for ten years, they refuse to receive me. There is no Soviet power in the Soviet Union!"

The policy of glasnost, with its Leninist version of freedom, has had mixed results, inspiring hope, principally among the intellectuals, and fear among the workers, who have little faith that any good can come out of "the latest campaign." But a psychological change of some kind is necessary if the country is not to be thrown into chaos as the leadership begins to move to implement perestroika.

Perestroika amounts to an attempt to force Soviet citizens to work harder in a system that is inefficient because it remains under the Party's complete control. It consists of two parts—the organization of inde-

pendent businesses in the form of cooperatives or private ateliers, and the reorganization of the state sector so that each enterprise will be responsible for making a "profit" on the basis of prices assigned by the state. To a certain extent the two aspects of perestroika are expected to be complementary, the private businesses improving the quality of services and the plan for "self-financing" improving the quality of the production of the state. In both cases what is at stake is an attempt to induce Soviet citizens to show economic initiative in a party-controlled economic structure.

The first aspect of the new economic program is the development of an embryonic private sector, which the authorities hope will help to stimulate the state sector. To work in a private business, an individual must be willing to hold a full-time job in the state sector and to work in the business in his spare time. This means that the state is able to squeeze extra work out of each energetic "cooperator" or individualchik, and they, in turn, are encouraged to recruit wives and children to fill in for them in the private business. That way they make it possible for the economy to exploit untapped "labor resources."

Despite these conditions, however, Soviet citizens are slowly beginning to form private businesses, because in an economy where the services are uniformly shoddy, the rewards for independent enterprise can be high. There are now about 300,000 people engaged in individual labor activity and an estimated 150,000 people in about 14,000 cooperatives.

The appearance in the Soviet Union of private businesses that have official status and pay taxes does not represent structural change. In the past many of the services involved were provided by the black market, and so the private enterprises are only a means to bring part of the parallel economy back under the control of the state. The main importance of the independent enterprises is encouraging an environment in which citizens are expected to show initiative if they want rewards, with the same principle to be applied on a much larger scale in the state sector in the plan for self-financing, or *khozratchet*.

In fact, the plan for self-financing is the keystone of the entire economic reform and, with it, probably the Gorbachev program as a whole. It gives to the management of Soviet enterprises what they have always lacked: a measure of autonomy. Under the new law on state enterprises, the enterprise has the right to make decisions about the disposition of resources, finding suppliers and disposing of part of its production either directly or through a new wholesale trade network, with prices set by agreement under the supervision of state price formation bodies.

For the moment the reform has had virtually no effect on the economy because the place of plan indicators has been taken by "state orders," making the system even more cumbersome than before. The economic reform is not expected to go into operation fully until the next five-year plan, which begins in 1991. At that time, however, it will be full of omnious possibilities because, although it does not correct for any of the structural defects in the Soviet economy, it offers abundant opportunities to reduce the already thoroughly exploited Soviet worker to a new level of poverty while depriving him of the one thing that made his poverty bearable: the confidence that his pay was assured and he could not be fired from his job.

The most important aspect of the new system from the point of view of the individual worker is that it threatens his wages, because the wage fund will no longer be handed down to the enterprise from above but will depend on the enterprise's own income. This would be reasonable in the context of a free market. It is menacing under Soviet conditions, where the ability of the enterprise to earn an income depends marginally on the enterprise but mainly on the economic conditions created by the state.

For all of Gorbachev's talk of increasing economic independence, there is no indication that he plans to end the factors that account for the inefficiency of Soviet industry, even under conditions of reform. Under the new system, and enterprise's production must fully accord first with the economic plan, second with state orders, and only then with orders from customers. If the share of state orders is significant, as it appears it will be, the new reform will carry within itself the seeds of the Soviet economy's existing irrationality—the omissions of the planning agency, the inefficiency of the supply agency, the interference of the quality control agency, the inflexibility of ministries, and the unreliability of the Soviet railways. This will be all the more true if, as seems likely, there is no change in the system of giving absolute priority to military production, because the organization of the country as a military machine both impoverishes the civilian economy and subjects it to constant disruption.

Under these circumstances, Soviet workers may find that their salaries are subject to sharp reductions because of the enterprises' failure to make a profit, even though that failure was the result of factors completely outside the enterprise's control. Such a situation has already led to strikes and will in the future. They may also find that their security will be destroyed by rapid inflation as enterprises, in order to become "profitable" without any improvement in efficiency, simply raise prices shifting the cost of economic reform to the consumer.

Significantly, there are no signs that the authorities are thinking in terms of positive incentives to work harder, except for the vague possibility of higher pay for workers in enterprises that—according to central calculations—make a "profit." This possibility means very little in the Soviet context unless the stores are well stocked and workers who earn rubles have something to buy with them. As matters stand, meat and dairy products are being rationed all over the Soviet Union and the food supply situation is actually getting worse because of cuts in imported meat and grain. Even bread has fallen in quality.

The overwhelming impression is that if "self-financing" is to work at all, it will depend not on positive incentives to work better, but on fear of losing what little the workers already earn—and of unemployment. Soviet factories already have begun experimenting with eliminating positions and distributing some of the savings to the other workers. The Soviet Union has always prided itself on giving workers complete job security, but the plans for self-financing call for the closing of inefficient enterprises, and there is talk of eliminating 16 million jobs by the year 2000.

The Soviet Union has entered a transitional period in its history. Faced with an urgent need to inspire initiative, but unwilling to give up power, the authorities have

responded with glasnost and perestroika. They have decided to rewrite to their advantage the long-standing social contract between the Party and the Soviet people according to which the population trades obedience for security and freedom from any obligation to work. As part of perestroika the authorities now want Soviet citizens not only to work but also to accept an unprecedented level of insecurity. In return they are willing to give them more glasnost—the appearance, though not the substance, of rights.

It is already clear what institutionalized glasnost will consist of: exposures of corruptions in the press, but no system of justice for individuals; the right to criticize "in the spirit of the Party," but no public hearing for independent ideas; the right to demonstrate in the interests of the Party, and to vote for factory directors as long as the director remains subordinated to the local Party. Can the authorities persuade Soviet workers to accept economic risks in return for conditional or illusory freedoms? The answer is probably not.

All reports suggest that the workers are convinced that perestroika is a sham and that Gorbachev is the latest baltoon (blabbermouth) who "promises everything and delivers nothing" and is just trying to exploit them further. They are angry about the anti-alcohol campaign, which forced them to wait in humiliating lines and deprived them of their only escape. They are panic-stricken about the possibility of price increases, since they have barely enough to make ends meet as it is.

It is reasonable to predict that if Gorbachev seeks the funds that he needs for investment from higher prices and lower wages, under conditions in which there is a slackening of centralized control, the result will be a nationwide revolt consisting of cheating, theft, disobedience, and petty sabotage. This would worsen conditions until the central authorities were forced to give in.

The anti-alcohol campaign is a case in miniature of what Gorbachevism is attempting to do on a grander scale. It began almost immediately after Gorbachev took office. It was an attempt to solve a social problem with administrative means. The price of vodka was increased, and the production of vodka cut. At the same time police began picking up anyone who was drunk in public and factory directors were warned not to tolerate any drinking at work.

At first the campaign against alcoholism produced some successes. The consumption of alcohol was reduced, and there was a decline in work-related accidents and in crimes committed while drunk. Gradually, however, the Soviet population reacted by beginning to produce moonshine vodka, and this clandestine production has reached the point where it can no longer be controlled.

Nikolai, Shmelev, an economist writing in the monthly *Novy Mir*, estimated that if, in the early 1980s, two-thirds of the income from the sale of alcoholic beverages went to the government and one-third to moonshiners, today those percentages are reversed without any permanent drop in the level of consumption. The loss of revenue to the government, in the meantime, has been made up by printing money.

The core of the problem is that Gorbachev is trying to induce workers to show initiative by giving them rights within a Leninist framework, whereas initiative is a characteristic of freedom and presupposes the existence of genuine human rights. The di-

lemma of people educated in Soviet society in the fate of an attempt to displace them psychologically was expressed by a 33-year-old mother of three in a letter to *Pravda* on January 18, "Like many others," she wrote, "Our generation was brought up under socialism and without belief in God. One might say that socialism and its ideals were our God. . . . As a result of the policy of *Glasnost* and unrestrained criticism . . . the idea of socialism under which we have lived for 70 years and which determines our aims and the purpose of our existence has, to some extent, been discredited. I cannot speak for everyone, but my own faith has been shaken." If the reform of the economy continues and *glasnost* accompanies it, the faith of many others will be shaken too.

The only way really to introduce truth into an ideological fabric is to reject the fabric and give people rights, or to see the fabric progressively torn until there is no alternative but to dominate people through naked force.

The Soviet Union has shown an interest in Western credits to finance *perestroika*. One figure that has been mentioned is \$50 billion. It is not surprising that the Soviets have moderated the tone of their hostile propaganda and are devoting considerable efforts to persuade us to discard the "image of the enemy" when we think of them, an image that might make us reluctant to repeat the error of the 1970s in providing the credits and technology they needed to build up their military potential.

In considering the proposals for "cooperation" and "mutual help," however, we might bear in mind that the Soviet Union has the means to solve its economic crisis independently if the Party is ready to renounce expansion and share power. To have the resources necessary to help awaken the productive capacities of the population, it would be enough to decollectivize agriculture, abandon a few expensive overseas clients, and reduce the size of the Soviet armed forces to a level sufficient for security but not for intimidation.

In the absence of such steps there is no alternative, as Gorbachev has said, to *glasnost* and *perestroika*. But it is the Soviet Union's Leninist framework that these measures seek to perpetuate, and it is this framework that makes the Soviet Union aggressive and militaristic. There is no conceivable reason why the cost of maintaining it should be shared by the West.

LET'S SUPPORT THE UNITED STATES/CANADA FREE TRADE AGREEMENT WITHOUT DELAY

HON. TOBY ROTH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. ROTH. Mr. Speaker, back in 1911, the Canadian Conservative Party campaigned on the theme "Neither Trucks Nor Trade With the Yankees," in protest against a free trade agreement that the Liberal Party had just entered with the United States.

Now, 76 years later, Canadian Conservative Prime Minister Mulroney and President Reagan have signed a free-trade agreement, yielding the opportunity to open further the world's longest undefended border.

It seems that time not only heals all wounds, it enhances economic prosperity as well.

In one of his weekly radio addresses, President Reagan described this new pact as a "win-win" situation for both sides. That's undoubtedly true. Recently, we've seen a much-welcomed surge in American exports. The establishment of the United States-Canadian Free Trade Agreement would further aid our exports to the north. American businesses and industry have much to gain.

The scope of United States-Canadian trade is enormous. Most Canadians live within a 100-mile vicinity of the United States border, making it easier to trade with American businesses than with their own outlying Provinces. In 1986, bilateral trade in goods totaled \$124 billion. Companies in the United States do more business with the Canadian Province of Ontario alone than all of Japan.

Thus, the new agreement bodes well for American, and specifically Wisconsin, businesses for three reasons. We have the advantage of proximity to this new market and certainly stand to benefit from having 25 million potential customers at our doorstep.

Further, Midwestern States make what Canada needs. The core of the largest bilateral trade relationship in the world is in the Great Lakes region. Our neighbor to the north is our best foreign customer, doing over \$450 million worth of business with Wisconsin, Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan. That's more than Canada trades with any other country in Africa, South America, Asia or even Europe.

An additional plus is that 80 percent of these exports are in labor-intensive industries, directly contributing 430,000 jobs to this five-State region.

Historically, Canada and the United States have maintained a low tariff wall compared to the rest of the world. However, for American products entering into Canada, this wall has been twice as high as for Canadian products coming the opposite direction. By lowering and eventually demolishing this wall, American businesses will be better able to compete with Canadian products.

On a per capita basis, Wisconsin is the Nation's No. 1 exporting State. Therefore, its future economic growth, like that of our country, is tied to foreign trade and the ability to be competitive in world markets. That's why we have so much to gain from the opening of the Canadian market.

Upon enactment of the Free Trade Agreement, most barriers to trade and investment will be eliminated following a three-tiered tariff reduction schedule. While some food products, apparel, and machines are subject to an immediate tariff reduction, other industries would be given several years in which to reduce their tariffs. All tariffs will be eliminated within 10 years.

Just as important as tariff reduction is the elimination of other Canadian barriers to trade and investment. These nontariff barriers exist at both the national level, with Buy Canadian rules and customs procedures, as well as the province level. Canadian provinces enjoy much more autonomy than to American States. Provincial authorities have had the ability to enact their own trade procedures

and guidelines, often leaving American exporters to deal with the whims of a provincial marketing board.

Within the new agreement, such barriers are reduced and American products are accessible in more provinces.

This agreement deserves my colleagues' support. It does much to level the often talked-about playing field for trade. Further, within the United States-Canada trade arena, our products will be granted a favored status over those coming from the rest of the world.

This is a historic opportunity to expand America's export sector. American business will benefit not from carving a bigger piece from the economic pie, but by taking advantage of a larger pie enhanced by this new trade agreement.

THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF A PIONEERING NEIGHBORHOOD

HON. WILLIAM O. LIPINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. LIPINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to bring to the attention of my colleagues the 50th anniversary of a pioneering neighborhood group in my district, the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council [BYNC]. America's oldest active community organization, the BYNC was cofounded by Joseph B. Meegan and Saul Alinsky in 1939 to promote the interests of and maintain their special neighborhood community.

In its 50 years of service, this group has made a special contribution to the youth of Chicago. Its juvenile welfare committee has been acclaimed as unique and outstanding in delinquency prevention and treatment. This included the formation of Big Brother and Big Sister programs for all juveniles arrested and referred by the police. Its 34 Mothers' Clubs have sponsored educational and health programs. The education committee of local, public, and private school principals and district superintendents works together to insure quality education for Chicago. In pursuit of this goal, the council has also sponsored summer school programs in reading, modern math, art, music, and physical education as well as an excellent recreation program administered by a recreation committee which consists of 10 park and playground supervisors and subsidizes numerous holiday parties. The Career School and Seminar which the council sponsors each year for more than 1,000 eighth grade students gives them a chance to learn about job possibilities of the future from leaders of business, industry, education, labor, health, and public service. Of national importance has been the council's 1943 drive for a National/State School Lunch and Milk Program to provide all children in America a hot lunch and milk at a low, affordable cost. This program became a model for the 83,000 public and private school districts where it continues to benefit the young people of America.

Another major accomplishment of this organization has been the redevelopment of the Chicago Stock yards area which has attracted

the additional industry and jobs essential to the community. While pursuing this goal, the council conducted a title search of 13,500 homes in the community and maintains up to date records on the ownership of all homes, apartments, business, and industrial properties which make up the Back of the Yards Neighborhood. For the benefit of its neighbors, the council also worked in conjunction with more than 200 local insurance agencies to provide low cost tenant and homeowners insurance. It has also worked with Illinois' Commonwealth Edison Co. and local contractors to modernize electrical service at low cost to owners of more than 5,000 homes and sponsored a communitywide effort to prevent the loss of lives and property by selling more than 11,000 smoke alarms at cost in the council's office. This spirit of community involvement has also been encouraged in the young through the junior citizens committee in area schools which participate in community betterment programs.

The contributions that the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council have made to the community during their 50 years of service are immeasurable. I am sure my colleagues join me today in recognizing and honoring the council's dedication and commitment to the people of the Back of the Yards and congratulating them upon the 50th anniversary of their founding.

INDIA'S REPRESSION DESERVES ACTION

HON. WALLY HERGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. HERGER. Mr. Speaker, this Nation has long had a commitment to ensuring freedom and democracy for individuals around the world. Indeed, an inscription here in the Capitol states that: "Wherever liberty is in chains, and people are fighting for it, they are fighting for America."

It is for this reason that I have been concerned with the well-documented instances of human rights violations that have been taking place against innocent Sikh men, women, and children in the Punjab state in India.

The Sikh minority has been the most productive minority in India. While representing only 2 percent of the total population of India, the Sikh agricultural community produces 73 percent of India's wheat reserves, and 48 percent of her rice reserves. Unfortunately, the Indian Government denies the Sikh people even the most basic freedoms. Innocent Sikhs continue to be arrested and held without charge for up to 3 years by the Indian secret police, often undergoing torture and even death at the hands of their interrogators. Elections are not allowed, entire rivers have been diverted out of the Punjab, and a strict state of emergency was imposed, one which resulted in the arrest of more than 23,000 citizens who participated in the peaceful general strike.

Additionally, India's growing alignment with the Soviet bloc has been well documented. The Indian Government has supported the

Communist Sandinista government in Nicaragua, voted with Fidel Castro and Ethiopian President Mengistu at the United Nations—in fact, India votes against the United States in the United Nations more often than the Soviet Union, perhaps as much as 94 percent of the time—and recently purchased an attack submarine from the Soviets capable of carrying cruise missiles and torpedoes. There have also been charges that Indian advisers have actively participated in the Soviet war in Afghanistan. Clearly, the current Government of India is no ally of the United States.

The vast majority of Sikhs are hard-working and peaceful people who only seek the rights and privileges that are provided to other minority groups in India. It is time that our Nation speak out in support of this oppressed minority and send a strong signal to Prime Minister Ghandi that we cannot tolerate indiscriminate violations against human rights. The United States should not do business with those nations which ignore the issue.

We might make our stand on human rights clearer by suspending most-favored-nation status for the Indian Government. My colleague, Representative BILL MCCOLLUM, recently suggested that this would be an important first step toward pressuring the Indians to respect the basic rights and freedoms of the Sikh minority. Most-favored-nation status should be reserved for those countries which adhere to the same internationally recognized standards of human rights that we demand of our other allies, and those countries whose behavior and conduct toward the United States remains reasonable and supportive. India meets neither of these standards.

As I have emphasized in the past, India has it within their grasp to address the concerns expressed by a number of my colleagues. The Sikh people have repeatedly stressed that they are willing to negotiate with Mr. Gandhi for their God-given rights and freedoms. I would hope that both sides would work toward this goal, peacefully, and quickly.

SURGEON GENERAL'S REPORT SUPPORTS SLOWING CIGARETTE ADDICTION BY ADJUSTING CIGARETTE EXCISE TAX

HON. FORTNEY H. (PETE) STARK

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, as we are well aware, cigarettes and other forms of tobacco are dangerous. They are responsible for more than 300,000 premature deaths each year in the United States alone. They are addicting. They are associated with heart disease, lung disease, cancer, and burns. They are the largest single preventable cause of illness and death in this country. A substantial excise tax on cigarettes would dampen demand for the product, and thus reduce many of the problems and costs associated with tobacco use.

Despite the danger of these products and the economic costs associated with the devastating problems they cause, the cigarette excise tax has not kept pace with the rate of inflation. In 1951, the tax on a pack of ciga-

rettes was 8 cents. In 1982, Congress passed legislation to raise the tax from 8 cents to 16 cents a pack. However, even with this change, the cigarette excise tax rate has lagged far behind the increase in the cost of living over the past few decades. Currently, Federal tax as a percent of cigarette price—including tax—is at 16.6 percent, the same percentage as it was in 1975. The result has been increased costs to the individual and society.

On January 7, 1987, I introduced a bill to double the cigarette excise tax from 16 cents to 32 cents a pack. Not only would this action reduce the Federal deficit, but it would discourage people from starting to smoke.

The Congressional Budget Office estimates that the Federal revenue generated by an increased cigarette excise tax would be over \$3 billion per year. It would also save billions in health costs in the years to come. The cost of medical care for smoking-related disease amounts to an estimated \$21 billion per year. This represents 7 percent of the total national expenditures on personal health care. An even greater economic toll is the \$37 billion lost in productivity and earnings to U.S. business every year. It is estimated that the cost of smoking-related illness to Medicare and Medicaid will exceed \$5 billion a year.

The use of tobacco products by schoolage children, adolescents, and adults affects the well-being of our society. Preventing the initiation of tobacco use must be a priority. The Surgeon General's report, "The Health Consequences of Smoking: Nicotine Addiction," released on May 16, 1988, makes it clear that the nicotine in tobacco is an addictive drug, and deadly to one's health, just like heroin, cocaine, and other controlled substances. While we are trying extraordinary measures to solve the drug crisis, we should at least consider a modest adjustment in the cigarette excise tax in order to discourage consumption.

The Surgeon General's report says that the cost and availability of cigarettes are important in the "initiation and maintenance" of smoking. According to the report, "human cigarette smokers can be motivated with positive and negative cost incentives." From an economic perspective, when the price of a commodity increases, the intake of the substance decreases. Therefore, an increase in the cigarette excise tax will lead to decreased consumption. The Surgeon General further indicates that the "widespread ready availability and relatively low cost of tobacco products have contributed to the much higher rates of mortality associated with tobacco."

By providing a negative cost incentive, we will be providing an impetus for current smokers to quit. Several years ago, it was estimated that an 8 cent a pack increase in taxes would lead to 1.8 million quitting, or not starting to smoke. This would include over 400,000 teenagers, more than half a million young adults 20 to 25, and nearly half a million adults 26 to 35.

In the long run, an increase in the cigarette excise tax from 16 cents to 32 cents would decrease the health care expenditures of society in general, and the Federal Government in particular. However, even more importantly, it will save lives.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL FESTA ITALIANA

HON. MATTHEW J. RINALDO

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. RINALDO. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues in the House, and particularly those from New Jersey and New York, that on June 11 Italian-American organizations in the State of New Jersey and thousands of Italian-American citizens of the Garden State will join together in a celebration of their unique heritage at the 18th annual Festa Italiana at the Garden State Arts Center in Homdel, NJ.

Just as past festivals have attracted large crowds, this one promises to be an outdoor extravaganza of good Italian food, music, entertainment and cultural pride. The purpose is to remind Italian-American citizens of New Jersey of their rich cultural and ethnic heritage, and to raise funds to benefit the Garden State Cultural Center. The center provides free programs in the arts for school children, senior citizens, disabled veterans, and the blind from all over New Jersey.

Under the chairmanship of Anthony P. Lordi, Sr., of Linden, the 18th annual Festa Italiana continues a tradition started in 1971 under its first chairman, Alphonse A. Miele. Successive chairmen of the event were Frank A. Campione, Renato R. Biribin, Louis J. DiGirolama, Jr., John A. Appezzato, Modesta Farina, and John Gatto.

This year Carmen L. Urso of Linden will serve with Frank Sciarillo of Chatham as co-chairmen of the event. Anthony Carpinello is the chairman and Charles S. Piazza is co-chairman of scholarships; Ralph Champa is the ad book chairman and Frank Guida co-chairman, Salvatore J. Finelli is the treasurer; Mary Finelli is the recording secretary.

Many talented musicians, dancers, singers, and performers will entertain throughout the day under the chairmanship of Giulio Carnevale and his cochairpersons, Beverly Geiger and Maria Auriema.

Festa Italiana is famed for its food, and Eileen Di Nizo and Patricia De Prospero are in charge of this part of the celebration. Other prominent Italian-Americans also are serving on the committee. They include Rev. Joseph Maffei of St. Anthony's Church in Elizabeth, Elaine and Renato Biribin, Chris Albanese, Al Vecchione, Robert J. Tarte, Cesarina Earl, Louise Sciarillo, Lee Carlo, Michael Vacca, John L. Geiger, Carmen Ligato, Mario Farraro, Ann Bon Martin, Marion Sporaco, Anthony De Sopo, Joseph Martino and Lucy Schifano.

The New York-New Jersey metropolitan area is home to millions of Italian-Americans. The two States rank first and second, respectively, in the number of their citizens with Italian backgrounds. They add to the richness and variety of America, and they have contributed to the growth of the Garden State and the pride that Italian-Americans take in their culture and heritage.

June 3, 1988

A FOND FAREWELL TO ALBERT J. "VOJTECH" SVOBODA, SR.

HON. WILLIAM O. LIPINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. LIPINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute and say farewell to one of my constituents, Mr. Albert J. "Vojtech" Svoboda, Sr., of Cicero, IL. Mr. Svoboda passed away last Thursday, May 26, 1988, and left us all with a loving memory of his kindness, his hard work, and his sense of fun.

Albert Svoboda—or "Tata" as he was affectionately known by his children and grandchildren—represented what I believe to be the best qualities in Americans. Born in 1902 in a small village just north of Prague, Czechoslovakia, Mr. Svoboda emigrated to the United States in the 1930s to seek the freedoms that would soon be denied his country by the Nazis. Settling in Cicero, IL, Mr. Svoboda devoted himself to the realty business in the Chicagoland area and made a good life for himself and his children.

As a testimony to his industriousness and hard work, Albert Svoboda was elected to serve as the chair of the South Lawndale-Crawford Real Estate Board in 1958. He then went on to become president of both the Southwest Multiple Listing Service (1960-62) and the 26th Street Real Estate Board (1964-68) in Chicago, and was very much involved in the neighborhood development of the greater Chicago region.

As chairman of the Democratic Council on Ethnic Americans, I am always on the lookout for Americans who exemplify our rich ethnic, immigrant tradition. Albert Svoboda was such an example. While proud to be an American, he never forgot his Czechoslovak roots and made certain his children could speak his native language and his heritage was passed on to future generations. He was an active member of the SOKOL athletic organization, the LYRA singing society, and many other Czechoslovak fraternal and social organizations. His love of Czech music, dancing, and culture enriched all who came in contact with him and endeared him to many.

Mr. Speaker, I know his friends and family from the old Czechoslovak neighborhood in Cicero will miss him greatly. I offer my condolences and salute a great Ethnic American—Albert J. "Vojtech" Svoboda, Sr.

RESOLUTION SUPPORTING IRANIAN BAHAI'S

HON. JOHN EDWARD PORTER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, last week marked the 144th anniversary of the founding of the Baha'i faith. On May 23, 1844, in a small house in the city of Shiraz, Iran, the prophet Bab announced the beginning of the Baha'i faith.

Since that day, Iranian Baha'is have suffered severe persecution, solely for their belief in the divine authority of the founder of the faith. By 1850, the Bab's first disciple and 20,000 others had died at the hands of fanatical mobs acting under orders of the Muslim clergy. Unfortunately, this savagery continues today. Over the past 8 years, nearly 200 Iranian Baha'is have been executed, thousands more imprisoned, and many subjected to torture on account of their religious beliefs.

In 1982 and 1984, Congress adopted concurrent resolutions urging the Government of Iran to uphold the rights of all its nationals, including members of the Baha'i faith. Today, along with my distinguished cochairman of the Congressional Human Rights Caucus, TOM LANTOS of California, and 81 of our colleagues, I am introducing a similar measure. I urge the rest of my colleagues to join us in sponsoring this important resolution.

Mr. Speaker, it is time again for Congress to join over 100,000 American Baha'is in support of their brothers in Iran and elsewhere throughout the world.

HONORING ALAN PRESS

HON. ROBERT G. TORRICELLI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. TORRICELLI. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to Alan Press, who will assume the presidency of the National Association of Life Underwriters [NALU] on September 29, 1988.

Alan Press joined the Guardian Life in 1956, immediately upon graduation from Columbia College. He has been an agent, supervisor, and was named general agent in 1964. His agency has been awarded the Guardian's coveted President's Cup four times, and is always in the top five of Guardian's over 100 agencies. He is a past chairman of the Guardian's field advisory board.

Mr. Press is a past president of the New York City and New York State Associations of Life Underwriters. He has chaired NALU's special committee on the taxation of life insurance. Mr. Press has testified on behalf of NALU before committees of the U.S. Senate, House of Representatives, and the New York State Commission on Insurance, Banking, and Financial Services concerning "Taxation of Life Insurance," "Tax Treatment of Employee Benefits," and "Decontrol of Financial Institutions."

Mr. Press has been a frequent contributor to LAN magazine, authorizing a series of articles on A.L. Williams that ultimately formed the basis of the NALU video, "Rhetoric vs Reality." "Dealing with Replacement" a collection of his LAN articles, was published as a brochure by NALU. Over 500,000 copies of the brochure have been distributed.

He has been an editor of Probe magazine. His articles have also appeared in Best's magazine and the Financial Planner. He has been a main platform speaker at the Million Dollar Round Table, GAMC's LAMP, and the CLU Forum. He has spoken to life underwriter meetings in over 35 States. Memberships include AALU, ASCLU, GAMC, and MDRT.

Mr. Press has taken leadership roles in many civic and service groups. Such service includes: past president or chairman of the Jewish Big Brothers of New York, Northern Section; New Jersey Association for Children With Learning Disabilities; Demarest (NJ) Democratic Club, and the Demarest Zoning Board.

Mr. Press lives in Demarest, NJ, with his wife Hanna, and their three children. I take great pleasure in honoring him today.

A TRIBUTE TO REV. CHARLES WARD

HON. DAVID E. PRICE

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. PRICE of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I want today to call to the attention of my colleagues the passing of a faithful minister of the Gospel and an outstanding citizen of my district, Rev. Dr. Charles William Ward, Sr., pastor of First Baptist Church in Raleigh, NC.

A native of LaGrange, GA, he received his high school education at East Depot Street High School. He completed his higher education at Morehouse College; Howard University School of Religion; Bowman Gray School of Medicine, Winston-Salem, NC; the Urban Training Center, Chicago, IL; and Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest, NC.

Ordained by Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr., Charles Ward led numerous congregations with great effectiveness, including First Baptist Church of Raleigh, where he has served for the past 29 years. He also presided over the Raleigh Ministerial Association and the Raleigh Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance.

Charles Ward was a civic leader, who assumed a leadership role in the civil rights movement from his earliest days in Raleigh. He was at the forefront of the struggle to end segregated schools, and the community's progress owed much to his ability to negotiate and conciliate across racial lines. He continued the fight for justice and equality while serving 9 years as president of the Raleigh-Apex chapter of the NAACP, and as president of the Raleigh-Wake Citizens Association.

Charles Ward was a humanitarian, striving for the betterment of others. In 1966, he founded the Raleigh Inter-Church Housing [RICH] Association. He organized the construction of Rich Park, a section 221(d)(3) housing community, which today provides affordable housing for 100 low-income families. At the time of his death, he was working with the city of Raleigh and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development to convert church property into a shelter for the homeless.

Charles Ward was a man of quiet strength, well-spoken, well-read, and thoughtful. He did not need to raise his voice to be heard, for the strength of his convictions and the power of his wisdom commanded attention. He was a man to whom I and many others learned to listen closely, and whose counsel we sought and valued greatly.

Charles Ward's life was a blessing to his family, his congregation, and his community.

We mourn his passing and rejoice in the good he did among us. In the apostle's words, we "thank God upon every remembrance of him."

INTRODUCING BUDGET STRUCTURE ACT

HON. JACK BROOKS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, the most pressing problem facing the Federal Government today is the enormous deficits that we have accumulated in recent years. Year after year, the President has submitted, and the Congress has enacted, budgets for Federal Government operations in which expenditures far exceed revenues.

On numerous occasions, we have resorted to unabashed gimmickry in an attempt to hide the real extent of the annual deficit. Notwithstanding the deception generated by the gimmickry, the deficits have continued to accumulate. They are real. They are serious. And, they must be dealt with.

It is time for the Congress and the President to face up to the real problem, rejecting the gimmicks and making the hard choices. We cannot do this if we don't demand that the budgets submitted by Presidents and enacted by Congress contain honest figures that reflect the true status of the Federal Government's fiscal activities.

I am today, along with the ranking minority member of the Government Operations Committee, Congressman FRANK HORTON, introducing the "Federal Budget Structure Act of 1988." This bill is the result of several years of study by the Committee on Government Operations with the assistance of the General Accounting Office.

The Budget Structure Act is not a magic wand. It will not eliminate the Federal budget deficit. That will only be done when the President and the Congress determine to adopt balanced revenue and spending policies. Rather, this legislation will be a tool to help the President and the Congress meet that objective by providing better and more relevant information on the revenues, expenses, and financing requirements of Government programs and activities.

Our legislation will require that the budget submitted by the President be a unified budget which contains an operating budget and a capital budget, which also distinguishes between Federal funds and trust funds. Though not included in this legislation, if this procedure is adopted, we would also propose to conform the Congressional Budget Act to require that the annual congressional budget resolution be presented in a similar structure.

This four-part budget approach, distinguishing between capital investments and operating expenses, and between trust and nontrust fund amounts, will enable us to focus clearly on where the budget deficits and surpluses are and will give us better information on which to make rational choices in determining national priorities. We are offering this legislation as a first step toward restoring integrity and reliability in the Federal budget process.

We urge all Members to study it carefully and would welcome any thoughts and comments you might have.

SUPPORT FOR H.R. 2470

HON. RAYMOND J. McGRATH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. McGRATH. Mr. Speaker, on June 2 the House voted overwhelmingly to pass H.R. 2470, the Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act of 1988. Due to illness, I was unable to cast my vote on this important measure. However, had I been in attendance, I would have voted in favor of H.R. 2470.

While I did not support this measure in its original form, the conference committee made remarkable progress in improving this bill; 29 million elderly Americans and 3 million disabled Americans receive Medicare benefits. Although this program has been very successful, many people still are left with enormous medical bills that must be paid out of pocket. H.R. 2470 takes a decisive step in eliminating much of these crippling medical costs.

First, the measure vastly simplifies the Medicare Program. Recipients no longer have to worry about hospitalization costs after 60 days. Under H.R. 2470, beneficiaries will make only one payment and be covered for the rest of the year. This payment will be \$564 in 1989 and be capped at \$600 in 1990.

Second, physician or outpatient services will be capped at \$1,370 beginning in 1990. Medicare will pay all approved charges beyond this amount.

Third, the bill offers a prescription drug benefit. Many elderly people have complained of the high cost of prescription drugs. When the bill is fully implemented in 1993, 80 percent of prescription drug costs will be paid by Medicare after beneficiaries have paid a \$710 deductible. In 1991, 50 percent of costs will be paid above \$600.

Most importantly, the new Medicare Program has a self-financing system incorporating a flat fee method to be paid by all beneficiaries and a progressive method based on tax liability.

Although I am supportive of this measure, I still have serious concerns on some of the bill's provisions. My greatest concern is whether the new program will be able to remain revenue neutral in the coming years as the number of Medicare recipients is expected to grow rapidly. Additionally, I worry that elderly beneficiaries may be forced to pay higher and higher premiums. Finally, the measure does not address the issue of long-term nursing home care that many older Americans are unable to afford.

While H.R. 2470 is not the final answer to all of the problems facing Medicare beneficiaries, it is an important victory in the battle for effective, affordable health care for older Americans.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

JUNE 5, 1988—NATIONAL SHUT-IN DAY

HON. NICK JOE RAHALL II

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to let my colleagues know that this coming Sunday, June 5, 1988, will be a very special day for many of their constituents. Today, an important piece of legislation, House Joint Resolution 145, declaring June 5, 1988, as "National Shut-In Day" was passed by the House of Representatives.

I am very happy to be the sponsor of House Joint Resolution 145. I was first alerted to this important issue by Mrs. Judy Boone of Logan, WV, who is the president of the National Shut-In's Day Association. Now in her 80's, Mrs. Boone has set an example of community service for all of us to follow. In addition to her many other civic duties, she has worked tirelessly on behalf of shut-ins all over the country, and especially in our home State of West Virginia.

For those who have never heard of "shut-ins," they are those unfortunate citizens who are physically confined to their own homes or nursing homes due to disability or illness. They are literally "shut in" their environment. They are members of society whose once productive lives have been impeded by illness or accident. This is not to say, however, that they cannot continue to contribute greatly to society, only that they need to be recognized and given the opportunity to do so.

One of the most important aspects of this legislation is the recognition that "shut-ins" have a wealth of knowledge, experience and friendship to share. The observance of "National Shut-In Day" is one way to show that we in Congress have not forgotten these important members of our society.

I would like to thank all my colleagues who joined me in cosponsoring this resolution. And my special thanks goes to Judy Boone of Logan, WV, who has worked tirelessly in helping to realize this goal. Happy National Shut-In Day, Judy.

BELLS TO RING ON MEMORIAL DAY

HON. STEVE GUNDERSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. GUNDERSON. Mr. Speaker, today, the distinguished chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Committee, SONNY MONTGOMERY, and I introduced a resolution renewing the significance of our Memorial Day holiday.

This measure calls on the President to issue a proclamation each year calling on all churches, community centers, schools, synagogues, and other public buildings in the United States to toll their bells for 1 minute beginning at 11 a.m. on Memorial Day in remembrance of the men and women who died defending our Nation and freedom.

June 3, 1988

Over the past weekend, I am sure many of us participated in Memorial Day festivities in our local communities, including parades, heroic speeches, wreath laying ceremonies, patriotic concerts, and picnics. The true meaning of Memorial Day is slipping away from us. More and more Americans are viewing Memorial Day as a day off, a time of relaxation and leisure rather than for taking the time to reflect and pay tribute to our American service men and women who sacrificed their lives for our freedom.

Chairman MONTGOMERY and I believe strongly that by urging the ringing of bells in our communities for a minute on Memorial Day, it will help Americans to realize that the real purpose of this holiday is to pay tribute to those who have given so much for their country.

Our hope for the future has been made possible because our American service men and women have made sacrifices in order to secure freedom for our Nation. The ringing of our community bells is a befitting way to observe Memorial Day for years to come.

Please join Chairman MONTGOMERY and I as a cosponsor of this resolution to renew the significance of this important holiday with the ringing of community bells on Memorial Day.

AMERICANS BEING SHUT OUT OF HOUSING MARKET

HON. LES AU COIN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. AU COIN. Mr. Speaker, in September 1987, the National Housing Task Force was established to reexamine America's housing policies. In March, the task force released its report entitled "A Decent Place To Live" which, among other things, found that increasing numbers of American families cannot afford to purchase a home. The American dream of owning a home is becoming an impossible dream for many first-time homebuyers.

One Federal program that has been particularly successful in promoting homeownership is the Federal Housing Administration [FHA] single family mortgage program. Created in 1934, FHA has helped low-, moderate-, and middle-income Americans purchase homes by insuring low-downpayment mortgages with interest rates and terms that are more attractive than those available in the conventional mortgage market. The beauty of this program is that the FHA insurance pool is funded by FHA premiums—no Federal funds are involved at all.

Despite the success of this program, more and more Americans are being shut out of the housing market. This was one of many issues the task force addressed, and today I am introducing legislation implementing some of the recommendations of the task force that will make it easier for Americans to get into the home market. This legislation has already been introduced in the Senate by Senators SASSER and HEINZ, and has been endorsed by the National Association of Homebuilders and the Mortgage Bankers Association.

LOWERING THE FHA DOWNPAYMENT

Despite a general decline in mortgage interest rates, homeownership has declined every year since 1980. While the percentage of decline appears small—from 65.6 percent of households as homeowners to 63.8 percent—it means that nearly 2 million fewer families own homes today than would have, had the prior rate been sustained. Ironically, there are millions of Americans who can afford to pay the monthly mortgage payment on a home. The problem is they can't come up with the large downpayments needed to qualify for a mortgage. Once inside the house, they can comfortably pay their mortgage. They just can't get their foot in the door to begin with.

Under current law, FHA insures 97 percent of the first \$25,000 for a home and 95 percent of the balance. Thus, on a \$100,000 home, FHA would insure \$95,000 of that amount. The homebuyer has to come up with a \$4,500 downpayment.

For first-time homebuyers, my bill would permit FHA to insure 97 percent of the entire home valuation. This means the buyer would only have to put down 3 percent of the home's value, or, in the above example, \$3,000. For many people, this could spell the difference in getting into the market. For other homebuyers, the bill would allow FHA to insure 97 percent of the first \$50,000 of the home's value and 95 percent of the balance. Under this formula, the person above would have to come up with a slightly lower downpayment of \$4,000.

The bill also authorizes a demonstration project allowing FHA to insure a loan to a first-time homebuyer for the entire purchase price plus the closing costs of a home. The standard downpayment would still be required, but it would be incorporated into the loan and be repaid by requiring an additional payment along with the regular monthly mortgage payment over a 3-year period.

ADJUSTABLE RATE MORTGAGES

Under current law, FHA may insure adjustable rate mortgages [ARMs] whose interest rate can only be adjusted by 1 percent a year. And only 30 percent of the loans insured by FHA can be ARMs.

This bill provides FHA with more flexibility with adjustable rate mortgages. It permits FHA to insure ARMs that can be adjusted by 2 percent per year. The lower interest rate would result in more people getting into the housing market. The bill also stipulates that the interest rate could not increase by more than 5 percent over the lifetime of the loan. Finally, the bill removes the volume cap on the aggregate number of ARMs that FHA may insure in a year.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation is not a panacea for America's housing crisis. There are other housing needs that must be addressed, such as the declining stock of low income housing and rental units, and the plight of the homeless. My bill is just a drop in the bucket, but it's a response to one unique problem among the many housing problems we have in this country.

TRIBUTE TO ALDEN BERNARD CAMPEN

HON. NORMAN Y. MINETA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. MINETA. Mr. Speaker, in our long history our Nation has been blessed with many individuals who have given of themselves more than could rightly be expected of even the most generous of people. Throughout my life, both public and private, I have been fortunate to know and work with many such individuals. But I have known no finer individual than Alden Bernard Campen, San Jose businessman, community leader, and champion of downtown redevelopment.

When Alden passed away on May 7 at age 76, he left a living legacy in the hearts and minds of his friends and family, friends and family which are the city of San Jose.

Alden was a driving force behind San Jose's urban rebirth at a time when redevelopment, renewal, and rehabilitation had yet to become either fashionable, profitable or, to many, even desirable. The difference in Alden was that he believed in his city and in its people. But more than that, he backed his belief with his financial resources.

In the early 1950's, for example, a large orchard went up for sale. Alden admired it and thought it would make a wonderful park. He urged the city to buy it, but the city couldn't afford it. So Alden and the Renzel family bought it instead. Years later, when the city could afford it, Alden and the Renzels sold it to the city for exactly what they had paid for it—even though the value of the land had appreciated considerably. That orchard is now Kelley Park.

In 1961, Alden was honored by the city of San Jose for "outstanding accomplishment in the field of community improvement." And indeed, if you consider the organizations in which he was a member, a contributor and an active participant, you would discover that Alden often seemed to embody the concerns of the entire city.

Alden was a member of the Japanese American Citizens League, the Southern Education Conference, the American Civil Liberties Union, the San Jose Peace Center, and B'nai B'rith. Alden served as a member of the city's redevelopment agency, as an officer of the Water and Power Users Association, as a director of the San Jose Housing Authority and the Parking Advisory Committee, and as a member of the Mayor's Committee on Human Relations.

Mr. Speaker, Alden's entire life was devoted to human relations and the betterment of his city, San Jose. We were all bettered by his contributions to San Jose, and, as a result, we are poorer for his loss. I ask then that my colleagues join me in remembering a unique individual who epitomized a true neighbor, a true friend, and a true American.

CONGRATULATE THE PASADENA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND CIVIC ASSOCIATION UPON THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF ITS FOUNDING

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I rise to offer my congratulations to the Pasadena Chamber of Commerce and Civic Association upon the eve of its centennial celebration.

On April 6, 1888, business leaders from the Pasadena community joined together to form the articles of incorporation for the Pasadena Board of Trade, the chamber's parent organization. Their efforts were timely, dedicating themselves to improving development and the quality of life for the rapidly growing community of Pasadena.

The board of trade, during its tenure from 1888 to 1918, played an instrumental role in the establishment of the Tournament of Roses Association, an organization which has for nearly 100 years annually produced the rose parade on New Year's Day.

The board of trade has also been actively involved in many civic developments such as the city's public library, high school, municipal water and light systems, electric car line between Pasadena and Los Angeles, city hall, numerous parks, fire department expansion, and the building of the Colorado Street Bridge.

In 1981, the board of trade and chamber became one, and since then have championed many essential and aesthetically pleasing public and private services, such as, the civic auditorium, the Pasadena Freeway, and Angelus Crest Highway.

Through reorganization efforts guided by the chamber, Pasadena's business center is now home to many electronic and precision industrial firms, as well as headquarters for many financial corporations.

The Pasadena Chamber of Commerce has distinguished itself as a leader in business development and for the improvement of the quality of life in Pasadena.

HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN TIBET—CONGRESSIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS CAUCUS HEARING

HON. TOM LANTOS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 3, 1988

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago the congressional human rights caucus held a most significant and important hearing on the topic of human rights violations in Tibet. Joining me on that occasion were a number of our distinguished colleagues: Congressman JOHN PORTER of Illinois, cochairman with me of the congressional human rights caucus; Congressman WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD of Michigan, the ranking minority

member of the Foreign Affairs Committee; Congressman CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH of New Jersey; Congressman FRANK MCCLOSKEY of Indiana; Congressman BENJAMIN A. GILMAN of New York; Congressman ROBERT K. DORNAN of California; Congressman JOSEPH J. DI-GUARDI of New York; and Congresswoman LOUISE MCINTOSH SLAUGHTER of New York.

This was our second hearing on Tibet. Last September the congressional human rights caucus provided a forum for His Holiness the Dalai Lama to make his first public political statement outside India since 1959 when he fled to that country from Tibet. During the course of that hearing he outlined for the first time his important and now well-known Five Point Peace Plan. Just after his appearance before the human rights caucus—in an almost unprecedented action—both the House and the Senate called on the government of the People's Republic of China to begin discussions with His Holiness the Dalai Lama on the full range of issues involved in the case of Tibet.

A number of very serious and disturbing events have unfolded in Tibet since our last hearing. A large number of individuals have been killed, maimed, wounded, detained, arrested.

In reporting to my colleagues in the Congress about this important hearing on Tibet, Mr. Speaker, it is important to underscore that the congressional human rights caucus is the umbrella human rights organization in the Congress. The caucus has as its operating theme the notion that human rights are indivisible. Our concern for human rights has been equally strong with respect to South Africa and the Soviet Union, Cuba and Chile, Iran, and Tibet.

I also want to underscore, Mr. Speaker, that we are firmly committed to improving good relations with the People's Republic of China. We have the highest regard for Chinese culture and civilization, and we fully applaud the improving relations between the United States and China.

But it is the view of the congressional human rights caucus that strategic or other considerations must not be an excuse for sweeping human rights violations under the rug. As a matter of fact, it has been the consistent activity of the congressional human rights caucus and many other human rights organizations to expose Soviet human rights violations which led simultaneously to the improvement of human rights conditions in the Soviet Union and to the improvement in United States-Soviet relations.

We expect and hope for a parallel pattern and outcome with respect to China. Our relations with China must be put on an adult basis. The honeymoon is over. It is an index of our respect for the American relationship with China that we are prepared to deal with problems in our relations with China.

Mr. Speaker, as the congressional human rights caucus was meeting to consider human rights violations against the people of Tibet by China, just across the hall the Foreign Affairs Committee was conducting a hearing on the Chinese missiles that have been placed on Saudi Arabian soil, upsetting the strategic balance in the Middle East.

It was also intriguing that as our hearing focused on Tibet—one of the unique cultures on our globe where religion and national identity are so delicately intertwined and so inseparably conjoined—we were witnessing a similar pattern unfolding in Poland, another place where one also finds this unique intertwining of nationality and religious commitment.

It was significant, as well as ironic, that one of the chief witnesses at our hearing on Tibet was the Right Honorable Lord David Ennals, member of the British House of Lords. On the very morning of our hearing in Washington on Poland, another member of the House of Lords, the Right Honorable Lord Nicholas Bethel, was arrested for expressing his concern for Polish human rights.

Mr. Speaker, for the benefit of my colleagues in the Congress, I would like to place in the RECORD a number of important statements that were made during the hearing of the congressional human rights caucus on human rights conditions in Tibet. First, I would like to insert in the RECORD statements made at the outset of our hearing by several of our distinguished colleagues:

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN PORTER, CO-CHAIRMAN OF THE CONGRESSIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS CAUCUS

During today's hearing, the Congressional Human Rights Caucus will continue to focus attention on the human rights violations occurring in Tibet. As many of you remember, the Human Rights Caucus hosted a congressional forum last September at which the Dalai Lama, Tibet's spiritual and political leader, outlined his five-point peace plan proposal.

While none of these points called for the independence of Tibet, the Chinese government accused him of fomenting such a movement. Unfortunately, news of the Dalai Lama's visit and five point plan sparked riots in Tibet's capital of Lhasa later that month, and again in March. Two Americans, who were travelling in Tibet when the September riots broke out, spoke to the Human Rights Caucus just after their return. They reported widespread violence, even against monks, and other human rights violations including the infanticide of Tibetan newborns.

The history of Tibet and its political relationship with China is intricate and complex. However, the fundamental human rights issues involved cannot be ignored. We have a moral obligation to speak out for the Tibetan prisoners and citizens being denied basic rights such as education, religion, and the right to maintain their over 2,000 year-old civilization.

Today's witnesses include Richard Gere, a brilliant actor and Chairman of the Tibet House; the Honorable Lord Ennals, a member of the opposition Labour Party in the House of Lords with a history of Tibetan involvement; Tenzin Sangpo, a Tibetan who was tortured and whose brother was killed in the March riots; Paul Ford, a representative of Amnesty International; and Eric Schwartz, a representative of Asia Watch.

I look forward to hearing the testimony of this distinguished group of witnesses. I appreciate these witnesses taking the time to join us today. And, I want to thank and commend my honorable co-chairman of the Human Rights Caucus, Tom Lantos, for his tireless efforts on behalf not only of the Tibetan people, but of human rights in general.

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD, MEMBER OF THE CONGRESSIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS CAUCUS AND RANKING MINORITY MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Mr. Chairman, members of the caucus, ladies and gentlemen: I am pleased to participate today in this hearing of the congressional human rights caucus on human rights in Tibet. Chairman Lantos and the other members of the caucus are to be congratulated for their pursuit of this topic.

I also commend the witnesses for their interest and dedication to the cause of human rights in Tibet.

The Chinese Government must realize that the human rights situation in Tibet is a legitimate subject of international concern and attention.

Instead, the Chinese appear to feel that unrest in Tibet threatens their sovereignty over the area and that international attention would further complicate this issue.

The only way for international concerns about Tibet to be resolved is through an open and complete examination of the situation.

I urge the Chinese Government to investigate the situation in Tibet and also to open the area to government officials, scholars and the press.

The International Community has a stake in the survival of Tibetan culture and the welfare of the Tibetan people.

I hope this hearing will help alert the Chinese Government to our seriousness in resolving this issue.

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN BENJAMIN A. GILMAN, MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, CONGRESSIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS CAUCUS AND MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

I want to commend the gentleman from California and the gentleman from Illinois for holding this important hearing at this appropriate time.

Yesterday, at Arlington Cemetery, I had the sad and moving responsibility to give the eulogy for Captain Leslie, the helicopter pilot recently shot down over the Persian Gulf.

He was a young man in the prime of his life.

His wife, a very intelligent and beautiful woman, is expecting their first child.

That ceremony at the cemetery was one of the most difficult moments of my life.

Captain Leslie made the ultimate sacrifice because he wanted to make sure that his family and loved ones could lead their lives the way that they choose.

He was fighting against a tyrannical force that has little regard for human life.

It would cut down an innocent child as swiftly as an army recruit.

People become little more than mere numbers on a page and the whole human element that Captain Leslie was trying so desperately to preserve becomes insignificant to an authoritative rule steeped in anger and hate.

Back in January we received a list of over 140 names and short histories of Tibetans that were arrested by the Chinese during the October demonstrations.

The Chinese and their spokesmen are fond of claiming that they have released 59 demonstrators and only 15 remain in prison.

We have repeatedly requested for over a period of 3 months the names of those allegedly released—mere numbers to be raised

and used at will by some—important individual human beings to others.

Today we will be witness to and hear stories of more grief.

Grief brought on by rulers attempting trying to prevent people from living the lives that they choose.

Lives that cherish individuality and religious freedom.

I welcome our witnesses here today.

It is one of the great pleasures of fighting for human rights in Congress that we have so many allies in other facets of American life. None is perhaps more committed and more effective than the distinguished American actor, Richard Gere, the star of "An Officer and a Gentleman." Mr. Gere is the founder and chairman of Tibet House. For the last 5 years, since his initial encounter at Dharmasala with His Holiness the Dalai Lama, he has been one of the international champions of human rights for Tibet. The first statement that I ask be placed in the record is a summary of the excellent statement made by Richard Gere:

STATEMENT OF RICHARD GERE

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, I am honored to be here today in this historic building to discuss something that has obsessed my life now for several years. There are very few protectors on this planet for the Tibetans. You can't sell a lot of Coca Cola or Porsches in Tibet. There is no reason—other than morality and right—to care about the Tibetans.

Let me very briefly tell you how I got involved with Tibet. I have had a very long association with Buddhism, which led to my going to Dharmasala, India, about 1980. I was a close friend of John Avedon who wrote the primer on Tibet and His Holiness the Dalai Lama, "Exile from the Land of Snows."

Having had spiritual yearnings like any human being trying to find some honest way to live on this planet, I was told that I could have an audience with His Holiness the Dalai Lama if I waited a week. I was very happy to have that audience, and while I waited for that week I traveled among the Tibetan community in Dharmasala. I visited a children's village and was told of the horror that they had gone through—having left their country as refugees with absolutely nothing and fleeing to a third world country. They had no help, no friends, no protectors.

The contrast between what I saw and conditions twenty years earlier was most impressive. At this point they did have schools; they did have libraries; they picked themselves up and they have done extraordinary things. They built monasteries. They put together a health system and a new constitution and created a whole new way of life for themselves—a pattern of the way things will be when they return to their homeland.

My audience with His Holiness is something that everyone should experience, and I hope that you all will have that opportunity someday. One waits in anticipation for the moment when you are brought into the presence of His Holiness. He is larger than one would expect. He is like a farm boy. He came from a farming family in Amdo Province from a very small town, Taktse, near Kubum Monastery. He smiles and laughs. He finds it essentially impossible to tell you anything bad about anyone—including the Chinese. This is the first indication of what is so extraordinary about the Tibetan people. They have learned the science of the mind to such an extent that they retain no hatred—even for their oppressors. As we

hear the Tibetans here speak, I think you will get a sense of this.

Mr. Speaker, the second witness to appear before the congressional human rights caucus hearing was the Right Honorable Lord David H. Ennals. Lord Ennals is a former member of the British Parliament, and he held a number of responsible positions in labour governments: Minister of State for Health, 1956-70, Minister of State at the Foreign Office, 1974-76, and Secretary of State, member of the Cabinet, for social services, 1976-79. In 1983 he was made a life peer and became a member of the House of Lords. Presently, he is opposition, labour party spokesman for Overseas Affairs in the House of Lords.

Lord Ennals has a long record of friendship for China, and he was a consistent advocate for China's entrance into the United Nations. He has also had a long association with Tibetans through his refugee work, particularly with the "Ockenden Venture," of which he recently served as chairman. As president of the United Kingdom Gandhi Foundation, he also has close ties with India.

Lord Ennals visited the People's Republic of China just a few weeks before he appeared at our hearing. During that trip he spent more time in Tibet, where he left his official Chinese guides and made extensive investigations on his own of the human rights situation there:

STATEMENT OF THE RT. HON. LORD DAVID H. ENNALS—OVERSEAS SPOKESMAN OF THE LABOR PARTY IN THE BRITISH HOUSE OF LORDS

We are very grateful to the Government of the People's Republic of China for enabling us to visit Lhasa, Chengdu and Beijing on a two week fact finding visit from March 29th to April 9th to study the present very disturbing situation in Tibet. We are also grateful for the time the authorities gave to our exchange of views. We were conscious that we were foreigners discussing particularly sensitive issues and appreciated that we were able to discuss with the Chinese authorities our assessment of the situation, frankly, and we hope constructively.

Although the visit was short, a considerable amount of preparatory briefing was undertaken to enable us to make the maximum use of the time available and, in the event, we talked with a considerable number of people from senior government officials to members of the public.

We were able to piece together the complicated issues which led to the serious demonstrations in September, October 1987 and in March 1988.

Several observations emerged from our visit. First, I was disturbingly impressed by the very large number of Chinese population in Lhasa. Lhasa is really two cities: the ancient Tibetan City, and a modern Chinese city. One is on top of the other. From my own experience it brings to mind the words "colonialism" and "apartheid." It was clear that Tibetans do not want to be occupied by China.

Second, there is a difference in the standard of living between Chinese and Tibetans. Tibetans are poor by comparison with Chinese or with Tibetans in any other part of the world. The Chinese have made improvements in the areas of education and health, but they have not narrowed the gap between Tibetans and their own people.

Third, the size of military presence is very large and intimidating. Although we saw few armed troops, it is quite evident from

the considerable amount of off-duty troops who are always in the streets of the Chinese city and the size of the barracks just outside Lhasa that Lhasa is a garrison town. The roads always have military traffic on them. There is a regular daily troop-carrying flight which we encountered at Lhasa.

Fourth, there have been gross breaches of human rights of Tibetans.

Reports of the numbers involved in the demonstrations and those killed and injured, particularly in the March demonstration, have varied greatly according to the source, and we were repeatedly informed by the authorities in Tibet that 'only a handful of trouble makers' had been involved in the March demonstration. We were the first independent visitors since that major demonstration on the 5th of March, and we can emphatically state that: The demonstrations involved 10,000 people. A Chinese soldier, 16 Tibetan Buddhist monks, and 2 Tibetan laymen are known to have been killed and scores were injured, including a number of Chinese soldiers. Two Chinese restaurants, notorious for refusing to serve Tibetans were destroyed.

Further demonstrations have taken place since March. Demonstrations led by nuns occurred on April 17 and April 24. We do not know how large the demonstrations were. The Chinese reported the arrest of twenty nuns. Based on previous experience, the number involved could be much larger.

There has been a policy of mass detention. Individuals continue to be detained at night. Many are identified from the extensive videoing of the crowd, which is common practice in China, and from following checks of everyone's movements by the cadres of the work units. Officially, the Chinese say that fifteen people have been detained, but I am sure that the actual number is not less than 2,000. No one knows where they are. Often the first news families receive of a detained relative is when they are summoned to the hospital mortuary to buy back the body for 150 or 200 dollars. This used to be a common practice during the Cultural Revolution.

Many of the bodies are unrecognizable because of torture. Sometimes eyes have been taken out and limbs severed. Based on the collection of bodies, there appear to be two "routine" forms of torture. One is the use of a club with big nails sticking out of the end, which either kills or mutilates. The other is "electric cow prodders" used to inflict extreme pain and temporarily disable an individual. With the wire coils unravelled they are used to strip the flesh from legs and arms.

At first we treated these reports with reserve but the consistency of the reports, the calibre of the witnesses and their undoubted fear left us in no doubt as to the veracity of the reports from people who had relatives who had been detained.

Now in Lhasa there is a sense of fear and frustration. Fear of the Chinese authorities and frustration with the apparent hopelessness of the plight of the Tibetans.

The opportunity of being received at a high level in Beijing and Lhasa, of exchanging views with the representatives of the Government of China (including the Panchen Lama) of meeting monks, lay people in Lhasa and exchanging views with the Dalai Lama in Dharmasala and in London was unique at a time when visitors and journalists are severely restricted in visiting Tibet.

In view of what we believe to be the gravity of the situation we felt a heavy responsibility to put forward proposals for consider-

ation by the Chinese authorities to avert a worsening crises and bring about a long term solution based on the principles of the United Nations and Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The time is now ripe for serious discussion about the present and the future. There is no need to be pessimistic about the prospect of genuine negotiations. For their part China has now become a constructive force for good, is playing a positive role in the world and has shown a high degree of statesmanship in its handling of the future of Hong Kong.

As for the Tibetan people, our visit there based on a great deal of evidence from those in Tibet and elsewhere confirms the impression that there is a very wide measure of support for The Dalai Lama and his Five Point Peace Plan. To this should be added the indisputable fact that The Dalai Lama is a man of peace.

We also felt that there was growing respect, both in Beijing and Lhasa, for the constructive role played by the Panchen Lama who has given the most realistic account so far of the events of March 5th and has used his influence to secure the release of 59 of those demonstrators detained in the autumn.

In our view:

1. The Chinese Government should seek an early opportunity to resume talks about the future of Tibet with The Dalai Lama and his political and religious advisors. It may take a long time for an agreement to be reached and, in the course of discussions, both sides must be prepared to make such adjustments in their existing positions. Discussions on an open agenda would be advisable. A solution would bring great credit to China as well as satisfaction to the Tibetan people.

2. Without delay the Chinese Government should arrange for the Panchen Lama to spend more of his time in Tibet.

3. The Chinese Government should recognize the urgency of the necessity that human rights are restored in Tibet and an amnesty for political detainees should be declared.

4. The Government should announce a review of the continuing build up of Han Chinese in areas long populated by Tibetans, with their totally different history and culture.

In our view there is a crisis which demands a rapid response. The denial of Human Rights in Tibet must be dealt with not by continuing repression and force, but by statesmanship and in a genuine wish for peace. Urgent action is needed to avert a situation that would bring further damage to China's reputation and to the Tibetan people.

The third witness who appeared before the hearing was Tenzin Sangpo, a Tibetan who was imprisoned and tortured for some 20 years by Chinese authorities in Tibet. In the March 1988 rioting in Lhasa, his younger brother, a Tibetan monk, was killed by Chinese troops in the Jokhang Temple:

TESTIMONY OF TENZIN SANGPO, VICTIM OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSE IN TIBET

Tibet, a peaceful buffer state between India and China has been transformed into a vast military camp. Over one million people have lost their lives due to killings, tortures, starvation and suicides under the brutal rule of the Chinese. Today there are only around two thousand monks and nuns in Tibet. What happened to the hundreds of

thousands of monks and nuns we had before 1959?

In an effort to annihilate Tibet's cultural identity, the Chinese are sending young Tibetan children away from their parents to China. Every year, children between the ages of 8 and 11 are selected from the lower primary school and are not allowed to return to Tibet until they have finished their studies. Parents are allowed to visit their children once after three years. The whole idea is to brain wash these children and destroy the Tibetan identity.

I have served 15 years in a jail and five years in probation within the jail compound. Altogether I suffered 20 years in Chinese jails. The reason why I was arrested was that I was one of the pro-independent activists in 1959. I was mainly kept in Drapchi prison, near Lhasa. The prisoners have no rights whatsoever. In a cell of 10' x 12', 10 to 12 prisoners had to sleep. Despite a poor diet, every prisoner is expected to do vigorous labor: cutting stones, brick making, carrying mud and so for 12 hours every day.

I was an eyewitness to 9-11 public executions each year for a period of seven years. Many people who were not able to bear the torture and ill treatment by the Chinese in the jails had to commit suicide. Some prisons were popularly known for the number of suicides by the prisoners either by cutting their throats or by jumping into the rivers while working on road construction. Hundreds of the survivors have gone completely mad. Since the prisoners were not given enough food to eat, many had to steal the pig slop and horse fodder. In some places prisoners ate leaves of trees, certain grasses and underground worms and insects. The prisoners are not allowed to write their relatives. This is only a brief account of the life in the prisons under China.

There have been 54 uprisings in Tibet since 1959, four of these between September, 1987 and March 1988. All the uprisings are clear demonstration of the Tibetan people's opposition to Chinese rule and their determination to continue the struggle for their legitimate rights. The demonstration in March 5th was the biggest of all since 1959. It is believed that more than 20,000 people took part. When some of the monks shouted anti-Chinese slogans, the specially trained Chinese soldiers threw a kind of grenade inside the Jokhang temple which made the monks unconscious and then they started shooting inside the Temple. The grenades were definitely different from tear gas. The next day people found pieces of hands, ears and other human flesh inside the Jokhang Temple. Many of the statues and thangka paintings of the temple have been damaged. It pains me so much to describe that my youngest brother, Ven. Kalsang Tsering was killed in the Jokhang that day. He was 36 years old.

More than 5,000 people have been arrested since September 1987. Although many of them have been released, they were severely beaten and forced to give the names of other participants. Many people have seen dead bodies being removed from the prisons. Those who went to claim the dead bodies of their relatives for traditional cremation were told to pay an amount of 600 yuan.

In order to stop further bloodshed, His Holiness the Dalai Lama has made a five point peace plan for Tibet's future. I sincerely hope that the U.S. Congress and the administration will pressure the Chinese to positively respond to this peace proposal.

Thank you.

The final two witnesses at the congressional human rights caucus hearing were Washington officers of two internationally known and internationally respected human rights organizations. They have extensive knowledge through their organizations of human rights conditions in Tibet and in the People's Republic of China. They are Eric Schwartz, program director, of Asia Watch and Paul Ford, codirector of the Washington Office of Amnesty International USA.

STATEMENT OF ERIC SCHWARTZ, PROGRAM DIRECTOR OF ASIA WATCH

In February 1988, the Asia Watch Committee published a report on human rights in Tibet, based largely upon information gathered in Tibet. In that report, we identified a number of practices that, taken together, represent a pattern of serious human rights abuses. These include:

1. stringent restrictions on all political utterances and actions, enforced by an extensive surveillance network;

2. arrest and imprisonment of peaceful political activists for public expressions of opposition to the Chinese role or Chinese policies in Tibet, or for political support for the Dalai Lama or Tibetan independence; such arrests often take place at night, and family members are often not informed;

3. unfair procedures in political trials that do take place;

4. torture during interrogation, including use of cattle prods; we also found that mistreatment is not confined to interrogation, and that prisoners are subjected to various forms of abuse during confinement;

5. restrictions on freedom of religion that include government regulation of the numbers of monks in monasteries; government exercise of the power to refuse entry into the monastic ranks; an apparent prohibition on teaching and propagation of Buddhism in most of Tibet, and government efforts to take Buddhist education out of the hands of the monasteries;

6. patterns of discrimination against the Tibetan population arising out of the growth of the Chinese population in Tibet, including discriminatory policies with respect to housing, access to services, freedom of movement, education, and economic opportunities;

7. demographic policies that have had the effect of moving Tibetans into disadvantaged economic and social positions vis-a-vis the Tibetan plateau's Chinese populations in the cities and towns.

Our report also discussed the Chinese suppression of demonstrations that began peacefully in September and October 1987, during which the authorities arrested hundreds of Tibetans, declined to provide information on the status of individual prisoners, and expelled the foreign press.

The concerns of our report were heightened by the events of March 1988, during which several hundred Tibetans are believed to have been arrested at the end of the Great Prayer Festival in Lhasa. Moreover, dozens of Tibetans are believed to have died in connection with the events of the late 1987 and early March.

Unfortunately, the Chinese authorities continue to make it nearly impossible to obtain accurate information on conditions in Tibet, although the information we do have is not encouraging. At least hundreds are believed to be in prison, and the Chinese presence in Lhasa is believed to be overwhelming. As I have mentioned, the Chinese have provided almost no information

on individual prisoners—their names, their locations, the accusations against them—and have severely restricted access to the territory.

Although they have given almost no information on the status of nearly all of the hundreds of Tibetans believed to be detained, the Chinese have announced that seven Tibetans have been charged in connection with the events of last fall and early this year. Asia Watch is very concerned about the fairness of any trial proceedings that might take place in these cases, and will be asking the Chinese government to permit us to observe one or more trials if they take place. We would strongly urge the U.S. Department of State to make a similar request.

The Chinese government would send an important signal about its desire for reconciliation and promotion of respect for human rights by permitting such trial observers, and by opening the territory to the media and international organizations concerned with conditions in the territory.

STATEMENT OF PAUL FORD, CO-DIRECTOR OF THE WASHINGTON OFFICE OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL USA

I appreciate this opportunity to speak before the Congressional Human rights Caucus on the situation in Tibet.

While Amnesty International has human rights concerns in the Peoples Republic of China in general, my remarks will be confined to the human rights situation in the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR). The TAR comprises roughly half of the territory populated by Tibetans. Amnesty International takes no position regarding the status of Tibet vis a vis the People's Republic of China. Since the PRC government controls this region, Amnesty International has addressed its concerns to this government concerning the human rights situation in Tibet. In particular, we are concerned with the (1) the imprisonment of persons for pursuing their political and religious beliefs in a non-violent manner; (2) the abuse of prisoners (both political and criminal); and (3) the use of capital punishment.

Since the Chinese invasion and takeover in 1959, Tibet has seen serious and widespread deprivation of human rights. This was particularly so during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). After the death of Mao Zedong more liberal policies were instituted. In particular, Tibetans were allowed relative freedom to practice their Lamist Buddhism.

However, last year Tibetan political unrest became more manifest, and the Chinese authorities responded with a return to repressive measures. In particular, several hundred people are reported to have been detained in Lhasa, the capital of the Tibet Autonomous Region. These detentions were

the government's response to three demonstrations and a riot in late September and early October.

The demonstrations were led by groups of monks calling for Tibetan independence. On October 1, the arrest of peaceful demonstrators triggered a major riot in Lhasa. According to eye-witnesses, many people were killed or wounded when police started shooting at the crowd. (Chinese officials have denied that the police opened fire.) Although we do not know exactly how many people were detained, Amnesty International has received names of 120 people arrested during and after the demonstrations. Amnesty International welcomed the government's announcements that 72 detainees were released between October 28 and January 28. Official sources reported that "over 10" people remained in custody at that time. However, private sources estimated that up to 600 were detained at the time.

On March 5, at the conclusion of a major Buddhist prayer festival, several thousand people took part in a riot which lasted some 12 hours. Police were attacked, vehicles burned, and shops ransacked. Dozens of young monks who took part in violent clashes with security forces are said to have been arrested during the riot, and many arrests were carried out during the following days. A total of at least 20 people are believed to have died during the clashes that day. (The Chinese government admits to only 5 deaths.)

It is difficult to determine how many Tibetans remain detained following these series of demonstrations and riots. One official government figure is 200. Other private sources estimate from 700 to 840. One foreign press report estimated more than 100 monks were among those detained following the March riot. It is also unclear whether some or all of those released following the fall disturbances were re-arrested. Amnesty International has called on the PRC government to clarify who has been released and who is still detained, and to make known charges brought against those currently detained.

Amnesty International is concerned that many of those arrested and detained were ill-treated. With regard to the fall disturbances, some sources report that those detained have been held incommunicado, without access to their families or lawyers, and some are alleged to have been ill-treated by police. Indeed, we have received corroborated testimony indicating that considerable violence was used by the police to arrest peaceful demonstrators, particularly on October 1 and 6. During the March 5 riots, we have received unconfirmed reports that security officials stormed the Jokhang Temple and severely beat some of the monks inside, some of whom died as a result. We have inquired with the PRC gov-

ernment about this incident but have received no reply.

The official New China News Agency announced on March 11 that three Tibetans, (Yulo Dawa TSERING, Tenba TSERING, and Jigme GYATSO), all held since December, were charged with "counterrevolutionary crimes" and "disturbing public order during the anti-Chinese riot" of October 1. There has been widespread concern that Mr. Tenba Tsering and Mr. Gyatso could be executed. Amnesty International is unconditionally opposed to the death penalty, which is in wide use throughout the People's Republic. Yulo Dawa Tsering is considered by Tibetans to be a "living Buddha". The government claims that he has confessed to having made "reactionary statements in favor of Tibetan independence" and speeches to foreigners in order "to obtain worldwide support in bringing about Tibetan independence as soon as possible." Apparently Yulo Dawa Tsering was arrested following his participation in a video being made by a visiting Italian.

On April 19, Lhasa Radio announced the new arrests of four male youths by the Public Security Bureau on April 16. The names were given as Lobsang Tenzin (a university student), Tsering Dhondup (a seminary student), Gyaltzen Chopel (a tradesman), Sonam Wangdu (a Lhasa resident). They are accused of involvement in the killing of a policeman during the March 5 riot. Based on past Chinese practices where convictions of murder are involved, it is considered very likely that the government will execute these young men, an action to which Amnesty International would be opposed.

We continue to receive reports of arrests since the March riots, and are concerned that many of these people may be non-violent political and religious activists. On May 5, Reuters reported that 18 nuns were arrested following an April 17 demonstration around Lhasa's Jokhang Temple. Amnesty International is seeking information concerning the circumstances of their arrest and their conditions of detention.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Amnesty International has yet to receive responses from the PRC to our inquiries about the disturbances in Tibet of the last few months.

Accordingly, we ask the US Government: To encourage Chinese officials to publish who is detained and who is released;

To release those prisoners who have been imprisoned solely for pursuing non-violently their political or religious beliefs, an internationally guaranteed basic right; and

For other detainees, to promptly charge them and grant them a fair trial.

