

PRESIDENT BUSH VISITS HAMTRAMCK, MI

HON. WM. S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I accompanied President Bush to Hamtramck, MI, where he announced a new economic aid program for Poland. In his speech on the current situation in Poland and its neighboring countries, President Bush put it well: "Liberty," he said, "is an idea whose time has come in Eastern Europe."

The citizens of Hamtramck, many of whom are Polish-Americans, have as sophisticated an understanding of East European politics as virtually anyone in America. Their enthusiastic response to the President's speech, to his proposals for economic aid, and to his insistence on economic and political reform are a good indication that the administration has come up with just the right strategy for dealing with the recent changes in Eastern Europe. I believe his proposals may convince other East Bloc countries that their future lies with greater liberalization and closer ties with the West.

When President Bush arrived at Hamtramck City Hall, he was met by a number of Michigan's leading citizens, including: The Honorable Robert Kozaren, mayor of Hamtramck; Cardinal Edmund Szoka, archbishop of Detroit; The Honorable Walter Paruk, district court judge; Mr. Edward J. Moskal, national president, Polish American Congress; Mr. Paul C. Ordobina, Hamtramck City Council chairman; Father Stanley Milewski, chancellor of Orchard Lake St. Mary's Seminary; Mr. Nick Frontczak, Hamtramck City Council member; Ms. Helen Justewicz, Hamtramck City Council member; Mr. Edward Rojek, Hamtramck City Council member; Mr. Sam Iaquinto, Hamtramck City Council member; Mr. Bob Cwierniewicz, aide to the mayor of Hamtramck; Mr. Joseph Grzecki, city treasurer; and Mrs. Ethel Fiddler, city clerk.

Their warm hospitality was greatly appreciated by the President and all of us who accompanied him on this important trip.

I ask that the text of President Bush's speech be included in the RECORD.

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT TO CITIZENS OF HAMTRAMCK, MI

Thank you all very, very much. Cardinal Szoka, Your Eminence. Bob, thank you for the warm greeting to your wonderful community. Governor Blanchard—it's an honor to have the Governor of the great state here. And I want to pay my respects to the members of the Michigan congressional delegation that came out here with me—Senator Riegle, and several distinguished members of the House of Representatives sitting over here—and also to Senator John Engler, who is the Majority Leader of the Michigan State Senate, and to other leaders—elected

leaders not only from your community, but in other parts of this state.

I'm delighted to be here. Bread and salt are both of the earth, an ancient symbol of a life leavened by health and prosperity. And in this same spirit, I wish you all the same. And now, if I may, I want to address at this important gathering the health and prosperity of a whole nation—the proud people of Poland.

You know, we Americans are not mildly sympathetic spectators of events in Poland. We are bound to Poland by a very special bond—a bond of blood, of culture, and shared values. And so it is only natural that as dramatic change comes to Poland we share the aspirations and excitement of the Polish people.

In my Inaugural Address, I spoke of the new breeze of freedom gaining strength around the world. "In man's heart," I said, "if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient leafless tree." [Applause.] I spoke of the spreading recognition that prosperity can only come from a free market and the creative genius of individuals. And I spoke of the new potency of democratic ideals—of free speech, free elections, and the exercise of free will.

And we should not be surprised that the ideas of democracy are returning with renewed force in Europe—the homeland of philosophers of freedom whose ideals have been so fully realized in our great United States of America. And Victor Hugo said, "An invasion of armies can be resisted, but not an idea whose time has come." My friends, liberty is an idea whose time has come in Eastern Europe. And make no mistake about it. [Applause.]

For almost half a century, the suppression of freedom in Eastern Europe, sustained by the military power of the Soviet Union, has kept nation from nation, neighbor from neighbor. And as East and West now seek to reduce arms, it must not be forgotten that arms are a symptom, not a source, of tension. The true source of tension is the imposed and unnatural division of Europe.

How can there be stability and security in Europe and the world as long as nations and peoples are denied the right to determine their own future—a right explicitly promised by agreements among the victorious powers at the end of World War II? How can there be stability and security in Europe as long as nations, which once stood proudly at the front rank of industrial powers, are impoverished by a discredited ideology and stifling authoritarianism? The United States—and let's be clear on this—has never accepted the legitimacy of Europe's division. We accept no spheres of influence that deny the sovereign rights of nations. [Applause.]

And yet the winds of change are shaping a new European destiny. Western Europe is resurgent and Eastern Europe is awakening to yearnings for democracy, independence and prosperity. In the Soviet Union itself we are encouraged by the sound of voices long silent and the sight of the rulers consulting the ruled. We see new thinking in some aspects of Soviet foreign policy. We are hopeful that these stirrings presage meaningful, lasting and far more-reaching change.

So let no one doubt the sincerity of the American people and their government in our desire to see reform succeed inside the Soviet Union. We welcome the changes that have taken place and we will encourage—continue to encourage greater recognition of human rights, market incentives, and free elections. [Applause.]

East and West are now negotiating on a broad range of issues, from arms reductions to the environment. But the Cold War began in Eastern Europe, and if it is to end, it will end in this crucible of world conflict—and it must end. The American people want to see East and Central Europe free, prosperous and at peace. With prudence, realism and patience, we seek to promote the evolution of freedom—the opportunities sparked by the Helsinki Accords and the deepening East-West contact.

In recent years, we have improved relations with countries in the region, and in each case, we looked for progress in international posture and internal practices—in human rights, cultural openness, emigration issues, opposition to international terror.

While we want relations to improve, there are certain acts we will not condone or accept—behavior that can shift relations in the wrong direction—human rights abuses, technology theft and hostile intelligence or foreign policy actions against us.

Some regions are now seeking to win popular legitimacy through reforms. In Hungary, a new leadership is experimenting with reforms that may permit a political pluralism that only a few years ago would have been absolutely unthinkable. And in Poland, on April 5th, Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and Interior Minister Kiszcak signed agreements that, if faithfully implemented, will be a watershed in the postwar history of Eastern Europe.

Under the auspices of the Roundtable Agreements, the free trade union Solidarnosc was today—this very day, under those agreements—Solidarnosc was today formally restored. [Applause.] And the agreements also provide that a free opposition press will be legalized, independent political and other free associations will be permitted, and elections for a new Polish Senate will be held. These agreements testify to the realism of General Jaruzelski and his colleagues, and they are inspiring testimony to the spiritual guidance of the Catholic Church, the indomitable spirit of the Polish people, and the strength and wisdom of Lech Walesa. [Applause.]

Poland faces, and will continue to face for some time, severe economic problems. A modern French writer observed that communism is not another form of economics. It is the death of economics. In Poland, an economic system crippled by the inefficiencies of central planning almost proved the death of initiative and enterprise. Almost. But economic reforms can still give free rein to the enterprising impulse and creative spirit of the great Polish people.

The Polish people understand the magnitude of this challenge. Democratic forces in Poland have asked for the moral, political and economic support of the West. And the West will respond. My administration is completing now a thorough review of our

● 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.

policies toward Poland and all of Eastern Europe. And I've carefully considered ways that the United States can help Poland. And we will not act unconditionally—we're not going to offer unsound credits. We're not going to offer aid without requiring sound economic practices in return. And we must remember that Poland still is a member of the Warsaw Pact. And I will take no steps that compromise the security of the West.

The Congress, the Polish-American community—and I support, I endorse strongly Ed Moskal and what he is doing in the Polish American Congress, I might say, and I'm delighted he's here. Good Chicago boy right here in Hamtramck. [Applause.] That the Congress, the Polish-American community, the American labor movement, our allies and international financial institutions—our allies all must work in concert if Polish democracy is to take root anew and sustain itself. And we can and must answer this call to freedom. And it is particularly appropriate here in Hamtramck for me to salute the members and leaders of the American labor movement for hanging tough with Solidarity through its darkest days. Labor deserves great credit for that. [Applause.]

Now, the Poles are now taking steps that deserve our active support. And I have decided as your President on specific steps to be taken by the United States, carefully chosen to recognize the reforms underway and to encourage reforms yet to come now that Solidarnosc is legal:

I will ask Congress to join me in providing Poland access to our Generalized System of Preferences, which offers selective tariff relief to beneficiary countries.

We will work with our allies and friends in the Paris Club to develop sustainable new schedules for Poland to repay its debt, easing a heavy burden so that a free market can grow.

I will also ask Congress to join me in authorizing the Overseas Private Investment Corporation to operate in Poland, to the benefit of both Polish and U.S. investors.

We will propose negotiations for a private business agreement with Poland to encourage cooperation between U.S. firms and Poland's private businesses. Both sides can benefit.

The United States will continue to consider supporting, on their merits, viable loans to the private sector by the International Finance Corporation.

We believe that the Roundtable agreements clear the way for Poland to be able to work with International Monetary Fund on programs that support sound, market-oriented economic policies.

We will encourage business and private nonprofit groups to develop innovative programs to swap Polish debt for equity in Polish enterprises; and for charitable, humanitarian and environmental projects.

We will support imaginative educational, cultural and training programs to help liberate the creative energies of the Polish people.

You know, when I visited Poland in September of 1987, I was then Vice President, and I told Chairman Jaruzelski and Lech Walesa that the American people and government would respond quickly and imaginatively to significant internal reform of the kind that we now see. Both of them valued that assurance. So it is especially gratifying for me today to witness the

changes now taking place in Poland and to announce these important changes in U.S. policy. The United States of America keeps its promises. [Applause.]

If Poland's experiment succeeds, other countries may follow. And while we must still differentiate among the nations of Eastern Europe, Poland offers two lessons for all. First, there can be no progress without significant political and economic liberalization. And second, help from the West will come in concert with liberalization. Our friends and European allies share this philosophy.

The West can now be bold in proposing a vision of the European future: We dream of the day when there will be no barriers to the free movement of peoples, goods and ideas. We dream of the day when Eastern European peoples will be free to choose their system of government and to vote for the party of their choice in regular, free, contested elections. [Applause.] And we dream of the day when Eastern European countries will be free to choose their own peaceful course in the world, including closer ties with Western Europe. And we envision an Eastern Europe in which the Soviet Union has renounced military intervention as an instrument of its policy—on any pretext. We share an unwavering conviction that one day, all the peoples of Europe will live in freedom. And make no mistake about that. [Applause.]

Next month, at a summit of the North Atlantic Alliance, I will meet with the leaders of the Western democracies. The leaders of the Western democracies will discuss these concerns. And these are not bilateral issues just between the United States and the Soviet Union. They are, rather, the concern of all the Western allies, calling for common approaches. The Soviet Union should understand, in turn, that a free democratic Eastern Europe as we envision it would threaten no one and no country. Such an evolution would imply and reinforce the further improvement of East-West relations in all dimensions—arms reductions, political relations, trade—in ways that enhance the safety and well-being of all of Europe. There is no other way.

What has brought us to this opening? The unity and strength of the democracies, yes. And something else—the bold, new thinking in the Soviet Union, the innate desire—the innate desire for freedom in the hearts of all men. We will not waiver in our dedication to freedom now. And if we're wise, united and ready to seize the moment, we will be remembered as the generation that made all Europe free.

Two centuries ago, a Polish patriot, Thaddeus Kosciuszko, came to these American shores to stand for freedom. Let us honor and remember this hero of our own struggle for freedom by extending our hand to those who work the shipyards of Gdansk and walk the cobbled streets of Warsaw. Let us recall the words of the Poles who struggled for independence: "For your freedom and ours." [Applause.] Let us support the peaceful evolution of democracy in Poland. The cause of liberty knows no limits; the friends of freedom, no borders.

God bless Poland. God bless the United States of America. Thank you all very much. "Niech Zyje Polska." [Let Poland Live.] Thank you very much. [Applause.]

IF YOU BELIEVE THE MACHINE-GUN BAN IS WORKING, THEN SUPPORT H.R. 1190

HON. FORTNEY PETE STARK

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, "The Semiautomatic Assault Weapons Act," H.R. 1190, currently has 75 bipartisan cosponsors. The bill would treat 11 specific types of semiautomatic assault weapons in exactly the same manner as current Federal law for fully automatic machineguns. Future importation and domestic manufacture would be banned. Future purchase of the existing stock of semiautomatic assault weapons would be restricted to those who go through a background check and receive approval from their local police, pay a \$200 transfer tax, and register their weapon with the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms.

Thus, if Members believe the current ban on importation and domestic manufacture on fully automatic machineguns is working, then they should support H.R. 1190. If Members believe we ought to repeal the machinegun ban, then they should oppose H.R. 1190. It's that simple.

Several responsible national organizations have spoken out in favor of Federal assault weapons legislation, including the National Association of Police Organizations, the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the Fraternal Order of Police, the National Sheriff's Association, the National Education Association, the U.S. League of Cities, and the American Jewish Committee.

Two recent editorials, from Times magazine and the Christian Science Monitor, make some very valid points about the issue. I urge my colleagues to consider the following items:

[From Time, Apr. 3, 1989]

THE N.R.A. IN A HUNTER'S SIGHTS

(By Robert Hughes)

Like George Bush and thousands of other people, I am a Small White Hunter. Which means that, two or three times a year, one scrambles into one's brush pants and jacket, pulls on a pair of snake boots and goes ambling off on a sedate horse with friends and dogs in pursuit of quail in a pine forest in southern Georgia. Or spends cold predawn hours in a punt on Long Island Sound, or a damp blind on a California marsh, waiting for the gray light to spread and the ducks to come arrowing in.

I have done this at intervals most of my life, ever since I was eleven years old in Australia and my father first issued me a single-shot .22 and two bullets and told me to bring back one rabbit. I hope to keep doing it as long as I can walk and see.

I don't shoot deer anymore; the idea of large-game trophy hunting repels me. But I have never thought there was anything wrong with killing as much small game in one day as I and a few friends could eat in the evening—no more than that and always within the limits. On a good day I can break 24 targets out of 25 at trapshooting, and 22 or so at skeet, which is O.K. for an art critic.

In short, I am supposed—if you believe the advertisements of the National Rifle Association—to be exactly the kind of person

whose rights the N.R.A. claims to want to protect. Why, then, have I never joined the N.R.A.? And why do I think of this once omnipotent though now embattled lobby as the sportsman's embarrassment and not his ally?

The answer, in part, goes back to the famous Second Amendment of the American Constitution, which the N.R.A. keeps brandishing like Holy Writ. "A well-regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State," it reads, "the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

The part the N.R.A. quotes is always the second half. The first half is less convenient because it undermines the lobby's propaganda for universal weaponry.

The Founding Fathers, in their wisdom—and more pointedly, their experience—trusted standing armies. They associated British ones with tyranny and lacked the money and manpower to create their own. Without a citizen's militia, the Revolution would have failed. Does the Constitution let you have the second half of the Second Amendment, the right to keep and bear arms, without the first part, the intended use of those arms in the exercises and, when necessary, the campaigns of a citizens' militia to which the gun owner belongs—as in Switzerland today? That is still very much a subject for legal debate.

The constitutional framers no more had in mind the socially psychotic prospect of every Tom, Dick and Harriet with a barnful of MAC-10s, Saturday night specials and AK-47s than, in writing the First Amendment, they had in mind the protection of child-porn video, which did not exist in the 18th century either. Nowhere does the Constitution say the right to bear arms means the right to bear any or all arms. Which arms is the real issue. At present, firepower has outstripped the law's power to contain it within rational limits.

Where the N.R.A. has always revealed its nature as a paranoid lobby, a political anachronism, is in its rigid ideological belief that any restriction on the private ownership of any kind of hand-held gun leads inexorably to total abolition of all gun ownership—that, if today the U.S. Government takes the Kalashnikov from the hands of the maniac on the school playground, it will be coming for my Winchester pump tomorrow. There is no evidence for this absurd belief, but it remains an article of faith. And it does so because the faith is bad faith: the stand the N.R.A. takes is only nominally on behalf of recreational hunters. The people it really serves are gun manufacturers and gun importers, whose sole interest is to sell as many deadly weapons of as many kinds to as many Americans as possible. The N.R.A. never saw a weapon it didn't love. When American police officers raised their voices against the sale of "cop-killer" bullets—Teflon-coated projectiles whose sole purpose is to penetrate body armor—the N.R.A. mounted a campaign to make people believe this ban would infringe on the rights of deer hunters, as though the woods of America were full of whitetails in Kevlar vests.

Now that the pressure is on to restrict public ownership of semiautomatic assault weapons, we hear the same threadbare rhetoric about the rights of hunters. No serious hunter goes after deer with an Uzi or an AK-47; those weapons are not made for picking off an animal in the woods but for blowing people to chopped meat at close-to-medium range, and anyone who needs a

banana clip with 30 shells in it to hit a buck should not be hunting at all. These guns have only two uses: you can take them down to the local range and spend a lot of money blasting off 500 rounds an afternoon at silhouette targets of the Ayatollah, or you can use them to off your rivals and create lots of police widows. It depends on what kind of guy you are. But the N.R.A. doesn't care—underneath its dumb incantatory slogans ("Guns don't kill people; people kill people"), it is defending both guys. It helps ensure that cops are outgunned right across America. It preaches hunters' rights in order to defend the distribution of weapons in what is, in effect, a drug-based civil war.

But we who love hunting have much more to fear from the backlash of public opinion caused by the N.R.A.'s pigheadedness than we do from the Government. Sensible hunters see the need to follow the example of other civilized countries. All fireable guns should be licensed; delays and stringent checks should be built into their purchase, right across the board; and some types, including machine guns and semiautomatic assault weapons, should not be available to the civilian public at all. It is time, in this respect, that America enter the 20th century, since it is only a few years away from the 21st.

THE GUN LOBBY IS RUNNING OUT OF AMMO (By Mary L. Grow)

Every time a madman enters a school yard and sprays children with bullets, we see affirmation of the unfettered right to bear arms—the principle for which the National Rifle Association spends millions each year to influence votes in Congress.

In response to those who are appalled at the ease with which even mentally unstable criminals like Patrick Edward Purdy can obtain arms (including military assault weapons), advocates of gun ownership trot out the old saw: "When guns are outlawed, only outlaws will have guns."

Of course, laws will always be violated. But the imperfection of human nature gives society no excuse for failing to create laws that reflect the behaviors we aspire to.

The National Rifle Association (NRA) puts forward three arguments against gun control: The first is constitutional, the second based on the perceived need to defend home and family, and the third political. None holds up to scrutiny.

The constitutional argument: In a 1939 case involving the use of a sawed-off shotgun, the Supreme Court declared unanimously: "In the absence of any evidence showing that possession or use of [the sawed-off shotgun] has some reasonable relationship to the preservation or efficiency of a well regulated militia, we cannot say that the Second Amendment guarantees the right to keep and bear such an instrument." Constitutional scholars point to this as the clearest statement the court has made on the meaning of the Second Amendment.

Former US Supreme Court Justice Lewis F. Powell Jr., a moderate (who also happens to be a rifle-owning hunter), gave a speech in August to the Criminal Justice Section of the American Bar Association. "Much scholarly debate," he said, "has centered on the extent to which the Second Amendment applies to private ownership of arms, or is restricted to the need for a 'well regulated militia.' With respect to handguns, however—as opposed to sporting rifles and shotguns—it is not easy to understand why the Second Amendment, or the notion of liberty, would be viewed as creating a

right to own and carry a weapon that contributes so directly to the shocking number of murders in our country."

The self-protection argument: The medical community has begun to see Americans' high rate of gun-related deaths as a public health issue. The New England Journal of Medicine last spring published an article comparing how often a gun was used successfully in slaying an intruder with how often a privately owned gun was responsible for suicides, accidents, or murders among family members and acquaintances. The findings: A gun in the home is 43 times more likely to be used to kill or injure the homeowner or a family member than it is to kill an intruder.

The political argument: For decades, conventional wisdom has held that it is political suicide for a politician to support gun control. This belief grew out of several well publicized political defeats, engineered and financed by the NRA. Sen. Joseph Tydings of Maryland was a notable example, forever held up, of the inevitable defeat awaiting any politician who took on the NRA.

But, though the myth lives on, it no longer corresponds to reality. The NRA has suffered a number of defeats around the country during the last year or so. Although it spent \$6 million to the opposition's \$500,000, the NRA lost in its effort to repeal the new Maryland law banning the sale and manufacture of Saturday night specials. In Minnesota, some courageous legislators drew on strong citizen opposition to turn what looked like certain NRA victory on a "right-to-bear-arms" amendment to the state constitution into defeat.

A Minnesota poll of one year ago highlighted the fact that 80 percent of Minnesotans, including 77 percent of gun owners, support stronger gun control. A recent Gallup Poll showed that 91 percent of all Americans favor a seven-day waiting period for handgun purchases, and 84 percent favor federal licensing of gun owners. It would hardly take political courage to support gun control in today's climate.

Politicians often follow public opinion rather than lead it. My seatmate on a recent flight was a young military intelligence officer with a shirt full of ribbons and, above them, a combat infantryman's badge. In the course of a wide-ranging conversation, he told me that he used to belong to the NRA but had quit in disgust over its irresponsible positions on gun control. When will our politicians begin to catch up with such wisdom?

In the wake of yet another schoolyard slaughter, I feel outrage at those who say that their right to shoot at targets is greater than the right of small children to live free from the perils that result from our lack of safeguards over who may own guns and how they may be used. I feel outrage at the politicians who fail to prohibit the sale of assault weapons and at those who voted against the Brady Amendment, which would have mandated a seven-day waiting period before any handgun purchase. And I feel outrage at the NRA for equating God, the Constitution, apple pie, and freedom with the unregulated ownership of firearms.

I believe that every politician whose vote has been influenced by fear of the NRA or indebtedness to huge NRA campaign contributions must take some responsibility for the tragedy in Stockton, Calif.

(Mary Lewis Grow, a research associate at Carleton College in Minnesota, helped organize a citizens lobbying effort against the right-to-bear-arms amendment to the Min-

nesota State Constitution. The measure was defeated last year.)

INTRODUCTION OF A BILL TO AMEND THE AGRICULTURAL MARKETING AGREEMENT ACT OF 1937

HON. TONY COELHO

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. COELHO. Mr. Speaker, today I am pleased to introduce legislation to help growers of kiwifruit, peaches, pears, nectarines, and plums in California maintain their excellent record of marketing a high quality product. The legislation would result in imported kiwifruit, peaches, pears, nectarines, and plums having to meet the same minimum quality standards as fruit produced in California and marketed commercially in the United States.

California producers are anxious to present the consumer a product of excellent quality. To help achieve this objective, producers of nearly 50 different commodities operate under a Federal marketing order. A marketing order is an instrument whereby growers can enter into an agreement with the Secretary of Agriculture to improve and stabilize markets for their products. Under the marketing orders covered in this legislation, the growers have elected to market only that fruit which meets the approximate minimum quality provisions of the United States No. 1 grade. So their efforts will not be undercut by the importation of poor quality fruits, California growers would like the same minimum quality standards applied to the imported fruit as is applied to their own domestically produced fruit.

My legislation would add kiwifruit, peaches, pears, nectarines, and plums to the list of some 20 fruits, vegetables, and specialty crops listed in section 8e of the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937. So listed, the imported fruits would be required to meet the same minimum quality standards as those fruits produced in California and sold through commercial channels in the United States.

Producers of the various commodities included in this legislation believe strongly that a strategy of marketing a high quality product in the United States is key to their continued success in developing and maintaining an economically viable industry. They feel that the principle should apply to fruits produced by foreign producers as well as to their own domestically produced fruit. I strongly support this reasoning and am pleased to introduce this legislation.

HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES BY THE SANDINISTAS

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, 3 days after the Congress voted to send humanitarian aid to the Nicaraguan resistance in support of the

principles of the Central American peace plan, the New York Times reported that the Sandinistas, since the cease-fire of March 1988, have killed an estimated 40 to 50 civilians in Nicaragua. These murders appear to be part of a systematic plan of revenge and reprisal against Nicaraguans who have helped or are suspected of helping the resistance. These reports do not offer any hope that the Sandinistas are committed to allowing democracy and justice to come to Nicaragua.

The Times story points out that "it is impossible to do more than estimate the number of Sandinista killings and other human rights abuses," because the Sandinistas do not allow Nicaraguan groups to investigate alleged government atrocities. Since this is the case, how are we going to find out just what is going on in Nicaragua so that we can judge the Sandinistas record of adherence to the principles at the heart of the bipartisan accord between the President and the Congress?

At this point I wish to insert in the RECORD, "Rights Monitors See Increase in Abuses by Sandinista Army," by Lindsey Gruson, the New York Times, Sunday, April 16, 1989.

RIGHTS MONITORS SEE INCREASE IN ABUSES BY SANDINISTA ARMY (By Lindsey Gruson)

APANTILLO, NICARAGUA.—Felicito Peralta went to his death barefoot.

When Sandinista troops came to his house in this isolated hamlet three months ago, he refused to answer the door. But, neighbors said in recent interviews, the soldiers threatened to throw a grenade into his home, which he shared with this wife and five children.

Mr. Peralta surrendered, leaving without his shoes. His wife, Maria, ran after him with his boots, but he told her not to worry, that Sandinista troops were taking him to a nearby jail, according to neighbors.

"I'll see you in the morning," he added. But by morning he was dead. Residents and human rights groups say he was one of a growing number of victims of a Government drive against suspected rebel sympathizers in northern Nicaragua.

In the last two years, residents and human rights groups say, Sandinista troops have killed at least 13 civilians around Apantillo, a hamlet of 200 peasants about 80 miles northeast of Managua. There are no comprehensive statistics, but human rights groups estimate that Government soldiers have killed 40 to 50 civilians in northern Nicaragua since a cease-fire agreement was signed in March 1988. They say the abuses appear to be limited to the north, where the contras have enjoyed widespread support.

Mr. Peralta had three brothers fighting with the anti-Sandinista guerrillas. His body was found not far from his house. He had been beaten, shot and stabbed repeatedly in the throat and stomach, said Carlos Molinaris, a neighbor and fellow Roman Catholic lay leader.

"These executions are too numerous to be isolated cases," said Juan Méndez, the executive director of Americas Watch, a human rights monitoring group based in New York, in a statement. "They constitute a pattern of abuse by Government forces."

Sandinista officials declined to comment on the charges. They received written questions about the alleged abuses but an Interior Ministry spokesman said the Government would probably not comment until it had a chance to investigate all the cases.

In the past, Managua has blamed such killings on the rebels, or contras, who have often been accused of human rights violations by monitoring groups.

"The contras disguise themselves as soldiers to discredit the army," said Dani Chavarria Rivera, the regional coordinator of a pro-Government group, Families of the Kidnapped and Disappeared by the Counterrevolutionaries.

She charged that the contras had killed or kidnapped 6,000 people in the northern province of Matagalpa in the last eight years. The United States-backed rebels, she said, have killed or kidnapped 300 people in the year since the cease-fire agreement.

WITH REBELS' ABSENCE, A SHIFT

Human rights groups and residents of the area say the rebels still commit abuses. But the vast majority of their troops have withdrawn to camps in Honduras, leading to a sharp drop in human rights violations attributed to them.

In contrast to the rebels, political killings by Sandinista troops were rare for most of the war, according to Americans Watch. Except for some notable cases seven years ago, it said that Government abuses had been "sporadic and that they did not reflect a pattern."

In a report last year, however, the group noted a series of murders of suspected contra collaborators and family members. It charged that "the cases are numerous enough to suggest tolerance or complicity by higher authorities."

That conclusion, Mr. Méndez said, has been confirmed by more recent killings, like the murder of Mr. Peralta, by both army and Interior Ministry troops. Some international relief officials working in northern Nicaragua said they agreed with Mr. Méndez but declined to be identified by name or organization.

"The Government's failure to put an end to this practice merits service condemnation," Mr. Méndez said in the statement. He commended the Sandinistas for prosecuting some human rights violators. But other officials noted that most of those convicted were released after serving only a small fraction of their sentences.

APPARENT EFFORT TO HALT SUPPORT

The series of killings appear to be part of a campaign to crush the vestiges of the civilian support network that fed and sheltered the contras, who used to roam with few impediments across much of this fiercely independent, anti-Government region.

The Sandinista counterinsurgency effort has forced thousands of contra collaborators to flee. Many have risked minefields to escape to contra camps in Honduras; others have taken refuge in the cities, where it is difficult and dangerous for the rebels to contact them.

The few guerrilla patrols that still venture into the jungle-crowned region now must struggle just to feed themselves, according to senior rebel leaders, who were interviewed in recent months in their Honduran camps.

Until the rebel army withdrew, leaving its civilian network unprotected, sympathizers provided much of the food the guerrillas needed and frequently provided advance warning of Sandinista patrols and troop movements.

The Sandinistas security forces responded by putting agents and informers in remote villages, the main front in the war. Both sides soon took political headcounts, noting which peasants had families members with

the contras and those who supported the Government.

Andrea Martínez said the contras accused her son Martín of being a Government informer. Three years ago, they kidnapped him and held him for three days. But his release marked him as a contra in the eyes of the Sandinistas, his mother said.

Mrs. Martínez, who has another son and a daughter with the rebels, said Government troops soon started harassing Martín, who was then 18-years-old. A neighbor, Lola Pinosa, in mid-November warned him that the army was looking for him and advised him to flee, his mother said.

But he decided to stay long enough to help his mother harvest the family's meager bean crop. At 4 A.M. on Nov. 22, Sandinista soldiers came to their house and arrested him, said Mrs. Martínez. She said she recognized the voice of the local garrison commander.

A few hours later she heard two shots. A neighbor found Martín's body later that day.

"No One Will Be Punished"

Some civilians appear to have used the Sandinista counterinsurgency campaign to settle personal scores. Miguel Ángel Ramírez Dávila was denounced by a relative after a drunken fight, according to his wife, Esperanza Blandón, and his brother, Pablo Ramírez Dávila, a former rebel who was captured and released by the Sandinistas.

Mr. Ramírez, who was in his early 20's, had worked briefly as a guide for the contra patrols at least three times, his brother said. He was arrested last August and taken to jail, where he was seen by family members and neighbors.

His wife, who at the time was pregnant with their fourth child, said that when she went to visit him on Sept. 2, she was told he had been released early that morning. His body was discovered later that day about a mile from his house in Zompopera, a hamlet 45 miles northwest of Apantillo.

Mrs. Ramírez said she had complained to the authorities about the murder but that they maintained that her husband was killed by the contras. Residents said the rebels had not been in the area at the time of Mr. Ramírez murder.

Americas Watch officials said it is impossible to do more than estimate the number of Sandinista killings and other human rights abuses. That is because there are no Nicaraguan groups that routinely investigate allegations of Government violations in the countryside. And many of the reported killings and abuses are in extremely remote areas, accessible only by the daylong hikes.

HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

HON. GUS YATRON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. YATRON. Mr. Speaker, today I am pleased to introduce legislation condemning the deliberate and systematic human rights violations by the Government of Iraq.

This resolution enumerates the Government of Iraq's human rights violations according to the Department of State's Country Reports of 1988, Amnesty International, and other credible human rights groups. It calls upon the Secretary of State to engage in direct discussion with the Government of Iraq concerning

its human rights practices, to encourage this Government to implement genuine and effective human rights reforms, and to call attention to violations of human rights in Iraq in the United Nations and other international forums. It also asks that the United States provide, and urge others to provide, refugee and humanitarian assistance for those Kurds who have been forced to flee their homeland.

During a hearing held by the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations, which I Chair, on U.S. human rights policy immediately after the issuance of the 1988 Country Reports, Assistant Secretary for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, Richard Schifter, attested to the dramatic and serious human rights situation in Iraq. Members of the subcommittee also were concerned that not enough had been done to indicate to the Government of Iraq that its horrible record was unacceptable.

The subcommittee has received many requests from the international human rights community, the Kurdish community, and the public-at-large to take some action on this grave matter. Though this resolution is long overdue, it is, nonetheless, essential if we are going to see any improvement in Iraq.

I urge my colleagues to support this vital legislation.

LETTER CARRIERS DO MORE THAN JUST DELIVER THE MAIL

HON. C.W. BILL YOUNG

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, letter carriers who serve the people of Pinellas County, FL, I represent do much more every day than deliver the mail.

In serving an area with the highest concentration of older Americans any where in our Nation, letter carriers have proven to be a valuable friend to the elderly along their routes. In particular, they keep careful watch over the elderly and their homes to ensure that there are no signs of individuals in need of help. Many times letter carriers have called the police or fire department when they found individuals along their route sick or injured.

Just such a situation arose recently in Dunedin, FL, where Linda Heywood, a letter carrier from the St. Petersburg branch, heard a cry for help at one stop along her route. She looked through the mail slot in the door and found an elderly man trapped beneath a grandfather clock.

She promptly asked a neighbor to call the police, then located a spare key and let herself into the house where she lifted the clock off the man who had been trapped there for more than 3 hours. Paramedics transported the man to a local hospital where his injuries were treated and he was eventually released.

Mr. Speaker, this gentleman is alive today because of the quick thinking of Linda Heywood, an alert letter carrier who reminds us that our Nation's letter carriers do more every day than deliver the mail.

ROBERT SNYDER, LEHIGH VALLEY LEADER

HON. DON RITTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. RITTER, Mr. Speaker, "Everybody who was involved in the community knew him, because he was involved in everything."

With these words, Bethlehem Mayor Ken Smith aptly described Robert P. Snyder, who recently passed away. And, since these words would aptly describe most Members of Congress, it is not surprising that Bob's path and mine crossed many times. I am pleased to have been a recipient of his advice, counsel, and friendship and like so many others will miss him dearly.

Bob was more than a devoted husband to his wife, Posey, and a figure prominent in the social activities of the community. He was a leader dedicated to improving the civic, business, political, and educational life of the Lehigh Valley.

Bob was a graduate of Franklin & Marshall College and came to Bethlehem in 1946 after serving as an Army captain where he fought in the Battle of the Bulge. At that time he joined the administrative staff of Moravian College, and worked there for 38 years before retiring as senior vice president. Not a slow starter, by 1952, he had been elected the Jaycees Young Man of the Year. But Bob was just getting warmed up.

Dr. Herman Collier, former president of Moravian College, has fond memories of working with Bob Snyder: "I would suggest that he had unique qualities, but in particular, his diversity of interests and abilities. Beyond that I would say his special qualities would be he cared in a very special way for the institution, its long history, its people and its future."

According to James J. Heller, vice president and dean emeritus at the college, Bob's professional skills helped shape the institution financially. He directed several key programs for Moravian including community relations, the student financial aid program, general fundraising for the school, and planning and development.

While directing college development during a period of rapid growth, he found time for effective involvement in a wide range of business and political activities. Bob was the interim president and CEO of the First Valley Bank in 1976 and became the interim president of St. Lukes Hospital in 1984.

Through the years his civic activities included the presidency of four active groups; the Bethlehem Area Chamber of Commerce, Historic Bethlehem, Inc., Bethlehem Rotary Club, and Community Concert Association. He also was instrumental in helping form the Bethlehem Collegium and served as executive director for United Way of Northampton and Warren Counties.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, Bob Snyder was really an amazing guy who executed all these activities with unique quality yet never tried to make a big splash. Everybody in the Lehigh Valley who was involved will miss his driving force, quiet wisdom, and creative ideas. We will miss

his guidance, his charming wit, his expertise, and most of all, his friendship.

At this point, Mr. Speaker, I included the memorial editorials appearing in the March 11 issue of the Bethlehem Globe-Times and the March 13 issue of the Allentown Morning Call respectively.

[From the Globe-Times, Mar. 11, 1989]

BOB SNYDER WAS ALWAYS THERE AND WILL BE MISSED

There are givers and takers in this world. Bob Snyder was a giver.

Whenever the need arose, Snyder answered the call, whether it was a need for an interim president at St. Luke's Hospital and First Valley Bank or when a speaker was needed at a Rotary Club luncheon.

A gentle man, and a great friend of nature, Snyder was equally at home in the intense world of business, the cut-throat world of politics and the kinder world of charity.

Mr. Bethlehem. The nickname fits.

"When somebody in Bethlehem had a problem, the first person they would call was Bob Snyder," said Globe-Times Publisher Nancy Adams Taylor. "He could mesh discordant factors and bring people together."

And that he did in everything he approached. He was a man of many abilities, a caring man who took part instead of sitting on the sidelines.

Many owe him so much, but he was doing what came naturally.

"What gave him joy was giving back to the community," said Mayor Ken Smith. "What he accomplished was mind-boggling. His resume must look like the resume of five men."

While many people have friends, few communities do. Bob Snyder was a friend to all of Bethlehem. He was the man of the moment in many important moments.

"He was one of a kind. He was kind of a Renaissance man in the modern world," said Eleanor Boylston, who worked with Snyder at the United Way.

Snyder could see the future in most any endeavor he undertook. When he handed off at the end of a job, his successor would find a better situation than Snyder had inherited.

He helped guide Moravian College into the '80s and saw to it that First Valley and St. Luke's shaped up.

Numerous community organizations benefited from his knowledge and hard work.

But it was his one-on-one influence that will most be remembered by people in this community.

"He was my advisor and counsel in so many ways involving this community," said First Valley Bank Chairman John Howell. "He was the guy I'd turn to for advice all the time. I'm going to miss him greatly. I know the community will too."

[From the Morning Call, Mar. 13, 1989]

ROBERT P. SNYDER: HE'LL BE MISSED

"I don't think there's anybody in Bethlehem who doesn't know of Bob Snyder and the work he's done," declared Bethlehem City Council President Jack Lawrence on learning of Robert P. Snyder's death Friday at age 69.

While that may be an exaggeration, certainly Robert P. Snyder was among the best-known and most popular people in the city he adopted when he arrived here in 1946, following World War II. In 1984, Mr. Snyder retired as senior vice president of

Moravian College, after nearly 40 years of helping guide and shape the course of that rapidly growing institution. During that same time, his contributions to the community, both in civic and community affairs, were immeasurable.

Mr. Snyder served as interim president of First Valley Bank and St. Luke's Hospital. He was at the head of United Way fund drives. He was the Bethlehem Jaycees' "Young Man of the Year" in 1952. And he served as president of the Bethlehem Area Chamber of Commerce, Historic Bethlehem Inc., the Bethlehem Rotary Club and the Community Concert. Bob Snyder was very much at home in the outdoors, especially observing and charting the comings and goings of his beloved birds. His renowned sense of humor and wit made him a speaker par excellence, which endeared him to many.

His passing, after a life dedicated to his community, raises the sobering question . . . where do people like Bob Snyder find the time? And why can't more of us follow the example of leadership and commitment he demonstrated throughout his life?

"He was probably more knowledgeable about the history of Bethlehem . . . than anybody I've ever known," observed Chamber Executive Director Richard Strain, summing up the source of the light Bob Snyder had shed along Bethlehem's path. He was a man whose wise counsel on virtually any matter related to his adoptive home was avidly sought and gratefully received by many.

Robert P. Snyder was a man who will prove virtually irreplaceable. Mr. Strain said, a man who will be sorely missed. The Christmas City is diminished by his passing.

A TRIBUTE TO SUGAR RAY ROBINSON

HON. MERVYN M. DYMALLY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. DYMALLY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in memory of Walker Smith Robinson, Jr., the man the world came to know as Sugar Ray Robinson. On April 12, 1989 "Sugar Ray" passed away at Brotman Memorial Medical Center after developing breathing complications in his Los Angeles home.

Born in Detroit, MI, on May 3, 1921, Sugar Ray Robinson will go down in history as one of the greatest boxers in American history. In 1946, he captured the welterweight title by defeating Tommy Bell, and then went on to win the middleweight title five times between 1951 and 1960.

Elected to boxing's Hall of Fame in 1968, Sugar Ray was recognized as the fastest and most devastating puncher in the ring. He picked up the name Ray Robinson from another prize fighter whom he wanted to substitute for in the ring. A sportswriter once described him as "the sweetest fighter * * * sweet as sugar"—thus the nickname "Sugar Ray."

Mr. Speaker, today I stand in honor of a legendary athlete, however, Sugar Ray was indeed a man of outstanding character and generosity. We are not only saluting a boxer, but a community servant, philanthropist and dedicated champion of youth sports.

Sugar Ray Robinson proved to be as shrewd a businessman as he was a top ranked prize fighter. At one time his enterprises included a Harlem restaurant, a dry cleaning establishment, a barber shop, a lingerie shop, and real estate holdings in New York, Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, and California.

Mr. Speaker, I grew to know Sugar Ray personally as a result of his residence in my district. I learned of a man whose claim to fame was far beyond the boxing ring. I grew to love, respect and admire a true humanitarian, statesman and fine example of a sportsman. He was a man America can always applaud.

He is reported to have made charitable donations to a wide range of funds and foundations, both at home, in America, and abroad. Aside from a donation to the Damon Runyon Fund, the Heart Veteran's Fund, the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, Sugar Ray reaffirmed his proven sense of commitment to various causes by making a donation to B'nai B'rith. Sugar Ray pledged his entire purse of \$25,000 from the May 1951 title bout against Kid Marcel in Paris to the Cancer Society of France.

Mr. Speaker, I hope you and the House of Representatives will join me in saluting a man who was more than just a public figure, but a private giant. In Sugar Ray Robinson, we had a real taste of what humanity, humility and generosity can do in molding an individual.

WASTE DISPOSAL CRISIS

HON. ROBERT J. MRAZEK

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. MRAZEK. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to address the issue of mass-burn incineration, an issue that requires urgent attention on the part of Congress.

America is facing a waste-disposal crisis of monumental proportions. The traditional way of getting rid of our waste dumping is fast becoming obsolete. Our landfills are almost filled to capacity. Worse, many of these landfills contain hazardous wastes, which in some cases are threatening the continued availability of potable drinking water.

The situation on Long Island is perhaps symbolic of what the Nation may face in a few more years. New York's landfills are reaching their capacity, and many Long Island communities are shipping their waste to other States. The recent expedition of the garbage barge from Islip, Long Island, has graphically dramatized the need for a comprehensive waste-management policy. It is clear that something beyond dumping is necessary to manage our garbage.

New York State enacted legislation in 1983 which imposes strict new regulations on landfills in Nassau and Suffolk Counties on Long Island. The law requires all landfills in deep-water recharge areas to be closed by 1990 and also mandates that landfills outside recharge areas no longer bury raw garbage, but only accept nonhazardous waste material.

After a preliminary review of various alternatives to landfilling, most townships on Long

Island have moved toward mass-burn incineration as a preferred method of garbage disposal. Currently, there are 10 of these facilities in the State, with plans to build several more on Long Island. The EPA estimates that by 2000 there will be 400 incinerators nationwide, disposing 33 percent of the country's waste. Many States, including New York, have viewed incineration as almost a panacea to their waste-disposal problems.

Unfortunately, the reality of incineration is that, unless it is well managed and controlled, it may very well solve one environmental problem only to be responsible for another. This is because the process of incineration emits tons upon tons of toxic chemicals into the air to spread over wide areas. Even a quick inspection of the sorts of garbage which are incinerated could show why incinerators must be strictly controlled. Batteries, plastics, and the like are burned, sending a poisonous chemical cocktail into the air and then into our environment. Among these toxic chemicals are dioxins, one of the most dangerous known.

Despite the fact that the environmental and health risks from the proliferation of dioxins are considerable, few States have taken action to regulate emissions to set limits on dioxins and other dangerous chemicals. Only a handful of States currently have regulations or policies for dioxins.

If incineration is to be the wave of the future, as it seems to be, it is vital that strict limits be set which will prevent incinerators from endangering the health and welfare of us all. For this reason, I am today introducing legislation which responsibly addresses the problem of dioxin emissions.

The bill I am introducing today—H.R. 2452 in the 100th Congress—would amend the Clean Air Act to control emissions of dioxin from resource-recovery plants and municipal-waste incinerators. The bill mandates that each new and modified plant must not emit more than 0.1 nanograms per normal cubic meter at 10 percent carbon dioxide. The bill covers each plant that begins operations after the bill is enacted.

I chose this particular standard because it is the figure that has been adopted by Sweden, the country that has done the most research into the topic. In 1985, Sweden's Environmental Protection Agency halted construction of all new plants when it was thought that it was important to evaluate the health and environmental side effects of incineration, with dioxins the primary concern. The Swedish Government had become concerned about the implications of incineration after high levels of dioxin had been found in Baltic Sea fish and mother's milk.

After the extensive study, Sweden determined that new facilities could be built, but only if serious measures were taken to meet new, more stringent standards. These are the standards my bill would mandate.

Sweden also determined that these standards could be met with current technology. The study concluded that with today's technology, emissions of dioxin could be reduced by up to 90 percent from present levels. Last year, Sweden resumed construction of new incinerators with the new standards in place.

I believe this is a long-overdue and responsible approach to the problem of dioxin emissions. In light of the risks that incinerators pose to our health and environment, swift action must be taken. I also strongly support other efforts to devise a comprehensive plan to control emissions. For too long, the Federal Government has failed to deal effectively with airborne pollution. While EPA estimates that 15,000 airborne chemicals should be assessed for their toxicity, they have only actually regulated 7. And dioxin—perhaps one of the most dangerous of all—is still not regulated by the Federal Government. While EPA has done little to protect America's air, Congress can and must take measures to prevent our air from becoming a dump for toxic chemicals.

I also feel it is important for Congress to take action to deal with the side effects of incineration, such as the ash residue. This ash, which usually contains high amounts of dangerous lead and cadmium, is not presently considered to be hazardous waste. This designation must change so that this particular toxic waste is no longer treated in the same, rather careless manner as less harmful garbage.

It is clear, too, that more emphasis must be placed on recycling of waste, both to help the economy and to reduce the amount of garbage which must be somehow disposed. In my mind, there is no reason why we can't recycle 50 percent of our waste in the 1990's.

It is certain that we can no longer rely on landfills to get rid of our garbage. They are not only an eyesore, but also a very serious threat to our environment. We need a new solution. If incinerators are part of that solution, we need to look at incineration very carefully before signing off on this technology. And, without a doubt, incinerators must only operate with strict emissions standards. This is the only way we can prevent a solution to one environmental problem from becoming the cause for another.

SIPERSTEIN PLAZA DEDICATED

HON. FRANK J. GUARINI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. GUARINI. Mr. Speaker, last week the mayor and city council of Jersey City, by unanimous resolution performed a most memorable event, naming a section of Jersey City N. Siperstein Plaza.

This action by the community governing body is causing the formal dedication next Friday of an area of Montgomery Street, Colgate Street, York Street, and Center Street as a tribute to the hard work of a Russian immigrant who founded a business in the year 1904 which has grown to the largest chain of paint and wall covering supply stores with more than fifteen locations throughout the State of New Jersey.

The area being designated as N. Siperstein Plaza honors the late Nathan Siperstein who arrived in this country at the turn of the century and settled in downtown Jersey City.

Nathan Siperstein was a third generation house painter in his native land but after his father died he set out for America where he married Lottie and raised a family of four sons, Harry, Oscar, Morris, and Herbert, who worked hard in their first establishment at 369 Montgomery Street, Jersey City, in the shadow of the Statue of Liberty, developing the company which today has more than 250 employees and located in Jersey City, Bergenfield, Bricktown, Flemington, Fords, Linden, Lodi, Long Branch, Manalapan, Middletown, North Plainfield, Toms River, Union, and Wall, New Jersey.

In the Jersey City community they are known as the paint company with heart. Not only have their products been used in tens of thousands of apartments and dwellings, but their generosity to worthy causes has no peer.

Each day they have assisted Yeshiva of Hudson County, Jewish Home and Rehabilitation Center, Yeshiva of North Jersey, and have received recognition from these groups for their generosity.

They have contributed to many worthwhile charities regardless of race, color, creed, or nationality in the areas of education, health, employment, and cultural enrichment. They have assisted St. Peter's Preparatory School, a high school in Jersey City under the direction of the Jesuits, by providing scholarships for worthy students each year.

The Sipersteins have contributed to Straight & Narrow, Inc., a drug and alcohol rehabilitation center, located in Paterson since 1954, which serves people needing assistance throughout the State.

Among the numerous awards presented to the Siperstein family are: heritage award for their work with the State of Israel bonds; Pikuach Nefesh award given by the American Red Magen David Israel—Israel Red Cross Society for their contribution of a life saving ambulance which is inscribed: "He who saves a single life is said to have saved the entire world."

Currently the third generation of the Siperstein family is now serving the fourth and fifth generations of customers who remember the quality of service, loyalty, and generosity of this family.

The area where Siperstein Plaza is located is a block square across from Ferris High School in Jersey City. The Siperstein family about 10 years ago were forced to relocate because of a redevelopment project, and took the new location and turned it into a modern facility which has become the center of the renaissance near the Jersey City Medical Center, and the new Hudson County Vocational School, and where new homes have been built helping Jersey City with its new look.

Nathan did an excellent job with his business, but the highest accolade given to him was for his humane businesslike approach and the raising of his fine family.

According to a Jersey Journal article which appeared during the observance of their 50th anniversary,

More than 35 years ago, Oscar was the first of the boys to actively engage in the business, followed by Morris, the oldest son, who gave up a law practice to devote his time to the family enterprise.

Harry managed several of the locations and is the guiding light of the entire operation working with Herbert, a heavily decorated World War II veteran, who earned the Bronze Star Medal in combat.

On Friday next, in addition to the official city proclamation, which was presented by Mayor Anthony R. Cucci and adopted by all the council members, the New Jersey Senate adopted a resolution on October 24, 1988, presented by Senator Thomas F. Cowan, and I have made available a flag which was flown over the Capitol of the United States which will be prominently displayed on the premises.

This resolution will be part of the family legacy for the ever enlarging family, where the children of the four sons are continuing the business and raising new family members who we feel certain will carry on the Siperstein legacy of hard work and dedication which made America great.

I feel certain that Members of this House of Representatives are pleased to join me in this American success story marking the dedication of N. Siperstein Plaza in Jersey City.

RAIL LINE PRESERVATION AND EMPLOYEE PROTECTION ACT

HON. THOMAS J. TAUKE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. TAUKE. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation to resolve in an equitable way the current uncertainties surrounding the creation of regional railroads. The Rail Line Preservation and Employee Protection Act strikes a balance between the legitimate concerns of railroad employees who face job termination and the interests of the sellers and purchasers of new regional railroads.

In the years leading up to 1980, the railroad industry was suffering the negative effects of decades of cumbersome Federal regulation. Nearly 25 percent of the Nation's railroads had fallen into bankruptcy and much of the rest of the industry was in deep financial trouble. In an effort to reduce operating costs, railroads attempted to restructure their light density lines. However, Federal laws required labor protection payments whenever a railroad attempted to consolidate, merge, or abandon a rail line.

In an effort to minimize the costs of making labor protection payments, railroads embarked on a strategy of abandoning service in order to abandon lines. By driving business off light density lines, railroads could reduce the number of workers who would qualify for labor protection benefits when the line was eventually abandoned. During the decade of the 1970's the mileage of our Nation's largest railroads declined by 37,000 miles.

The Staggers Rail Act of 1980 brought about dramatic changes in the railroad industry through deregulation. Under Staggers, railroads were given new opportunities to rationalize their systems through line sales. Line sales then became an attractive alternative to abandonment.

The Staggers Rail Act allowed the Interstate Commerce Commission to exempt line sales from labor protection requirements if the purchaser was not an existing railroad. The ICC further expanded this authority by voting to exempt all sales to nonrailroad companies and to consider these transactions under expedited procedures. The ICC chose not to impose labor protection conditions on sales under the rationale that these expenses, which run as high as 6 years of each affected employee's salary, would undermine the feasibility of line sales as an alternative to abandonment.

The ICC's blanket exemption from labor protection standards enhanced the financial feasibility of sales of light density lines and led to tremendous growth in regional railroads. Since 1980, over 180 new railroads, including 10 in my own State, have been created. These railroads now operate more than 17,000 miles of line.

Regional railroads are generally not encumbered by the same work rule restrictions used by major rail carriers. This enables them to turn profits on lines which would otherwise be very marginal for class I railroads.

The authority of the ICC to exempt line sales from labor protection requirements came under the scrutiny of the Federal judiciary in 1987. A Federal court of appeals upheld a ruling by a lower court that line sales came under the jurisdiction of the Railway Labor Act and not under the rubric of the Interstate Commerce and Staggers Rail Acts. Under the RLA, rail labor may bargain for a labor protection settlement in a line sale and may strike if not satisfied.

Due to conflicting interpretations on this issue, the Supreme Court agreed to hear the case involving the sale of the Pittsburgh and Lake Erie (P&LE) Railroad. The Supreme Court is expected to render a decision on the P&LE case later this year. However, because of the unique nature of the P&LE case, it is possible that even a ruling by the High Court may not fully resolve the issue of labor protection on light density line sales.

The conflicting signals on the labor protection issue during the past 2 years have had a chilling effect on the sale of light density lines. Lines sales have essentially come to a halt and abandonments and the threat of future abandonments have substantially increased. We face the distinct possibility that the only growth sector in the railroad industry—regional railroads—will be choked out of existence.

I believe that the interests of all concerned parties will be best served by the adoption of clarifying legislation before the Supreme Court renders its decision on P&LE. And I continue to believe that a workable compromise can be reached among buyers, sellers and labor that will establish a fair process for allowing major rail carriers to sell light density lines. I offer the Rail Line Preservation and Employee Protection Act as a focal point for these negotiations.

SCOTT'S DREADFUL WORK OF ART HAS STRENGTHENED ONE VIEWER'S PATRIOTISM

HON. HENRY J. HYDE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, the American public was understandably outraged when the Chicago Art Institute and the School of the Art Institute displayed an exhibit entitled "What is the proper way to display a U.S. flag?" The exhibit consisted of an American flag placed on the ground in front of a ledger provided for viewers to write their comments. This exhibit encouraged individuals to trample on the flag in order to register their views. The so called artist was named Dred Scott Tyler.

While Americans believe in a broad application of freedom of speech, promoting desecration of the flag only serves to undermine widespread support for this doctrine. With freedom comes responsibility. The Chicago Art Institute has acted irresponsibly and with flagrant disrespect to our Nation and its most revered symbol.

Mr. Hiawatha Bray, a journalist with the Daily Journal in my congressional district has written a most interesting column on this important subject which appeared March 12 and deserves a national audience.

I commend this thoughtful article to my colleagues.

[From the Daily Journal, Mar. 12, 1989]

SCOTT'S DREADFUL WORK OF ART HAS STRENGTHENED ONE VIEWER'S PATRIOTISM

DEAR MR. TYLER: You asked me the other day about the proper way to display an American flag; forgive me for not answering your question then. I had only ten minutes to think about it, a time limit strictly enforced by the guards who hovered about your exhibit at the Art Institute.

Besides, the two notebooks set aside for answers last Friday were nearly full. There was just space enough for a single phrase, the first thing that came to mind as I viewed your work. You will find it about midway through one of the books, written in my distinctive clumsy scrawl.

I had to stretch a bit to reach the notebook, so as to avoid stepping on an American flag that covered the floor directly beneath it. It is this placement of the flag, your own judgment about how it should be displayed, that the created a national controversy.

Veterans' groups, politicians and ordinary citizens have been stirred to outrage by your unpatriotic presentation, part of a display of work by yourself and other students at the School of the Art Institute. You're an unpopular man, Mr. Tyler. A number of visitors have tried to dismantle your work, and many of them would have been happy to give you the same treatment.

I'll Bet You're enjoying all this. I certainly would be, in your place. You're hot with youth, full of fervent ideas and new hormones. My adolescent political passions were rather different than yours—I was, in those days, a radical libertarian—but they seemed to me then a body of absolute, indisputable truths, doubted only by phonies and fools.

Now you've come to your time of commitment, and you're determined to make the most of it. I understand you call yourself Dredd Scott these days, in honor of a famous American slave. You've joined a tiny left-wing outfit called the Revolutionary Communist Party, which looks to Mao Zedong as the greatest interpreter of Marxist thought. And, of course, you've created a display designed to show your contempt for your native land.

As a member of the Art Institute, I wanted to decide whether I should withhold the pittance I've contributed to your education. So I beheld your handiwork, Mr. Tyler, and I pronounce it good. Very good, though not in the way you intended.

When I arrived, two veterans had just raised the flag from the floor. Solemnly, without a word, they folded it in proper ceremonial fashion, placed it on the stand on top of your notebooks, and left.

Immediately, a couple of young visitors picked up the flag, unfurled it, and placed it back on the floor with the same respect the veterans had shown. They just wanted to see your exhibit as you had intended it to be seen.

They and I and several others looked for a time, reaching over the flag to read the notebooks. They were filled with insults, rude sketches, the occasional dispassionate comment.

"Here's my favorite," a young man said, and pointed at the book. Someone had written, "America can handle it."

The same young man looked down at the flag and said, "When I saw this, it made me sad and angry, but I never knew this could make me feel this sadness and anger until I saw it. The people who want to close down this exhibit are trying to deny me the right to feel those feelings."

I Don't Know If you understand this, Mr. Tyler: you can't even spell Dred Scott's name correctly. But what this young man said was deeply patriotic, very American. Indeed, I saw more love of country in my ten minutes in that gallery than I saw in all the political campaigning of the last year.

It wasn't the cloth they were in love with. It was the principles it stands for. Those principles are more important than the American flag. Frankly, they're more important than America herself. And they're certainly more important than the pleasure of silencing you.

Of course, you'd have no grounds for complaint if your exhibit were dismantled. You're a communist, after all, an advocate of a system not known for sensitivity to human rights. Had you pulled a stunt like this in a Beijing art school during the Cultural Revolution, you'd have graduated in a box. Fortunately a lot of wounded and insulted veterans have stood between you and your ideological soulmates, though just now they're probably wondering why they bothered.

You're a jerk, Mr. Tyler, but a young one, and so I can hope that one day you'll grow to be ashamed of this exhibit of yours. Yet it is one of the best art exhibits I've ever seen, intensely inspiring.

How should the flag be displayed? Respectfully, of course. For the sake of the angry veterans, and the curious but loyal spectators, and even for the sake of those who don't merit its protection but get it anyway.

That's what I learned from your exhibit, Mr. Dredd Scott Tyler. But I couldn't find room to write it all in your book. So I settled for a sentence from the Book of Gene-

sis that came to me as I watched the people stepping carefully around the flag on the floor. "You meant it for evil, but God meant it for good."

RECOGNIZING TUFTONIA'S DAY

HON. PETER A. DeFAZIO

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. DeFAZIO. Mr. Speaker, today, I rise with great pride to join the thousands of my fellow Tufts University alumni throughout the world who today turn their thoughts to alma mater as they celebrate the fifth annual Tuftonia's Day.

I feel fortunate to have had the opportunity to get a higher education; an opportunity increasingly remote for many Americans. When I was a student at Tufts, I never expected to be standing at a podium addressing the U.S. House of Representatives. The education and experiences I received while attending Tufts helped make it possible for me to stand here today and honor that institution.

Alumni of Tufts include some familiar names. Among them is our distinguished colleague from New Mexico, Mr. RICHARDSON, actor William Hurt, Grammy Award singer and songwriter Tracy Chapman, astronaut Rick Houck, speechwriter Richard Goodwin, and businessman David Burke.

I take this opportunity to recognize Tuftonia's Day and join with alumni, from Medford to Melbourne, from Hartford to Hong Kong, and from San Diego to Sao Paulo, in saluting the rich history, great accomplishments and continuing excellence of Tufts University. To Tufts' students, faculty, administration, and alumni, happy Tuftonia's Day.

ST. JOSEPH IS "SCHOOL OF THE YEAR"

HON. GEORGE (BUDDY) DARDEN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. DARDEN. Mr. Speaker, the teachers, students, and parents of St. Joseph Catholic School in Marietta, GA, recently were honored by Today's Catholic Teacher magazine, which named St. Joseph the Nation's top Catholic school of the year. I would like to take a moment to pay tribute to this outstanding institution, which was recognized for its academic excellence and the strong faith of the community which supports it.

St. Joseph serves 425 students from kindergarten through eighth grade, as it has since its opening in 1953. Over the years, it has gained widespread recognition for the quality of its educational environment and the way in which its nurtures the moral and character development of the boys and girls there.

Mr. Speaker, I invite my colleagues to join me in congratulating the community of St. Joseph Catholic School, and in encouraging the teachers, students, and parents to continue striving for excellence. I also would like to have included in the RECORD a feature about the school which appeared recently in the Marietta Daily Journal.

St. JOSEPH IS "SCHOOL OF THE YEAR"

(By Peggie R. Elgin)

St. Joseph Catholic School in Marietta was named school of the year among Catholic schools across the nation by "Today's Catholic Teacher," March 31 in ceremonies held in Chicago.

Singled out for recognition at the National Catholic Educators Association conference because of its academic excellence and strong faith community, the Marietta school was nominated by the Archdiocese of Atlanta.

"In addition to strong academics, we stress Catholic and Christian values," said Maureen Kane, principal. "We focus on the total development of the child, making them lifelong students and life-long Christians."

As a representative of the archdiocese in the magazine's recognition program, St. Joseph was named school of the month in February, and in March was selected school of the year.

Other finalists for the award were schools of the month, each nominated by different archdioceses throughout the United States.

St. Joseph serves 425 students from Marietta, Cobb and several surrounding counties including Cherokee, north Fulton and Douglas, in kindergarten through eighth grade.

Though the school was recognized as the outstanding school of the year in the United States based on philosophy, faith community, promotion of Christian values, home and school relations, academic achievement and evidence of systematic school evaluation, Ms. Kane believes St. Joseph has a personality that sets the school apart.

"It is the first thing people notice when they visit the school," she said. "They feel a kindness, a graciousness and a warmth. 'There is a true feeling of community in this school. That is very important.'"

St. Joseph's offers full-day kindergarten, before- and after-school day care.

"We have a full-time physical education teacher and a media specialist," said Ms. Kane. "We offer instrument music as well as classroom music."

A strong support staff, supplemented by parent volunteers who serve in the classroom and media center, help students with computer programs, assist teachers and serve in the clinic.

The school also provides a special class for children affected by divorce.

St. Joseph students have won many academic awards, including map and essay competition.

Class size averages 24 to 25 students who are taught completely by lay (non-secular) staff. Opened in 1953, the school charges tuition ranging from \$1,135 to \$2,300 (for non Catholics).

In 1987, the Home and School Association at St. Joseph School was awarded a plaque as an Outstanding Parent Organization at the NCEA Convention.

MINNEAPOLIS VA MEDICAL CENTER

HON. TIMOTHY J. PENNY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. PENNY. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to bring to the attention of the House an article which appeared in the spring 1989, Premier magazine. "Many Healthy Returns" features the new state-of-the-art Department of Veterans' Affairs Medical Center in Minneapolis, MN, which was fully activated last summer. This is a remarkable facility. It has been so even prior to the time it first received patients, since the project was completed before its scheduled date and came in under budget.

The entire staff of the medical center, from Director Thomas Mullen on down, is on par with the outstanding quality of the physical plant, and we are extremely proud of these devoted individuals. These staff members and the veterans they serve truly understand the meaning of the sculpture which stands at the entrance to the medical center. That sculpture bears the inscription: "The price of freedom is visible here."

[From the Minneapolis (MN) Premier, Spring 1989]

MANY HEALTHY RETURNS—THE NEW STATE-OF-THE-ART VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION MEDICAL CENTER IS A SALUTE TO THOSE WHO SERVED

(By Jane Martin)

In the northwest atrium of the new Veterans Administration Medical Center in Minneapolis a 30- by 50-foot American flag hangs as a majestic reminder of the hospital's *raison d'être*: providing quality health care to those who bravely served our country.

Beyond the flag, there's little to remind patients and visitors of a stereotypical vet's hospital. It's far from the dim, depressing institutions seen in old war movies. This is a place where even the snobbish Private Benjamin would be content to recuperate.

Gone are stark hallways, harsh lighting and cramped waiting rooms. In their places are expansive glass atria, an abundance of green plants, and walls in soft shades of rose, yellow and blue with textured wallpapers and cheery curtains. Spacious, open-air lounges with comfortable modern furniture provide a relaxing refuge for visiting family and friends.

The Replacement Center, as the new medical center is called by staff, is one of 172 Veterans Administration (V.A.) hospitals across the nation. With support from three other area V.A. hospitals, it serves veterans in Minnesota, North and South Dakota, and parts of Iowa and Wisconsin. The facility integrates patient care, education and research to provide state-of-the-art medical care.

"It was fun to watch the expressions on patients' faces as they entered the new hospital on moving day," says Rob McDivitt, staff assistant to the director of Replacement Medical Center Project. "Many of them were moving from 16-bed wards to new private or double rooms with beautiful views."

The V.A. Medical Center, which has 725 acute care beds and 120 extended care beds, began full operations on June 22, 1988. The patient move from the old hospital was com-

pleted in just 90 minutes. Connie Olson, R.N., staff assistant to the chief nurse and nursing coordinator for the in-patient move, describes the massive logistics plan that made the move successful: "Two weeks before the patient move, we went into a plan that had been developed over the course of two years. We systematically reduced our census so that we would be moving only the patients who were too ill to go home. A tunnel had been constructed between the two hospital buildings with three emergency stations along the way. Each critical patient was accompanied by a physician, two nurses and other hospital volunteers, and all patients traveled with their medical charts in case of emergency.

"The flow of traffic went in one direction—toward the new hospital," Olson adds. "All patients, including intensive care patients who traveled in their new beds, were greeted in their rooms, which had been prepared for them in advance. The entire move of 218 patients took place without incident. The hospital community really pulled together to make it organized and fun."

"The most challenging part of the move," says McDivitt, "was the preparation and tremendous logistical coordination to make sure everyone was in place when they were supposed to be. We monitored every patient from the time we started the move."

The logistical plan for the move was the final phase of a building project that began in the late '70s. At that time, the Veterans Administration sent a team of architects and planners to evaluate the existing hospital. "The buildings, which were constructed between 1926 and 1954, were simply not in a condition to provide modern health care," says Greg Shane, supervisory engineer at the hospital's Energy Center. "The Replacement Center project was initiated in the middle of the energy crisis, so the architects worked to integrate energy efficient lighting, heating and air-conditioning systems into the design."

The efficient use of lighting was both an aesthetic and economic consideration. Natural light, from windows or one of the three glass-enclosed atria, illuminates every patient room by day. Where natural light is insufficient or unavailable, energy-efficient fluorescent lamps take over.

NSP approached the Veterans Administration during the planning stages of the medical center to offer assistance in developing energy-efficient lighting systems. The V.A. Medical Center received NSP lighting rebates for its use of energy-efficient fluorescent lamps and ballasts. Under this plan, NSP offers a per-lamp rebate to customers who convert from standard to energy-efficient fluorescent lamps. With 43,992 lamps throughout the medical center, the V.A. received the maximum rebate of \$5,000.

Inside each fluorescent light fixture is a small box, or ballast, that starts and controls electric current to the fluorescent lamp. "Combined with an energy-saving lamp, an energy-efficient ballast will save as much as 28 percent of total lighting costs," says Shane. For its 26,533 energy-efficient ballasts, the V.A. received an additional \$10,000 rebate from NSP.

"We'll spend this first year settling in and establishing standards," says Shane.

"Once we know where we stand, we can develop long-term energy use goals and evaluate further conservation methods."

Equally state-of-the-art are the patient care and surgical advancements under way at the medical center. "The vast majority of our patients are elderly males—World War

II vets who make up the largest population of U.S. veterans," says McDivitt. "We have specialized programs for the elderly, including the Geriatric Research Education and Clinical Center (GRECC) which is at the forefront of research and devoted care for the elderly patient."

The hospital also is developing a pioneering program, primarily focusing on diseases of the brain such as Alzheimer's and epilepsy. The Brain Sciences Foundation, a joint effort of the V.A., the University of Minnesota Medical School and the American Legion will establish a \$2 million professorship in the brain sciences utilizing the V.A.'s \$20 million in state-of-the-art radiologic and nuclear medical equipment.

"We're already seeing payoffs from the exhaustive planning that went into this project," says McDivitt. "With continued commitment to clinical excellence and an eye on resource conservation, the V.A. Medical Center is poised for a healthy future."

ON BASE CLOSINGS

HON. BEN NIGHORSE CAMPBELL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. CAMPBELL of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the resolution of disapproval of the base-closing recommendations that is to be voted upon today by the House.

One of the bases on the list for closure, the Pueblo Depot Activity, is located in my district. While I agree that we need to close our obsolete military bases, which is supposed to save billions of dollars, I owe it to my constituents to carefully examine the rosy figures on costs savings assumed by the Commission, figures that amount to peanuts in the military budget and do not justify the profound human and economic impact implementation will have.

When just last year the Army informed me in person that the Pueblo facility was a critical base for the military, and then the Commission rates it as useless, I have to question the reasoning of the Commission.

When the Commission acknowledges that it exceeds its authority in recommending closure for Pueblo, but includes those recommendations in its report anyway, I have to stand up and say what is being done is wrong.

When the cost of realigning and closing Pueblo is underestimated by at least eight times the stated costs, with savings therefore nonexistent, I have to question the recommendations.

However correct we are in trying to close down unneeded military bases, something has gone very wrong in our efforts to do so.

ALFRED PITMAN, JR.

HON. JOHN LEWIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this time to bring to the attention of my colleagues the accomplishments and contributions of an outstanding man, Mr.

Alfred Pitman, Jr. of East Point, GA. Mr. Pitman was a true community leader. He served as the vice president of Georgia Federal Bank, a lay leader at Mount Zion United Methodist Church in Atlanta, a men's bible school teacher, and vice-president-elect of the Fulton County Heart Association.

The following obituary outlines the many activities and accomplishments of Mr. Pitman:

[From the Atlanta Constitution, Apr. 15, 1989]

MR. ALFRED PITMAN JR., 61, WAS VICE PRESIDENT OF GEORGIA FEDERAL BANK

Mr. Alfred Pitman Jr. of East Point, vice president of the Georgia Federal Bank, died early Friday of heart disease at Georgia Baptist Medical Center. He was 61.

The funeral will be at 2:30 p.m. Sunday at Mount Zion United Methodist Church in Atlanta with burial at the church cemetery.

Mr. Pitman had worked at the Georgia Federal Bank since 1972. He was formerly vice president of McCrackin Industries in Forest Park. He was a lay leader in Mount Zion United Methodist Church, a men's Bible class teacher, and vice president-elect of the Fulton County Heart Association.

Alfred Teed Pitman was born May 18, 1927, in Saugus, Mass., the son of Alfred T. Pitman Sr. and Myrtle Dunn Pitman. He graduated from Georgia Military Academy and attended Georgia State University.

During World War II, he served with the U.S. Navy in the South Pacific.

He was a past state president of the Gideons International. Mr. Pitman was chairman of the South Fulton chapter of the American Cancer Society and chairman of an East Point committee studying a city manager form of government. He was a member of the board of Metro Atlanta Better Business Bureau and the board of Independent Colleges of Georgia.

Surviving are his wife, Eleanor Morris Pitman; three sons, J.W. "Rusty" Pitman of Lawrenceville, W.J. "Wes" Pitman of East Point, and Andrew W. Pitman of Fayetteville; a daughter, Kaaren Barlett of Marietta; a brother, Robert A. Pitman of Asheville, N.C.; three sisters, Bettye Renew of Saugus, Mass., Doris Lynch of Boston, Mass., and Nancy Gorman of Westchester, Conn.; and seven grandchildren.

OVERSEAS BASE CLOSURE AND REALIGNMENT ACT OF 1989

HON. PATRICIA SCHROEDER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Mr. Speaker, next week the gentleman from Massachusetts, [Mr. DONNELLY], and I are introducing the Overseas Base Closure and Realignment Act of 1989. I urge my colleagues to cosponsor this important piece of legislation.

Last year I tried to include overseas bases in the domestic base closure bill. Unfortunately, instead of action on overseas bases, we had to settle for another classified Department of Defense [DOD] report saying that our present overseas basing network is "required to support U.S. forces abroad."

What DOD forgot to mention was a prior DOD report looking into the costs of our overseas assets. The figures are amazing. Our total basing costs overseas have risen nearly

500 percent since 1974. Accounting for most of the increase is the out and out greed of our supposed friends. Our allies have insisted on higher and higher payments for the permission to operate bases on their soil. In essence we are being forced to pay more for the privilege of defending our allies—\$2 billion a year, up from \$200 million in 1974.

Not including overseas military bases in the domestic base closure bill was a glaring omission. Our bases overseas account for close to 30 percent of all of our military facilities. Yet, DOD continues to give our overseas bases the same sacred cow status that has protected too many wasteful military programs.

In this era of tighter defense dollars, we cannot afford waste either here or abroad. I urge my colleagues to cosponsor the Donnelly-Schroeder Overseas Base Closure and Realignment Act of 1989.

[From the Rocky Mountain News, Apr. 15, 1989]

OVERSEAS MILITARY BASES SHOULD BE TARGETED FOR CUTS

"Why are we preserving waste abroad while closing military bases at home?"

Rep. Pat Schroeder asked that question during early debate over the base-closing bill that eventually became law last year.

Her concern, which made her a critic of the legislation initially, is still relevant today: Our military facilities abroad should get the same scrutiny for cost-effectiveness that Congress decreed for those in the United States.

After years of doing nothing about unnecessary military bases that waste tax dollars, lawmakers finally took a first step by creating a bipartisan panel to determine which domestic bases are still needed. The panel's report, issued in January, cited 86 bases as redundant. The list is being considered by Congress as an entire package (the House may vote next week) in order to avoid an orgy of logrolling in which some unneeded bases live and others die, and to relieve lawmakers from having to cast sensitive votes on individual facilities.

The plan is hardly a brilliant example of legislative courage, but it is serving the public interest all the same.

However, as Schroeder points out, it is glaringly defective in calling for reviews only of domestic installations. The U.S. maintains 374 military bases overseas—40% of the total number of facilities at home and abroad. Over the past 15 years, the cost of maintaining them has risen nearly five-fold, from roughly \$1 billion per year to more than \$4.5 billion. The costs for permission from our allies to operate these bases have rocketed as well, from \$200 million annually in 1974 to around \$2 billion at present.

Yet despite these vast outlays, there hasn't been sufficient study of the efficiency of American bases abroad. That's why Schroeder will soon introduce legislation that would set in motion a second round of base reviews focusing on foreign facilities. She's in a good position to push her proposal, because she was recently named head of the House military installations and facilities subcommittee.

Her plan makes sense whether or not you think America has too many troops stationed abroad. It doesn't address the number of U.S. soldiers overseas, merely how efficiently they are deployed. When the sums involved are so great, that question de-

serves more attention than its received so far.

THE COST OF REDTAPE IN THE AMERICAN HEALTH CARE SYSTEM

HON. FORTNEY PETE STARK

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, it is estimated that half the difference in cost between the Canadian and United States health care system is due to paperwork.

We are wasting tens of billions of dollars in this Nation because of the inefficiencies in our health system. We could provide a good level of health insurance to all Americans currently uninsured if only we had a more efficient delivery system.

The following portion of an article from the March 2, 1989, New England Journal of Medicine explains how Canada avoids this paperwork waste.

THE PROCESS OF COST CONTROL IN CANADA

How such control has been achieved, and with what effects, continues to form a major part of the agenda for research in health services in Canada. As Iglehart pointed out, virtually the entire difference between Canada and the United States in the share of GNP that is spent on health is accounted for by three components: insurance overhead, or costs of prepayment and administration; payments to hospitals; and payments of physicians' services. In 1985, these three items took up 0.59, 4.18, and 2.07 percent, respectively, of the U.S. GNP, and 0.11, 3.48, and 1.35 percent of the Canadian GNP.

Relative to the expenditures that might have been generated by a system comparable to Canada's, in 1985 Americans spent about \$20 billion more for insurance and prepayment costs, and just under \$30 billion more for each of physicians' services and hospital costs.

ADMINISTRATION AND PREPAYMENT EXPENSES

In relative terms, the most extraordinary difference between Canadian and American spending is in the area of administration and prepayment expenses. In 1985 the overhead component of health insurance—the share of premiums that goes not to the reimbursement of physicians, hospitals, and other providers, but to paying for the handling of the flow of paper and dollars—cost Americans \$95 each, out of their overall \$1,710. Canadians spent \$21—and those were Canadian dollars. Indeed, Canadians spent less per capita to administer universal comprehensive coverage than Americans spent to administer Medicare and Medicaid alone (about \$26 U.S. per capita).

TABLE 2.—AVERAGE ANNUAL PERCENTAGE INCREASES IN TOTAL EXPENDITURES FOR HEALTH CARE, 1971 to 1985¹

(In percent)			
Measures of health expenditures	Canada	United States	Difference ²
Current dollars.....	13.1	12.3	0.7
Constant dollars ³	4.3	5.8	-1.4
Constant dollars per capita ³	3.1	4.8	-1.6

¹ Data for the United States are from the Health Care Financing Administration, Gibson et al., and the Department of Commerce; data for Canada are from Health and Welfare Canada and the Department of Finance.

² Differences in annual growth rates must be calculated geometrically, not by subtraction [$d = (1 + r_1)(1 + r_2) - 1$]. Rates have been rounded after calculation.

³ These constant-dollar measures are not real output measures for the health sector; they have not been adjusted by price indexes specific to the health sector. Rather, they are adjusted for changes in the general level of prices, economy-wide, as reflected in price indexes based on gross national expenditures, and they therefore reflect the increase in generalized purchasing power that is absorbed by the health care sector, in the form of either increased resource inputs or health sector-specific inflation.

A universal, tax-financed system can simply be much less costly to administer, at all levels, and the Canadian system is. On the revenue side, once a tax system is in place, as it is in all modern societies—with income tax, sales tax, and everything else—the additional cost of raising more funds is minimal. (Some Canadian provinces continue to collect premiums, which are taxes in all but name. They are related to family size, but not to risk status; they cover only a portion of the total plan outlays; they are compulsory for most of the population; and most important, coverage is not conditional on payment.)

On the expense side, all the costs of determining coverage and eligibility are avoided—everyone is eligible, and for the same benefits. Patients drop out of the payment system entirely, and reimbursement takes place between the public insurer and the provider. There are no marketing expenses, no costs of estimating risk status in order to set differential premiums or decide whom to cover, and no allocations for shareholder profits; the process of claims payment, although not free of costs, is greatly simplified and much cheaper. In this area it is obvious that the public sector is more efficient and less costly than the private sector, a fact that was recognized early on in Canada. The 1964 Royal Commission on Health Services, which drew up the blueprint for Canada's universal system, described the private administration of insurance as "an uneconomic use of . . . limited resources." This "uneconomic use" accounts for nearly one quarter of the difference in cost for health insurance between Canada and the United States.

Nor is that the end of the story. Himmelstein and Woolhandler calculate that in the United States, the provider-borne overheads for hospitals, nursing homes, and doctors' offices (the accounting costs of complying with the requirements for documentation by a multiplicity of insurers, as well as coping with the determination of eligibility, direct billing of patients, and collections) amounted to \$62.1 billion in 1983. They estimate that shifting to a national health insurance system could save \$21.4 billion in the administrative costs of hospitals and physicians' offices. This would be 6 percent of total health care costs, or 0.63 percent of the GNP in 1983—leading to the startling conclusion that the costs of running the American payment system itself, independent of the costs of patient care, may account for more than half the difference in cost between the Canadian and the U.S. systems.

For the Canadian physician, differences in the costs of insurance administration show up as a lower overhead for practice. The problems of determining insurance status and managing the collections process disappear, along with the problem of uncollectable accounts. The costs of compliance with the requirements of the health care reimbursement system also show up outside the area of health expenditures as it is normally defined, particularly in the budgets of the social welfare services, and to no inconsiderable degree in the monetary and nonmonetary

costs borne by individual patients and their families. Furthermore, the considerable research, legal, and regulatory efforts required to put the complex and varied reporting and compliance requirements in place are not without cost, but will be counted as outside the health care system.

There is private insurance for some forms of health care in Canada. But for hospital and medical care, such coverage is prohibited for services that are included in the public plans. The original intent was quite explicit—to prevent private firms from skimming off the good risks, supporting the development of multiclass service, or both. But the restriction also has the very important effect of making provincial governments to all intents and purposes the sole funders of the hospital and medical care, and of creating a bilateral bargaining situation as the foundation for cost control in these sectors.

THE EFFECTS ON HOSPITALS

In Canada, controlling hospital costs is a two-part process. Operating budgets are approved, and funded almost entirely, by the Ministry of Health in each province, but they include no allowance for capital expenditures. New facilities, equipment, major renovations, and the like are funded from a variety of sources, but they require the approval of the same provincial agency, which generally also contributes the major share of financing. This process of centralized approval prohibits hospitals from accessing private capital markets, and has historically limited their efforts to support expansions of capacity from community sources. So far, it has been relatively successful in limiting such expansion, but somewhat less successful in managing the diffusion of major equipment.

Centralized control over operating costs is more complete. Annual global budgets are negotiated between ministries and individual hospitals. Although political pressures have often forced governments to pick up the deficits of hospitals that are unable or unwilling to stay within these budgets, this process has resulted in a significantly less rapid rise in hospital expenditures in Canada than in the United States.

The more rapid rate of escalation of hospital costs in the United States since 1971 has been shown to result from major differences in the growth in hospital costs per patient day at constant hospital input prices, or intensity of servicing. This measure increases in response to increases in the number of nursing hours or drugs, or in the use of operating rooms, magnetic resonance imaging, and other such complex technology, per day of inpatient care. In the case of particular technologies that are embodied in specifically countable items like machines, capacities available per capita have tended to increase less rapidly in Canada. On the other hand, changes in the intensity of servicing in hospitals also include relative increases in internal administrative costs. Therefore, some portion of the apparent relative increase in servicing intensity simply reflects the increasing administrative intensity of the American hospital system.

But the different trends in servicing intensity also reflect quite different patterns in the use of beds in acute care hospitals. In Canada, a growing share of such beds has been occupied by patients over 65 years of age, whose stays exceed 60 days and whose daily care requirements are well below average. These patients prevent physicians from using the beds in question to treat short-term patients.

Thus, Canada can have higher rates of hospitalization and greater average lengths of stay than the United States, yet also have lower per capita hospital expenditures. Even if such expenditures, in terms of the cost of hospital care, are less different than is usually believed (because so much of the U.S. expenditure is for administrative activity), it does appear that the resulting mix of hospital activities favors intensive, high-technology services in the United States and long-term, chronic care in Canada. Nor should this come as a surprise, given the history of cost and procedural reimbursement in the United States, and of global budget-constrained funding in Canada. Which is preferable, in terms of value for money or benefits to patients, is harder to say. Possibly, each system generates its own forms of overuse and underuse.

One product that is clearly generated by the Canadian system, structured as it is to place the sole responsibility for control of hospital resources on the provincial governments, is intense, continuing public debate. The rhetoric of underfunding, shortages, excessive waiting lists, and so on is an important part of the process by which providers negotiate their share of public resources—including their own incomes. Furthermore, there are reasons for the noticeable recent increase in such rhetoric. Increases in the supply of physicians per capita, in the face of a relatively constant supply of beds, have resulted in steady reductions in the number of short-term hospital beds available to each physician since 1971. As bed availability and operating budgets have undergone increasing scrutiny, hospital administrators responded first (in the mid-1970s) by rationalizing administrative operations, and more recently by joining physicians in stepped-up rhetoric and pressure about underfunding.

The difficulty for health policy and funding is that, since the boy always cries wolf (and must do so, given the political system of funding), one does not know if the wolf is really there. The political dramatics should not mislead external observers into believing that the wolf is always at hand. What varies most between the two nations in the method of establishing total hospital expenditures is the centralized, overtly political process in Canada, in contrast to the largely decentralized, institution-centered, and only implicitly political process in the United States. The Canadian controls on hospital expenditures impinge on individual physicians by limiting the complementary resources that are available to them. In this way, the environment of medical practice is changed, and practice patterns change in response. But individual physicians are not subject to any substantial direct intervention by hospital management or third parties. In this sense, Canadian physicians are actually much more autonomous than their American counterparts.

CONGRESSIONAL MANAGEMENT FOUNDATION

HON. TONY COELHO

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. COELHO. Mr. Speaker, I would like to draw attention to the outstanding work performed by the Congressional Management

Foundation [CMF] in helping our newly elected Members of Congress set up their offices in the most efficient and effective manner.

For 13 years, this capable nonprofit organization has provided management information and assistance to Congress for both new and veteran offices. But their work for the 101st freshman class deserves special mention.

The handbook which they publish for members-elect in conjunction with the American University, "Setting Course: A Congressional Management Guide," has been rated by the freshmen offices as the single most useful resource they receive during the orientation process. The third edition, published for the 101st Congress, was by far the most comprehensive version, addressing the needs of both House and Senate freshmen.

This year CMF mounted the most extensive management seminar series for freshmen offices in its history. Either the Member or senior staff from nearly 70 percent of the freshmen House offices attended one or more seminars. The crowning touch was a full-day, first-class conference in Leesburg just a few weeks ago on April 8.

The CMF deserves our thanks for helping us improve the quality of this institution. I hope more Members—freshmen and seasoned Members alike—will take advantage of the many services CMF has to offer.

THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PRESS GALLERY

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, today we are commemorating the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the House gallery for radio and television correspondents. The resolution, as passed on April 18, 1939, read:

Resolved * * * such portion of the Gallery of the House of Representatives as may be necessary to accommodate reporters of news to be disseminated by radio, wireless, and similar means of transmission * * * shall be set aside for their use * * * reputable reporters thus engaged shall be admitted thereto * * *

Creation of the gallery marked an important milestone in the history of the House of Representatives and continued the tradition of providing access to the democratic process at work.

I would like to commend the men and women who for the past 50 years have made it their profession to chronicle the actions of Government. Although we often have mixed emotions on the coverage of our actions, we all agree that only through an open and public debate can the electorate be well served.

We will continue to look to the press galleries and their employees to make the machinery of Government understandable to those who cover this institution and thus to millions of viewers and listeners nationwide.

BAY PINES VAMC—PROVIDING THE FINEST IN CARE FOR OUR NATIONS' VETERANS

HON. C.W. BILL YOUNG

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, one of my proudest and most fulfilling achievements as a Member of Congress has been seeing through to completion the construction of the \$110 million Veterans' Administration Medical Center at Bay Pines, FL.

Years of my life literally were dedicated to seeing this project turn from a dream to reality and today this hospital stands as a living, working memorial to our Nation's veterans. It also reminds us of our commitment to provide the finest in medical care and services to these brave Americans who came to the service of our Nation in its time of need.

The March 1989 edition of VA Practitioner, a private magazine published for the health care professionals who serve the Veterans' Administration, features Bay Pines and the leading role it plays in our Nation's medical research and development. In her article, Nina Tobler, the magazine's editor in chief, chronicles the great strides Richard McElligott, the medical center's director, has made in assembling a top-notch staff of medical professionals and volunteers.

The article also documents the role the recently approved affiliation agreement between Bay Pines and the University of South Florida College of Medicine has played in attracting key personnel to the medical center. Bringing together the finest in medical personnel and students to teach and learn at one of our Nation's most technologically advanced hospitals has provided Florida's veterans with the highest quality in medical care and is the primary reason I worked for years to persuade the Veterans' Administration to approve this affiliation agreement.

Built in 1931, Bay Pines has served the health care needs of veterans for more than 50 years, and with the completion of the new 520-bed hospital, Bay Pines has become a national leader in a number of specialized areas of medical care and research. Some of these programs include nuclear medicine, neurology, audiology, and speech pathology, and a special emphasis on the needs of female veterans.

As Bay Pines' chief of staff, Dr. O. Michael Lilien, points out in the article, Bay Pines is a paradox of sorts. On the one hand, it is one of the oldest hospitals in the VA health care system, and still utilizes many of the original Spanish colonial style buildings that have been declared national historic sites. Bay Pines is also one of the youngest institutions providing state-of-the-art care inside these historic buildings and at the new hospital.

Mr. Speaker, Bay Pines has a long and proud record of serving our Nation's veterans and the following profile makes it clear why I am so proud of my role in making this facility a centerpiece of the VA health care system.

[From VA Practitioner, March 1989]

BAY PINES VAMC, BAY PINES, FL

(By Nina Tobler)

(For a study in contrast, go no further than the Bay Pines VAMC, a vibrant new hospital in a setting of historical charm.)

Located just west of St. Petersburg in Pinellas County, Bay Pines is at the center of the population and economic boom in Florida, the nation's fourth largest state. The area's out-dated reputation as a retirement resort is now more a product of imagination than reality. Yes, Florida is greying, as are its veterans, but St. Petersburg has more residents under the age of 24 than over the age of 65. During the 1970s, Pinellas County's population increased by 40 percent, almost four times the national average. Surrounded by, and in response to this explosive growth, the VAMC underwent a complete metamorphosis.

Opened in 1933, the Bay Pines facility had served Florida's veterans for almost half a century before the dramatic changes began. In 1976, then President Gerald Ford, recognizing the health care needs of the area's growing veteran population, approved a \$110 million major replacement project. That project took 10 years to complete and provided the following: a new hospital for 520 acute medical and surgical beds, a 120-bed psychiatric building, a 120-bed nursing home addition, a 200-bed domiciliary, and ambulatory care facilities to accommodate 200,000 outpatient visits.

With a total of 1,118 beds, Bay Pines now spreads across 24 buildings on its 337-acre site. In terms of number of patients served, staffing, budget dollars, and complexity, the VAMC ranks well among the highest in the system. As the level of technology increases, Bay Pines will continue to build upon its half-century tradition of dedicated service.

Other people in his position might be tempted to rest on their laurels for a bit but Richard F. McElligott scoffs at the very idea. "Who can afford the time to do that?" asks McElligott, director of the VA Medical Center at Bay Pines since 1981. "As pleased as I am with the total metamorphosis that has taken place here, we have to keep looking ahead. Our focus has to be on meeting future needs and challenges, rather than gloating over past accomplishments."

But the past accomplishments of the last seven or eight years are legion. In fact, through the \$110 million construction project that McElligott helped plan and direct, all health care facilities at the Bay Pines VAMC were completely replaced.

Physically, the transformation has been a dramatic one. But there's no question that "that project affected far more than the buildings," asserts McElligott. "The whole environment has changed, including the treatment programs and the staff. The majority of key personnel retired. Some chose not to make the transition from the old hospital to the new; others waited for the initial experience and left shortly thereafter. Within a few years, there was an almost complete changing of the guard here."

To the new facilities and new staff, another catalyst was added that has given Bay Pines an entirely new dimension. That element is the affiliation with the University of South Florida College of Medicine.

"For several years preceding and following the affiliation," says McElligott, "the college assisted us in recruiting almost one hundred physicians, enabling us to attract a highly qualified staff. Of the current 126 physicians, 94 are board-certified and 22 are

board-eligible. Our staff comes from some of the most prestigious medical schools in the country and includes one former dean and six individuals who previously held department chairs."

With the affiliation fairly well established, McElligott looks forward to even greater things ahead. "The college has a new dean and a new vice president, both quite familiar with and supportive of the VA. We're now in the process of implementing some very important program developments that should take us through the next 10 or 15 years. Beyond the affiliation is an even broader area of collaboration that's critical for our future."

What McElligott is referring to is the planning group in which the key players, besides himself, are the dean of the medical school, the director of the James A. Haley Veterans' Hospital in Tampa, and the chiefs of staff of the VA facilities. "We're working together to outline a plan that we'll turn over to the department chairpeople, the service chiefs of these two hospitals, and other faculty to come up with the specifics that will take us well into the future."

It's no small task to get two huge medical centers to work together, as Chief of Staff O. Michael Lillen, MD, points out. "The best analogy is that of two oil tankers moving side by side at full speed, trying to glide on a noncollision course. We need to develop a noncompetitive mode, maximizing efficiency and avoiding duplication as much as possible, so that we can offer a wide spectrum of quality health care with our sister hospital. If there ever was meaning to the phrase, 'The whole is greater than the sum of its parts,' that's what we hope to achieve."

Lillen has been chief of staff at Bay Pines for just over four years. Prior to his current appointment, he was chief of staff at the Syracuse, New York VAMC and prior to that, professor and chairman of the department of urology at the Upstate Medical Center in Syracuse.

"I really came to Bay Pines on a lark," confesses Lillen. "But when I saw the place and its commitment to quality patient care, I was seduced, and when people ask me what I do for a living I tell them I'm chief of staff in paradise. Physically, this is the most exquisite site I have even seen. That factor certainly helps the recruitment process, giving us something to offer our staff in lieu of the more profitable incomes they could make in the private sector."

"In addition to the sheer beauty, I'm also intrigued by the paradox of the place. It's one of the oldest hospitals in the VA and also one of the youngest. You see that contrast everywhere here. We still have some of the original buildings from 1931, magnificent Spanish colonial-style structures that have been declared historic sites. But within these imposing stucco buildings are brand-new hospitals; the insides have been entirely gutted. And in the middle of this campus is a 520-bed, state-of-the-art hospital which is the most modern one I've seen."

"Bay Pines met patient care needs for 50 years, but with the 850 to 1,000 people moving into this area per day now, a modern acute care facility was mandatory. If I may be somewhat melodramatic, what we accomplished was a transition from the 19th to the 21st century. We've improved the quality of patient care immeasurably. That has been the entire thrust of the administration. Surgery is a perfect example; within the past few years, the volume and specialized skills in that service have pro-

gressed to such a degree that our complication rate is really minimal."

"Another example is our women's program. Although the VA is generally regarded as a male environment, our catchment area has more than 15,000 female veterans. Clearly, they're entitled to the same health benefits as their male counterparts, so we have committed ourselves to developing a first-class women's center here and we're fortunate enough to have Robert E. Nesbitt, Jr., MD, leading this effort. Until recently, Nesbitt was professor and chairman of the department of obstetrics and gynecology of the State University of New York Health Science Center in Syracuse."

Nesbitt is just one of several staff members who hail from Syracuse, and although Lillen denies that he is single-handedly responsible for draining the physician population of Syracuse, he does admit that he feels somewhat like the Pied Piper.

A GYN IN THE VAMC

For Nesbitt, the timing couldn't have been better. "I was really looking for a new program that could provide an opportunity to develop something innovative and unique. Our interest is in total delivery and supervision of care: health promotion as well as disease prevention. That includes such services as nutritional counseling, exercise guidance, stress management, mammography, Pap tests, and screening for cancer, osteoporosis, hypertension, cholesterol, and urologic disorders."

To facilitate the smooth operation of such a program, Nesbitt has set up an advisory committee that he chairs. "I wanted to make sure that this venture was not regarded strictly as a gynecological one. Consequently, our committee has a general internist with expertise in family medicine, a psychologist, a nutritionist, a specialist in rehabilitation medicine, a social worker, administrators, and nurse practitioners representing several fields—including ambulatory care and mental health. These individuals give the program an institutional commitment."

The campaign doesn't stop with that committee, however. "We have to educate all personnel within this center about our services," observes Nesbitt, "and encourage them to think beyond their own specific points of reference toward the broader picture of women's health care. If they see a woman veteran with a broken leg, for example, we'd like them not only to set the fracture, but also to alert the patient to our program."

So far, the program has been a great success. Although it only began in July 1988, by the end of the year the center had logged more than 3,000 visits. "That's an impressive figure," remarks Nesbitt, "but current data suggest that we can anticipate a huge increase; between a fourth to a third of women veterans are likely to relocate to the western and southern regions of the country."

Ultimately, Nesbitt would like to see the program serve as a prototype for other centers. "Women veterans will be looking to the VA increasingly and somewhere there should be a model program. I'd like to see this one based on a solid scientific underfooting, with computerized analysis of cost-effectiveness. That information would be invaluable—not only for us but for other centers as well."

For Robert G. Carroll, MD, the invaluable elements in his service are tomography and radiopharmaceuticals in investigational stages. Carroll, assistant chief of nuclear

medicine, claims that any department that doesn't have investigational new drugs, or INDs, is automatically three to five years out of touch with nuclear medicine.

"If you want to do the interesting stuff," insists Carroll, "you have to be in a place that has INDs and we do at Bay Pines. The really big developments in nuclear medicine are going to come from monoclonal antibodies and so we've put our major clinical emphasis in that area, focusing particularly on their use against colon cancer. If the cancer can be resected before lymph node spread occurs, a real possibility of cure exists."

THE RIGHT STUFF

"Using monoclonal antibodies, we've demonstrated an 85 percent sensitivity, 85 percent specificity for detecting lymph node metastases from colorectal cancer, but it's only the tip of the iceberg. This is first-generation intact antibodies. Very shortly, we'll have a second-generation antibody system, called a bifunctional antibody, in which one arm of the antibody grabs the cancer while the other waves in the breeze, so to speak. You wait a week until the nonspecific binding is gone, send in a isotope label to shake hands with the arm that's waving, and you have a very much sharper tumor-to-nontumor ratio. You can use that system for diagnosis and potentially for therapy."

Complementing the radiopharmaceuticals is tomographic imaging. The service has several SPECT cameras, both fixed and portable. "When we first looked at the direction diagnostic nuclear medicine was going in," recalls Carroll, "the fundamental emphasis appeared to be on receptor-specific binding. So receptor-specific tomography is our perception of nuclear medicine over the next 20 years, the principles we made our guesses on."

Annually, the service now performs approximately 25,000 radioimmunoassays and 6,600 imaging studies. "The largest increase has been in prostate-specific antigen," comments Carroll, "and obviously, in a male population over age 65, prostate cancer is quite common. Those studies now total more than 2,000."

The future of nuclear medicine, according to Carroll, will have a strong therapeutic orientation as monoclonal antibodies, tagged with good therapy radiolabels, become available. Until that time, the specialty is a diagnostic one.

"For example, if a patient comes in short of breath and with chest pain there's a 30 percent probability of pulmonary embolism, a 50 percent probability of congestive heart failure (CHF), and a 60 percent chance of significant coronary artery disease," observes Carroll. "With three nuclear medicine studies, I can move those probabilities to less than 5 percent or greater than 90 percent. A negative lung scan will shift the chance of pulmonary embolism to less than 5 percent; a MUGA study that shows an ejection fraction of 40 percent will move the probability of CHF to 95 percent; and a thallium study that reveals a large hole on the anterior wall during stress that fills in during redistribution indicates a 90-odd percent chance of having a big left anterior descending lesion. That man needs to have his coronary artery bypassed soon. So you've moved an individual with figures of 20 percent, 50 percent, 65 percent to zero and 90 percent, and those are odds you can work with."

Improving the odds have been top priority for F. Joseph Dagher, MD, chief of surgical

service. This is the first VA experience for Dagher, who came from the University of Maryland, and the transition was an involved one.

"I spent three to six months getting adjusted, learning about the system in general and the service in particular," says Dagher. "It quickly became obvious that the first and foremost issue that we needed to address was patient care. Our patients are older, sicker, and hence very vulnerable. If we wanted to improve our results we needed, first of all, better preoperative evaluation and preparation. The second area that needed serious attention was the immediate postoperative care, the recovery and intensive care stages. I wanted to concentrate there because those are the areas in which patients are most vulnerable."

That was our weakest link. We didn't have specialists in the field of critical care so I began to solicit candidates. We now have a full-time staff in the intensive care unit. That's certainly paid off and the results are self-explanatory. We've lowered our mortality rate—defined as death in the hospital within a 30-day period following an operation. After the first year, it was down to 0.9 percent; by the end of the second, it was 0.85 percent, and I'm very pleased with that figure, given the average age of our patient population and the concomitant disease with which they usually present. It's certainly a challenge."

His next challenge affirms Dagher, is to continue to strengthen the affiliation with the university of South Florida. "We've gone beyond the initial process now and have become fully integrated with the medical school. The task ahead is to maintain our staff at an academic level and that's no small feat, given VA financial constraints. But I'm optimistic."

Whereas Dagher took over a service in need of rehabilitation, Gilbert S. Ross, MD, came to a giant void. Bay Pines had no neurology service at all until Ross arrived.

"That's been the story of my career," jokes the chief of service. "I began the pattern at a city-county hospital in St. Paul, Minnesota, then at the State University of New York Health Science Center in Syracuse, and finally here. Of the three different levels of government, the bureaucracy definitely diminishes as you go up."

As awesome a project as it is, it's sometimes easier to build from scratch, as Ross points out. "Fortunately, the director felt that neurology was an important need here and so the resources were made available very early on. In fact, I initiated the recruiting process prior to ever coming here because I wanted to begin with a running start. Within four to six weeks we had most of our people in place; within a year we really had a good program going."

Having worked "on the other side of the street," the university, Ross knows how affiliated hospitals can be treated on occasion. "If there's a shortage, a sudden need, the residents are pulled in from the affiliates. Consequently, I didn't want to put us in a situation in which we were dependent upon the medical school. We hired a physician assistant who was well trained in general medicine and we quickly trained her in neurology. Now she functions essentially as a resident and when one of the university residents was withdrawn from the service for a week not too long ago, it didn't make a bit of difference to us because we were prepared."

The service's focus is on clinical neurophysiology and depends heavily upon three

diagnostic strategies: electroencephalography, evoked potentials, and the new computer-assisted EEG technique of "brain mapping," says Ross. "We hope to use the latter in conjunction with the other advanced technology we have here, such as SPECT and MRI, and see how all three perform in terms of the growing national problem of dementia, both as it appears in Alzheimer's and in other disease states."

Crediting the technology, excellent back-up from support services, and new attitudes within the service, Ross points to the great progress neurology has made in terms of moving out of its chronic care stereotype. "In the last three months," boasts Ross, "we've had the shortest length of stay of any service in the hospital. In fact, I think we've achieved more in the last three years here than I accomplished in other places in 10 years or more."

What Harvey B. Abrams, PhD, chief of audiology and speech pathology, contends has been achieved in his service is that it has become a microcosm of the entire center, embodying all the elements of patient care, training, research, and community support. "Additionally," says Abrams, "being very conscious of consumerism, we've attempted to make the service run as much like a private practice as possible."

"For example, we developed a walk-in program in which a patient who is seen in admitting in the morning can come here between 1:00 and 3:00 p.m. for at least a screening exam. In that way we can determine whether that individual needs to return at another date. That can save a visit but if not, at least we're able to make contact."

Group efforts have been particularly effective in his service, remarks Abrams. "All the veterans who have been fitted with hearing aids in the morning attend a mass orientation and counseling session. That not only makes for greater efficiency, it also enables these people to get together and to see that they're not alone. We encourage spouses to attend these sessions so that they can gain an appreciation of the problems of the hearing impaired."

FREEDOM OF SPEECH

Laryngectomies are fairly common surgical procedures at Bay Pines and in cooperation with ENT, the audiology and speech pathology service works with a number of patients who have undergone a tracheal-esophageal puncture, a procedure that provides an alternative type of artificial voice. Says Abrams, "In addition to training these individuals in the use of the device, we are also involved in some funded research to determine whether this type of prosthesis is superior to other types of alternative voicing, as judged by listeners."

The differential diagnosis of dizziness also comes under the aegis of Abrams' service, although if that is the primary complaint, the veteran is seen by neurology first. Observes Abrams, "We utilize a type of instrumentation called the electronystagmograph to measure eye movements. Those movements tell us a lot about the balance system or whether the dizziness is caused by something else. We're also working to develop some norms for this information, particularly in the geriatric population."

Tinnitus is another common complaint. Explains Abrams, "It's thought that about 40 million people in this country suffer from ringing in the ears to some extent, about 7 to 10 million in a severe form. When it interferes with the ability to concentrate, tinnitus becomes quite disabling. Our treat-

ment program relies primarily on stress reduction. We've found that although it may have a physiological basis, tinnitus is aggravated by tension and stress. So we train people to control tinnitus through relaxation techniques rather than allow the symptoms to control them."

Abrams and his colleagues are heavily involved in research—on tinnitus and other subjects—and in this effort they work closely with Levy Kopelovich, Ph.D., coordinator of the medical research and development service. The fast-paced momentum in research at Bay Pines is a relatively recent phenomenon, concedes Kopelovich.

"We began in all earnestness around 1985-86. Then, the total research expenditures were in the range of about \$500,000, with 15 funded principal investigators and seven unfunded ones. In contrast, in 1988-89, our funded research exceeded \$3 million, with more than 42 principal investigators. Other figures of which we are justifiably proud are seven MERIT grants and one RAG."

One of the best features of doing research at Bay Pines is the ample space. "Compared with other centers, we're extraordinarily lucky," admits Kopelovich. "It's also given us considerable leverage in terms of recruitment, both from within the system and from without."

Like his colleagues, Kopelovich acknowledges that the Bay Pines location is a valuable recruiting tool. "But we also plan to take advantage of the location as an important research source by setting up a marine biology center to look at various therapeutic modalities for cancer, diabetes, and just about anything else."

In the meantime, says Kopelovich, investigators at Bay Pines are quite active. "Our people are working on PTSD, hypertension, Parkinson's, Alzheimer's, and diabetes. One of the main thrusts, however, is cancer. The numbers here are staggering, particularly in prostate, lung, and colorectal cancer. We're in the process of establishing a very strong laboratory for cancer research, the outcome of which would be applied directly to patient care."

Such a lab would also please Lodovico Balducci, M.D., chief of the hematology/oncology section, who sees more than 800 new cases of cancer each year. Balducci is currently preparing a protocol that he hopes will extend beyond the walls of Bay Pines, dealing with the prognostic evaluation of older patients with cancer.

AN AGE-APPROPRIATE FOCUS

"I'm distressed by the fact that most of the articles on geriatric oncology have been written by oncologists and not by geriatricians," says Balducci. "That means that some essential elements of geriatric evaluation, such as activities of daily living and mental status, have been omitted and that should be corrected."

Other research efforts in Balducci's section center primarily on new ways to handle nausea and vomiting in patients undergoing chemotherapy, using combinations of drugs, as well as on some new uses of older antineoplastic agents. Although it's still too premature to make any conclusions, Balducci's team has seen some surprisingly positive results in the area of poorly differentiated tumors, mainly in the lung.

Perhaps even more valuable than medication in the treatment of patients with cancer is the nursing care they receive, and Balducci cannot say enough about the oncology nurses with whom he works. "Not only do they supply the most compassionate

care, but they also instruct the patients on how to be self-sufficient, how to cope with their disease, how to treasure as much as possible—not only the time of life but also the time of death."

Between nursing and other services, the hospital has given him an arsenal with which to establish a holistic oncology program, Balducci says. "What I'd like to do with that is to create a training program because I think we have a lot to offer. First, our cancer cases provide a fantastic range of pathology, a real gold mine for study. And second, our nursing program, the major asset to our section, should serve as a model for other centers. As a larger goal, I would like to develop—together with the Tampa VAMC—a comprehensive cancer center in which we could really focus on the interaction between aging and malignancy, learning how to individualize and optimize the treatment of the older person with cancer."

Summing up the Bay Pines story, director McElligott says: "I really wish we could highlight all our services and the significant contributions of our volunteer and community groups. Their participation is essential. Taken as a whole, these are the most productive, caring, and professional people I've ever had the privilege of working with."

TALL BUILDINGS: 2000 AND BEYOND

HON. DON RITTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. RITTER. Mr. Speaker, this is 1989, only 11 short years from the 21st century. Every tall building design that is on the drawing board today will spend more time serving its occupants after the turn of the century than before it.

In anticipation of the next century, the Council on Tall Buildings and Urban Habitat will hold the Fourth World Congress on Tall Buildings, November 5-9 in Hong Kong. According to Dr. Lynn Beedle, director of the Council on Tall Buildings and Urban Habitat at Lehigh University in my congressional district, the Hong Kong conference will include a special session on structural engineering as it pertains to the future of skyscrapers.

In that regard, I noted the February 1989 issue of National Geographic contained an excellent article on the design concepts concerning skyscrapers. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to point out that Dr. Beedle is prominently quoted in the article. I am also pleased that Dr. Beedle's project to prepare a worldwide comparison of structural stability specifications was recently approved by the U.S. Trade and Development Program.

Once again the Lehigh Valley contributes world-class work in science and technology. I include the article at this point.

SKYSCRAPERS ABOVE THE CROWD

From the time that the elevators doors close and the cage starts to lift, noiseless and with a rush, like a kite on the wind, it takes exactly 70 seconds to reach the 103rd floor of the tallest building in the world. And that is high enough up in the Sears Tower to look out and see the muscled broadness of Chicago appearing in runty submission to the height of the structure. If

not a heroic achievement in design, the Sears Tower, at 110 stories and 1,454 feet, represents an act of wizardry in structural engineering. Indeed, this is a magical time in the evolution of America's urban landscapes, a time of bold (for better or worse), fresh architecture and computer-driven engineering, and a time too of a new generation of skyscrapers rising to be clad in clouds over major cities across the country—Minneapolis, and even Los Angeles with its ill-defined downtown.

All of this is happening at a time when, paradoxically, organized opposition to construction of sunlight-blocking towers is stronger than ever before. It is too late, however, to reverse the reality that the skyscraper has become the logo for urban development in America; from King Kong to Donald Trump, it has bridged the 20th century with its indestructible, prodigious presence.

Today's skyscraper is a creation of economics and the need to escape the press of horizontal crowding. With raw land in midtown Manhattan now costing more than entire buildings a few decades ago, it is not surprising that developers are looking upward rather than outward. And (in the right place, in good times) a prestigious new building can attract tenants who will happily pay more than a thousand dollars for each square foot of lofty floor space they occupy.

And when an entire skyscraper is offered for sale, the sum involved can total hundreds of millions of dollars. Last October, for example, it was announced that the Sears Tower would be on the market, and experts predicted that the selling price would be in excess of one billion dollars, making it the largest single-building real estate transaction in history.

In its making, the skyscraper draws on colossal egos, on financing almost inventive enough to warrant a patent, and on the talents of the world's leading architects and engineers. All else in matters of design and construction pales in comparison to this—to erecting a frame a thousand feet high and then draping it with a curtain of stone or glass, all the while compensating for the winds that play on the upper floors like a pick on the strings of a banjo, and giving to it both beauty and character as well as (lo, the "smart" building is with us) intelligence, and filling the inner cavities with the marrow of serviceability.

And when it is finished and there are souls awash in the pride of it all, the tower then stands as a monument in the service of a bank or an oil company or perhaps a maker of soap. In at least one case of new-generation skyscraper construction, the lofty reach for name recognition was made by an individual.

"Ego is a very important part of the building of skyscrapers," says Donald Trump. "It's probably a combination of ego and desire for financial gain. I mean, once you have enough money so that you can eat and live, then ego enters into it. It's involved with the building not only of skyscrapers but of all great buildings whether they are tall or not."

The eponymous Mr. Trump is in his office on the 26th floor of the Trump Tower, signing checks as he talks. A large window at his back frames a sweep of cityscape, including Central Park, in midtown Manhattan. At such a height as this the scene should be telescoped to a distant, shimmering fusion of earth and sky, but not here, not where towers rise on almost every block to stand

floor to floor to one another and cast down overlapping shadows on the streets below.

"I don't think the rising opposition to skyscraper construction is totally justified," Trump said. "Because New York City has done so well, economically, the mood here now is against construction. When the city suffers a downturn—which perhaps it will at one point, although it looks very optimistic right now—then the mood will change to proconstruction. There is another problem, and that is when you build a bad building, it creates a negative impact. When you build a great building—I mean everybody loves the Seagram Building—everyone is for it."

Clearly Donald Trump assigns his 68-story tower at Fifth Avenue and 57th Street ("the world's most talked about address") to the camp of the "greats." It is the flagship of his real estate empire, ranging from casinos in Atlantic City to a house with 118 rooms in Palm Beach.

"And that," he said, with an imprecise gesture toward one of the buildings on view from his office window. "The Plaza Hotel. I just bought that."

Long after one departs the 26th floor and the six-story-high marbled flume of an atrium, complete with waterfall, the wonder of it all remains—not of Trump's celebration of power and self but of the realization that construction of such magnitude can take place in the center of Manhattan, along streets at near gridlock with traffic. Somehow, they got 90,000 tons of concrete to the site, along with 3,800 tons of steel reinforcing rods, and they sheathed the frame in reflective bronze glass and put in enough electrical wiring to reach south to Richmond, Virginia. There were as many as 5,000 workers there to put it all together in just under three years.

The Trump Tower is but one of several dozen tall buildings erected in New York during the 1970s and early 1980s. Among those is the structure that, more than any other since the early part of the century, lifted interest in building design from the salons of a narrow elite. The AT&T corporate headquarters building, with its distinctive Chippendale top, attracted wide media coverage and, with it, sentiments of love or disdain (like Brussels sprouts, the building brooks no middle ground, only acceptance or rejection).

Certainly, the pigeons knew how they felt about the 200-million-dollar high rise. They flocked to the hundred-foot-high arch over the entranceway, there to roost and defile the stone until they were scared off by a five-dollar plastic owl purchased at K Mart and hung in an air vent above the entrance.

So, pigeonless now, the AT&T tower rises for 37 stories at 550 Madison Avenue, the design work of Philip Johnson and John Burgee, both superstars among today's architects. It is joined in midtown by architect Hugh Stubbins's spectacular Citicorp Center with a crown that slants at a 45-degree angle, and where one of the upper floors has been given over to a 400-ton block of concrete that acts as a "damper"—a computer-controlled hydraulic system allows the block to move around on a slick of oil to counteract heavy winds. It is on the street level, however, that an even more innovative balancing act takes place: The building stands on four massive columns so tall that the first is 14 stories above ground.

Unlike the glass boxes of the last generation of skyscrapers (architects classify them as modernist or international) the new towers abound with style and, in many cases, intelligence. In one manifestation of a

smart building, electrodes in the windows take readings on the intensity of sunlight, and a computer adjusts the interior lighting accordingly. The temperature in an office can be raised or lowered by dialing certain numbers on the telephone. The planning includes integrated services, such as electronic mail and central digital telephone switchboard, shared by all the tenants of the building.

Just one new tall building has given the Philadelphia skyline a fresh look; another has done the same for Atlanta. Seen from the freeways, the skyscrapers of Houston and Dallas mask their oil-bust emptiness with the dazzle of design. But it is in Chicago, birthplace of the skyscraper, that the new architecture—it is called, with a license to set time ahead, postmodernism—has gained the widest acceptance.

There is a vibrancy about Chicago today that may or may not relate to architecture, but it is clear that the city, keeper of the finest classic design in the country, has forsaken terra-cotta ornament for the sleek skins of today's towers. More than ever now Chicago seems a city built for speed, though not enough to completely outdistance the past. After all, it was here that the ten-story Home Insurance Building was erected in 1885 (as American phenomena go, the skyscraper is not old), the first structure to use a frame rather than the walls to fully support the vertical load, thus setting down the simplest definition of a skyscraper. For the purposes of fire and other codes, any structure higher than 75 feet is considered to be a high rise.

Occupation of such heights, of course, became practical only after 1852, when master mechanic Elisha Graves Otis of Yonkers, New York, invented the "safe hoist" from which today's elevators evolved. The swiftest now move about 20 miles an hour—limited chiefly by passengers' ear discomfort.

It was in Chicago that a man named Louis Sullivan worked, blazing trails of tall building design. He gave artistic form to the skyscraper; in his conviction that "form follows function," he utilized design, structure, and ornament to invest a building with an artistic expression of height.

"Chicago architecture was slow to change when the postmodernists first came in," said Paul Gapp, architecture critic for the Chicago Tribune. "It was really the last major city to move away from the international style. But now many architectural firms are working here in the postmodern style."

Among those who came in: William Pedersen, of the firm of Kohn Pedersen Fox. The New York architect brought with him the design of a building that was constructed at 333 West Wacker Drive (pages 160-61). The 36-story tower is skinned in glass and rises from a base of granite, curving in the front to allow for a smooth coupling with its site at a bend in the Chicago River. For this, Pedersen won the 1984 American Institute of Architects' National Honor Award.

Architecture is not a profession where stardom comes easily. Even today, with the widespread changes in the cityscapes of the world, the field of major players in skyscraper design is not crowded, and most of the notables are Americans. In addition to Pedersen, others include Philip Johnson, who, at the age of 82, is in a position to have his artistic judgment override economic concerns of the developer, and his colleague, John Burgee. You can add Richard Keating and David Childs, both with the firm of Skidmore, Owings & Merrill; Kevin Roche,

Helmut Jahn, I. M. Pei, and Cesar Pelli. All are men with a certain flair, and more than one, for some reason, elects to be shod in loafers with blinding shines.

William Pedersen keeps pencil and paper in his hands as he talks, pausing now and then to illustrate his thoughts. "One of the problems we face as designers of these buildings is that they are just too damn big," Pedersen said. "That's what it amounts to. They are too bulky; they don't fit comfortably into their sites. So what one tries to do by various compositional means is break down the tall building, both vertically and horizontally, into a series of smaller pieces."

If there is a choice to be had, Pedersen would rather design a low building on a site, for then the structure can shape the space. Other architects, and some developers, would like to see the mile-high building become a reality. From an engineering standpoint, it is possible to build that tall, but such a structure is not likely to turn a profit for its owner (costs begin to soar at about 80 stories). Donald Trump has come closer than anyone to putting up a megatower, but, at 150 stories, it would have fallen far short of a mile.

Trump purchased a parcel of land along the Hudson River in Manhattan for 92 million dollars. It was there that he proposed to erect the tallest building in the world, along with other structures. It would be called Television City, and, he hoped, the National Broadcasting Company would become the flagship tenant. At about the same time, a real estate developer and magazine publisher named Mortimer B. Zuckerman was proceeding with plans to erect two large, shadowcasting towers overlooking a corner of Central Park.

For many residents of New York it was already too cold and dark and windy on the streets of their city. They may have imagined how wonderful it was when steeples were the loftiest structures in the towns and cities of America; at one time even in New York nothing matched Trinity Church in its reach toward God. Sunlight fell there then, and those who walked the streets had no need to be conditioned for an environmental adventure.

Just three years after the century turned, a 20-story building went up at 23rd Street and Broadway, a creation of Daniel H. Burnham, who would also design Union Station in Washington, D.C. It was called the Flatiron Building, and the downdraft it created—a rioting of winds at street level—lifted enough skirts to attract crowds of men to the area. It has been recorded that the police responded with firm orders to the oglers to "23 skiddoo," meaning leave 23rd Street.

From there New York moved into a golden era of skyscraper construction with the Woolworth Building in 1913, followed by the Chrysler Building in 1930 and the Empire State the next year. The streets were becoming canyons; the impact of the towers on life in the city became something to be reckoned with. On the street level traffic increased, and so did the anger of the city dweller. In time, crime increased, and, in many cases, the tall apartments became like cells of safe isolation.

The lofty towers brought other costs, not yet measured; what one architect has called a "rapid deterioration in the quality of the working and living environment" imposed by tall buildings—fewer workers with the privilege of window views or even the sight of daylight, for example. Among New York's

high-rise dwellers, one study shows, most children are not allowed out to play by themselves before age ten. At what price to their psychological growth? Some developers are thoughtfully adding a social scientist to the design team.

When Trump and Zuckerman unveiled their proposed megabuildings, some New Yorkers rebelled. Court action blocked Zuckerman's Columbus Circle project as originally proposed. NBC, having tested the rising opposition, announced that it would not move into Trump's supertall building. Construction has yet to start.

New York agreed to sell Zuckerman the land on which to build his two towers provided he paid a 57-million-dollar bonus to the city and spent another 40 million dollars to make improvements to the subway station adjacent to the site. In return he would receive permission to increase the size of his development by 20 percent over the limit set by zoning regulations. That amounted to about 500,000 square feet, or the size of a 40-story building.

"In effect what the city was doing was selling the zoning regulations," said Philip K. Howard, a corporate lawyer and vice president of the Municipal Art Society, a leading force for improving the livability of New York City. "We challenged that in court, and it was held to be unlawful."

Philip Howard came out of the South to fall unashamedly in love with New York, but he knows that city living can become dehumanized when neighborhoods disintegrate and the fun and flavor of it all is lost. What troubles him as much as anything are the residential towers with—deliver him from ever being caught walking on one—plazas.

"We started having these towers built and they didn't look like anything that had ever been built before," he said. "You have here a building of 30 or 40 stories, but the base only covers about 40 percent of the lot. They were built in neighborhoods, some great neighborhoods, and to do that they tore down storefronts and replaced them with some developer's view of a fancy lobby and a plaza that would appeal to a high-class clientele."

"The stores they tore down were where the people gathered. They were the plazas. We don't have *piazas* in New York. We have a dry cleaner and a bar and a grocery store and a deli. And the neighbors and the people who live there go into those places. They shop, they see each other, they tip their hats, and over the years and the decades you get to know who lives in your neighborhood and you recognize them, and that's fun. But these new towers with their plazas deaden the block, creating a barrier, a moat of lifelessness. This has literally drained the life out of certain neighborhoods, on the Upper East Side, for example."

Howard's vision of the city, then, would have high-rise buildings with full-lot coverage at the base, with stores and shops fronting on the sidewalk, as they do at the Empire State Building. The open, wind-swept plaza with its piece of sculpture and, more likely than not, display of water (falling, rising, sloshing) is missing but never missed.

Of more immediate concern is the growing threat of the residential towers overtaking the city's infrastructure. Already there are problems with garbage collection; a truck assigned to a route can take its capacity load at just one building. Some of these condominium towers are like needles, rising to

appear like grotesque stanchions for a tent of sky. Such buildings reach 30 stories while having no more than 35 apartment units. By contrast, a proud tower of residential use can become a city, a vertical city, within itself. So it is with the John Hancock Center in Chicago.

Forty-nine of the hundred floors in the Hancock Center—sixth tallest building in the world—are given over to condominiums. There are more than 700 of them. Edward C. Hirschland lives in one and has his business office in another. His daily commuting distance, door-to-door, totals about two feet. "It's terrific," he said of the arrangement, "just terrific. Really comfortable."

For the most part, mixed-use skyscrapers such as this have not been successful. They become capsules, sealing the inhabitants off from each other and the rest of the world. The Hancock Center is somewhat of an exception, in that the building has become a neighborhood in itself. It offers residents a place to park their cars, to eat and sleep, even to vote in their own precinct and buy stamps in their own post office. On Halloween, the children go from floor to floor—spooks in the elevator.

But in the era of new urban architecture and city living, one certainty has emerged: Those who choose to live on, say, the 58th floor of a building such as the Trump Tower, where no unit sells for less than \$700,000, do so in part because they can afford to live somewhere else as well.

There is another skyscraper named John Hancock, in Boston. It is 60 stories high, a shining, beautiful rhomboid overlooking Copley Square. In 1973, before its scheduled completion, the building showed signs of becoming a structure under a black cloud. First the windows began to pop out and crash to the streets. All 10,344 panes were replaced. Then, something had to be done to brake the excessive swaying of the building in the wind, so they put in equipment that acted like shock absorbers.

Only recently was its darkest secret revealed: The tower could have toppled over. Despite the addition of the damping feature, the John Hancock Tower was at risk of collapsing in certain wind conditions, and not on its broad face, but, astonishingly, on the narrow one—falling, then, like a book on its spine. The matter was corrected with the installation of additional steel beams, but because of a secrecy agreement ratified by a court, none of this was publicly known until last year, when Robert Campbell, architecture critic for the Boston Globe, uncovered the story.

Structural engineering, as it pertains to skyscrapers, has made major advances since then. And the effects of wind, of course, continue to be of vital concern, since a building of 110 stories, such as the World Trade Center in New York, can sway as much as 36 inches at the top. Many of the solutions to the problems come now from research at such facilities as the Boundary Layer Wind Tunnel at the University of Western Ontario in Canada. Dr. Lynn Beedle, director of the Council on Tall Buildings and Urban Habitat headquartered at Lehigh University in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, cites the importance of computers in the design and engineering of towers today.

"The computer will ask you what intensity of wind you wish to design for," Dr. Beedle said. "Okay, a hundred miles an hour. It will take your preliminary design and tell you how safe it would be in winds of that velocity. If your design is not up to the

task, then you have to go back to the—we used to say drawing board, but now it's computer. It can take this sort of partial information and allow you to proceed. It's incredible and, I think, really exciting."

The Council on Tall Buildings and Urban Habitat is concerned with buildings of ten stories or more because that is the cut-off height for fighting a fire from ladders in New York City. "If it's above the tenth floor, they have to go inside to fight it," Dr. Beedle said.

The threat of fire, of course, continues to be the dominant safety concern in skyscrapers. This was reaffirmed last May 4 when one person died and 40 others were injured in a blaze that tore through five floors of the 62-story First Interstate building in Los Angeles. There are few sights more hellish than a sash of fire—flames licking through shattered glass at the high, cool air beyond reach of the fire engine ladders—drawing tight on the girth of a tower. Like many of the high-rise buildings in Los Angeles, the First Interstate building had no operable sprinkler system, and as a result it took about 300 fire fighters almost four hours to control the blaze. Well, lessons were learned. Tall buildings in Los Angeles are now being fitted with sprinkler systems.

There was an engineer named Fazlur Khan, a partner at Skidmore, Owings & Merrill in Chicago. He understood as well as anyone—better, probably—what it took to build a safe building, a building to stand in defiance of the elements, with muscles drawn tight under cover of smooth skin. He built towers capable of riding out the heaving of an earthquake or the raging of a gale. Among them were the Sears Tower and Chicago's John Hancock Center. He is dead now, but others follow in his steps, making nearly all things possible for building higher and higher with less weight and more strength, like shipwrights leading the way from teak to fiberglass.

In Houston a structural engineer with a string of fine buildings to his name said of Khan, "Just by putting the X's on the outside of the John Hancock Center, he greatly reduced the amount of steel required. He was a genius."

Joe Colaco does much of his engineering work in the South and the Southwest, where the soil often lacks the substance of rock. "In Houston, it's only thick clay," he said, "and in New Orleans—they won't like me saying this—it's like mush." But that doesn't stop him. Building on the clay, he floats the building, in effect, while the New Orleans mush must be laced with pilings.

However he does it, Joe Colaco is always on the lookout for a better method. He thinks there must be a way to increase the strength of concrete used in skyscraper construction from 14,000 pounds to 20,000 pounds per square inch. He is concerned too with finding better ways to tie a building to the ground in an earthquake zone, and to damp the wind-induced swaying of buildings. Research is being conducted around the world, he said, into the use of rubber pads placed under buildings to absorb movement and steady the building.

Postmodernism has left a strong mark on Houston, mainly because of one man, a developer named Gerald Hines. He is a man of wealth and modesty, a builder of towers not only in Houston but throughout the country. And, like kings of old, he is more a patron of architects than an employer.

Among Hines's buildings in Houston are the Republic Bank Center, rising in three stages to 56 stories with a massive banking

hall for a base; the Transco Tower, the nation's tallest skyscraper in the suburbs, and Pennzoil Place, a pair of trapezoids in bronze glass, with sloping crowns, one of the buildings that broke the mold in the new generation of towers. All three are the work of Philip Johnson and John Burgee.

On the 50th floor of the Transco Tower, Gerald Hines sits at a table in his office and eats from a plate heaped with macaroni and vegetables. "I believe," he said, "that the architecture of a building should enhance the city, the skyline, and the well-being of all affected by the structure. Take the Pennzoil building. It was one of the first to say that buildings do not have to be inverted boxes. It has been called the building of the decade."

In all, Hines has completed or has under construction more than 375 projects, totaling in excess of 70 million square feet. He engages good architects and works with them, but he lets them have their way for the most part, for he knows that the results are often going to be heavy with prestige and therefore attractive to potential clients.

Jack Kent Cooke is also the owner of a skyscraper—a very good one. He owns the Chrysler Building, the art deco masterpiece in New York, now 59 years old and still more beloved than any other skyscraper in the world. Cooke, who also owns the Washington Redskins professional football team and a variety of other businesses, paid 87 million dollars for the Chrysler and an adjoining building in 1979. To hear him talk, he would not take a billion for it now.

"Well, I guess of the many material things that I own I'd rate the Chrysler Building as my prime pride and joy," Cooke told me. "It is not only a representative icon of this country, it is world famous."

We talked about how skyscrapers last for generations, how the good wood on the walls of the elevator cages still shines, how the marble and other stone is still fit for the sanctuary of some great cathedral, how it all still rises straight and true. "That's right," he said. "So long as you keep them in pristine condition. The Chrysler Building today is in an equally good, if not better, condition than when William Van Alen, its architect, pronounced it fit for Mr. Walter P. Chrysler to take residence, in 1930."

Movements in architecture come and go (the latest is called deconstructivism, with an emphasis on distortion and fracturing of form) and buildings like the Chrysler, Woolworth, and Empire State survive them all, standing proud in the company of all that's new on the New York skyline, including the twin towers of the World Trade Center. There is nothing in the city as tall as those 110-story structures, where more than 100,000 people come and go on a workday.

Ah, for Dan Goodwin, they stood there like candy mountains, delicious treats of challenge. So, on a morning in May of 1983, Goodwin started climbing the north tower of the World Trade Center, using suction cups and metal clamps designed to hook into the tracks used for window-washing equipment.

"Spider Dan" they call him, and, true to the name, he was atop the tower in three hours, 18 minutes. "At the 83rd floor, the window-washing track was pulling away from the building," he told me, "and I thought I was going for the big fall." Instead, he went for a ride—to a police station, under arrest.

It remains for an urban mountaineer to visit Philadelphia and be tempted by a building called One Liberty Place. It is the

first structure in the city to rise higher than the statue of William Penn that crowns City Hall. It stands in good view from a train approaching the city; indeed, from there, Philadelphia wears a look of compelling freshness because of the 61-story tower designed by Helmut Jahn.

In Pittsburgh the skyline appears like an unfurled scrim when seen upon emerging by car from the Fort Pitt tunnel through Mount Washington. And the tower that looms here is the new PPG (Pittsburgh Plate Glass) Place, a great rise of neo-Gothic design by Johnson and Burgee, sheathed in glass. In Atlanta it's the IBM Tower, and in Dallas the Texas Commerce Tower, among others.

Of all U.S. cities, none is more primed for new skyscraper construction than Los Angeles. "I think Los Angeles has that happy medium between Houston's free-for-all way of doing things and San Francisco's heavy restrictions," said Richard Keating, an architect in Los Angeles with Skidmore, Owings & Merrill. "The planners who are thinking and working here understand that the city can still sustain development, and they don't take simplistic attitudes about 'let's not have high rises' or 'let's not have any development.'" Nevertheless Los Angeles has relatively few new buildings of architectural merit that skyscraper designers would call Class A. "But that's about to change, with Harry Cobb's building of 75 stories now going up," Keating said. "That will be the first of the new buildings."

To the north, San Francisco has put such tight limits on building that architects and developers are complaining of overkill. The restrictions stem not from the fear of towers toppling in earthquakes (engineers are solving that problem with shock absorbing technology) but, rather, from the desire to protect the city's unique vistas.

"San Francisco is where the mini-revolt against construction began," said Keating, who practiced in Houston before moving to Los Angeles. "From San Francisco the movement crossed the country, to Boston, and now it's beginning in New York." Among other things, San Francisco has effectively limited new construction to 475,000 square feet a year, the size of one tower of medium height. It is emphatically in violation of the law too to put up any structure that would cast a shadow over public areas such as parks. Boston and Seattle have adopted similar tough controls. In Washington, DC, since 1910, the height of buildings has been limited by Congress in order to preserve the city's character of monument-studded openness.

The surge of skyscraper construction in the U.S. seems due to slow anyway; much of it was spurred by the favorable tax treatment given to real estate investment by the 1981 tax law. We are, experts say, overbuilt, and one expects a lull that could last for as long as 20 years.

A spate of empty offices notwithstanding (the World Trade Center took more than six years to fill), architects are fingering drawings of several new "world's tallest" buildings. No doubt some will be built, one to outreach another toward the heavens, as ego and economics collide. "Don't underestimate the romance of the skyscraper," cautions Dr. Lynn Beedle. "It's a powerful motivator."

Indeed it is. Consider the person who opens an apartment door on a high floor of the Trump Tower and invites me in for lemonade on a day when heat is pressing through the pores of New York. She and

her husband maintain the apartment although their chief residence is in Los Angeles.

If anyone belongs in a skyscraper, it is certainly Fay Wray, star of *King Kong*, the film popularity that rides out the passage of time. She sits beside me, an enchanting, gracious woman at the age of 81, and I see her in the gentle grip of the ape, atop the Empire State Building, writhing and screaming. That screaming and Kong's fascination with her, like that of a boy with a firefly in a bottle—remember? Some have said that the film depicted rare sensuality.

"It was just an adventure piece, plain and simple," Miss Wray said. "That's all. It was not intended to be a horror film, just wild adventure. And the theme was beauty and the beast, of course. But sensual? No."

Fay Wray revealed to me that she had not visited the Empire State Building since 1934, the year following release of the picture. "I feel very possessive about the building," she said. I asked her then if she would go with me to the top of the Empire State, just the way millions of visitors have over more than half a century, and she said she would.

When we got there, to the top, she looked out over the city and then turned back to face the crown of the tower. "This building," she said, "belongs to me."

TRIBUTE TO FRANK A. WEISER

HON. MERVYN M. DYMALLY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. DYMALLY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to Mr. Frank A. Weiser, legal counsel to the southern California I.H.M. Hotel/Motel Association, Inc.

Mr. Weiser is a model story of the hard-working son of immigrant parents who has excelled in his profession and consistently promotes the highest ethical standards of the legal profession for his clients, and the greater southern California community. As a result, he has received recognition for significant and lasting contributions to the legal community.

In his capacity as founding legal counsel of this trade organization, Mr. Weiser has been the recipient of several awards and resolutions conferred upon him by the city of Los Angeles and the board of supervisors of the county of Los Angeles. Attorney Weiser has served as judge pro tem to the Los Angeles County municipal court system. His colleagues praise his efforts to make lasting contributions to the legal and judicial community.

He has acted generously on the basis of interethnic cooperation and helped create and promote various Asian-Indian organizations dedicated to preserving the rich Indian culture and business unity among Asian-Indian businessmen. He has demonstrated balance and judiciousness in his representation of the Asian-Indian community on issues of civil rights—and in doing so, exemplified the highest humanitarian traditions of his Jewish cultural background.

For the past several years, Frank Weiser has participated in his association's Christmas contributions to the homeless in the Los Angeles area.

Mr. Speaker, I am certain that you would want to join me in commending such an individual who has contributed greatly to his country. His deeds truly exemplify the highest ideals of this Nation and this honorable body.

A TRIBUTE TO ROBERT H. DAYTON, JR.

HON. ROBERT J. MRAZEK

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. MRAZEK. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to Lieutenant Robert H. Dayton, Jr., of the Port Washington, NY, Fire Department, who was killed in the line of duty on November 26, 1988, at the age of 28.

Early in the morning of November 26, Lieutenant Dayton responded, as he had done on hundreds of occasions in his career, to a fire in a building on Main Street in Port Washington. Lieutenant Dayton died as the result of smoke inhalation as he was searching for occupants of the burning building.

Mr. Speaker, with the passing of Lieutenant Dayton, Long Island's Third Congressional District lost a brave and dedicated young man. In addition to being a full-time firefighter with the New York City Fire Department, Lieutenant Dayton selflessly gave his time and expertise to his community's volunteer fire department. He joined the Flower Hill Hose Company in 1978 and quickly achieved the rank of first lieutenant due to his exemplary record. He was to have been promoted to the rank of captain in January.

On November 29, 1988, the community of Port Washington and the Port Washington Fire Department paid tribute to Lieutenant Dayton at a memorial service. Thousands of residents, religious leaders, elected officials, and firefighters from across the Nation offered their respects to Lieutenant Dayton's wife, Pamela, his daughter, Kaitlin, and his parents, Mercedes and Robert H. Dayton, Sr.

Chief Charles Lang of the Port Washington Fire Department expressed in the Port Washington News the admiration that the 350 members of the fire department had for Lieutenant Dayton. He said, "Lieutenant Dayton was always willing to share his experience with the younger members. They really looked up to him." To honor their colleague, the Port Washington Fire Department has established the Robert H. Dayton Memorial Fund.

Mr. Speaker, the volunteer fire department is one of the great institutions in America today. Thousands of our citizens freely give their time, effort and sometimes their lives in order to protect our communities. Lieutenant Robert H. Dayton, Jr. proudly represented these ideals of voluntarism and community spirit in their finest tradition.

INTRODUCING EMPLOYEE EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1989

HON. FRANK J. GUARINI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. GUARINI. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join well over a hundred colleagues today, to introduce the Employee Educational Assistance Act of 1989.

Our bill would reinstate and make permanent section 127 of the Tax Code, which enables workers to receive up to \$5,250 a year in tax-free benefits to pay for tuition, books, and fees for non-job-related education. A companion measure has been introduced by Senators MOYNIHAN and HEINZ.

Since 1978, employee educational assistance has enabled more than 7 million American workers to upgrade their skills and increase their potential for advancement.

Many of these workers were at the lower rungs of the career ladder. Others needed retraining because their skills were made obsolete because of technological advancements or foreign competition. For many of them, this was the only way they could gain access to higher education or additional training.

Employee education has been endorsed by a broad coalition consisting of business, labor, and higher education. At a time when the world economy has become extremely competitive, the coalition that supports this bill is an excellent example of how management, workers, and educators can cooperate to serve the interests of our people, our country, and our economic future.

ELDERLY AMERICANS GET A RAW DEAL

HON. THOMAS J. TAUKE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. TAUKE. Mr. Speaker, I rise to commend to your attention a recent editorial column by James Kilpatrick regarding the unfair tax burden on older Americans. Citing a study by the National Center for Policy Analysis, Mr. Kilpatrick demonstrates that senior citizens are the most overtaxed age group in the Nation. I believe that the National Center for Policy Analysis study underscores the need to reconsider the regressive financing mechanism for the Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act.

ELDERLY AMERICANS GET A RAW DEAL

Those at the bottom, and especially those in the middle, get walloped.

Elderly Americans in middle-income brackets are getting a raw deal from their government. Under certain circumstances, the more they earn, the less they have. For them a job may become a costly hobby.

The National Center for Policy Analysis, based in Dallas, exposed his quirk in the tax

laws in a recent report. To read the report is to recall that marvelously loony passage in *Through the Looking Glass* in which Alice meets the Red Queen. For no particular reason, they start running, faster and faster, until at last they stop in exhaustion. To her surprise, Alice discovers they have gone no place. In her country, she says, one would generally get to somewhere else.

"A slow sort of country!" said the Queen. "Now, here, you see, it takes all the running you can do to keep in the same place. If you want to get somewhere else, you must run at least twice as fast as that!"

This is the predicament in which elderly Americans find themselves. Those in high-income brackets are not greatly affected. Those at the bottom, and especially those in the middle, get walloped. Two factors have produced this unconscionable result. One is the system by which persons on Social Security lose \$1 of benefits for every \$2 they earn in private employment. The other is the new surtax on benefits under Medicare.

A specific example may help. Take the hypothetical case of Marta Robinson, 64, a widow who retired in 1987 after many years as a bookkeeper. Mrs. Robinson has continued to work for a wage income of \$13,936 a year. In addition, she has her pension of \$11,064 and Social Security benefits of \$5,072, for a gross income of \$30,072. Offsetting this income, she pays \$2,950 in income taxes, \$1,402 in Social Security taxes and \$496 in the Medicare surtax, for a net of \$25,224.

Now Mrs. Robinson accepts a new job paying \$1,500 more a year. Look what happens. Her wage income goes up to \$15,436, but her Social Security benefit drops by \$750; she pays \$240 more in income taxes, \$270 more in Social Security taxes and \$87 more for Medicare. She winds up with a net of \$25,197. She has run faster and is \$27 behind where she started.

The National Center's analysis provides another example, this time of an elderly retired couple. Call them John and Ellen Johnson. Because neither earns more than \$8,880 in wages, initially they receive their full Social Security benefits of \$11,400. Now John leaps at a chance to earn an additional \$1,000 a year.

Again those fine mill wheels of the law grind them down. The Johnsons lose \$500 in Social Security benefits; they must pay \$150 more in income taxes, \$310 more in Social Security taxes and \$58 more for Medicare. He has earned \$1,000 more and lost \$18 in the process.

It is the marginal tax rate that causes the mischief. The National Center's report explains the problem: "This year, with the introduction of the Medicare surtax, almost all elderly taxpayers face higher effective marginal tax rates than any U.S. taxpayers have faced since the early 1960s, when the highest tax bracket was 90 percent for very high-income persons."

Beginning in 1990, elderly workers earning more than \$8,880 a year will get some relief: The penalty for working will drop to \$1 in lost Social Security benefits for every \$3 earned, but increase in the Medicare surtax will take away some of the improvement.

This is all wrong. The fabled Alice might have found this plausible in her looking-glass world, where everything was in reverse, but it is inexplicable in the U.S.A. in 1989.

TRIBUTE TO BURKE ROCHE

HON. HENRY J. HYDE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, it may have been the western landscape of his formative years, with its harsh climate, sheer rocky slopes, and stark isolation, that contributed to Burke Roche's fortitude.

"You could say I'm a workaholic. It's always been my pattern," the business executive says.

One of nine children, and a native of Montana, Burke developed a world view early. He accompanied his father on frequent business trips, including several to Chicago, where he would eventually settle and build a small family business into a worldwide entity.

"I'm probably the only person who goes to Paris only to work," Burke says. "Almost all my travel is for business."

By welding those two interests—work and travel—Burke and his Binks Manufacturing Co. are giving Japanese competition a run for their money.

Under 13 enclosed acres of land in Franklin Park, IL and in other manufacturing plants worldwide, Binks' employees transform steel bars and sheet metal into some of the most advanced spray painting and coating equipment—generating hundreds of millions of dollars in American exports annually.

What Binks makes, the world takes. It is as true today as it was in 1949 when Burke took over management of the company from his brother.

On May 1, Burke will celebrate his 40th anniversary with the firm. Amid all the hoopla, I suspect that he, his wife Mary, and his company's many employees will quietly be celebrating their unique leadership status in American industry. Well done, Burke. Well done, Binks. You have made America stronger and greater through your many contributions.

NEIL BONDS TO SAY GOODBYE TO TEACHING

HON. GEORGE (BUDDY) DARDEN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. DARDEN. Mr. Speaker, the education of our children is one of the most important duties of our society. The men and women who provide that service as teachers in our schools deserve special commendation, and I want to take note today of a man who has devoted the past 35 years to developing the minds of young people—Mr. Neil Bonds of Marietta, GA.

Mr. Bonds, who is retiring this June, has spent 19 of those years as an English teacher at Marietta High School. His teaching career also has included work at other schools in Georgia and his native South Carolina.

He explained in a recent newspaper article that he once considered a career associated with politics, here in Washington. But, as he

put it, he was "in love" with teaching. And so, he stayed in the classroom—a decision for which generations of students, and their parents, can be grateful.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to include in the RECORD that article from the Marietta Daily Journal. And, I invite my colleagues to join me in congratulating Neil Bonds on his long and productive career as an educator.

[From the Marietta Daily Journal, April 17, 1989]

NEIL BONDS TO SAY GOODBYE TO TEACHING
(By Peggie R. Elgin)

Neil Bonds, will say goodbye to a world of chalkboards and final exams in June as he end a 35-year teaching career, spending the last 19 as an English teacher at Marietta High School.

At the end of this school year, Bonds will leave the profession he entered quite unexpectedly, but one in which he remained because he grew to love his work with young people.

"I guess you could say I did it all for love," Bonds said of his beginnings as a teacher.

A native of South Carolina, he earned his bachelor's degree in English and social studies from Wofford College in Spartanburg, S.C. He later earned his master's and educational specialist degree at West Georgia College.

Bonds said he never planned to teach and was actually aiming at a career associated with politics in Washington, D.C.

"But I was in love," said Bonds.

The object of his love remained in college when Bonds graduated.

"Her mother suggested that I try teaching," he said. "The love didn't last."

But Bonds' career in teaching did.

Bonds began his teaching career in Abbeville, S.C., where he taught 8th and 9th grade English and world history. In a way, Bonds said he simply continued to go to school.

"I don't think I have ever grown up," he said. "I have never dealt much in the adult world. As I continue to deal with young people, I keep wondering what I'm going to be when I grow up."

Bonds remained at Abbeville for five years, where in addition to teaching, he launched a drama club and was in charge of the junior and senior proms.

His next teaching assignment took him to Calhoun Falls, S.C., where he taught six years at his alma mater—Calhoun Falls High School.

"I was the English department there, teaching 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th grade English," he said. "I was yearbook advisor, worked with the Beta Club, and directed commencement and the senior class play."

After 11 years of teaching, Bonds briefly considered leaving the profession.

"But people channeled me right back into teaching," said Bonds.

Bonds accepted a job in Conyers where he taught 5th grade. That lasted for one year only, since he was required to teach math and science in addition to English.

"During my science class, I tried to incubate eggs and not one hatched," he said. "I knew then I was limited in science and math."

Bonds set out to find a job teaching English and was invited to interview for a position with the Marietta School System.

"They gave me directions by way of the big chicken," he recalled.

Bonds was hired and assigned to the old Waterman Street School and the Keith

School, before he was transferred to Marietta High School in August, 1969, where he taught 11th grade English.

In his years at Marietta High School, he said he has taught everything from grammar to literature—British, American and world literature—and now merit English classes.

"I like writing and I love vocabulary," Bonds said. "The more words a person knows, the better he can communicate and write. My favorite period of literature is the romantic period both for American and British literature. I also like grammar, but you really have to know how to motivate students in teaching grammar."

Bonds said teaching has always been a challenge to him.

"I think it is important to be a dreamer when you are a high school teacher," he said. "I believe dreams come true."

When he runs into former students, he doesn't always remember their names, but he says he always remembers where the student sat in class.

"Hardly a day goes by when I don't meet a former student," said Bonds. "Some are teachers in the city schools. A couple are ministers. Once I was in the hospital awaiting surgery. I was on the operating table and looked up and there was a former student in operating room regalia. I remember hoping that I had been good to her."

Another former student, Jack Vaughn, now serves Marietta as a representative to the state legislature.

Bonds praised the quality and ability of his students.

"I have taught so many students," he said. "And so many are brighter than me. I am not being modest. Some of my students have been the brightest and most perceptive individuals."

While at Marietta High School, Bonds began a literary journal and a creative writing class. Calling himself a sentimentalist, Bonds assumed the duties as yearbook advisor in 1972 and has held that position ever since.

"The yearbook is actually a book of history," said Bonds.

While at Marietta High School, Bonds began his own historical project and set out to collect all yearbooks ever produced at Marietta High School.

"It took me 15 years," he said. "But now we have every book ever made at Marietta High School from 1917 up to the present."

Bonds was married once and has no children. His father lives with him in his Marietta home.

After 35 years, leaving teaching was a hard decision, according to Bonds, 57, who entered the profession at the age of 22. On the eve of his retirement, Bonds is looking forward to having more time to work in his yard and vegetable garden. He collects china and loves to entertain.

"I'm also looking forward to having time to read—historical novels and biography," he said.

**FATE OF FREEDOM FIGHTERS
SEALED**

HON. DUNCAN HUNTER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday we all but sealed the fate of the freedom fight-

ers in Nicaragua. Much was said about this toothless, so-called humanitarian aid package bringing democracy to Nicaragua. But Commandante Daniel Ortega has said that the Sandinistas would never voluntarily give up power in Nicaragua, even if there were elections. The Sandinista military, bolstered by \$500 million in Soviet aid, and the Sandinista gestapo, Tomas Borge's Ministry of the Interior, will make sure they never lose power.

The bill that the House passed called for the Contra's voluntary reintegration into Nicaragua. Elections would then take place with both the Sandinistas and opposition parties on the ballot. In light of the Sandinistas' recent treatment of Contra supporters, I'll be interested to see how many take them up on their offer to return home. The article printed below is from the Sunday, April 16 edition of The San Diego Union. I hope that my colleagues will keep the Sandinistas' behavior in mind if we ever again vote to help the freedom fighters in Nicaragua.

[From The San Diego Union, Apr. 16, 1989]

**SANDINISTAS QUIETLY KILL OFF CONTRA
SYMPATHIZER SUSPECTS**

APANTILLO, NICARAGUA.—Felicitio Peralta went to his death barefoot.

When Sandinista troops came to his house in this isolated hamlet three months ago, he refused to answer the door. But, neighbors said, the soldiers threatened to throw a grenade into his home, which he shared with his wife and five children.

Peralta surrendered, leaving without his shoes. His wife, Maria, ran after him with his boots, but he told her not to worry, that Sandinista troops were taking him to a nearby jail, according to neighbors.

"I'll see you in the morning," he added. But by morning he was dead. Residents and human rights groups say he was one of a growing number of victims of a government drive against suspected rebel sympathizers in northern Nicaragua.

In the last two years, residents and human rights groups say, Sandinista troops have killed at least 13 civilians around Apantillo, a hamlet of 200 peasants about 80 miles northeast of Managua.

There are no comprehensive statistics, but human rights groups estimate that government soldiers have killed 40 to 50 civilians in northern Nicaragua since a cease-fire agreement was signed in March 1988. They say the abuses appear to be limited to the north, where the Contras have enjoyed widespread support.

Peralta had three brothers fighting with the anti-Sandinista guerrillas. His body was found not far from his house.

He had been beaten, shot and stabbed repeatedly in the throat and stomach, said Carlos Molinaris, a neighbor and fellow Roman Catholic lay leader.

"These executions are too numerous to be isolated cases," said Juan Mendez, the executive director of Americas Watch, a human rights monitoring group based in New York, in a statement. "They constitute a pattern of abuse by government forces."

Sandinista officials declined to comment on the charges. They received written questions about the alleged abuses but an Interior Ministry spokesman said the government would probably not comment until it had a chance to investigate all the cases.

In the past, Managua has blamed such killings on the rebel Contras, who have

often been accused of human rights violations by monitoring groups.

"The Contras disguise themselves as soldiers to discredit the army," said Dani Chavarria Rivera, the regional coordinator of a pro-government group, Families of the Kidnapped and Disappeared by the Counter-revolutionaries.

She charged that the Contras had killed or kidnapped 6,000 people in the northern province of Matagalpa in the last eight years. The U.S.-backed rebels, she said, have killed or kidnapped 300 people in the year since the cease-fire agreement.

Human rights groups and residents of the area say the rebels still commit abuses. But the vast majority of their troops have withdrawn to camps in Honduras, leading to a sharp drop in human rights violations attributed to them.

Political killings by Sandinista troops were rare for most of the war, according to Americas Watch. Except for some notable cases seven years ago, it said that government abuses had been "sporadic and that they did not reflect a pattern."

In a report last year, however, the group noted a series of murders of suspected Contra collaborators and family members. It charged that "the cases are numerous enough to suggest tolerance or complicity by higher authorities."

That conclusion, Mendez said, has been confirmed by more recent killings, like the murder of Peralta, by both army and Interior Ministry troops. Some international relief officials working in northern Nicaragua said they agreed with Mendez but declined to be identified by name or organization.

"The government's failure to put an end to this practice merits severe condemnation," Mendez said in the statement. He commended the Sandinistas for prosecuting some human rights violators. But other officials noted that most of those convicted were released after serving only a small fraction of their sentences.

The series of killings appear to be part of a campaign to crush the vestiges of the civilian support network that fed and sheltered the Contras, who used to roam with few impediments across much of this fiercely independent, anti-government region.

Andrea Martinez said the Contras accused her son Martin of being a government informer. Three years ago, they kidnapped him and held him for three days. But his release marked him as a Contra in the eyes of the Sandinistas, his mother said.

Mrs. Martinez, who has another son and a daughter with the rebels, said government troops soon started harassing Martin, who was then 18. A neighbor, Lola Pinosa, in mid-November warned him that the army was looking for him and advised him to flee, his mother said.

But he decided to stay long enough to help his mother harvest the family's meager bean crop. At 4 a.m. on Nov. 22, Sandinista soldiers came to their house and arrested him, said Mrs. Martinez.

A few hours later she heard two shots. A neighbor found Martin's body later that day. His hands were tied behind his back; his forehead pressed against the ground. The front of his face was blown away.

THE GRAND RAPIDS ORAL DEAF PROGRAM CELEBRATES ITS 90TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. PAUL B. HENRY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. HENRY. Mr. Speaker, it gives me a special pleasure to recognize the 90th anniversary of the Grand Rapids, MI, Oral Deaf Program. Nationally recognized for its outstanding program, the Grand Rapids Oral Deaf Program has a reputation for providing the finest in educational facilities for hearing impaired students.

In 1899, Michigan became the second State in the Nation to adopt legislation to provide for the education of deaf children by certified teachers. This law was passed as the result of the hard work and diligence of a Grand Rapids attorney and legislator, Sybrant Wesselius, whose own daughter was deaf. Mr. Wesselius recognized the need to educate deaf children without having to send them away to school, and recruited Margaret Sullivan, celebrated teacher of Helen Keller, to help organize a local school. That same year, the Grand Rapids Oral Deaf Program opened its doors with 16 pupils and 2 teachers. Today, 90 years later, located in an elementary school which has been adapted acoustically to teach both deaf and nondeaf students, the program provides a curriculum of services to approximately 125 students ranging from their early months to 25 years old.

A specialized curriculum, designed to meet the needs of hearing impaired students, as well as ensure their maximum participation with hearing peers, has been developed into one of the finest programs of its kind. Beginning with infant-parent services when a hearing impaired child is just a few months old, the Oral Deaf Program continues through the preschool, elementary, junior-senior high school years, and includes a wide variety of vocational skills training classes as well. Academically talented students are encouraged to continue advanced training at the college level.

The Oral Deaf Program provides individualized and small group instruction to emphasize the development of speech, language, and reading skills programs. A socialization process with their hearing peers is encouraged in academic classes as well as special activities. Approximately 80 percent of the children who become full-time students are mainstreamed into their neighborhood schools, enabling them to experience growing up in a natural, rather than isolated, school environment.

Staffed by outstanding diagnostic and ancillary personnel, the Oral Deaf Program works in tandem with parents and teachers to ensure the best possible services are provided, including speech therapy, auditory training and equipment, occupational and physical therapy, and the availability of medical and counseling personnel.

Mr. Speaker, the Grand Rapids Oral Deaf Program has successfully educated and supported the deaf of West Michigan for 90 years, helping them to become productive members of society. The program continues to honor its primary goal of helping deaf stu-

dents prepare for active participation with their hearing peers through the maximum use of speech, speech reading, and residual hearing and is continually looking for new advances in technology and programming to better meet the needs of the special individuals it serves.

The success of these efforts has resulted in a number of national and State awards, most recently selection as the 1988 "Program of the Year" by the Michigan Speech and Hearing Association. Two members of the program's staff, as well, were recently recognized by the Foundation on Education Excellence as outstanding educators in 1988 and the program's supervisor was cited in 1987 as "Educator of the Year" by the Michigan Alexander Graham Bell Association. Not only does the Grand Rapids Oral Deaf Program offer a highly rated and excellent program, but its staff are of the highest caliber, as well.

Mr. Speaker and colleagues, on May 19, 1989, a day long special celebration will be held to commemorate the 90th anniversary of this outstanding program. Please join with me in paying special tribute to the Grand Rapids Oral Deaf Program and to the teachers, staff, and parents whose dedication and commitment have contributed to enhancing the quality of life for the individuals served by this exceptional program.

ELDERLY CAREGIVER'S EQUITY PROPOSAL

HON. JAMES J. FLORIO

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. FLORIO. Mr. Speaker, the Association of Elderly Caregivers is an informal network of about 100 men and women who are involved in the full-time care of elderly family members.

The association has drafted the following caregiver's equity proposal, which I am pleased to share with my colleagues today. I hope that it will encourage people to think carefully about the important role played by those who care for an elderly family member.

ELDERLY CAREGIVER'S EQUITY PROPOSAL

There is a popular myth that most family members care for their elderly parents.

The reality is that care, when necessary, usually falls upon the one family member, usually the woman, willing to shoulder it, while the others distance themselves, sometimes for years and usually without valid reason.

This is particularly unfortunate when an elderly parent dies intestate, without a Will, or, suffering from Alzheimer's Disease or other mental impairment, has been unable to execute or update one.

In such cases, present probate laws mandate that the parent's estate, monies or other property be arbitrarily divided among immediate family members without regard to the caregiver's care and the other family members lack of concern.

It is easy to chastize, criticize and penalize for failure to plan ahead, to execute, regularly update and revise Wills, although nothing suggested here urges otherwise.

But the reality is that caregiving costs, insurance inadequacies, financial pressures,

declining physical and mental capacities often prevent it.

Regardless, it is urged that those supporting or encouraging family member care of needy elderly parents should send a signal.

Probate laws governing Wills, estates and intestate decedents are not 'written in stone.' They like all manmade laws can be revised and updated and, indeed, should be, since there is a strong argument that updating is long overdue to meet problems presented by a growing aging population, rising medical and institutionalizing costs, declining family ties, reduced governmental social expenditures, etc.

Laws that do not meet the needs of the times do not inspire confidence.

It is urged that these laws be updated to encourage family caregiving through recognizing and encouraging the family member caregiver's role.

Courts and Judges should be given the option of recognizing a caregiver's greater role in caring for parents over those who have evaded, avoided and ignored their needs.

It is the caregiver who has fed, cleaned, bathed, diapered, dressed, sacrificed and comforted while others have not.

It is one thing to give lip service to encouraging loving, sacrificing family care of elderly parents, like praising motherhood, the flag and apple pie—and quite another to strengthen the family member caregiver concept in practical ways.

No "Caregiver Equity" can buy, induce or reward the sacrifices and compassion loving caregivers only can provide, which has to be given only from the heart and invariably is.

But it is also fundamentally unfair to reward those refusing it.

If those of us concerned with elderly caregiving problems do not seek out every way, however small, to strengthen and encourage the elderly caregivers' role who else will care?

"Caregivers Equity" is a very small, but very practical way to signal that we as a society really do value caring, compassionate, sacrificing concern over selfish indifference.

It costs nothing. It creates no needs no bureaucracy. It embodies fundamentally democratic and religious and humanitarian values which value family life. There is no expense to justify opposition. Tens of thousands of persons are directly affected.

It is a small but morally right step in the right direction. And in this instance, TLC should stand for Tender Loving Care not Total Lack of Concern.

Public Policy should always seek to strengthen not weaken society's highest values, to strengthen not weaken families, to encourage caring caregivers to care for the otherwise abandoned elderly, not to discourage it, to help caring family members to do what they are surely, demonstrably most willing to do themselves without enlarging the role of the State over the individual and the family.

Impersonal institutions, boarding homes and nursing homes can not only never replace caring family member caregiving. They simply cannot hope to keep pace with a growing elderly population.

Growing costs, mounting pressures on emergency social services, taxpayer demands for economies, a growing elderly population demand it.

"Caregiver Equity" is a concept in concert with the times. It is a concept whose time has come.

AMBASSADOR KIRKPATRICK'S INCISIVE ANALYSIS OF ARAFAT AND THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION

HON. TOM LANTOS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Jeane Kirkpatrick, former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, has again written a most insightful analysis of the problems facing the United States in the Middle East. In her column in the Washington Post yesterday, she discusses how Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasser Arafat has shifted his tactics from terrorism to diplomacy although his goals remain the same.

Ambassador Kirkpatrick notes that:

When Israel objects to submitting its fate to a manifestly hostile body [the international conference that Arafat has been peddling], Arafat and his friends call Israel's prime minister "Dr. No" and work hard to make it appear that Israel is the only obstacle to peace in the region. When Israel proposes for the disputed territories elections, autonomy and "interim arrangements" provided under the Camp David Accords, Camp David is dismissed by the PLO's friends as "outdated." How can Israel have confidence in a deal when the only deal it has been able to make [Camp David] is declared "outdated" soon after Israel delivered the Sinai?

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to give thoughtful attention to Ambassador Kirkpatrick's excellent analysis, and I ask that it be placed in the RECORD.

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 17, 1989]

STAMPEDED BY ARAFAT?

(By Jeane Kirkpatrick)

Some rulers come to power through elections. Some through civil war. Others by coup d'etat. Yasser Arafat is trying something different. He and his PLO colleagues are attempting to win a state through international diplomacy.

Last week Arafat met with Polish Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski. Soon he will be received in France by Francois Mitterrand. It is all part of an apparently endless shuttle around the capitals of the world in search of support for the Palestinian state that was unilaterally declared by the PLO at a meeting in Algiers last November.

That state has no territory, no army, no independent financial resources. But it has a government "elected" by PLO proclamation. Yasser Arafat is a president in search of a country. His strategy is clear. He hopes to generate enough support for his non-existent state that the United States will be persuaded to bring pressure on Israel to capitulate to PLO demands.

In this effort, the PLO is supported by a body of U.N. resolutions stretching back to 1974, when the General Assembly declared the PLO "the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people." These resolutions do not have standing in international law, yet they are widely regarded as representing "world opinion."

The General Assembly's session in Geneva in December provided the capstone with a resolution that "acknowledged" the PLO's declaration of the Palestinian state and upgraded the PLO delegation from an "observer mission" to "embassy."

But the General Assembly cannot give Arafat a kingdom because it has none to give.

Arafat believes he can parlay diplomatic recognition into statehood—and already the PLO state has been recognized by more than 100 member states of the United Nations. In the PLO's international campaign, Egypt has special importance.

Egypt has worked tirelessly to legitimize Arafat, lending its credibility and making the PLO case in capitals where Arafat was not welcome, especially in Washington. For its efforts, Egypt has won re-admission to Arab organizations from which it was expelled for signing the Camp David Accords.

The fact that Egypt had made peace with Israel—even if it is a cold peace—gives it special credibility in Washington. It was through Egypt's good offices that Arafat won "recognition" from the U.S. government as an acceptable representative and interlocutor for the Palestinian people.

Now Arafat hopes to translate his status as head of a government-in-exile of a non-existent state into U.S. pressure on Israel to abandon its claim to the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem, and to attend an "international conference" that would validate PLO claims and establish boundaries for Israel and the new Palestinian state.

Participants in this conference would include: the Soviet Union and China, which have upgraded PLO missions to the status of "embassy" but do not have meaningful diplomatic relations with Israel; Jordan, which has diplomatic relations with the PLO but not Israel; Egypt, which has warm fraternal relations with the PLO and a very cold peace with Israel; and possibly Syria.

When Israel objects to submitting its fate to a manifestly hostile body, Arafat and his friends call Israel's prime minister "Dr. No" and work hard to make it appear that Israel is the only obstacle to peace in the region. When Israel proposes for the disputed territories elections, autonomy and "interim arrangements" provided under the Camp David Accords, Camp David is dismissed by the PLO's friends as "outdated."

How can Israel have confidence in a deal when the only deal it has been able to make is declared "outdated" soon after Israel delivered the Sinai?

The Camp David Accords were, of course, negotiated under U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. So far, these have not been declared "outdated." To the contrary, the PLO's deal with the U.S. State Department includes Resolutions 242 and 338. And these are said to be the basis of U.S. policy toward the area.

But no one mentions the fact that these resolutions call for "direct" negotiations between the parties to the 1967 and 1973 wars—negotiations that Israel has sought and its Arab neighbors have refused right down to the present.

Resolutions 242 and 338 say nothing about an international conference and nothing about a Palestinian state. Yet the United States seems to feel that these resolutions can be useful in persuading Israel to hand over control of the West Bank and Gaza to someone—and there are no takers today except the PLO. This puts the United States in the position of effectively supporting a PLO state.

Have Arafat and his friends already succeeded in stampeding the new administration in Washington? Secretary of State James Baker has said Israel may have to negotiate with the PLO, but he has not said that Jordan must negotiate with Israel.

President George Bush has said Israel should get out of the West Bank and Gaza, but he has yet to call on Syria's Hafez Assad to evacuate Lebanon, nor on anyone else to meet the requirements of 242 and 338.

So far the Bush administration has not encouraged Arab rulers to make peace with Israel, nor to establish diplomatic relations nor has it adopted any other measures that might give the Jewish state confidence in the reliability of its neighbors.

Still, the Bush administration has offered support for the idea of elections on the West Bank and Gaza, and that is powerful evidence that the President and Secretary of state understand that legitimacy comes neither from international diplomacy nor from U.N. resolutions, but from the consent of the governed.

BILLIONS BLOWN ON HEALTH

HON. FORTNEY PETE STARK

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, every day I get letters and visitors telling me that if a single penny is cut from Medicare, the Nation's health care system will collapse.

First of all, we have no clear health care system, and what we have leaves one-sixth of our people grossly unserved.

Second, there are many places where money can and should be cut. If anyone doubts this, I would like to print below an article from the April 12, 1989, New York Times.

BILLIONS BLOWN ON HEALTH

(By Joseph A. Califano, Jr.)

Each day this year, Americans will spend \$200 million more on health care than they did last year. At the year's end, the total will be \$620 billion, up from \$550 billion in 1988. And in less than two years, America will break the \$2-billion-a-day barrier in health-care spending.

Most troubling, the evidence is now overwhelming that at least 25 percent of the money Americans spend on health care is wasted. And those wasted billions would be more than enough to fill the gaps and provide all the health- and long-term care our people need.

After a decade of trench warfare over health-care costs, shell-shocked combatants—hospital administrators, doctors, nurses, insurers, employers, government bureaucrats, politicians and patients—have a sense of winning some battles, but losing the war.

The battles won have not been insignificant. Medicare's system of paying hospitals pre-set amounts based on the patient's ailment rather than picking up whatever tabs hospitals submit has cut admissions and lengths of stay. Since enacting this change in 1983, Medicare has logged savings of at least \$25 billion. From 1982 through 1988, Chrysler, a cost-containment warrior, spent \$1.3 billion less for health care than it would have if its costs had risen at the same rate they did for business generally.

That's the good news for taxpayers and Chrysler shareholders. The bad news for taxpayers is that Medicare spending is rising so rapidly it will top \$600 billion and the cost of Social Security just after the year 2000. The bad news for Chrysler shareholders is that the company's 14 percent hike in 1988 health-care costs was more

than triple the rise in the consumer price index.

With cost pressures so great and results so mixed, it was inevitable that some health-care buyers would invoke the specter of rationing and triage. Oregon and Alameda County, Calif., have drawn up plans to ration care for the poor.

Doctors scramble to shift health-care costs to someone else. The Feds dump more Medicaid costs for poor patients on states, and more health-care costs for elderly retirees on large employers. Employers, frustrated by diminishing returns on their managed-care plans, dump costs on their workers and retirees. Insurers try to dump costs back on the Federal Government.

But wallowing in the despair of rationing and tossing the hot potato of costs to the next guy are unconscionable cop-outs. This year, we are spending \$155 billion for tests and treatments that will have little or no impact on the patients involved, including at least 30 billion taxpayer dollars.

What are we buying for all those millions? RIDICULOUSLY EXCESSIVE HOSPITAL CAPACITY

Hospital occupancy rates have been hovering at just over 60 percent nationally for the last three years. Despite the unprecedented pressures of excess capacity that would force any other business to cut back, close down or slash prices, between 1981 and 1987, the number of hospital beds increased by 21,000. And in 1988, hospital room prices jumped more than 10 percent, the largest boost since 1982.

When hospitals do close, they're often the wrong ones, like those in underserved inner cities. Moreover, when a city hospital is full, it is often with AIDS victims or substance abusers, who could be more humanely and effectively treated in less expensive hospices or treatment centers.

MILLIONS OF UNNECESSARY PROCEDURES

There is growing consensus that half the coronary bypasses, most C-sections and a significant proportion of many other procedures such as pacemaker implants and hysterectomies are unnecessary. A former editor of the Journal of the American Medical Association is convinced that more than half of the 40 million medical tests performed each day "do not really contribute to a patient's diagnosis or therapy."

A MEDICAL MALPRACTICE PROTECTION RACKET

In 1987, doctors and hospitals paid at least \$8 billion in malpractice insurance premiums. In Florida, obstetricians paid premiums of \$153,000; in Long Island, they paid \$95,000. Malpractice insurance costs for each baby delivered were \$921 in Florida, \$572 in New York and \$448 in Oregon. Less than half of those premium dollars ever get to injured patients; almost 60 percent of them go to lawyers, insurers and the courts.

Moreover, insurance premiums are the smallest part of the cost of our medical malpractice system. To protect themselves in case of a lawsuit, doctors perform millions of useless tests and procedures, at an annual cost estimated at \$20 billion.

FRENETIC AND INCREASINGLY EXPENSIVE, PAPER AND COMPUTER CHASES

America's health care system is the world's most expensive to administer. The proliferation of efforts to track and screen for abuse every patient, procedure and prescription has made it more important for doctors and hospital administrators to master accounting and regulatory manipulation than to master medicine.

What aren't we buying for all those millions?

WE ARE NOT BUYING BETTER HEALTH CARE

The \$2,500 we'll spend this year for each man, woman and child in the U.S. is 50 percent more than will be spent in the next highest spending nation, Canada; more than twice that in Japan and almost triple that in Britain. Yet each of these nations had lower infant mortality rates and similar longevity.

The quality of care is declining in half-empty hospitals where doctors and nurses do not perform surgical procedures often enough to maintain proficiency, much less attain excellence. And needlessly exposing patients to risky procedures can hardly be considered better care.

WE ARE NOT BUYING CARE FOR OUR NEEDIEST CITIZENS

From 1981 to 1988, while the cost of Medicaid more than doubled, to \$55 billion, the number of people participating remained unchanged at 22 million. And America's enormous expenditures do not buy health care for some 37 million uninsured citizens, most of whom work or are dependents of workers.

WE ARE NOT BUYING PUBLIC SATISFACTION

A recent survey found that 89 percent of Americans believe the health care system needs fundamental change.

WE ARE NOT BUYING THE FREEDOM TO CHOOSE ANY DOCTOR OR HOSPITAL WE WISH

The free choice era of American medicine is drawing to an end. In 1984, 85 percent of all employee coverage was by unmanaged fee-for-service plans that afforded the employee wide open choice of any health care provider; by 1988, only 28 percent of those employees enjoyed such freedom.

What can we do?

SUBJECT PATIENTS ONLY TO TREATMENTS THAT WORK

It's time for a rigorous effort to establish what procedures produce beneficial outcomes under what conditions. That means leadership and funding from Medicare; support from the Congress for the bills of Senator George Mitchell and Representative Bill Gradison to invest up to \$350 million in such research; and cooperation from America's physicians.

REVAMP THE MEDICAL MALPRACTICE SYSTEM

Medical professionals should be held accountable for negligence and incompetence, but not for disappointment and grief over events only God can control. States should limit the amount of financial recovery to modest payment for pain and suffering (as California has), link legal damages to costs of health care and compensation for lost income and lingering disability and sharply reduce contingent legal fees. Federal Medicaid contributions to states should be conditioned on reform of medical malpractice.

TAKE BETTER CARE OF OURSELVES

Two-thirds of all disease and premature death is preventable, but only if we as individuals recognize our responsibility to take care of ourselves. The priorities are obvious: quit smoking, stick to proper diet, control drinking, exercise, learn to handle stress and take preventive measures such as regular checkups.

APPLY CAPS, LIMITS, AND PRICING ACROSS THE BOARD

Employers have been burned too often by Medicare and Medicaid savings schemes that allow hospitals and doctors to recoup lost revenues by performing more procedures on private payers and charging them higher prices.

Merely shifting health-care costs from government to employers does not reduce total costs, and makes it even more difficult for American industry to compete in the world marketplace.

In 1988, Chrysler spent \$700 on employee health care for each vehicle manufactured—twice as much as French and West German automakers and three times as much as the Japanese. It's no wonder that many large corporations are becoming more sympathetic to national health plan proposals.

The alternatives to action on these fronts is a grim future. Many workers and retirees will lose their employer-based coverage or have it drastically reduced; Medicare beneficiaries will wait in line for lower-quality care; millions of citizens will continue to be denied access to basic health care; and only the wealthiest Americans will be able to afford long-term care.

This future is not a fantasy and it's not far away. Fortunately, the money needed to avoid it is already allocated to health care. We need only spend that money wisely. If we do, we can provide higher quality health care for all our citizens at the same price we're now paying to provide a declining quality of care for only some.

TRIBUTE TO THE UNITED WAY OF BERKS COUNTY

HON. GUS YATRON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. YATRON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize the efforts and achievements of the United Way of Berks County, PA. The United Way of Berks County has been responsible for sponsoring many programs and activities which directly benefit the disadvantaged and needy in our community.

As you know, Mr. Speaker, the stated mission of the United Way is to increase the organized capacity of people to care for one another. Volunteers and United Way workers throughout America and abroad have made great strides in caring for others over the years. The many activities sponsored by the United Way range from alcoholism treatment to job training to services for the disabled, and the list goes on.

Recently, the United Way of Berks County received five top honors from the United Way of America. Only one other United Way chapter in the Nation received more awards. Clearly, these honors reflect the unquestioned dedication and outstanding work of the people involved in the United Way of Berks County. I am proud of our local chapter of the United Way and commend the efforts of those involved in its mission. The honors bestowed upon the United Way of Berks County prove that people who care really can make a difference.

Mr. Speaker, it is because of these people that the United Way works for all of us and it is only fitting that their commitment to improving the lives of their fellow man be recognized. I salute the many volunteers and workers of the United Way of Berks County and thank them for helping to make the lives of others better and brighter.

TRIBUTE TO MAHESH PAREKH

HON. MERVYN M. DYMALLY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. DYMALLY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to Mr. Mahesh Parekh. As president of the Southern California I.H.M. Hotel and Motel Association, Inc., Mr. Parekh has served as a pillar in the Los Angeles community and a vital asset in the ongoing effort to bring people of different cultures together.

Mr. Parekh is but one example of the success experienced by the over 800,000 Americans of Asian-Indian descent in our country. As insurance and financial specialist by profession, his is the model story of the hard working immigrant whose greatest contribution was his commitment to the environment around him.

Mr. Speaker, his record of public service is outstanding. His dedication to public service includes, but is not limited to, serving as commissioner to the Building Rehabilitation Appeals Board for the County of Los Angeles; commissioner to the Orange County Sheriff's Department Advisory Council and special liaison to the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors for Asia-Indian Affairs.

I am proud to say that Mr. Parekh has maintained an impressive set of values which govern his business transactions and community activities. He is a paragon of determination and persistence.

Mr. Parekh's record of public service, and the numerous awards presented in commemoration of that service, though noteworthy, is far too lengthy for publication. However, public commemoration is not the only thing we should salute. I believe it is a fitting tribute to a person who has spent his life serving his country, community and humanity.

Mr. Speaker, I invite my colleagues to join me in saluting a man of fine character, public loyalty and commitment to the world in which we live.

END DEPOSIT INSURANCE ABUSE

HON. DONALD J. PEASE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. PEASE. Mr. Speaker, as the S&L legislation moves through the Congress, the present structure and coverage of our Federal deposit insurance system will emerge intact and, for the most part, unchanged. However, we should not let the passage of this legislation correspondingly terminate the debate surrounding the present state of this system. On the contrary, the mere fact that the U.S. taxpayer will eventually foot the lion's share of the \$100-billion-plus bailout bill demands that we continue to study this issue with the utmost thoroughness.

President Bush's S&L bill rightfully calls for a detailed Treasury study of the federal deposit insurance system. The following op ed piece from the Journal of Commerce, which in

essence describes the intent of my bill, H.R. 1260, outlines one approach in rectifying the numerous problems and disincentives which plague our current system. I commend this to the attention of my House colleagues.

The article follows:

[From the Journal of Commerce, Apr. 11, 1989]

END DEPOSIT INSURANCE ABUSE

(By Don J. Pease)

As the congressional debate over President Bush's savings and loan bailout plan begins, most experts will cite corruption and greed, incompetent regulatory supervision, and the ailing economy of the Southwest as the major causes of this financial mess. Yet there is another fundamental problem here, one that lawmakers must address to prevent the recurrence of such a financial debacle: the unlimited nature of federal deposit insurance coverage.

Deposit insurance is one of those "sacred cows" that lawmakers are fearful of touching. But there is no choice. Behavior encouraged by the existing deposit insurance system is at the root of many of our deposit institutions' problems.

The primary goal of deposit insurance is to promote financial stability through the prevention of widespread bank runs. Since its inception during the Great Depression, the federal deposit insurance system has achieved this end. Unfortunately, this system has not kept pace with the sophisticated changes occurring in the thrift, banking and finance industries. Consequently, deposit insurance has been used, and abused, in ways for which it was never intended. The thrift industry's current problems are the most vivid illustration.

Unlimited deposit insurance coverage coupled with financial deregulation has encouraged risk taking and imprudent fiscal behavior. By offering high returns on federally protected accounts, many savings and loan associations grew at astounding rates. Deposits brokers spurred this rapid growth. These brokers split large sums of money into \$100,000 bundles and channeled these funds, risk free, into the highest-paying and often most reckless thrifts and banks.

In spite of the dizzying speed of thrift expansion, depositors felt no need to monitor their savings banks' financial health, given the government's guarantee. Released from depositor (not to mention Federal Home Loan Bank Board) scrutiny, thrifts could invest in riskier, higher yielding assets such as real estate, and, with their newly brokered cash, many did. Predictably, these investments often went sour, and thrift losses began to mount.

These losses overwhelmed the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corp. and its insurance fund, but, nevertheless, insolvent institutions were allowed to operate through the miracle of unlimited deposit insurance. Although thrift owners had lost their equity in these insolvent institutions, money continued to pour into them due to the enticing combination of high rates of return and a government guarantee on deposits.

This precarious hand-to-mouth existence encouraged thrift managers to make risky but potentially lucrative loans and investments. If successful, such deals held out the minute possibility of restoring the institutions' profitability. On the other hand, if these ventures failed, which many did, the federal government would absorb these losses at no additional cost to the thrift

owners. Our current deposit insurance system promoted this taxpayer-financed gambling. Unfortunately, such activities persist today and add to the ever-increasing S&L bailout costs.

How then can this vicious cycle be stopped without disrupting depositor confidence and overall financial stability? By limiting deposit insurance to \$100,000 per person rather than \$100,000 per account.

This reform would place financial risk back on the appropriate individuals—The owners and managers of the banks and thrifts, not the American taxpayer. Since deposit insurance would guarantee a smaller percentage of their reserves, thrift managers would behave more prudently. Moreover, if applied in a non-retroactive manner, this reform would maintain financial stability and avoid bank runs because old deposits would keep their government guarantee.

Given that new deposits exceeding \$100,000 would no longer be guaranteed, depositors would have to monitor the health of their savings and loans more carefully. Such depositor prudence not only would reduce risky behaviour by banks and thrifts but would also limit the continued growth and operation of insolvent financial institutions. Without a government guarantee, insolvent thrifts could not attract jumbo deposits as they do now, even if they offered substantially higher interest rates.

Depositor prudence could also transform the brokered deposit business. Instead of seeking the highest rates of return, brokers could seek and promote financially sound institutions to investors whose deposits exceed the \$100,000 insurable limit.

Finally, by curtailing the growth of insured deposits, the \$100,000 per person limit would reduce government liability. The federal government currently guarantees around \$3 trillion in deposits—an astronomical and ever-growing sum.

The ultimate goal of a deposit insurance system is to promote financial stability through the prevention of bank runs. The current system, however, represents a triumph of means over ends. The limitless nature of deposit insurance coverage has prevented major bank runs, but overall financial stability has certainly not been achieved. On the contrary, we have not witnessed such a financial mess since the Great Depression. To prevent a similar fiasco and assure the future soundness of depository institutions, we should place clear limits on deposit insurance coverage.

A TRIBUTE TO DR. GEORGE BATEZEL

HON. JIM SAXTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. SAXTON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to a constituent of mine who has dedicated much of his life to assure a quality education for thousands of students. This year, Dr. W. George Batezel, Burlington County Superintendent of Schools, is completing a career of outstanding and dedicated service to the students, parents, and citizens of Burlington County, NJ.

For two decades, Dr. Batezel has given of his time as a selfless member of numerous civic and educational boards, including the Burlington County Special Services School

District, Burlington County Vocational/Technical Schools, and Burlington County College.

Dr. Batezel has not only served to assure that county school districts are in compliance with State requirements, but has also demonstrated a willingness to work with school districts in implementing innovative programs throughout the county.

Under Dr. Batezel's leadership, the Burlington County Superintendent's Office has provided a continuous, consistent, and high level of service to the 42 school districts of Burlington County.

He has earned the respect and admiration of his colleagues and all who have worked with him to assure that the Burlington County schools strive to achieve a standard of excellence unsurpassed in these United States of America.

Mr. Speaker, I know my colleagues will join with me in commending Dr. W. George Batezel for the vision and enlightened leadership he has demonstrated in the service of students, parents, and citizens of Burlington County.

INTRODUCTION OF A BILL TO PROVIDE FOR FAIR TREATMENT OF SWAP AGREEMENTS IN BANKRUPTCY FILINGS

HON. CHARLES E. SCHUMER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing with my colleagues Mr. FISH and Mr. SYNAR a bill to amend the Bankruptcy Code to provide for the fair treatment of swap agreements when one party to the agreement files for bankruptcy.

Interest rate and currency swap agreements are vital risk management tools used by commercial banks, investment banks, thrift institutions, insurance companies, domestic and multinational corporations, foreign governments, and U.S. and foreign government-sponsored entities. They are widely used to manage mismatches between an institution's assets and its liabilities.

For example, an interest rate swap could be used by an institution that has short-term floating rate liabilities and long-term fixed rate financial assets leaving it with substantial interest rate exposure if interest rates should rise. To hedge this risk, the institution could enter into an interest rate swap under which it would make fixed-rate payments—which can be funded with its fixed-rate assets—and in return receive floating rate payments—which will rise or fall with its floating rate liabilities. With this arrangement, the institution can better withstand the vicissitudes of the financial markets.

Although an institution may enter into a swap directly with another end user, more often it enters into a swap with a commercial or investment bank that creates a portfolio and acts as a dealer in swaps. Liquidity in the swaps market is assured by the readiness of swap dealers to enter into swaps with qualified institutions at any time.

The International Swap Dealers Association has developed a master swap agreement that

is commonly used by swap participants. Under that agreement, should a party to the master agreement file for bankruptcy, all swap transactions under the agreement are immediately terminated and the settlement amounts with respect to each swap are offset against each other in order to arrive at a single net payment from one party to the other. The single net amount is paid by the defaulting party to the nondefaulting party.

It is possible that the automatic stay provisions of the existing Bankruptcy Code could be interpreted to bar the terminations needed to net out the swap transactions. Also, under the existing code, it is possible that a trustee in bankruptcy could "cherry-pick" the swaps—continuing the transactions favorable to the bankrupt institution and terminating unfavorable ones. Neither the code nor the courts have addressed these issues and the potential exposure for nondefaulting parties is large. We cannot permit one bankruptcy to undermine the basic function of a market as large and important as the swaps market. This proposal would eliminate the uncertainty that now exists in the bankruptcy law.

The bill I am introducing today proposes three major changes to the Bankruptcy Code to address the problems with swaps in bankruptcy; it exempts terminations and setoffs of swaps and forward foreign exchange agreements from the automatic stay provisions of the Bankruptcy Code, thus avoiding exposure of the nondefaulting party to interest rate and other risks during court delays while individual exemptions are sought to allow such termination; it exempts swaps from ordinary preference rules and the preference provisions of section 553(b)(1), thus assuring the right to net positive and negative exposures with one counterparty; and it spells out the contractual rights of a swap participant under the Bankruptcy Code to terminate and net such exposures.

The financial markets are constantly evolving and new products are being developed everyday. Congress must ensure that the laws evolve to keep up with the markets they govern, particularly in the financial markets. The nature of these markets requires that the Bankruptcy Code allow the certain and timely resolution of complex financial transactions. This fact was recognized in 1982 and 1984 when the Code was amended in a very similar way for securities contracts, forward contracts, commodity contracts, and repurchase agreements.

The swaps market is large and growing. The dollar volume of outstanding dollar-denominated swap transactions alone was \$541.5 billion at the end of 1987. Unlike ordinary leases or executory contracts, where the markets change only gradually, the financial markets can move significantly in a matter of minutes. The markets do not wait for a court decision. It is imperative that the treatment of swaps transactions in the Bankruptcy Code, like the transactions considered in 1982 and 1984, not be left in doubt.

This proposal is supported by the Federal Reserve Board, the Securities Industry Association, the Public Securities Association, the New York Clearinghouse, the International Swap Dealers Association, many commercial

and investment banks and savings and loans, and others. It was passed by the Senate in the waning days of the last Congress and I am hopeful that it will be expeditiously considered and passed by the 101st Congress.

I urge my colleagues to join Mr. FISH, Mr. SYMNER, and me in supporting these needed amendments to the Bankruptcy Code.

Mr. Speaker, I insert the full text of my proposal at this point in the RECORD.

H.R. —

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
SECTION 1. DEFINITIONS.

Section 101 of title 11, United States Code, is amended by—

(1) redesignating paragraphs (49), (50), (51), (52), and (53) as paragraphs (51), (52), (53), (54), and (55), respectively; and

(2) inserting after paragraph (48) the following:

"(49) 'swap agreement' means an agreement (including terms and conditions incorporated by reference therein) which is a rate swap agreement, basis swap, forward rate agreement, interest rate option, forward foreign exchange agreement, rate cap agreement, rate floor agreement, rate collar agreement, currency swap agreement, cross-currency rate swap agreement, currency option, any other similar agreement, any combination of the foregoing, or a master agreement for any of the foregoing together with all supplements;

"(50) 'swap participant' means an entity that, on any day during the 90-day period ending on the date of the filing of the petition, has an outstanding swap agreement with the debtor";

SEC. 2. AUTOMATIC STAY.

Section 362(b) of title 11, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in paragraph (12) by striking "or" at the end;

(2) in paragraph (13) by striking the period and inserting "; or"; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

"(14) under subsection (a) of this section, of the setoff by a swap participant, of any mutual debt and claim under or in connection with any swap agreement that constitutes the setoff of a claim against the debtor for any payment due from the debtor under or in connection with any swap agreement against any payment due to the debtor from the swap participant under or in connection with any swap agreement or against cash, securities, or other property of the debtor held by or due from such swap participant to guarantee, secure or settle any swap agreement."

SEC. 3. LIMITATION ON AVOIDING POWERS.

Section 546 of title 11, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following:

"(g) Notwithstanding sections 544, 545, 547, 548(a)(2) and 548(b) of this title, the trustee may not avoid a transfer under a swap agreement, made by or to swap participant, in connection with a swap agreement and that is made before the commencement of the case, except under section 548(a)(1) of this title."

SEC. 4. FRAUDULENT TRANSFERS AND OBLIGATIONS.

Section 548(d)(2) of title 11, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (B) by striking "and" at the end;

(2) in subparagraph (C) by striking the period and inserting "; and"; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

"(D) a swap participant that receives a transfer in connection with a swap agreement takes for value to the extent of such transfer."

SEC. 5. SETOFF.

Section 553(b)(1) of title 11, United States Code, is amended by inserting "362(b)(14)," after "362(b)(7)."

SEC. 6. CONTRACTUAL RIGHT TO TERMINATE SWAP AGREEMENTS.

Subchapter III of chapter 5 of title 11, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following:

"§ 560. Contractual right to terminate a swap agreement

"The exercise of any contractual right of any swap participant to cause the termination of a swap agreement because of a condition of the kind specified in section 365(e)(1) of this title or to offset or net out any termination values or payment amounts arising under or in connection with any swap agreement shall not be stayed, avoided, or otherwise limited by operation of any provision of this title or by order of a court or administrative agency in any proceeding under this title. As used in this section, the term 'contractual right' includes a right, whether or not evidenced in writing, arising under common law, under law merchant, or by reason of normal business practice."

MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS

HON. MEL LEVINE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. LEVINE of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to draw to the attention of my colleagues in the House a recent Washington Post article regarding the "March for Women's Equality/Women's Lives" which took place here in Washington on April 9.

The article contains two very different stories told by women who have had abortions. Under the heading "A Mother's Story" Gloria Allred describes her experience before the Roe against Wade decision. Under the heading "A Daughter's Story," Julie Bergman and her mother Marilyn, both of whom are constituents of mine, discuss Julie's experience years later. The contrast between the two women's stories depicts in clear terms why it is so important to retain the right of women to choose legal and safe abortion. I could speak at length about the right to choose, but their words and experiences do not need any further elaboration.

Mr. Speaker, I ask that the Washington Post article be placed into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point.

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 10, 1989]
MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS, ON THE MARCH—AT THE RALLY, PERSPECTIVES FROM TWO GENERATIONS

(By Marjorie Williams)

In another age you might have found them down at the department store picking a china pattern, or a dress for the mother of the bride:

Elsie and Debbie Munshower, who traveled from Pittsburgh, Luvenia Finley, who drove from Winchester, Va., yesterday morning with her daughter Willette, on 2½ hours sleep. Cynthia Phinney, who orga-

nized buses in Maine for the National Organization for Women, and her mother, who came by bus from Wisconsin. Mother and daughter Gloria Allred and Lisa Bloom: lawyers both, L.A. and New York; one lives with the legacy of an illegal abortion, the other is four months pregnant.

Yesterday's abortion-rights "March for Women's Equality/Women's Lives" brought all manner of family groupings to Washington—grandparents with grandchildren, brothers and sisters, baby-boomer nuclear families of three, and enormous clots of cousins and aunts and uncles, lovers and friends and people all alone—to challenge what they believe to be newly serious threats to legal abortion. But amid the crowd, estimated at 300,000, the most charged combinations were the mothers and daughters.

You could recognize them because they both have that round, knobby little chin. Or they both wear that faintly ski-jump nose. Or there's that distinctive wide brow with the deep-set eyes. And once you looked at enough of them, these mother-daughter pairs—grown women all—you could put your finger on the ghostly feeling of strangeness that comes with seeing so many of them together, in the same place at the same time, in the same political dimension instead of on separate sides of the epochal divide that was the women's movement.

Mother and daughter. The unit contains so many of the abortion issue's thorny parts. It holds the powerful cathexis that binds women to the children they do bring into the world. It contains the transmission of knowledge, from women to girls, that they have all the world's pregnancies and miscarriages and episiotomies and menstrual cramps and Caesarian sections—and abortions. And it offers, especially, a dramatic tableau of the change that has swept—or perhaps is still sweeping—American women's reproductive lives.

Most of these mothers with adult daughters grew up at a time when abortion was illegal. Most of the daughters have lived their entire sexual lives secure in the wide availability of safe abortion. Between them, they compose—at least metaphorically—what abortion rights activists believe is the last best hope for a revitalized political movement: that women of one generation will pass their sense of urgency to a generation sunk in complacency.

Rebecca and Claire Pollack, 24 and 52 respectively, came to Washington with the Hollywood Women's Political Committee. Said Rebecca, "I feel very frustrated that I can't get people my age to take this seriously. They're all curious about what I'm doing, but they're not here."

Said Claire, "Women her age understand the illegality, but they don't understand the degradation . . . It goes back to good girls and bad girls. If you needed an abortion, you were a bad girl."

A MOTHER'S STORY

At 47, Gloria Allred sports jet-black hair, quantities of pale makeup, bright red lipstick. On her left hand is a diamond as dramatic as its owner. By contrast, her 27-year-old daughter, Lisa Bloom, wears tiny pearl studs in her ears and no makeup, a simple cotton sweater and blue jeans. But the affection between the two women is palpable, as Lisa says drily of her mother, "She used to stop gas station attendants to tell them that I went to Yale Law School."

Allred, a high-profile feminist attorney, is Archie Bunker's worst nightmare: She has

sued golf clubs that discriminate against women, dry cleaners that charge men and women unequally, husbands who try to evade paying child support, employers who try to investigate their employees' sexual histories. Not to mention the California state assemblyman who issued a press release calling her a "slick butch lawyeress." When she won a \$20,000 settlement, she then sued to prevent the state from paying it on the legislator's behalf.

"A lot of people don't want to make a fuss—don't want to be labeled," she says of her sometimes theatrical feminism. "For me, it's too late."

In the course of a meal, this professional extrovert pulls up her elegant red sweater to expose her pale, pale rib cage, by way of demonstrating how little weight she had to spare when she launched a six-week hunger strike to coax a bill mandating retroactive child support out of the Judiciary Committee of the California Assembly. She slips off her Evan-Picone shoes to show the calluses she earned last month countering "Operation Rescue" demonstrations outside abortion clinics in three California cities. She makes a vigorous pantomime of running a flag up the flagpole as she says, "Ladies! Whenever I hear that word, I always know it's a red flag going up—something terrible is about to happen to women."

But when conversation turns to why she is here, her voice drops to become almost inaudible, her body language reverts to defensive self-embrace.

"I didn't tell anyone about my abortion for years," she says. "I was afraid someone would find out. I didn't want anyone to know. One person knew, and she was the one who took me to the hospital" after the abortion was botched.

Allred was a schoolteacher then. During a vacation, in 1967, she was raped. She already had Lisa, by a brief marriage in college; the father was not paying child support, and on a teacher's salary she was determined to have no more children she couldn't take care of.

"I'd never thought about abortion," she says. "I had to ask someone, 'If a person was pregnant, what would she do?' And they say, 'Well, women get abortions.' I had to ask, 'What's an abortion?'"

Ultimately she was referred to a man—she never learned his name, or whether he was a doctor—who performed the procedure in a downtown office building. As she wrote in a letter filed with the Supreme Court as part of a abortion-rights brief in a pending case, "I was told that he would perform the abortion, but if I had medical problems as a result of it such as hemorrhaging, that he would not be available to assist me."

She hemorrhaged for a full week, then went back to work. "I tried to go back to school, because I didn't want to miss any school. I didn't want anyone to know. And blood just ran down my leg." Uncharacteristically, she takes refuge in euphemism. "And I was—I mean, I was wearing things to prevent that. But I just couldn't stop it, it was flooding out of me."

In the end, when her temperature climbed to 106 degrees, a friend insisted on taking her to the hospital. There, she says, a nurse told her "I was getting what I deserved."

Bloom, a Manhattan attorney, doesn't remember when she first heard her mother talk about that 1967 abortion. But she shares Allred's support of abortion rights—all the more so, she says, since her pregnancy began four months ago.

"I understand a lot more about what a burden it would be to be pregnant if you

didn't want to be," she says. "To think that the state could force someone to be nauseous, to be tired, to have backaches—to be sick—is astounding to me. I don't think people realize: Pregnancy can be very disabling. It's not like you just gain a little weight for nine months and that's it."

Bloom just had a standard blood test to rule out various problems that can be identified at this point in her pregnancy, including Down's syndrome. She hasn't gotten the results yet, and says that should she learn that something was wrong with the fetus, "I realize now that it would be a more difficult decision than in the first trimester. But it would be more difficult personally—not politically. It's not a political thing."

Bloom and Allred share a moment of wonder at how much—and how little—has changed to make abortion rights once again the subject of a march on Washington. "It's like the right to vote," says Bloom. "We thought this was basic."

A DAUGHTER'S STORY

Julie Bergman, just a year older than Bloom, is the vice president of a small L.A. production company. She is here with her mother Marilyn, who with her husband Alan wrote the lyrics for the song "The Way We Were" and other movie hits. Julie was no older than 12 when *Roe v. Wade* was handed down, but you won't find any complacency here.

After a Saturday press conference, mother and daughter were pitched the general question about differing attitudes inherent in their different generations. Julie, a redhead with a level gaze, took a deep breath and said this:

"I feel very strongly about this issue because I am a 28-year-old woman with an extraordinary mother who when I got pregnant at 22, with a man I was very much in love with, saw to it that I was treated the way I would be if I had a broken leg. And I went to my doctor, who was not only my gynecologist but who also brought me into the world, and he took me to Cedars-Sinai, and it was all taken care of safely, and humanely."

As he began, Marilyn's eyes welled in surprise; tears slipped down her cheeks as Julie continued, describing how her birth control method had failed, how much it meant to her that her boyfriend, as well as her mother and father, was part of her decision and her support. "I knew that eventually, I very much wanted to have a family," she said. "If I have a child, a daughter, I want her to experience it in the same way I did. And since I have gone through it personally, I feel very committed."

Brushing away her tears, Marilyn made a gesture of apology, saying, "I didn't know she was going to tell the story."

Julie shrugged, still collected, and said, "I didn't either."

They had a long embrace, in which someone—it sounded like the daughter—could be heard to murmur, Are you okay?

Mmmnn, came the answer. Are you?

And then Marilyn described her feelings. "Because it was possible for our daughter to have this treated the way it should be—privately, medically, legally—I feel so strongly about this right," she said. "I have to say one thing, though. We didn't feel about it as if it was a broken leg."

"No, not feel about it," said her daughter. "Treated it. Feeling was something different."

"She was 22," said Marilyn, "right out of college. And to bring a child into the world at this point, by my child—who was herself

a child." Her voice diminished, then rallied: "But I never felt about it as if it were a broken leg."

"If it had been five years later, it would have been a whole other thing," said Julie. "She will have a baby," her mother said. "And it will be the most loved and wanted baby possible."

IN A TIME WARP

Yesterday's march was dominated by fears that the past might overtake the present—that the women's movement, as if in a time warp, could be forced to return to its original battlegrounds. The demonstration itself was organized by NOW, the last major bastion of '60s-style activism, and supported by hundreds of groups ranging from the YWCA to the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights to such electorally focused organizations as the Women's Campaign Fund and the National Women's Political Caucus.

For every all-American yuppie couple with a plump baby in a perambulator, there was a young activist "facilitator" leading desultory, improbably '60s chants like "Hey, hey, ho, ho, patriarchy's got to go." There was a group of "Members of Congress for Choice," marching together hard on the heels of "Dykes for Choice."

If many of the organizers hoped to demonstrate that the abortion rights movement is "mainstream" then mothers and daughters like Debbie and Elsie Munshower were the answer to that wish.

Common genes are evident in their round, fair faces and in the eyes—though mother's are a little greener, daughter's a little bluer. Elsie, 58, said evenly, "I'm past bearing children. But I have children. I have grandchildren and I believe in the right to choose. In my day we used potash, you know, a little round black pill you inserted in the vagina. And we used catheters. You'd have it in for a few days, and then you would abort. I knew many who went through that in that period. And if you hemorrhaged, you had to get yourself to the hospital."

Debbie, 32, was a little less explicit, a little less talkative. "I went once with my girlfriend" When she needed an abortion, Debbie said. "It was a very supportive environment. It was safe—she came out safely and she could still have children."

The Munshowers came to yesterday's march despite the fact that neither has had an abortion. So did Gaithersburg resident Donna Dymond, 41, with 9-year-old Abigail, the oldest of her four children. "I remember how it was in the olden days, when women's lives were ruined by abortions—and so were men's," Dymond said. "And I know what it's like to carry a child who's wanted and loved. It's tough, even then."

There is no question, activists say, but that abortion-rights supporters have been galvanized by the Bush administration's antiabortion stance and by a Missouri case that will be argued April 26 before a Supreme Court far more conservative than the one that produced *Roe v. Wade*.

NARAL's direct-mail drive raised \$600,000 in March alone—compared with a draw of \$108,000 for a similar mailing in the same month last year. As many new members joined in February and March as joined in all of last year.

Similarly, at NOW, President Molly Yard says membership has swelled from 160,000 to 180,000 since the beginning of the year. Privately, feminists acknowledge that figures like these far outstrip the best fundraising phenomenon of recent memory—

President Reagan's failed nomination of Robert Bork to the Supreme Court.

But the fact remains that the women's movement is growing older. A full 69 percent of NARAL's members are 40 and over. Irene Natividad, who chairs the National Women's Political Caucus, notes that the average age of caucus members is 47. Young women have stayed out of the movement in droves, activists say.

Says Yard, "It's fascinating when you talk to a college campus. I often start out with the story of Margaret Sanger and birth control, and how it wasn't legal until 1965—and then only for married couples. And they're amazed. They've never conceived of a world in which it wasn't available."

Thus Yard, Natividad and others see in the recent alarm over abortion rights a chance to awaken younger women politically. "To me, this is the catalytic, politicizing issue for the 'Me Generation,'" says Natividad. "It is so appropriate. Because these are the women who point to themselves, instead of to themselves and other women. And this is an individual issue."

"It's frustrating," she adds, to be "revisiting" the issue of abortion, "but I guess I would say that if there is a chance of young women coming on board . . . I guess I would say that's a bigger plus, frankly."

Gloria Steinem disagrees vehemently with this line of analysis, saying that the movement has never drawn its activists from among the youngest women: "It's important to remember that women have always been the only group that grows more radical with age." Invited to see a silver lining in the possibility that the abortion issue will lend new energy to the women's movement, she declines. "I don't think so," she says flatly. "Because to be fighting the same issue after 15 years is not an invigorating experience."

Frances Rachel, of East Orange, N.J., might be surprised to hear that. At 71, she marched with a friend and carried a sign saying "Grandmothers for the Right to Choose." "I think that women of my generation can make an important contribution. Grandmothers," she said with a wink. "We're still sacred, right?"

"This issue is particularly appropriate for us. Because we know it. We know it from our lives."

CONGRATULATIONS TO JASON E. SKALA, VOICE OF DEMOCRACY WINNER

HON. DON YOUNG

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to recognize the writing talents of Jason E. Skala of Eagle River, AK. I wish to commend his performance as Alaska's winner of the Veterans of Foreign Wars script writing contest. This contest was entered by more than 250,000 secondary students throughout the United States each composing an essay on the given subject "Preparing for America's Future." Fifty State winners were chosen and nine national winners will collectively receive \$42,500 in scholarships. Jason is the son of Dr. and Mrs. Timothy Skala of Eagle River, AK. He is a junior at Chugiak High School and after graduation hopes to matriculate at an Ivy League university. His hobbies include painting, reading, writing, and powerlifting.

The following is Mr. Skala's winning essay. It shows both maturity and a keen insight of the responsibilities associated with citizenship. I am proud of his patriotic enthusiasm and with him the best of luck in the future.

PREPARING FOR AMERICA'S FUTURE

(By Jay E. Skala)

It seems trivial and decidedly un-American to contemplate the lifespan of our beautiful union. Yet as assuredly as we envision our life style as a constant, we tend to ignore the fact that it is only through the efforts of the brave few who summoned the courage to sacrifice their own personal comfort that we can enjoy the privileged liberty that we so cherish.

We are standing now at a juncture in the life of our country. For our finest hour only tempers our mettle and it is the time in between crisis that truly test it. Our Lady Liberty is not threatened by the savage beasts that would attack her, but is vulnerable rather to the viruses that would seek to debilitate her so that she is rendered defenseless to their attack.

It is the insidious enemy not the obvious one that is the most dangerous. By living peaceably, we are living at our time of greatest crisis. For in the lack of overt threat, we have let our guard down; an invitation to the quick punch.

The inoculation of our great country comes from the decisiveness of its individuals. In times of such crucial "non-crisis", with the alluring chance to "get what's mine", we must have the courage to sacrifice our own personal comfort in order to insure what is "ours".

The means of insurance are as varied and diverse as our beloved country. But by whatever means we should choose to prepare for our country's future, our choice must first insure that we are to have one. It is to this end that I propose the military.

Obligatory military conscription is perhaps the most expedite means to insure our children of the personal liberty and freedom that we enjoy. By enlisting each generation for a short-term of duty, we are ensuring our country of a trained reserve, ready to be mobilized if necessary. But more importantly, it will provide an entire generation with both technical and vocational training. It will afford to them an understanding of the military and the need for having one. But above all, it will teach us the price of peace, upon the purchase of which we must forever pay installments.

It seems paradoxical to ask that someone give of their liberty that they might insure it for later. And it must sound unbelievably illogical or rather unfair to ask this of the "now" generation, born in an age of instant access and computer speed. Yet we cannot forget that there are those among us who can no longer serve, those of us who already have, and those of us who are doing so now, who can remember less peaceful times only history to us, the youth. To us, this history and the threats of foreign minds shouting enticing propaganda at an undecided world is as distant as the satellites which beam these pictures into our homes.

We, the caretakers of destiny, must one day bear the torch of freedom and it will fall into our hands to bring the light of liberty to those portions of the world darkened by opposition and false promises. But foremost in our responsibility is to keep the home fires burning, for they will warm the souls of those who carried the flame before us. And it is our responsibility to those persons who initially sparked it, to those who

nurtured it in times of crisis, and to those who one day will inherit it from us to insure that it does not go out, simply by being prepared.

CONGRATULATIONS TO DEBORAH D. GARONE, R.N.

HON. WILLIAM M. THOMAS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. THOMAS of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to extend my congratulations to Deborah D. Garone, R.N., of Bakersfield, who has been named Nurse of the Year by the Kern County Registered Nurses' Society.

This is a fine and fitting tribute for Ms. Garone from her colleagues inasmuch as she was selected from a large field of candidates and nominated by local organizations and private citizens. A native of Bakersfield and educated in the area schools, Ms. Garone is currently employed as a nurse consultant at the Kern Regional Center. She has an extensive background in nursing and specializes in providing prenatal care to pregnant women who are at risk of having a child born with developmental disabilities. With Ms. Garone's long record of achievements, and most of all, her kindness and compassion in tending to suffering patients on her rounds, I know that this honor will be a source of pride for her, and an inspiration to her colleagues.

The Nurse of the Year award is a testament to the dedicated work of nurses in Kern County and throughout the State of California and I am proud to recognize Ms. Deborah Garone today.

CELEBRATING THE CENTENNIAL OF A GREAT MISSOURI ARTIST

HON. JACK BUECHNER

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. BUECHNER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize the centennial exhibition of the work of Thomas Hart Benton, one of the most important artists in American history. At a time when abstraction and surrealism were the artistic vogue, this man had the transcendent vision to teach us that beauty is best found in the purity of the world around us.

As a lifelong resident of Missouri, I have been given a unique opportunity to bear witness to this man's precise understanding of artistic rhythm and the human form. The son of an ambitious Missouri Congressman, he was named for an illustrious Senatorial forebear—whose likeness graces our statutory hall. Born into the practical world of the turn-of-the-century Midwest, Benton had the enormously strong aesthetic will necessary to see beyond his mundane world, so that he might later rise to glorify it. Despite his early education in the great art schools of Paris and New York, it was during his father's funeral that he found his true artistic mission. As his father's political colleagues eulogized, he found a

unique truth in their remarks which drove him to paint the world of his childhood.

Benton had the rare genius to paint men free of historical nuance, but as historical figures nonetheless. Painting his subjects in more natural poses than his contemporaries, Benton brought an unprecedented realism to historical painting, and with it, a sort of triumph of the aesthetic value of truth. Benton found beauty at every turn, and it was this voracity for beauty that made him such a prolific painter.

With great pride do I submit that it was one of my fellow Missourians who had the courage to tell Americans that in their quest for beauty, they need look no further than themselves and the world around them.

One of his greatest works "Social History of Missouri" graces the walls of the House conference room in Jefferson City, Missouri's capitol. For 10 years my eyes and my soul would wander to the panorama of real people in history, not explorers and warriors, not presidents and philosophers—although a young politician, Harry Truman is shown meeting with his mentor, Boss Tom Pendergast—but farmers, meatpackers, railroaders, slaves, rivermen, bandits, Jayhawkers, shopkeepers, and to the dismay of proud Missourians—Frankie and Johnny in their lovers' shootout.

I miss those pictures of America—vibrant colors and motion frozen. But that frieze of life is with anyone who served in the Missouri General Assembly. Looking at the murals made one understand just who it was we were to represent—the ordinary people that make our Nation so special.

It would well serve all of us in government to visit with America's artist on this 100th anniversary of his birth. Thomas Hart Benton's simple grandeur will inspire us to be better servants of the people.

Mr. Speaker, I ask that the articles from the Smithsonian Magazine and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch Magazine be included in full as an attachment to these remarks.

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Apr. 9, 1989]

CELEBRATING THE CENTENNIAL OF A GREAT
MISSOURI ARTIST
(By Robert Sanford)

At the time of his death in 1975, Thomas Hart Benton, the artist, was engaged in painting a mural. In his off-time, when the studio light was not right for painting, he was writing a memoir. Its tentative title was "The Intimate Story".

Benton told friends that the book was an attempt to tell the whole truth. Telling the whole truth wasn't easy, he added. Nevertheless, he was trying it. When he died he had written more than 100 pages.

In the manuscript, he recalled that in 1935 he had paid a "legal services" fee of \$500, as billed, to a Missouri state senator who was backing the legislation that gave Benton \$16,000 to paint the "Social History of Missouri" mural in the Jefferson City capitol. Benton said, "I paid off a politician \$500 and that did it".

Benton also wrote that in 1924 Tom Pendergast, the Kansas City Democratic political boss, slipped an \$800 roll of bills into Benton's hand after a visit to Benton's father, M.E. Benton. The elder Benton, a former congressman and Democratic politician in southwest Missouri, was dying of cancer.

"The Intimate Story" contained an account of the birth of an infant to a woman with whom Benton was living in Paris in 1909, when he was 20 and an art student. The infant did not survive the delivery.

The "whole truth" of the memoir is put to good use in a new biography of Benton called "Thomas Hart Benton—An American Original", by Henry Adams, curator of the Samuel S. Hays Chair of American Art at the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City. The book is being published in conjunction with the opening of a centennial exhibition of Benton's painting at the Nelson-Atkins Museum. The show of 88 paintings opens to the public on Sunday, April 16, which is a day after the 100th anniversary of Benton's birth. The show will continue until June 18.

Complementing the retrospective expedition and the book is a documentary film made for the Public Broadcasting System by Ken Burns, a New England film maker. The film will be shown at the Winifred Moore Auditorium at Webster University in Webster Groves at 8 p.m. on April 16 and at 8 p.m. on April 19 through 23, plus a 5 p.m. showing April 23.

So there are three cultural endeavors involved: the painting show, the book and the movie. The painting show will travel to Detroit, New York and Los Angeles. The movie, which is done, and the book, to be published in the fall, will have nationwide exposure. The exhibition opening is being observed with parties around Kansas City, including one on April 16 called the Benton Bash, at Kelly's Westport Inn. In Kansas City they are calling 1989 the Benton year.

The legal-services fee paid to the state senator in passing the legislation for the Missouri Benton mural might have caused quite a flap had it been known in the 1930s, but today it is rather insulated by time. But as an old man, Benton put it in the record, as he did with some other things that did not particularly add to his stature. Where did he get the idea that he should "tell on himself," that he should take a "whole-truth" approach to a new memoir?

He said he got it in his late years, when books began to appear about his life that had a flavor of Horatio Alger.

"I don't like that kind of stuff," he wrote. "If there is any part I don't want to play it is that of the boy hero struggling against the world for his ideals."

He explained that in his autobiography, "An Artist in America," written in the 1930s, he had taken a more objective view. He had decided that in delicate personal matters one could not name names. A rule to follow was to honor thy father and mother.

But in the later memoir he wrote about how his father and mother were mostly opposed to each other most of the time, and how the Benton family seemed fated for turmoil. He struggled with the "whole-truth" writing, even penning himself a note suggesting that he write it as a novel. But he concluded in the same note that he would not write a novel.

Something to be avoided in memoir writing is the tendency of the writer to paint a self-serving, egotistical image of himself, Benton wrote. Another tendency to be avoided is to throw in a lot of recollections that simply are not interesting to others because they had had no similar experience. Too much of that would just result in "mush," he wrote.

Benton was quite an accomplished writer. Yet the "whole-truth" notes reveal that he had misgivings at times about writing.

Benton the painter was something else. No qualms. After some rather extensive experiments in abstraction and modernism as a young man, he anchored his art in realistic scenes and figures, confident that the recognizable content of the paintings would assure continued interest.

When he was 81—four years before his death—Benton was enjoying new popularity for his work after some years of neglect. He said, "I think that what occasioned the revival of interest in these paintings was not their place in art history but in American social history. It was because of what they represented in a social scene—a social scene which has passed on but which survives as a living fact in the pictures."

"I think that's why the public interest keeps up in the mural in the Capitol in Jefferson City . . ."

Since his death Benton's works have brought higher and higher prices, with a mural in New York, "America Today," selling for \$3.5 million and an easel painting of a nude, "Persephone," selling for \$2.5 million in the Nelson-Atkins Museum.

"This exhibition will knock your eyes out," Henry Adams said the other day as he stood in a gallery room that was being prepared for the painting show. It was a remark showing more than the usual enthusiasm for a subject by an exhibition curator. Adams wrote the new Benton biography and organized the show. He has been working on the theme for more than four years.

He explained that the show will occupy five large gallery rooms and an entrance corridor. In subject matter, the objects will progress from early family photographs to small abstract and impressionist paintings to larger easel paintings to murals. The exhibition includes the mural "The Arts of Life in America" that Benton painted for the Whitney Museum of American Art in 1932.

"To understand Benton as a painter, one has to see the Missouri mural in Jefferson City and the 'America Today' mural in New York," Adams said. "To know Benton, you have to know that he painted big. We knew that. We decided that we would not be intimidated by the issue of size. We brought in murals when we could."

The paintings in the show include some color experiments; scenes captured in trips around America; technically polished studio paintings and nudes; portraits of characters encountered, from farmers to musicians; and river-floating vistas.

"Benton experimented in modernism and gave a lot of thought to composing scenes," Adams said. "He learned a lot about the creative carpentry of composing a picture. He used this design knowledge to reconstruct the world. He made clay models as aids for painting, and they were sort of halfway between abstraction and real life."

"He got away from just photographic representation. Just to reproduce something like it was would not be interesting because it would be inferior to the real thing. He used his modernism to comment on what he portrayed. He wanted the lines to move. He gave things a muscular, almost childish energy and made designs that were simple and powerful. These things make you think about life in a new way."

"What saves all this, holds it together, makes it worthwhile is that Benton was just a very good painter. I think he is now seen as a much more central figure in the history of American painting than some had thought. This applies today, now, when there are a lot of painters who are trying to

figure out how to take modernism and make something else of it."

Benton, who painted for more than 60 years, engaged in a lot of windy rhetoric about what was what in art. In 1935, he wrote to Alfred Stieglitz that "to go into painting in all its aspects and with all your heart is to live really a life. You're always in a battle royal. . . . It's one desperate situation after another. . . . But let me live desperately. . . . If I can keep tangled up in situations."

Commenting about all the rhetoric that a Benton biographer had to wade through, Adams said, "Benton had the ability to make other people say some incredibly stupid things. He had a sort of country bumpkin manner that was disarming. They would engage him in an argument and find themselves up against a very bright mind, an incredibly well-read and experienced artist."

In light of the turmoil, the title of the exhibition, "Thomas Hart Benton—An American Original," seems a bit bland. One might opt for something a little more pointed, perhaps along the lines of "The Last Romantic."

As a young student Benton had wishful illusions that he was somehow a cut above the run of the mill. In letters to his mother seeking continued financial support, he referred to himself as a budding genius. The word genius kept coming up.

Through the years of finding himself in art this idea was rebuffed and he said so. No genius he. But even much later in life, in his 60s and 70s, he held the idea that a reasonably intelligent person could figure out a problem of any magnitude and fix it—a Romantic stance.

But in his lifetime the world was being changed by technology, and he said in an interview 30 years ago that it seemed that a person "had to have a master's degree in mathematics in order to say anything intelligent anymore."

One of his most spectacular paintings, the "America Today" mural, dealt with the advance of technology in 1930 and showed a bunch of muscular machines that powered American industrial growth. And through the years of painting a "social history" of America, he included a lot of machines—threshing machines, plows, steel furnaces, locomotives, airplanes, tractors and trucks.

He was criticized for it. Purists in the art scene said that his inclusion of machines of the time made his art less than universal and dated it. Benton's active, jump-off-the-wall murals followed a period when some mural painters dressed human figures in Roman togas to give the scene a "universal" quality.

Benton rejected the universal cant. "All I can do," he said, "is paint what is there as I look at it."

But wait. He said, "I think that one of the most interesting philosophical issues of the time (1970s) is man versus machine. Machines have been pushed ahead to the point that humans serve machines rather than machines serving humans."

There was no question which side he was on. He was on the side of the humans. He was a Romantic.

THOMAS HART BENTON CAME FROM
MISSOURI—AND HE SHOWED 'EM
(By Verlyn Klinkenborg)

Every successful American artist of small-town, Mid-western origins has wondered: How on earth did I get here from there? For Thomas Hart Benton, born April 15, a centu-

ry ago, here and there were finally one and the same: Missouri. Of all the changes that came over that state in the 85 years of his life, the most important, he might have said, was that at last it made elbow room for the "Big I," as his father called Benton because he would not shut up about himself. That is the Benton we like to remember: a short, cocksure fellow with a mouth as big as his talent and a strong appetite for America. He is the painterly Twain, the populist Michelangelo, the public artist to a fault.

The man on the cover of Time's December 24, 1934, issue—the most famous artist in America—must have marveled at appearing there. Benton had often faced down self-doubt and concerted opposition, but the hardest part of his artistic career was surviving his birthright. He was named for his great-uncle, a prominent U.S. Senator and advocate of Westward expansion. His father, Maecenas Eason (M.E.) Benton, was a Missouri lawyer and politician. To M.E. and to the voters who sent him to Congress, the world's only beauty was its use. A child was born to go down hard, familiar roads laid out by calculating settlers whose minds, as one writer put it, "exasperated the European as a buzz-saw might exasperate a pine forest." A boy born into that world was not supposed to be a painter.

That Benton grew up stubborn and egotistical should surprise no one: stubbornness and egotism in defense of his talent were all that lay between him and filing briefs in a county courthouse for life. What still surprises is that the works for which he is best known—vigorous paintings of the Midwest and South, so familiar now as to seem the natural consequence of his upbringing—came about only because he rebelled against his own rebellion. From the temples of high modernism, Benton was seduced by the vernacular, by the commonplace lives of folk who embodied, as he said, "the most complete denial of aesthetic sensibility that has probably ever been known." Turning from Parisian, avant-garde abstraction, he canvassed the backroads of this country and took it upon himself to show Americans their national face whether they liked it or not.

Benton's works have now been gathered for a centennial exhibition opening this month at the Nelson-Atkins Museum in Kansas City, his home after 1935. It allows us to reconsider what he made of us and what we made of him. For Benton's career, more than that of any other painter, was shaped by a single question: What does America require from its art?

At the heart of Benton's finest work and writing there lies a vision worth restating. He firmly believed that art cannot prosper from genius and abstraction alone: to develop new forms and revive itself, art must turn to life as it is lived around it. "America," he was proud to say in 1924, "offers more possibilities in the field of theme to her artists than any country in the world." But if modern art were vitalized by America's thematic potential, then in simple fairness, Benton thought, America must also be enriched by what painting returns to its culture. Art would thus "function in American life and the American artist would find himself no more a mere exhibitor . . . but a creator within society, paid like a good workman for purposeful work."

The artist as workman enriching the lives of ordinary people: these are not new ideas. They pervaded the intellectual life of the 1910s and '20s in New York, a time of radical leftist thinking in which Benton shared.

They define the works of Mexican muralists Rivera (Smithsonian, February 1986) and Orozco, by whom he was greatly influenced. As he grew famous, the fashion arose of calling Benton a reactionary, a fashion his habits of wild speech only strengthened. But in the sources of his art and its meaning, there is nothing so ill-tempered. Despite his rhetoric, Benton was a native, populist radical, sprung from good Missouri soil. Between the native radical and the native reactionary, it can be hard to distinguish.

Especially among artists. America likes her artists raw, throbbing and drumming in public. Benton played to that preference, painting Persephone in front of his students, and his murals before visitors, living the artistic life in the open as if the privacy and inwardness of the creative impulse were not to be trusted. Benton fits the familiar mold of Jack London, John Steinbeck, Ernest Hemingway—the roughneck artist, the temperamental genius disguised as a Joe. But beneath the denim and swagger, there lurks something else: a soul, Benton said, "impregnated with a deep sense of the value of life, of the beauty of the basic human emotions and of the sadness of the drama of human striving."

To the end, Benton remained an egotist, but his egotism was, so to speak, without a center, capable at once of disarming honesty and unmediated self-mockery. Of himself, he could say that "In the art field I'm competing with Rembrandt, and as a harmonic player I'm competing with Larry Adler." He could downplay his talent to a "monkeying" with a pencil. Perhaps he came closest to describing himself when he characterized the "bone-headed" boys he knew in the Navy: "Their egos," he found, "were not of the frigid, touchy sort developed by brooding much on the importance of the self. They were objective. They were interested in things, rather than selves." Thomas Hart Benton, the objective egotist: it somehow makes sense.

STUDENT LOAN DEFAULT COLLECTION ACT OF 1989

HON. JIM JONTZ

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. JONTZ. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing, with a number of my colleagues, legislation to reduce the amount of money currently in default on student loans.

The Federal Government agreed to guarantee student loans so that our young people would be able to afford an education. The funding for these loans and the other forms of Federal assistance for postsecondary education needs to be continued and in many cases increased, however, there is a serious problem that we must address. Currently, U.S. taxpayers are financing over \$6 billion worth of defaulted student loans. The combined efforts of lenders, guarantee agencies, collection bureaus, and others has been unsuccessful at getting these loans repaid.

This is a problem that should not be allowed to continue.

The legislation I am introducing today, the Student Loan Default Collection Act of 1989 is legislation similar to an amendment, adopted by voice vote last Congress during the full

Education and Labor Committee markup of H.R. 4986.

The bill would provide incentive to student loan borrowers who are in default and repay all of the remaining principal and interest on their loan(s) during a 6-month grace period. The borrowers would be eligible for three benefits:

1. a borrower's credit record would be cleared with regard to their student loan(s); and
2. no additional penalties would be charged on the loan(s) which is paid in full; and
3. eligibility to receive additional student loan assistance would be restored.

In addition, the bill extends existing law to provide for the resale of defaulted loans on which the borrower has made 12 consecutive payments. Such a rehabilitation of the loan would be beneficial for the borrower, the lender, and the Treasury.

This legislation is supported by a large number of organizations including the American Council on Education, the United States Student Association, the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities, the Association of Trade and Technical Schools, the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, Trade and Technical Schools, the American Association of State Colleges and Universities, the Association of American Universities, the Council of Independent Colleges, and the National Association of Student Financial Aid Administrators.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation is a simple but positive way for the Federal Government to reduce the amount of money in default on student loans. I urge my colleagues to support it.

TAX RELIEF SOUGHT FOR THE ESTATE OF WOODY HERMAN

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a private bill to relieve the estate of Woodrow Charles Herman of its current Federal tax liability.

Woody Herman, one of America's foremost jazz bandleaders, first achieved fame with his popular hit "Woodchopper's Ball" in 1939. During the next 48 years, he produced numerous albums and performed worldwide with his band, the Thundering Herd.

Herman died on October 29, 1987, with a debt of \$1.6 million in back taxes, penalties, and interest payments. He had entrusted his financial affairs to an irresponsible business manager who gambled away his money and failed to file his income taxes from 1962 through 1966. When the problem was brought to Herman's attention, his health was failing and his ability to perform and generate income was nonexistent. The Internal Revenue Service proceeded to auction off Herman's home and attached his songwriting royalties to begin offsetting the debt.

The bill absolves Woody Herman's estate of the tax liability and directs the Secretary of

the Treasury to reimburse the Woody Herman Foundation amount equivalent to the funds already collected on the debt. The foundation was established following Woody Herman's death and has just announced plans to provide financial assistance to needy jazz artists, and promote the study of jazz, an art form which has enriched America's cultural heritage.

Attached is a copy of the bill followed by an article detailing Woody Herman's significant contributions to jazz from the *Harmony Illustrated Encyclopedia of Jazz*.

H.R. —

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

SECTION 1. RELIEF FROM LIABILITY.

The estate of Woodrow Charles Herman of Los Angeles, California, is relieved of liability to the United States for unpaid Federal income taxes for the taxable years 1962 through 1966 and for any unpaid fines and penalties assessed against Woodrow Charles Herman or his estate for such non-payment.

SEC. 2. REIMBURSEMENT OF SUMS PAID.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay to the Woody Herman Foundation out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated an amount equal to the aggregate of any amounts paid by Woodrow Charles Herman or his estate, or withheld from sums otherwise due Woodrow Charles Herman or his estate with respect to the liability to the United States specified in section 1.

(b) LIMITATION ON ATTORNEY'S FEES.—Not more than 10 percent of the amount referred to in subsection (a) shall be paid to or received by any agent or attorney as consideration for any services rendered in connection with the recovery of such amount. Violation of this subsection shall be deemed a misdemeanor punishable by a fine of not more than \$1,000.

WOODY HERMAN

Bandleader Woody Herman was born Woodrow Wilson Herman in 1913, starting in vaudeville with his parents at the age of 9, where he was billed as 'Boy Wonder Of The Clarinet'. By 1936, he had taken over the Isham Jones Orchestra, The Band That Plays The Blues (The Best Of Woody Herman) and was featured extensively on clarinet and alto in arrangements that fluctuated between Dixieland and swing.

In 1939, the band recorded the million-selling *Woodchopper's Ball* and popularity was assured. The First Herd was recruited in 1944, a glittering array of outside personalities like trombonist Bill Harris, tenorman Flip Phillips, drummer Dave Tough, trumpet prodigy Sonny Berman and arranger-pianist Ralph Burns. It was a band of enthusiasts, and it still sound like it on record. The good-humored vocal on *Caldonia* capped by the wildly exciting trumpet unison, Phillips' booting solo on *The Good Earth*, Harris' idiosyncratic brilliance on *Bijou*, all remain classics of the period (The Best Of Woody Herman, CBS) while the sheer exuberance of the band on *Apple Honey*, *Wild Root* or *Your Father's Moustache* has seldom been equaled. With arrangements by Neal Hefti, Burns and Shorty Rogers, the First Herd scored a radio show sponsored by Wildroot Cream Oil, hosted by Wildroot Cream Oil Charlie, that took the sound into a million homes. Airshots capture the spontaneity of the band better than studio dates, and the

trio of releases is worth hunting down (The Great Herd 1946 and Woody Herman—His Orchestra & The Woodchoppers, Vols 1 & 2).

Personnel changes occurred before the band broke up in 1946, Don Lamond replaced Tough at the drums, Shorty Rogers replaced Hefti and vibraphonist Red Norvo replaced Marjorie Hyams.

The Second Herd, despite pessimistic predictions, proved every bit as good. The sax section comprised Stan Getz, Zoot Sims, Herbie Steward and Serge Chaloff, three tenors and a baritone. Jimmy Giuffre scored the famous *Four Brothers* to spotlight the section, and the smooth, low, close-formation ensemble became a trademark: bebop out of Lester Young (The Best Of Woody Herman, CBS). The Ralph Burns feature for Getz, *Early Autumn*, made the tenorist's cool lyricism famous overnight. Bebop began to show in the trumpet section with the arrival of Red Rodney, while Shorty Rogers wrote bebop numbers like *Keeper Of The Flame* and *Lollypop*, the latter a follow-up to George Wallington's famous *Lemon Drop* (Early Autumn). Again, airshots are worth a listen (*Bolled In Earl*) particularly as the recording ban kept the Second Herd out of the studios for a year.

At the end of 1949, Herman disbanded the Herd, formed another, but due to the decline of the big-band market, he was forced to follow a more conservative line. The Third Herd is a blurred category, covering a multitude of personnel changes, though the arrangements remained the province of Burns and Giuffre. 1959 saw the reassembly of many of the Herman stalwarts, Zoot Sims, Conte Candoli, Bill Perkins, Urbie Green, for the Monterey Jazz Festival. With Mel Lewis on drums, the band tears into *Four Brothers* (Live At Monterey) while Monterey *Apple Tree* is the classic *Apple Honey*. An album from 1963 (*Live At Basin Street West*) reveals a vigorous talent; high-note specialist, trumpeter Bill Chase, lifting the trumpet section for the exciting *Caldonia*, the fast, driving tenorist Sal Nistico on *El Toro Grande*, or trombonist Phil Wilson on *Body & Soul*. With Nat Pierce writing the arrangements, this version of the Herd was a fine mixture of tradition and innovation. An album from the late '60s (*Jazz Hoot*) showcases the flaring trumpet section of Bill Chase, Dusko Goykovich, Don Rader, Bob Shew and Gerald Lamy, plus solos by Nistico.

Woody Herman's own playing has remained consistently excellent over the decades, still indebted to Frank Trumbauer, The Glissando Kid, for his alto sound, and still apposite on the unfashionable clarinet. In later years, the Herd's sax section hews close to Coltrane, and the electric piano has appeared, but the identity of the band seems indestructible.

Recordings for Concord in the mid-'80s show that the Herman Big Band can still recreate history when reworking classics like *Four Brothers* and *Perdido* in the company of Sal Nistico, Flip Phillips and Al Cohn (World Class).

ALBUMS

The Best Of Woody Herman (MCA/MCA)
The Best Of Woody Herman (Columbia/CBS Realm)
Early Autumn (Capitol)
The Great Herd, 1946 (Swing Treasury/Swing Treasury)
Woody Herman—His Orchestra & The Woodchoppers, Vols 1 & 2 (First Heard/First Heard)

Boiled In Earl (Swing Treasury/Swing Treasury)
 Live At Monterey (Atlantic/Atlantic)
 Live At Basin Street West (Phillips/Phillips)
 Jazz Hoot (Columbia/CBS)
 The Kings Of Swing, Vol 2 (Verve/Verve)
 Hey! Heard The Herd? (Verve/Verve)
 The Band That Plays The Blues (—/Affinity)
 Feelin' So Blue (Fantasy/Fantasy)
 The Woody Herman Big Band—World Class (Concord/Concord)
 Woody Herman Presents A Great American Evening (Concord/Concord)

INTRODUCTION OF TVA COLLECTIVE BARGAINING LEGISLATION

HON. JIM COOPER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, these are times of change at the Tennessee Valley Authority [TVA]. Last year, Chairman Marvin Runyon began to restructure TVA to make it strong again. Most of us in Congress applauded his first year's effort. He's got a tough job, so we've done what we could to give him the tools needed to do it well.

Last summer, Chairman Runyon laid off over 7,500 TVA workers, nearly 20 percent of the total work force. He found that these staff cuts were needed to keep TVA's electric rates stable. But they were very painful. Virtually the entire TVA community—including ratepayers, civic leaders, labor unions, and elected representatives—agreed that drastic belt-tightening was needed for the long-term health of TVA. We just wanted to make sure that TVA only cut back its work force as absolutely necessary and as fairly as possible.

Last June, TVA's unions brought a disturbing problem to the members of the TVA congressional caucus. The fairness of the massive layoff was threatened by a change in an obscure Federal regulation that the Office of Personnel Management [OPM] had imposed on TVA and other Federal agencies. Before 1986, TVA followed strict seniority when conducting a reduction in force. But in 1986, OPM changed its regulation to require Federal agencies conducting reductions in force to use a new formula to give extra seniority credits to employees based on their evaluations in years past. Although the TVA Act gives TVA freedom to negotiate its own contracts with employee unions, TVA held that it was bound by this regulation.

Let me point out three things about TVA that make this situation unique. First, TVA is not like the typical Federal agency. It is set up with the flexibility of a private power corporation. The workplace needs and employee protections at TVA don't compare well with most Federal agencies.

Second, for employees, TVA's flexibility has advantages and disadvantages. Employees of other Federal agencies have a host of civil service laws and Federal labor laws to protect and benefit them. TVA employees are governed by the TVA law and the contract provisions they bargain for themselves. Usually, it is to their advantage, since their workplace is so different from other Federal agencies. But imposing select civil service regulations on them in a piecemeal fashion can work against their own efforts. For example, with OPM's layoff regulation, other Federal workers have rights to grieve their evaluations; but many TVA union members don't have that right.

Third, no Federal agency in recent years has laid off workers on a scale as dramatic as the TVA layoffs. The grand scale magnified the weaknesses of the OPM regulation for the TVA employment system. It made the unfairness to employees seem even more harsh.

In December 1986 when TVA announced that it would be applying OPM's credit for performance scheme, the TVA unions complained that they had never agreed to the changed formula in the regulation. They contended that such a change should be bargained over or arbitrated. TVA asserted that it had no choice in the matter, that they were required by law to follow the OPM regulation.

The unions filed suit against TVA in Federal court disputing the applicability of the regulations and demanding that TVA enter binding arbitration on the issue. The U.S. district court ordered TVA to arbitrate the issue. With one set of "trades and labor" unions, TVA agreed to arbitrate. But with the other set of "salary policy" unions, TVA appealed the decision.

On February 28, 1989, the Federal appeals court ruled that TVA did not have to arbitrate the issue with "salary policy" unions. This left the controversial regulation in place at TVA. So now it appears that a legislative remedy is needed here.

Under the bill that I and my colleagues are introducing today, TVA will regain the right to bargain freely with its employees on labor issues. This right has long been a fundamental strength of the TVA Act for both labor and management. We believe that its restoration on this point will work to the long-term benefit of TVA and its workers. They are in a much better position to design rules to fit their unique needs than OPM is from its Washington offices.

We do not believe TVA will lose anything from this bill. If TVA wants to consider performance at layoff, it can negotiate with the unions for a fair provision. More importantly, TVA has plenty of flexibility to deal with poor job performance. There is no excuse for TVA accepting poor performance. If an employee is not meeting performance standards, TVA can terminate his or her employment.

This bill is not retroactive. It is our belief that a retroactive bill would cause more problems than it would solve. We have no desire to relive the painful layoffs of last year.

Mr. Speaker, I want to be clear that, instinctively, I support incentives to improve employee performance. And many union members I've talked to feel the same way. So it is not that the idea itself is flawed so much as OPM's extreme provision that doesn't work well at TVA. This regulation failed to improve performance at TVA. It just caused problems.

Under the regulation, an employee with 3 years experience could get 16 years of seniority added for performing "better than fully adequate." A "fully adequate" rating for the same 3 years would give only 12 years credit. Under

this formula, an employee with 3 years on the job could end up with more seniority than an employee with 6 years on the job.

For employees, the formula gave far too much weight to fuzzy differences in performance evaluations. The difference between "fully adequate" and "better than fully adequate" seemed like the difference in an "A" and a "B" on a report card—both being good grades, far from failure. The subtle difference in the two grades was based on very subjective evaluations, and they believed strongly that evaluations varied from supervisor to supervisor and office to office. Yet in the OPM layoff scheme, the difference topped the seniority scale completely. It took little account of the importance of long-term service.

To frustrate the employees further, most of the evaluations in question were made before either TVA or its workers had reason to know that they would be used to calculate seniority this way. Under the OPM regulations, TVA had to use the 3 previous years' evaluations. So employee evaluations from the years 1985, 1986, and 1987 were used. When evaluations in 1985 and 1986 were conducted, they had no bearing on layoffs, which followed strict seniority. And at layoff time, employees had no right to challenge the evaluations previously given.

We need to move this legislation quickly, Mr. Speaker. TVA Chairman Marvin Runyon has committed to the ratepayers of the seven State service region that TVA will not have a rate increase this year or next. We must ensure that, if any more layoffs occur, this regulation will not get in the way.

As you can see, this regulation caused frustration, confusion and anger at TVA. It had little effect on performance, except to the extent that it caused turmoil. TVA and its unions will be much better off drawing up their own provision. I ask your assistance, along with the chairman and members of the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, in passing this legislation soon.

FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN UNITED STATES

HON. ROBIN TALLON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. TALLON. Mr. Speaker, Americans know that the United States continues to run a huge Federal budget deficit. They know that the United States continues to run a huge trade deficit. They know that foreign investment continues to compensate for the low level of domestic savings.

But do they know that in the past 5 years, known foreign investment in American factories, banks, businesses, buildings, and other U.S. economic assets has doubled and now exceeds \$1.3 trillion?

Do they know that last year alone, it increased by 25 percent? Foreign money has been financing a record borrowing binge, while disguising the fact that we are living dangerously beyond our means. The symbol of our age is the plastic credit card with the interest payments going out overseas.

The United States was the world's largest creditor nation in 1982. Now, it is the world's largest debtor nation, with a foreign debt exceeding those of Mexico, Argentina, and Brazil combined. Foreign investments in the United States are treated as debts owed by the United States because they affect our economy in the same way.

As ownership of U.S. assets moves overseas, so does authority over vital economic decisions affecting American jobs, business goals, and prosperity. Foreign ownership in our high technology industries could narrow our strategic and competitive edge. Foreign ownership in our energy and defense-related industries could endanger our national security.

The world's leading democracy is trading its sovereignty for a security blanket of foreign money, not to foster long-term economic growth, but to sustain a high national lifestyle. To finance its budget deficits and pay for foreign products, America has been selling off its productive capacity—in other words, we've been selling off the family jewels to pay for a night on the town.

This surge of foreign investment and foreign influence is the greatest change now taking place in our economy, but the one we are the least equipped to understand. Unlike other nations, we do not require disclosure of basic information on foreign ownership in this country. Though a hodgepodge of Federal agencies collect various types of data on foreign ownership, the information is useless for sound analysis or informed decisionmaking. Much information is kept secret—even from Congress.

As a result, we are unable to see the growing concentration of foreign ownership in U.S. industries, and unable to see the real consequences of our economic policies.

Opponents of disclosure say we already know enough from lists kept by the Department of Commerce—but the agency refuses to vouch for their accuracy—and from Commerce and Agriculture Department reports—but foreign owners are free to hide behind anonymous dummy corporations.

Most foreign investors in the United States are seeking to acquire existing businesses rather than to establish new ones. In 1987, foreign investors spent \$25.6 billion to acquire 306 American companies. Only \$4.9 billion went to establish 251 companies.

Foreigners now own 10 percent of the U.S. manufacturing base. Foreign landlords own large commercial real estate holdings in major cities including Washington, DC, Los Angeles, Houston, Minneapolis, and midtown Manhattan. Statistics also indicate that more than 12.5 million acres of farmland in 49 States are owned by foreigners. Those are alarming figures any way you look at them.

I have cosponsored legislation, the Foreign Ownership Disclosure Act, to require disclosure of major foreign-owned interests here; for most, it asks only, "Who are you, where are you from, and what have you got?" For controlling interests in large U.S. businesses, it asks for basic financial data that much smaller publicly traded American corporations already disclose.

The legislation creates absolutely no restrictions; it simply asks major foreign investors to

sign in as they walk through our open door. The United States will still have the most open foreign investment policy in the world—in sharp contrast to other nations, which impose strict restrictions, preclearance requirements, and outright prohibition on Americans seeking to invest.

Legitimate foreign investors are here to make money, not to hide it. Why would simple disclosure stop them from investing here, if much more onerous requirements have not stopped Americans from investing abroad? Why should our Government policy be to help those who have something to hide?

In addition to handicapping our ability to responsibly manage our own economy, our current policy of ignorance shields foreign investments here about which all Americans should be concerned.

The Soviet attempt in the 1970's to acquire U.S. companies with access to advanced American technology was discovered by the CIA only by accident.

President Reagan's 1986 order freezing Libya's assets here was a futile gesture because we cannot identify them.

Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos siphoned off billions of dollars from his country—and presumably, our foreign aid—and used the money to buy Manhattan real estate.

OPEC nations have reportedly been discreetly buying U.S. oil refining and production facilities and could eventually control vast domestic, as well as foreign, energy supplies.

Opponents of this type of legislation admit that America has become too dependent on foreign investment—but they say this is why we cannot afford to even ask basic questions about it. They overlook the predictions that America may be more than a trillion dollars in debt internationally by 1990—and thus even more dependent on foreign investment, while still knowing very little about it.

Foreign investment helped the United States emerge industrially. It still brings many benefits. But we are no longer an emerging nation; we are the world's leading democracy.

Increasing foreign influence over decisions vital to our future has implications for our national prosperity, sovereignty, and security.

We should no longer be forced to make critical economic decisions in the dark. We need reliable information about foreign flags flying over the American economy.

THE GOOD NEWS ON ACID RAIN

HON. SHERWOOD L. BOEHLERT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. BOEHLERT. Mr. Speaker, unlike so many times I have addressed my colleagues, I am not here today to talk about the contentious issue of acid rain. Quite frankly, I'm tired of hearing about it. For the past 3 years, as Chairman of the House Working Group on Acid Rain, I've had my fill of experts and pundits telling us about the bad news on acid rain and how difficult it will be to clean up the problem.

So none of that today.

What I am here to talk about is the GOOD news. I hope our colleagues in the media will hear me when I say that constant reports of worry and conflict and distortion—while accurate in the worst cases—have overshadowed a significant body of agreement and positive potential.

Item No. 1: President George Bush. Governor John Sununu. EPA Chief William Reilly.

What a difference! For the first time in years, the Congress has an opportunity to achieve cleaner air working with the administration, not against it. Very shortly, the President will unveil a responsive legislative proposal. It will not be a trial balloon, sent aloft only to be shot down 3 days later by an unnamed source.

The President's proposal will have the imprimatur of the first environmental activist ever named to head our environmental agency. It will have the tenacious advocacy of a former Governor who brought the disparate regions together in several acid rain initiatives. And the battle will be led by an outdoorsman president, who knows the legacy we leave to our grandchildren must be in harmony, not in conflict, with our economic vitality.

Item No. 2: Forget about the clichés of one region pitted against another. For too long, the conventional wisdom has pitted New York against Ohio, the Northeast and Canada versus the South and West.

My friends, that is history. We have reached a near de facto state of agreement on the outlines of legislation to reverse the effects of acid rain.

This is reflected in the fact that we now have agreement between the Governors of New York and Ohio. Working together, not at cross purposes, these two Governors looked at the local situation and discovered they could propose to us a solution—one that is not all that different from the legislation offered by my good friends, Mr. Cooper and Mr. Sikorski. Who would have thunk it?

That solution would: Cut SO₂ and NO_x emissions by roughly 50 percent, from an appropriate baseline—by the turn of the century—with the maximum flexibility for State Governors and industry to protect local economic resources—credit for prior cleanup achievements—and a minimum of taxpayer involvement. These are the principles advanced by the House Working Group on Acid Rain in 1986 and, I will modestly suggest, by a wider and wider array of friends in Washington and in the field.

Differences remain, but they are not insurmountable. While I will not settle for less than the full measure of environmental protection that is economically feasible, I have learned it can be done in a way that brings people together behind good public policy.

Item No. 3: While we're at it, let's talk about good public policy:

Crafted properly, the bill will protect and promote jobs in coal, natural gas, and alternative fuels. The bill will create jobs in construction and transportation.

The bill will reinforce our clean coal technology industry, creating new high-tech and manufacturing jobs, and ensuring leadership in the world market. Our toughest competitors in this industry, Japan and West Germany, have

some of the strictest air pollution laws in the world.

The bill will spur energy efficiency, and that means sharply lower program costs in many States, deferment of new capital investments in powerplants, greater energy security, enhanced competitiveness through lower energy costs, and a reduced level of greenhouse gas emissions.

These are the positive benefits we can expect from acid rain legislation above and beyond the restoration of thinning forests, dying lakes and streams, and the health of our hearts and lungs.

In closing, I'll freely admit that I wear my optimism on my sleeve. But I don't believe in pie-in-the-sky.

I'm simply tired of hearing, to quote a recent article that "the same gridlock of conflicting interests that has blocked action since the early 1980's is still in place." After a long period of discussing tradeoffs and building consensus, we have reached a point where people are speaking the same language and looking forward to the best way to solve a serious problem.

So enough of the gloom and doom. This is our year, Mr. Speaker, and I pledge to every one of my colleagues on the Energy and Commerce Committee, and to all parties who are engaged in crafting a solution, my assistance and my best wishes.

FEDERAL MINE SAFETY AND HEALTH ACT AMENDMENT

HON. NORMAN D. SHUMWAY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. SHUMWAY. Mr. Speaker, today I am initiating legislation to amend the Federal Mine Safety and Health Act of 1977 [MSHA]. If enacted, this legislation would exempt those mines that are owned by five or less working partners and that do not employ any individuals who do not have an ownership interest in the subject mine from the onerous regulations included in the act.

The original intent of the Federal Mine Safety and Health Act was to address a variety of legitimate safety and health concerns which were largely associated with the coal mining industry. The measure was amended to include metal and nonmetal mining, although the underlying motive of the legislation was to protect the health and safety of coal miners.

I represent the "mother lode" region of California. In this region of California there are scores of individuals mining for gold and other precious ores or minerals on small claims located on both private and Federal lands. Most of these individuals work by themselves or with a small number of partners on these claims. In searching for minerals, the small miner will often drive short prospecting tunnels which span only several feet in length.

During the consideration of MSHA, Congress did not properly take into account the unique circumstances of the small miner. Due to this oversight, the individual mine operator must adhere—when forced by Federal mine

inspectors—to all the provisions included in MSHA. Burdensome MSHA provisions which a single prospector may be required to comply with include: the installation of a face to portal telephone system when the mine shaft distance is only several yards in length; the placement of backup indicators on vehicles to avoid other individuals from being run over; and the use of special electrical and mine lighting systems as a safeguard against methane gas explosions which can occur in coal but not gold and other precious mineral operations.

The practical effect of subjecting small miners to MSHA requirements is to put them out of business. Under no reasonable circumstances can a small mine operator with extremely limited resources available—comply with rules and regulations which were designed for large operations that employ mine workers.

With this inequity in mind, I urge my colleagues to join me in support of this simple, straightforward legislation to alleviate an unintended, undue hardship on small mine operators.

MEDICARE CATASTROPHIC COVERAGE ACT—MORE WILL PAY THAN EXPECTED WITH LITTLE OR NO BENEFIT

HON. PETER A. DeFAZIO

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. DEFAZIO. Mr. Speaker, back in February, Representative TAUKE and I distributed copies of a report by the National Committee to Preserve Social Security and Medicare to each Member of the House. The findings, based on information provided by the Joint Committee on Taxation, shows that the number of seniors and disabled who will be paying the supplemental premium for the Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act is far greater than originally predicted. Almost 15 million senior and disabled individuals will be paying the supplemental premium in 1989.

The report also shows that the majority of tax-paying seniors will experience higher average out-of-pocket costs, and that 9 to 10 million Medicare beneficiaries will spend about \$100 more a year for their health care coverage—even after the reduction in medigap insurance is taken into consideration.

Seventy-two percent of Medicare beneficiaries already had most of the coverage provided in the new law through private insurance or Medicaid. Most seniors would be happy to pay their fair share for any new benefit, however, no one is willing to pay more for benefits they already have.

Today, I am submitting a summary of the National Committee's findings for the RECORD. Again, I urge each of my colleagues to reconsider the catastrophic financing method and to work toward true catastrophic protection for our elderly and disabled.

FAR MORE SENIORS THAN EXPECTED WILL PAY MEDICARE CATASTROPHIC SURTAX IN 1989, RECEIVE LITTLE OR NO BENEFIT

SUMMARY

The number of seniors and disabled taxed to pay the supplemental premium required by the Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act is far larger than forecast. The Congressional Budget Office (CBO), using information provided by the Joint Committee on Taxation, underestimates the number by 24 percent. The widespread tax consequences affect almost half of all seniors in 1989. In addition, 30 to 40 percent of Medicare enrollees—most of the seniors paying the surtax—will suffer greater out-of-pocket costs for Medicare covered services. This is true even after taking into consideration all the new benefits and the reductions in medigap premiums. Not surprisingly, there is broad-based dissatisfaction with the Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act among middle-income seniors. Far from providing an historic expansion of Medicare, only one-fourth of the legislation's cost over the next five years will buy new protection for all beneficiaries.

NUMBER OF SENIOR TAXPAYERS UNDERESTIMATED

National Committee estimates, based on income tax returns filed by seniors, show that 14.6 million seniors, almost 47 percent of older Americans, will have a tax liability of more than \$150 in 1989 and will, therefore, be required to pay the Medicare tax.¹ A state by state breakdown of the 14.6 million seniors with this tax liability appears in the Appendix of this study. The percent of senior taxpayers ranges from 35 percent in Mississippi to 57 percent in New Jersey and Connecticut. By 1993, almost 54 percent of this nation's seniors will pay the Medicare tax.

Medicare enrollees include not only seniors, but about 3.1 million disabled. If the disabled Medicare population is included, 44.1 percent will pay the surtax.² This figure is considerably higher than what the government has estimated. According to CBO, only 35.6 percent of Medicare enrollees will pay the supplemental tax in 1989. The percentage will gradually increase over the next five years, but not until 1993 does CBO predict this percentage will reach 42.5 percent.³

The National Committee arrived at its estimates by analyzing actual tax return information, published by the Statistics of Income Division of the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) on taxable returns by seniors 65 years and older.

According to IRS data, the percentage of seniors paying taxes above an average of \$150 has steadily increased from 1980 to 1985. In 1980, only 34 percent would have been liable for the surtax, had the law been in effect. By 1985, however, about 47 percent, or 13.4 million seniors paid an average of more than \$150 in Federal taxes. Applying just the same 47 percent to the number of people aged 65 and older in 1989 shows that 14.6 million seniors will have tax liabilities of more than \$150.

The Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act of 1988, signed into law on July 1, 1988, requires beneficiaries, in addition to an in-

¹ See Appendix A for a methodology presentation.

² See Appendix C and D.

³ The Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act of 1988. Staff Working Paper, Congressional Budget Office, August 1, 1988.

creased monthly premium, to pay a supplemental premium based on their federal income tax. For every \$150 tax liability, seniors will have to pay an additional \$22.50 in taxes for Medicare, up to a maximum of \$800 for individuals filing singly and \$1,600 for those filing as couples. This additional premium amounts to a 15 percent surtax in 1989—the first year the tax is due. The surtax increases each year thereafter, reaching 28 percent by 1993, or \$42 for every \$150 paid in Federal taxes.⁴

For example, an individual, or couple, with a tax liability of \$3,000 will pay a supplemental premium of \$450 in 1989. A single person with a tax liability of \$5,300 or more will pay the maximum supplemental premium of \$800. A couple with a tax liability of \$10,667 or more will pay the maximum premium of \$1,600.⁵

MOST SENIOR TAXPAYERS WILL BE WORSE OFF

According to CBO, the net result of the Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act will "reduce out-of-pocket costs for the poor and near-poor enrollees, while increasing costs for other groups."⁶ CBO reached this conclusion despite their statement that "Congress attempted to ensure that the full value of new Medicare benefits would accrue in some form to enrollees with medigap insurance as well, although attainment of this goal is uncertain."⁷ Based on CBO's own estimates, 30 to 40 percent of Medicare enrollees—most of the seniors paying the surtax—will suffer greater out-of-pocket cost for Medicare covered services after the law goes into effect. This is true even after adjusting for reductions in medigap premiums.⁸ In its report, CBO simulates a fully effective law in 1988 including all the benefits which according to the law will not be effective until 1993.

Perhaps most surprisingly, individual with annual per-capita incomes above approximately \$13,000 will lose from this legislation. Between nine and ten million beneficiaries will spend about \$100 more a year for their health care coverage—even after the reduction in medigap insurance is taken into consideration. Furthermore, if CBO has underestimated the number of enrollees paying the supplemental premium surtax, it would also have underestimated the number of enrollees who will be worse off.

Beneficiaries who have employer-provided medigap benefits and who also pay the supplemental premium will have an average premium increase of \$333 in 1989 for no increased benefit. Twenty percent of Medicare enrollees receive medigap benefits paid by employers. Some employers are required to make premium rebates, but these will be very small in 1989.⁹

BENEFICIARIES WILL RECEIVE FEW NEW BENEFITS

Many have criticized the new law because it primarily duplicates benefits that most Medicare beneficiaries already received through medigap insurance or Medicaid. Far from being an historic expansion of Medicare, the "new" benefits for all benefi-

ciaries are very limited, consisting primarily of new drug coverage.

Sixty-two percent of all Medicare enrollees and 72 percent of seniors already had medigap coverage. This means that for a majority of enrollees most of the benefits included in the catastrophic benefit package were covered by private insurance. Another 10 percent of Medicare enrollees receive Medicaid assistance and were already protected against these out-of-pocket costs. The remaining 28 percent of beneficiaries who cannot afford, cannot qualify, or have chosen not to purchase medigap policies, stand to gain the most from the catastrophic coverage law.

An analysis of the benefits under the Catastrophic Coverage Act reveals that only 24 percent of the benefits were not usually covered through private medigap policies.¹⁰ The only new benefits Medicare enrollees with medigap coverage will receive are prescription drug coverage, no 3-day prior hospital stay before entering a nursing home, unlimited hospice days, additional home health care, 80 hours of respite care, and mammography tests.

CONCLUSION

The National Committee has found that about 47 percent of seniors will have a tax liability of \$150 or more in 1989, thereby paying additional Federal income tax as a result of the new law. In addition, it was found that most senior taxpayers will be worse off and face even higher out-of-pocket expenses for their health care. These factors further explain the broad dissatisfaction currently being expressed by many seniors—a dissatisfaction which is likely to continue to grow as the number of senior taxpayers grows.

ADDENDUM

CBO has stated that supplemental premium information was prepared by the Joint Committee on Taxation also using income tax returns. The Fiscal Year 1990 Administration budget¹¹ estimates that revenues from the surtax in 1989 are 55 percent higher than estimated just last summer. This supports our conclusion that the percent of Medicare enrollees paying the surtax has been underestimated by Congress.

SENIORS PAYING MEDICARE SUPPLEMENTAL TAX IN 1989 BY STATE

State	Total number of seniors	Seniors paying supplemental tax	Percent
Alabama.....	527,988	211,245	40
Alaska.....	19,200	10,198	53
Arizona.....	438,390	203,961	47
Arkansas.....	365,858	142,773	39
California.....	3,044,195	1,474,346	48
Colorado.....	314,659	152,971	49
Connecticut.....	449,056	254,951	57
Delaware.....	76,798	39,335	5
District of Columbia.....	81,065	45,163	56
Florida.....	2,207,948	1,085,364	49
Georgia.....	647,451	292,830	45
Hawaii.....	110,931	55,361	50
Idaho.....	119,464	46,620	39
Illinois.....	1,477,299	690,553	47
Indiana.....	700,783	316,139	45
Iowa.....	443,723	193,763	44
Kansas.....	353,058	163,169	46
Kentucky.....	478,989	189,392	39
Louisiana.....	492,788	180,651	37
Maine.....	166,396	80,128	48
Maryland.....	503,455	270,977	54
Massachusetts.....	843,713	461,826	55

¹⁰ See Appendix E.

¹¹ Budget of the United States Government, Fiscal year 1990, p. 4-11.

SENIORS PAYING MEDICARE SUPPLEMENTAL TAX IN 1989 BY STATE—Continued

State	Total number of seniors	Seniors paying supplemental tax	Percent
Michigan.....	1,107,174	514,273	46
Minnesota.....	561,053	270,977	48
Mississippi.....	334,925	118,006	35
Missouri.....	740,249	337,992	46
Montana.....	105,598	43,706	41
Nebraska.....	232,528	106,351	46
Nevada.....	106,664	56,818	53
New Hampshire.....	126,930	69,929	55
New Jersey.....	1,041,042	592,944	57
New Mexico.....	154,663	64,102	41
New York.....	2,434,076	1,174,232	48
North Carolina.....	779,715	359,845	46
North Dakota.....	93,864	40,792	43
Ohio.....	1,407,967	655,589	47
Oklahoma.....	458,390	174,824	40
Oregon.....	386,124	174,824	45
Pennsylvania.....	1,846,355	871,205	47
Rhode Island.....	151,463	77,214	51
South Carolina.....	378,658	160,255	42
South Dakota.....	104,531	43,706	42
Tennessee.....	628,252	275,347	44
Texas.....	1,689,560	715,320	42
Utah.....	142,930	55,361	39
Vermont.....	68,265	33,508	49
Virginia.....	645,318	321,967	50
Washington.....	554,654	266,606	48
West Virginia.....	278,393	103,437	37
Wisconsin.....	665,584	307,398	46
Wyoming.....	45,866	18,339	41
Total.....	31,114,999	14,567,183	

INTRODUCTION OF THE GUAM REPARATIONS ACT

HON. BEN GARRIDO BLAZ

OF GUAM

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. BLAZ. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill to amend the Organic Act of Guam and for other purposes.

Mr. Speaker, between December 8, 1941, and August 10, 1944, the island of Guam was the largest American territory actually occupied by Japanese forces, the Philippines having been promised its independence prior to the outbreak of hostilities.

During almost 3 years of occupation, thousands of loyal Guamanian Americans suffered atrocities, including, but not limited to, death, injury and internment at the hands of the enemy because of their loyalty to the American flag.

This bill seeks an ex gratia compensation for those Guamanians. While the United States was and is under no legal obligation to extend such relief, I contend that the United States Government has a moral obligation to do so. I believe the record clearly reflects that Congress itself has recognized this moral obligation based on the undisputed loyalty of the people of Guam during the Second World War. Secondly, Congress has previously recognized this moral obligation by enactment of Public Law 79-224 (59 Stat. 583), also known as the Guam Meritorious Claims Act, wherein approximately 4,000 people were compensated.

Nevertheless, there remain approximately 2,000 Guamanians who have yet to receive compensation for personal injury or death because of their inability to meet a one-year deadline. This was due to a language barrier and disruption of the island following its libera-

⁴ PL 100-360, Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act of 1988.

⁵ See Appendix F for the 1989 tax table for the supplemental premium.

⁶ CBO Staff Working Paper, p. 20.

⁷ Ibid, p. 17.

⁸ Ibid. Based on Table 11, p. 22.

⁹ The Health Care Financing Administration announced the national average actuarial value of duplicative Part A benefits to be worth \$65 in 1989. Federal Register, Dec. 6, 1988.

tion by American forces. Additionally, there remain approximately 1,000 Guamanians who have yet to receive compensation for forced labor, forced marches or internment because these were not among the covered injuries under 59 Stat. 583. Finally, a total of 578 people received insufficient compensation for personal injury or death under 59 Stat. 583.

Mr. Speaker, as far back as 1951, the elected leaders of Guam began requesting the United States Government to extend further reparation relief. However, the rights of American nationals, including those of Guamanians, to present claims against Japan were waived by the United States by virtue of the 1952 Treaty of Peace with Japan. Prior to ratification of this treaty, Congress was advised by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles on January 31, 1952, that United States nationals whose claims are not covered by the treaty provisions or by the legislation of other Allied Powers, must look for relief to the Congress of the United States.

I might add that, following ratification, Congress enacted numerous measures extending previous deadlines in which to file claims, to American nationals other than Guamanians, including but not limited to Public Law 87-846, enacted on October 22, 1962, and Public Law 100-383, enacted on August 10, 1988.

Finally, Congress has enacted numerous measures extending reparation relief to Pacific islanders who are neither national or citizens of the United States, including Micronesians and Aleutians, for damages inflicted by the enemy during the Second World War. Nevertheless, Guamanians, who have been citizens of the United States since 1950, have not received as full a measure of consideration. Ironically, Micronesia was under the administration of the enemy from 1917 to 1945.

Mr. Speaker, last week the 20th Guam Legislature passed Resolution 162 supporting introduction of this bill. This resolution was based on a survey of surviving victims of enemy atrocities. Overwhelmingly, they indicated their desire to accept a single set award for one of three categories of injury: death, personal injury, or forced labor, forced marches and internment.

Mr. Speaker, introduction of this bill has a very special meaning for me. I myself was one of those Guamanians who was stripped naked, made to work in a forced labor battalion and herded into an unspeakable internment camp.

Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to show compassion for these martyred Guamanian Americans—the last, unsung and unrecognized heroes of the Second World War.

TWILIGHT OF A SOUTHERN LIBERAL

HON. ALAN WHEAT

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. WHEAT. Mr. Speaker, recently my dear friend and predecessor as Representative of the Fifth Congressional District of the State of Missouri, the Honorable Richard Bolling, brought to my attention an article that ap-

peared in the Boston Globe this year concerning a colleague of Mr. Bolling's, the Honorable Carl Elliott.

The article, written by journalist Will Haygood of the Globe staff, chronicles the life and times of a courageous and truly extraordinary legislator. Carl Elliott was a Congressman from Alabama who rose from a poor and humble beginning to become one of the most powerful and principled Congressmen on Capitol Hill.

As a member of the House Rules Committee, he was a critical part of the effort to push the progressive legislative agenda of President John F. Kennedy through an often stubborn and uncooperative Congress. He was a true leader in the struggle for civil rights and equality in this country long before it became fashionable to do so. Carl Elliott did not take the road of political expediency; he chose integrity, he took the high ground, and he hung on to it with a conviction that all of America should applaud and admire.

As Mr. Bolling stated, "Elliott was an extraordinary Congressman and legislator. He is now still remarkable and not yet defeated. In my book, a great man." His story deserves to be retold and remembered. For the benefit of my colleagues and other conscientious Americans, I submit the article that appeared in the Boston Globe on the remarkable Carl Elliott for the RECORD.

[From The Boston Globe, Feb. 28, 1989]

TWILIGHT OF A SOUTHERN LIBERAL—CARL ELLIOTT: FLAT BROKE AND NEARLY FORGOTTEN
(By Wil Haygood)

JASPER ALA.—His creditors, like wild geese, have come and gone, and come again. Sometimes, knowing it is them, he just lets the phone ring; damn the debt. Dead leaves circle the yard and the weeds need cutting. The other day a couple of boys came by, wanting to clean the place up and make a few bucks. The old congressman is flat broke. He waved them off.

Books, literary books, are everywhere in the house. He reads by a naked lightbulb. After supper he grabs a piece of his stomach flesh and sticks himself with a needle's worth of insulin. He was in the kitchen one morning frying something Southern and fell like timber. It wasn't just the diabetes anymore. A muscle disorder popped up out of the blue. He needs a walker to walk. His personal papers are in boxes nudged against the living room wall. Somewhere there's an honorary degree from Tufts University, for his sponsoring "numerous bills in Congress affecting education and welfare of the disadvantaged." He is trying to press the life together now and ship it off to the university in Tuscaloosa. "There is enough," he is saying about his papers, "to keep my friends and enemies busy for a long time."

For much of his 16 years in Congress, Carl Elliott was one of the most powerful legislators in America. In 1958 he pushed the historic National Defense Education Act through Congress, a furious and eloquent reaction against the Russians' launch of Sputnik. The act enabled millions to attend college on student loans. Even in the 1950s Elliott had 1960s passions. He got on the House Rules Committee in 1961 because they needed a Southerner willing to go against other Southerners who were holding up John F. Kennedy's bills. With Kennedy, everything was jets taking off. With Kennedy in the White House, Carl Elliott was in the White House.

But Elliott would attract the kind of hate in Alabama that Kennedy did when he took on George Wallace. Alabamans voted Elliott out of office in 1964. He sat idle for a while, then, sensing victory hissing from the State House door in Montgomery, or something approaching victory, he returned to Alabama in 1966 and took on George Wallace for the governorship, flinging his big brooding body at Wallace and all that Wallace stood for.

It was a brutal campaign, of gunfire and bomb threats, of tiny desperation and loud hopes. When his campaign ran out of money, Elliott told everyone to hold on, he'd get more. He withdrew every red cent from his congressional pension. Tilt at windmills and they sometimes tilt back. He lost.

A kind of darkness has spread over his life since then. Right in front of his eyes they took his house. He couldn't meet the mortgage. The family farm has also been yanked. The car was repossessed, and that wasn't too long ago. He had been driving around without insurance anyway. Folks do gossip, here and everywhere. It has been hard to stay. "Nearly starved to death," he says. Little wonder he reads poetry, and anything he can get his hands on about Thomas Jefferson. "Jefferson lost his farm. He sold his library to the Library of Congress. He had a lot of the same problems I had. Makes a fella feel kind of kin to him," says Elliott.

ON THE ROAD TO JASPER

You can get here by taking the John Hollis Bankhead highway out from Birmingham. John Hollis was Tallulah Bankhead's granddaddy. She left Jasper for the London stage and became, as they called it in those days, a smash.

The sign in the yard reads "Carl Elliott Sr., Attorney at Law." The sign is big as a door. He hasn't practiced law in a decade. The congressman is sitting in a highback chair. He's 75 now, still huge, the hands, arms, legs, everything. He used to live alone but things got out of hand. When John Williams, the live-in aide, whom Elliott pays for with his military pension and social security, first saw the ad four months ago about a former congressman looking for help, he thought he was coming to interview for a job "for some rich congressman with maids and butlers and Cadillacs in the driveway."

Carl Elliott was born in Vina, Ala. His parents were simple people who took things literally. When George Denny, president of the University of Alabama, gave a speech near Vina and said anyone who wanted an education at the university could get one without regard to income, they sent their son. They gave him \$2.38 and told him to be good. President Denny sat in his office, listening to Elliott, and leaned over and told him that his parents had misunderstood, that he had to have some money. Elliott had to leave. He went to an abandoned building on campus and fell asleep. "Well, Carl," Denny said the next morning, "if you want to come to school that bad we'll find a place for you." It was 1930. "Every now and then someone would think I was doing well and lend me a hundred dollars," Elliott says. He waited on tables, did others' laundry, kept the campus furnace going, made honor roll and became the first in his family to graduate from college. In 1933 he took a law degree from the university. In the late '30s he did his country lawyering in Russellville, Ala., defending convicted murderers and trying to save them from the abyss. "I never

had a client who got burned in the electric chair."

LIBERALISM IN ALABAMA

Liberalism, oddly enough, has long played a part in this state's political history. Much of it had to do with Lister Hill, a progressive Democrat who was an Alabama congressman from 1923-1937 and a US Senator from 1938-1968. Hill wrote the Tennessee Valley Authority Act in 1933 and went on to help spread the sweet shadow of FDR's New Deal legislation through this state and the country. Bob Jones and Jim Folsom and Albert Rains have all been progressive Alabama politicians. But it never was the kind of go-for-broke liberalism, especially on civil rights, that a Stuart Symington or a Harry Truman, both from Missouri, espoused. The good Alabama politician had to play on a tricky chessboard. Progressive as he was, Lister Hill voted against the 1965 Civil Rights Act. "I would have been defeated," he said, then went on to push Medicare through the Senate. Franklin Roosevelt nominated Alabamian Hugo Black to the Supreme Court. Black tried explaining away his one-time Klan membership. He went on to become one of the most liberal justices in Supreme Court history, still scorned in many parts of this state as a pariah.

It was the Dixiecrat movement across the South that gave George Corley Wallace a cause. By the late '40s, you could hear Wallace's engine revving in the distance.

FEVERISH ABOUT EDUCATION

In 1948 Carl Elliott ran as a friend of labor, and won a seat in Congress. He worked his way up the ladder and got some bills passed. "A little law for veterans' housing and a bill for those who had been severely shot up in the war." He'd spend 10 years working on the bill that would come to be known as the National Defense Education Act. He was crisscrossing the nation talking about education. One Saturday night he strolled through a church over in Cullman County. A schoolteacher named Mary Allen Jolley was on piano. "About midnight in walks this tall guy, looks like the biggest man I ever met in my life," recalls Jolley, who now works at the University of Alabama. "He was introduced by the ministers as a candidate for Congress. He was terribly interested in schools." Elliott and Jolley got to talking, and he told her that if she was as feverish about education as he was, she should come to Washington and work for him. In 1955 she became his legislative assistant.

"When Sputnik went up," recalls Jolley, "we were in Sioux Falls, S.D., holding hearings on education. We were looking at the notion of scholarships." Elliott got word of Sputnik, returned to Alabama, cornered Sen. Lister Hill, and said, "It's time to pass the bill."

Elliott and Hill hovered for several days at the Tutwiler hotel in downtown Birmingham. "The decision was that we were to work on the biggest omnibus bill we could think of," says Elliott. He worked on the bill 18 hours a day. He seemed demonlike. When the National Defense Education Act passed—the word "defense" was to make Americans think it was a useful tool against the Russians—it seemed a new day had dawned. "We had opened the door of the colleges to the sons and daughters of the poor," says Elliott. "We had slipped the lock."

GOING TO BAT FOR JFK

In 1960 Carl Elliott went to work in this state for the Kennedy campaign. "You see,

this is Baptist country here. I'm not a Baptist myself. The Baptists were strongly against Kennedy. I told Kennedy something had to be done about that, that we'd get beat in the South, not on the racial question, but on religion." Kennedy spoke to Baptists everywhere and it was all pretty convincing. Elliott made more than 100 speeches for Kennedy. "I was putting everything I had in those speeches. We carried this state by 57,000 votes for a man named John Fitzgerald Kennedy. That was a good victory."

Sam Rayburn, speaker of the House, called Elliott before the November elections and told him to come to Tennessee right away for a meeting. "Kennedy's going to win," Rayburn said to Elliott upon arrival in Tennessee. "We'll need a man on the Rules Committee." The Rules Committee is the most powerful committee in the House. It is the committee that determines which bills are to be acted on. Rayburn needed a Southerner to go head to head with Howard Smith, the staunch conservative from Virginia and chairman of the Rules Committee. Elliott accepted. "Now Carl, you really don't want to be on that committee," a few of the Southerners warned him. The battle to get Elliott on the committee lasted 30 days. "He was an inspiration to practically everybody who worked with him," says Richard Bolling, a Missouri congressman from 1949-1983. "What was happening in those days was that anybody in the South who pushed out on civil rights was sabotaged by his colleagues."

Elliott cleared the way for many Kennedy bills, but the Southerners were an enormously strong voting bloc, and there were setbacks to go with victories.

THE WALLACE ROADBLOCK

Then Alabama erupted. George Wallace tried to stop blacks from attending the University of Alabama. Kennedy sent troops armed with bayonets. Wallace got out of the way, but it brought out all his backwoods evangelism, and he launched a presidential campaign. The campaign went nowhere and he came after Elliott. During Elliott's 1964 campaign Wallace stormed into Jasper, at the town square, and drew 5,000. A new census count had determined that Alabama would lose one of its nine congressmen. Wallace thumped for eight of the congressmen; Elliott's name was missing. "Save Alabama," the signs he held aloft said. "Hysteria hit the people," says Elliott. When it was over, after the Klan had threatened voters, after old, bent men had crawled from under the shade of hickory trees and cast their ballots, Carl Elliott had been voted out of Congress and off the powerful Rules Committee. "I saw everything I had worked for shot out from under me with one big shell," he says. He was convinced he had stood for the right things. "But a politician can't do that and succeed," says U.S. Circuit Judge Frank Johnson, a longtime Elliott friend.

Elliott regrouped and came back after George Wallace. In the midst of the campaign, Wallace was told in a state legislature ruling that he could not succeed himself after two terms. Wallace then ran his wife, Lurleen, and continued on the campaign trail himself.

"I told him it was a crazy idea," says congressman Bolling, referring to Elliott's run against Wallace. The news was such that the London Times sent a reporter out to Jasper to do a story about the campaign.

"The oddsmakers must tell you it is a forlorn hope," the Birmingham News said about the Elliott gubernatorial campaign.

"But Elliott himself and those who presumably now have decided to get behind him are dedicated, and are not ignorant of the prospect of defeat, though they will wear illusory expressions."

THE GARV IVEY FACTOR

To understand that campaign, and Carl Elliott, it helps to understand Garv Ivey. Garv Ivey is a hillbilly. He will admit as much. But Garv Ivey's got more common sense than a lot of PhDs. He was raised in a coal camp outside Jasper. When he was 7 his daddy was murdered. He ended up hustling work in the coal mines. "First three years I gave my check to my momma," Ivey says. He's seated in the foyer of his home. There's coal in his lungs to this day, which is why his voice is thick as a gangster's. He had sense enough to get out of the mines and get other work: hosting poker games. That job led to brutal fights. "I'd walk down the street and I wouldn't get out of the way, for no one." Blacks lived in Frisco, a section of town across the railroad tracks, during segregation. Ivey once told a friend during those days that if he were black he'd have come "blazing across those tracks with guns drawn."

Ivey punched someone back then and was threatened with a lawsuit. That's when he walked into Elliott's law office. "I had a chip on my shoulder but no one to go to. That's my problem. I came right out of Hoover times and starving. I went to Carl's office and he told me to settle down. Not many people tell me to settle down. He said, 'You got your priorities in the wrong place.' He said he was going to help me. I said to myself, 'Now everybody has been trying to use me. What does this sonofabitch want from me?' I left there for the first time in my life feeling some encouragement."

They kept in touch over the years and when Elliott started assembling a team to challenge George Wallace, Ivey joined up quick. "He was convincing me," Ivey says about Elliott, "that he was for the man going down the downtrodden road. He convinced me he could feel the sting of the whip. Do you understand the feeling that would have gone through a fella who could barely write his name?"

At the time Ivey was working in Alabama and Mississippi, building drive-in theaters. He was over in Tupelo putting up a drive-in theater and saw a pretty lady out of the corner of his eye. Her name was Carol and he married her.

For an entire year Garv Ivey quit work to work the Elliott campaign.

"WE MUST HAVE RACIAL PEACE"

Elliott declared his candidacy at the State House in Montgomery. "This is not an issue of George Wallace or Carl Elliott," he said, "but one where Alabama itself is at stake." Wallace attacked the federal government in Washington and all those "pointy-head liberals." Elliott moved like clouds of billowing smoke through the state. "No power on earth can stop us," he'd yell. "No power on earth." They were riding in cars loaned to them by an auto dealer. "We must have racial peace in Alabama," Elliott told a Birmingham crowd. "We must seize the leadership from the self-serving extremists on both sides who use the race issue as a whip-saw for personal gain or momentary personal fame."

The crowds would swell. "I was feeling, first half of that campaign, that I could win," says Elliott. "Lord, God, you should have seen the crowds. In Talladega I had 1,500. At Auburn I had 3,000. At Tuscaloosa

I had 2,000. At Huntsville I had 6,000." It could get brutal. Someone fired gunshots at the Elliott caravan. There were bomb threats. The women were told not to go out alone. But it could get romantic, Hank Williams Jr. on the campaign bus, singing for glory in nowhere towns, his momma trailing, insisting her young Hank be paid every night, cash. They went from Phoenix City to Hartsboro, from Eufaula to Troy, from Abbeville to Ozark, from Headland to Mobile. "So we had this caravan traveling across this state with no money," Ivey is saying. "Now if Carl met a good organizer in a town we'd get a motel room. I'd carry the fella in another room and say, 'Now look, this fella Elliott ain't got a damn cent. We don't even have money to get out of this motel room.' Sometimes they'd go raise me some money. If not, I'd say, 'Well, how about paying our motel room here?'" Ivey used to handle poker games. They rolled on.

Ivey, making a plea for the black vote, set up an appointment with Martin Luther King Jr. "First day we were supposed to talk to him, King said he was meditating. That was a put-off." King threw his support to Richmond Flowers, the Alabama attorney general who was campaigning almost exclusively among blacks. Most everyone realized Flowers' strategy would not work. Some in the Elliott camp blamed Flowers for what would eventually happen. "I wasn't campaigning against Carl Elliott," says Flowers, who now lives in Dothan, Ala., "I was campaigning against Wallace." Elliott appealed to Lyndon Johnson to help with the black vote. Flowers believes the move was a crucial mistake. "Johnson wasn't popular in Alabama," says Flowers. George Wallace won and Lurleen Wallace went to the State House. She was dead 15 months later of cancer.

OUT OF STYLE IN WASHINGTON

Carl Elliott set up a lobbying business in Washington after his defeat by Wallace. That was full throttle for a while. Suddenly Richard Nixon was in the White House and the town was crawling with Republicans. Elliott couldn't get any lobbying work. He went back to Jasper and joined the law firm his son, Carl Jr., worked for. It was hard for a 60-year-old man to go back into that kind of jungle, of begging and wooing clients. There was hushed talk he wasn't quite pulling his weight at the law firm. Elliott was pulling his weight all right, but the kind of weight he always pulled, for the needy. He'd make phone calls to Washington to check on folks' social security benefits. The law firm saw his huge phone bill and wondered what in the world was going on. It did not matter that he was once a powerful politician. Carl Elliott Sr. quit, took his briefcase and went home, down his basement, and set that sign—"Carl Elliott Sr., Attorney at Law"—in the yard. Still, his clients, says Garv Ivey, "were people who worked in the campaign who couldn't afford to pay him. These poor folks kept continuing to trip up and down his steps."

His wife, Jane, died, then his son, Carl Jr., who also had diabetes, died. Jane Elliott had meant the world to Elliott. With no one at home except himself, mail piled up, so did bills. There was no congressional pension coming in because he had taken it out for the Wallace campaign, which mystified many. "Elliott is quixotic. He's not shrewd and careful. He's restless," says Virginia Van der Veer Hamilton, a retired professor of history from the University of Alabama at Birmingham.

They turned his phone off. He was sued 39 times by creditors. "His life became an absolute economic nightmare," says Julian Butler, a Huntsville lawyer who has handled Elliott's legal woes. They were hounded by courts. "We would string it out in court," says Butler. "Sometimes we had a friendly judge who would not set cases."

There have been fund-raisers. "We have appreciation dinners for him," says Garv Ivey. "Well, people get appreciated out."

Sometimes a storm gathered without warning. There was a move afoot to take Carl Elliott's name off the street named for him here because of a spat with a local official. Garv Ivey still has his teeth in his head. He picked up the phone and made some calls and stopped that movement in its tracks.

Elliott always has loved books. When he was in Congress he'd return almost every weekend and go into the hills giving books away to school libraries. His wife had a bookstore here, but couldn't make a go of it. Elliott would come in the bookstore like the wind, grab books, put them under his arm, and then go give them away.

It is strange the way history goes, vertically sometimes, sometimes in circles. George Wallace is in a wheelchair. Carl Elliott is in a wheelchair. One put there by a lunatic gunman, the other by the gift of time itself. And time is nothing if not a gift. Poverty has circled up to the congressman again, like in youth, when it laid at his chest like a rock. But it is almost a glorious existence now, the way he has been pushed into the blasted history of this state, of schoolgirls dead in church bombings, of Bull Connor, of bullets, of some blacks forgiving George Wallace, of Birmingham's black mayor, of Alabama's good morning light. "When but for the truth," Carl Elliott says, "man ought to die."

A TRIBUTE TO GREEK AMERICANS

HON. CRAIG T. JAMES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to the millions of Greek-Americans who make our great Nation stronger, and whose ancestors inspired us to the freedom and independence we so fervently pursue.

My deep respect emanates from the recognition that without Greece, there would be no America. In the words of Percy Bysshe Shelley, "we are all Greeks! Our Laws, our literature, our religion, our art, have their roots in Greece."

Two thousand years ago, Pericles formulated the very essence of the form of democracy which has sustained our beloved America for more than two centuries.

He spoke of Greece, but he described America.

Our Constitution is called a democracy because power is in the hands, not a minority but, of the whole people. When it is a question of settling private disputes, everyone is equal before the law; when it is a question of putting one person before another in positions of public responsibility, what counts is not membership of a particular class, but the actual ability which the man possesses.

Two thousand years ago, Pericles envisioned our shining city on the hill.

Thomas Jefferson said, " * * * to the ancient Greeks * * * we are all indebted for the light which led ourselves out of gothic darkness."

And as we learned and borrowed from ancient Greece, 19th century Greece was inspired by American colonialists. The American Revolution became one of the ideals of the Greeks as they fought for independence in the 1820's. Greek intellectuals translated our Declaration of Independence and used it as their own Declaration of Freedom. Preparing for battle, a Greek commander in chief, Petros Mavomichalis, in a speech to the Messenian Senate of Calamata in 1821, Appealed to the citizens of the United States, saying.

Having formed the resolution to live or die for freedom, we are drawn toward, we are drawn toward you by a just sympathy since it is in your land liberty has fixed her abode, and by you that she is prized as by your fathers. Hence, honoring her name, we invoke at the same time, trusting that in imitating you, we shall imitate our ancestors and be thought worthy of them if we succeed in resembling you * * * it is for you, citizens of America, to crown this glory.

1989 marks the 168th anniversary of the beginning of the revolution which freed Greece from the Ottoman Empire. Greece was under Ottoman control for nearly 400 years—from the fall of Constantinople in 1453 until the Declaration of Independence in 1821.

During this dark time, the people were deprived of all civil rights. Schools and churches were down; Christians and Jews alike were kidnaped and raised as Moslems to serve the Sultan. The suffering of the Greek people laid heavy on the conscience of America.

Speaking in December 1823, Massachusetts Representative Daniel Webster said.

This people, a people of intelligence, ingenuity, refinement, spirit, and enterprise, have been for centuries under the atrocities unparalleled Tartarian barbarism that ever oppressed the human race.

President James Monroe, in an address to the 17th Congress, said.

The mention of Greece fills the mind with the most exalted sentiments and arouses in our bosom the best feelings of which our nature is susceptible * * * A strong hope is entertained that people will recover their independence, and resume their equal station among the nations on Earth.

Thousands of American volunteers from throughout our Nation sailed to Greece to participate in the War for Independence.

The Greek people persevered. They won back their independence and freedom. Since that time, the fates of our two nations have been inextricably linked. During the early 1900's, one in every four Greek males between the ages of 15 and 45 departed for the United States.

They worked hard. They pursued education. They raised families. They toiled by the sweat of their brow to contribute to the American society. They became doctors, lawyers, teachers, police officers, mayors, Governors, and Congressmen. Today, Greek-Americans are woven throughout the fabric of American soci-

ety. They are the thread that weaves through the American quilt.

America is better for our friendship with Greece. America is better for the sons and daughters Greece has shared with us.

We share a common struggle, for the Greek people, like Americans, have struggled and strived for every measure of independence and freedom they now enjoy. After Greece had defeated the Communists in the early 1950's, President Dwight D. Eisenhower said,

Greece asked no favor except the opportunity to stand for those rights in which it believed, and it gave to the world an example of battle * * * a battle that thrilled the hearts of all free men and women everywhere.

That spirit of independence and commitment to freedom burns strongly in the hearts of Greeks everywhere. My respect for Greek-Americans is unwavering, and my thanks, as an American, is everlasting. For, I share the belief of Will Durant, who said,

Greek civilization is alive; it moves in every breath of mind that we breathe; so much of it remains that none of us in one lifetime could absorb it all. Greece is that bright morning star of that western civilization which is our nourishment and life.

REFOCUSING THE JOB TRAINING PARTNERSHIP ACT

HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join with my colleagues on the Education and Labor Committee in introducing the Job Training Partnership Act Amendments of 1989. These amendments will enhance substantially the quality of job training for economically disadvantaged individuals in this country.

The Job Training Partnership Act [JTPA] has failed its primary mission as envisioned by its original sponsors: to train adults and youth, particularly those who are most in need and who are unprepared to compete in the labor market.

This bill does not undermine the stability of the current JTPA system. It essentially leaves the existing structures in place. It leaves intact the public/private partnership which has worked well in most service delivery areas across the country. But, by improving targeting and creating a separate, year-round program for youth, it does change existing policies relating to who is being served by JTPA, the types of services being provided, and the outcomes expected under the program.

In my view, the intended recipients of JTPA services should be economically disadvantaged adults and youth with the greatest barriers to employment who are most at risk of failure in the job market. Yet, JTPA essentially underserves them and instead serves the most job ready among the eligible population. For instance, 66 percent of those trained and placed in program year 1987 under JTPA were high school graduates. Although the statute requires special emphasis on school dropouts, they are not receiving equitable

services. I believe that we need to refocus JTPA on the harder-to-serve population who are struggling to get into the economic mainstream.

Last September, the Committee on Education and Labor conducted an oversight hearing on the performance of the Job Training Partnership Act. The committee focused its review on studies conducted by the General Accounting Office [GAO] and the Inspector General's [IG] Office of the Labor Department.

The GAO found that JTPA participants spend an average of 18 weeks enrolled in the program. The GAO reported that more than 60 percent of JTPA participants are high school graduates. In addition, the most job-ready group received more intensive services than those who are most in need. Furthermore, the GAO concluded that given more intensive interventions, the program could achieve very positive program outcomes for many participants who otherwise appear to be less ready for jobs.

The Labor Department's IG report also found that JTPA heavily emphasizes short-term training and that the program targets participants who are easiest to place. More troubling is their finding that over one-half of the adults and two-thirds of the youths were unemployed 4 months after completing the JTPA program. In addition, the IG report concluded that the JTPA system has missed a significant opportunity to maximize the return on investment for those most in need of employment and training services.

This new initiative attempts to address many of the concerns raised during the hearing about the effectiveness of this employment and training program. The proposed amendments to JTPA, incorporated in this bill, include:

(1) Improved targeting of JTPA by establishing a separate program for adults and older workers under a revised part A of title II. As in current law, 90 percent of the participants must be economically disadvantaged. However, in order to focus on those with greater barriers to employment, the bill requires that 50 percent of the II-A participants be adults or older workers who are reading or computing below the eighth grade level; or are long-term recipients of public assistance; or have limited work histories.

(2) Retention of the current summer youth employment program under part B of title II with expanded authorization of appropriations.

(3) Creation of a separate year-round program for youth, aged 14 through 21, under a new part C of title II. In order to encourage earlier interventions, the age has been lowered from the current law limitation of 16 years to 14 years for youth receiving services under this program. Furthermore, 50 percent of the II-C participants must be out-of-school youth, with priority given to school dropouts. The remaining 50 percent must be in-school youth, with priority given to youth who are at risk of becoming dropouts, or who are in need of school-to-work transition assistance, or who are parents, or who have limited English-language proficiency.

(4) Providing an additional \$500 million authorization of appropriations for youth programs (an additional \$200 million for II-B and

an additional \$300 million for the new II-C youth services).

(5) Allocating 84 percent of the funds to the service delivery areas for both the adult and youth programs.

(6) Redirecting existing incentive grants for serving in excess of the targeted harder-to-serve population.

(7) Modifying the performance standards to promote delivery of services to the hard-to-serve.

(8) Changing the allocation formula for youth services under part C of title II to ensure that funds go to service delivery areas with greater concentrations of economically disadvantaged youth.

(9) Requiring consistent and timely reporting under JTPA, as well as facilitating uniform reporting requirements across different programs—JTPA, Vocational Education, Welfare JOBS Program, etc.

Today's workplace is becoming increasingly technical and demanding of adequate skills. Yet, there is a growing concern about the dearth of workers with adequate employability skills who are equipped to fill the needs and challenges of the job market. Our attempts in this proposal to strengthen JTPA, hopefully, will help to improve this mismatch.

The Workforce 2000 Report of the Department of Labor predicts that the majority of new entrants into the future workforce will include minorities and immigrants, many of whom will be lacking employability skills. We need to begin now to adequately prepare the unemployed and the underemployed, particularly those who are not being served by existing human resource systems, to meet the challenges of the future labor market.

I urge my colleagues to join in supporting this major initiative.

TRIBUTE TO HIS EMINENCE ARCHBISHOP IAKOVOS

HON. GUS YATRON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. YATRON. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to take this opportunity to honor and recognize His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos on the occasion of the 30th year celebration of his elevation to the highest position of authority within the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America.

The achievements of the man as cleric are abundantly evident to people of all religious creeds. He has made many valuable and important contributions to the Greek Orthodox Church and society at large and it is, in my opinion, the blessing of God almighty which has made his tenure so valuable and fruitful. His Eminence is truly a leader among leaders and his very active and successful role in the Nation's civil rights movement provides just one of many examples of the type of outstanding leadership His Eminence has provided.

With reverence, I offer my very best wishes and my prayers for the Archbishop's continued and inspired leadership in the Greek Orthodox Church. I hope that my colleagues will

join me in recognizing this most auspicious of anniversaries.

TRIBUTE TO CHIEF EVERETT LITTLE

HON. GEORGE (BUDDY) DARDEN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. DARDEN. Mr. Speaker, as a former district attorney in Cobb County, GA, I am well-acquainted with the many fine law enforcement officers there, both on the county police force and in the police agencies of Cobb's six municipalities. This spring, we are losing from our law enforcement community one of its most respected members, and surely our most experienced servant of the public safety.

Chief Everett Little, who has headed the Smyrna Police Department since 1976, is retiring, 53 years after he began his law enforcement career. I want to invite my colleagues to join me in extending our thanks and best wishes to Chief Little, who exemplifies the spirit of dedication and service which we must have in our law enforcement officers.

Chief Little spent much of his career with the Atlanta Police Department, and he took part in the investigation of numerous notable crimes during those years. In 1976, when many of his peers were settling into comfortable retirement, Everett Little launched a new career as head of the suburban Smyrna Police Department. Since then, he has established a reputation for outstanding leadership, fairness, and knowledge of law enforcement practices which few in this Nation attain.

Mr. Speaker, order in our society depends on the unselfish dedication of law enforcement officers such as Everett Little. I want to take this opportunity to thank him on behalf of the thousands of people in the Atlanta area he has served over the years, and to wish him a retirement which is as productive as the 53-year law enforcement career which he is now completing.

INTRODUCTION OF LEGISLATION TO REAUTHORIZE THE MAGNUSON FISHERY CONSERVATION AND MANAGEMENT ACT

HON. GERRY E. STUDDS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. STUDDS. Mr. Speaker, more than a dozen years ago this House approved H.R. 200, the bill that established the 200-mile fishing limit. Only the conversion of our fishing fleets from sails to modern day engines has rivaled the effect this law has had on the fishing industry and those dependent upon it. What were once only dreams of an American fishing industry fishing off our shores, processing our fishing and providing food for our people has become a reality.

As enacted by the Congress, the 200-mile-limit law was primarily a conservation measure designed to prevent overfishing of fish off our

shores. We wanted to preserve a way of life and guarantee the continued survival of the independent fisherman. To accomplish this, we wanted U.S. fishermen and the American economy, in general, to receive the maximum benefit from American fisheries resources; we wanted to put a stop to foreign overfishing; we wanted to guarantee the conservation of important commercial fish species; and we wanted to promote consumption of American-harvested fish both at home and abroad.

Today as I introduce legislation to renew the 200-mile-limit law [Magnuson Fishery Conservation and Management Act], I am proud to report that the 200-mile limit has been a resounding success. No longer are huge foreign factory ships off our shores catching everything in sight. In fact, foreign fishing within our waters has virtually been eliminated.

In the past 12 years, American fishermen have established records for the amount of fish caught, processed, and exported. Last year alone, commercial landings were almost 7 billion pounds valued at well over \$3 billion. During the same period, consumption of fish by the American public rose from 12.9 pounds per person to almost 15.5 pounds.

In addition, the vast fishery resources of the North Pacific Ocean * * * once unexplored and undeveloped * * * are now making a tremendous contribution to our economy. Over half a billion dollars has been invested in fishing and processing boats to catch and market U.S. fish products abroad. The development of this last frontier fishery essentially completes the cycle of Americanization started some 12 years ago.

As chairman of the Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation and the Environment Subcommittee, I am looking forward to reviewing even more clearly the performance of the Act as we hold hearings on the reauthorization of the law. Our subcommittee will carefully examine issues like Coast Guard law enforcement efforts, the interception of U.S. salmon on the high seas by foreign driftnet fishermen, the exclusion of tuna from the management authority of the Act, limited entry into our fisheries, funding and research needs, and the fishery management council process.

The subcommittee has scheduled its first hearing on May 2 in Washington and in the coming weeks I hope to announce plans for field hearings in fishing ports throughout the country to hear first hand from those involved in the fisheries about how to improve our fisheries management laws.

Mr. Speaker, I suspect that throughout our hearings we will learn about examples of conflicts between recreational and commercial fishermen, about law enforcement problems, about overfishing and about degradation of our marine environment. All these problems are serious and deserve our attention. For my part, I will attempt to determine whether or not these problems stem from deficiencies in the law or with those who implement it. I anticipate bringing a bill to the floor for my colleagues' consideration early this fall.

Managing a resource as vast as the fisheries of the 200-mile-limit zone is an enormous challenge. We should expect that conflicts will arise and mistakes will be made. However, we cannot under any circumstances let ourselves be paralyzed by the enormity of the task.

As subcommittee chairman, I will insist that, regardless of the fishery involved or the category of fishermen affected, we must respect not only our domestic laws, but the laws of nature, as well; we cannot manage our fisheries just for today or just for one generation of fishermen; our responsibility is to maintain the health of our fisheries so that they may be enjoyed and provide sustenance for generations to come. That was the real purpose of the MFCMA. That remains our purpose today. And that will be our greatest challenge in the months and years ahead.

A TRIBUTE TO LOUISE W. WORTMAN

HON. HAMILTON FISH, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to commend Ms. Louise Wortman on a lifetime of community service and family commitment. Louise is being honored April 25, by the Exchange Club of southern Dutchess County in New York.

Louise was born April 27, 1923, the daughter of Eileen and Herbert Williams in Stamford, CT. Upon graduation from Darien High School in 1941, Louise worked as society editor for the New Canaan Advertiser. Her column, entitled "By the Way," dealt with societal happenings around the community.

During World War II, Louise volunteered full-time at the Stamford Hospital. She became an active member of the wartime ration board. In 1942, she met George Wortman, her future husband, an accomplished veterinarian. Soon afterward, she joined the New York Board of Water Supply in Newburgh.

Louise, tireless and cheerful, continued to volunteer her bountiful energy with the Girl Scouts, community fund drives, the gray ladies, and the Highland Hospital auxiliary, where she became a trustee. During this time, Louise was blessed with two daughters Donna and Elizabeth.

Louise remains active in community public service organizations, including the Trinity Episcopal Church, the town of Fishkill Republican Committee, the Brownell/American Cancer Society Pro-Am Golf Tournament, the southern Dutchess Exchange Club. She is a fundraiser for the Blodgett Memorial Library in Fishkill. Louise also is president and trustee of the Fishkill Rural Cemetery, and a patient representative at St. Francis Hospital in Beacon. She served on the town of Fishkill Bicentennial Committee, and the Dutchess County Resources Recovery Agency. She has the distinction of being the first Woman Director of the Mid-Hudson Savings Bank.

Throughout her career of community service, "Weezie" always found time to be a caring wife and mother. She finds ample time for her three beautiful grandchildren, Matthew, Rebecca, and Melissa, and spends many weekends with her sister June, and her two brothers, Jack and Jim.

Mr. Speaker, Louise Wortman can look back on her family endeavors and her many community accomplishments with tremendous

pride. I rise today to pay tribute to Louise for a lifetime of dedicated service to her community and the Nation as a whole.

DISABLED VETERANS AND ASSISTIVE ANIMALS PARTNERSHIP ACT OF 1989

HON. JOSEPH P. KENNEDY II

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation along with my colleague, Congressman TOM RIDGE, that fulfills a national promise to assist the men and women who have fought so bravely to defend our country. This legislation would provide a means by which our service-connected veterans who are quadriplegic can maintain their independence in their homes. By providing quadriplegics with assistive animals, these veterans would be able to complete many daily activities that they otherwise could not perform.

Dr. M.J. Willard of Boston University has developed a program called "Helping Hands." During the last 6 years, her research has been funded by organizations such as the Veterans' Administration and the Paralyzed Veterans of America. This program has trained Simian monkeys (also known as "organ-grinder monkeys") to help quadriplegic and other severely disabled people with everyday problems. These highly trained monkeys can retrieve food and beverages from a refrigerator, heat food in a microwave and then set up a meal for ingestion by its master. They can retrieve and reposition a dropped mouthpiece without which their master could not read or write. They can replace the chin rest, which if accidentally pushed away, would render the quadriplegic immobile by preventing his or her ability to operate their wheelchair. The monkey, guided by a mouth-held laser, can place desired VCR or audio tapes in their respective players. Along with a core of learned tasks, these monkeys are also taught specific procedures to meet individual needs.

Across the country is another program that has been successfully providing assistive animals for quadriplegics. Founded in 1975, Canine Companions for Independence [CCI] in Santa Rosa, CA, has expanded the traditional role of "man's best friend." Like the "Helping Hands" Program, these highly trained dogs are able to pick up dropped objects, turn on and off switches, retrieve items from the refrigerator and other difficult to reach areas. These dogs can also pull and negotiate wheelchairs across streets and through crowds, hit elevator buttons, and carry objects for their masters. And just as important, these dogs provide their masters with a constant source of unconditional loyalty and devotion.

One of the most common complaints of a quadriplegic is having to wait. They must wait for someone to get them a beverage, to pick up a dropped item, to turn switches on and off, and so on and so forth. Both of these programs are designed to increase an individual's independence. These animals cannot do ev-

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

everything a personal attendant can do but certainly they are able to reduce the need for a constant attendant.

This legislation establishes a 4-year pilot program which will train and deliver 20 monkeys and 10 dogs to suitable quadriplegic veterans who have at least a 50-percent service-connected injury. This legislation also provides 10 "signal dogs" to veterans with a service-connected hearing impairment. CCI also trains signal dogs which alert hearing impaired individuals to important sounds such as a telephone ringing and a smoke detector alarm. Shortly after placement in the homes, the veterans will assume the modest costs of caring for their assistive animals.

The projected cost of this program is less than \$250,000 per year; a small price to pay for a wealth of invaluable services. Congressman RIDGE and I would like to invite our other colleagues to support the "Disabled Veterans and Assistive Animals Partnership Act of 1989" and help our quadriplegic veterans.

TRIBUTE TO STATE TROOPER JAMES THOMAS BRAMMER

HON. HARLEY O. STAGGERS, JR.

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, flags throughout West Virginia are at half-staff today in honor and tribute to State Trooper James Thomas Brammer of Bruceton Mills, who died in the line of duty this past weekend. State Trooper Ronald J. Hicks, wounded in the same incident, is recovering in Ruby Memorial Hospital in Morgantown.

Trooper Brammer was 42 years old and the father of two. He was a 1965 graduate of St. Albans High School and attended West Virginia State College. Trooper Brammer, a 16-year veteran, had served in Morgantown prior to being assigned to the Kingwood State Police detachment in 1985.

One of those who worked alongside of Trooper Brammer was quoted in Monday's Charleston Gazette as saying that "There will be a number of emotions the troopers will feel. Right now, we are just trying to deal with the loss of a trooper and a friend."

For many of us, the only time we see a State trooper is when they are manning a radar trap alongside the roadway. And, we are thankful when we read or hear about their successes in combating crime in our communities. But for the most part we do not think about the known and unknown dangers they confront each and every day. There is no such thing as a routine assignment for those in law enforcement.

There is little that can be done to ease the anguish and sorrow felt by the family and friends of State Trooper James Brammer. But we can be thankful that there are those, like Trooper Brammer, who are willing to dedicate their lives to the service of others; that there are those willing to confront the dangers that are very much a part of law enforcement.

TROPICAL FOREST INITIATIVE ACT

HON. ROBERT J. LAGOMARSINO

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. LAGOMARSINO. Mr. Speaker, in recent years, there has been an up surge of concern regarding the accelerated loss of tropical forest acreage around the world. This rapid deforestation of the world's growth of tropical forest is considered by many to be a major crisis affecting the peoples of all nations. I, too, share that concern and believe the United States needs to examine what we can do to help slow, stop, or if possible reverse this unprecedented decline.

The United States first took action to protect our own tropical forests decades ago, with the establishment of the Caribbean National Forest in Puerto Rico. Over the years, several other tropical forest areas in Hawaii, Florida, and other U.S. islands have been protected by Federal action.

Just last year, the Congress enacted Public Law 100-571, which I cosponsored, authorizing the establishment of the National Park of American Samoa. The new park will save thousands of acres of virgin tropical forest as well as the habitat of numerous unique plants and animals.

Having taken action to preserve our own lands of tropical forests, we should work with other countries to solve this global problem by sharing our experience and expertise. Our joint efforts could be so much more effective and have a significant impact than ours alone. However, the extension of tropical forest management techniques will require the commitment of resources if any initiative is to be effective.

The intent of the "Tropical Forest Initiative Act" is to provide the resources necessary to expand the existing U.S. Institute of Tropical Forestry in Puerto Rico. Additional research and education facilities will be constructed in order to provide an adequate response to the tropical forest crisis.

The United States should benefit in a number of ways from the expansion of the Institute of Tropical Forestry in Puerto Rico. Our own on-island domestic acreage and management techniques will be scrutinized for areas of improvement. The new educational facilities will provide the 3.3 million U.S. citizens in Puerto Rico and the estimated 1 million visitors with an opportunity to learn firsthand the strengths and weaknesses of a tropical forest ecosystem and the negative impact of its loss.

Additionally, the expanded U.S. Institute of Tropical Forestry in Puerto Rico represents an ideal opportunity for international outreach particularly among the Latin American countries which have large stocks of the world's tropical forests. As most tropical forest management personnel in Puerto Rico are bilingual, they can conduct training and research in both English and Spanish with their professional counterparts from Western Hemisphere countries.

I believe the prompt consideration and enactment of the "Tropical Forest Initiative Act"

will demonstrate our commitment to solving international environmental crises due to the annual loss of millions of acres of tropical forests by sharing expertise gained at our own domestic research, training, and educational facilities.

INTRODUCTION OF SAVE, AMERICA ACT OF 1989

HON. W.J. (BILLY) TAUZIN

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. TAUZIN. Mr. Speaker, It is April 18, the day after tax day, and today I am introducing legislation to address the festering problems facing the savings and loan industry and the Nation's savings rate. The Save, America Act of 1989 proposes something unique to current legislation, the Save, America Act gives Americans an incentive to save and encourages the infusion of private funds into our troubled federally insured savings institutions.

The bill we are introducing will allow every tax-paying American the right to earn up to \$5,000 per year in tax-free interest earnings on savings accounts in federally insured banks, savings and loans, and credit unions, with restrictions on how they dispose of those earnings.

By defining qualified institution as a federally insured institution, the Save, America Act of 1989 purposefully targets the incentive in order to particularly address hemorrhaging institutions covered under FSLIC. Today, investors flee these institutions, taking what struggling savings and loans need most—individual savers. The more private money brought into these accounts, the fewer Federal dollars eventually need go out for their rescue. While no panacea for the bailout sickness, the Save, America Act should provide a solid capital base for these federally insured financial institutions.

Addressing the mechanics of this bill, we provide a ceiling on these accounts' interest rates at 3 percentage points below the T-bill auction rate so as not to interfere with other Government obligations. This may allow for a decline in overall interest rates by providing less expensive capital for institutions to invest in our communities for home building and smaller business growth. As we all know, that kind of economic growth pays big dividends to the U.S. Treasury. The prevailing trend in national savings rate—the difference between the Nation's output in goods and services and what is consumed by Government and individuals—since the mid-1970's has been disastrous, dropping from 7.9 percent to the 1985-87 rate of 2.1 percent. This disturbing fall increases the risk of recession and ultimately adversely affects growth in the standard of living.

Rising savings rates translate into more U.S. capital for investment, and resulting lower interest rates are good news for those with big debt. Know anybody with a whopping big debt? You guessed it! Our own best uncle, Uncle Sam. Finally, linking the interest rates with the T-bill rate will make this account concept more sensitive to the marketplace and

less susceptible to inflation. Can you think of anything more attractive to the individual saver?

Recently, we have heard debate over a capital gains tax exemption. Granting a more generous capital gains tax break may help some Americans and may spur some investment, but what about a plan giving all tax-paying Americans a chance to save for their future. The Save, America Act will help out the little guy and may motivate the general public to even greater investment—who knows? We might even see the resurgence of payroll savings plans!

Current law taxes interest earned on low yielding passbook savings accounts. Why do we tax people for doing what is fiscally responsible? Why do we discourage citizens from saving for their future? This legislation encourages citizens to save without penalty while retaining liquidity. Best of all, this plan would, for the first time, send out the right message to the American people: "We'll stop penalizing you for saving; we'll encourage you, instead."

At this time, Mr. Speaker, I would like to submit a text of the Save, America Act of 1989 and a list of original cosponsors for the RECORD.

INTRODUCTION OF THE COAL MINER'S JUSTICE ACT OF 1989

HON. GEORGE MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, over 90,000 miners, totally disabled by the black lung disease, have been deprived of the black lung benefits to which they were legally entitled and which Congress intended they receive. That is an egregious situation which demands swift remedy. Today, with 37 cosponsors, I am introducing legislation to correct that injustice by ensuring that coal miners eligible for black lung benefits receive them.

Black lung is a horrible disease which affects many coal miners, reducing their final years to agonizing chest pains and endless fits of coughing, leading eventually to their death.

In 1969, as a result of congressional hearings on the reform of the coal mine safety laws and the problems of coal workers' pneumoconiosis, or black lung disease, Congress established a program of monthly cash payments to eligible coal miners totally disabled by black lung disease and to their survivors. This was the first time the Government provided benefits to victims of a single occupational disease.

Through amendments in 1972 and in 1977, the program's eligibility criteria and evidentiary standards were liberalized to allow more coal miners to qualify for black lung benefits.

The responsibility for handling claims for black lung benefits was originally assigned to the Social Security Administration. In 1977, Congress transferred the program to the Department of Labor and explicitly directed the Labor Department to use eligibility criteria "no more restrictive" than those used by the Social Security Administration.

Despite this mandate, the Department of Labor established new, more restrictive, eligibility requirements which differed significantly from those which had been used by the Social Security Administration. The result was that thousands of miners suffering from disease were denied the benefits for which they were eligible and which Congress had intended they receive.

In December 1988, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the Department of Labor had failed to follow the directive of Congress and ruled that its eligibility criteria was more restrictive than those of the Social Security Administration.

However, the Court refused to grant relief to the many individuals whose claims were adjudicated under the Department of Labor's improperly restrictive criteria because those claimants had technically failed to pursue their legal appeals on a timely basis.

My legislation requires the Department of Labor to review the claims of those who were denied benefits under the Department of Labor's regulations using the Social Security Administration's criteria, and to allow such claimants to offer additional evidence of disability.

While many of these individuals may have no claim, and many of those eligible for benefits have already died as a result of black lung, those who were unjustly denied benefits deserve their opportunity to receive them.

The Coal Miner's Justice Act will ensure that those coal miners who have labored in the mines and are now disabled and dying as a result of their hard work receive justice from our Government and the black lung benefits they have earned.

INTRODUCTION OF LEGISLA- TION CONCERNING NURSING EDUCATION

HON. BRIAN J. DONNELLY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. DONNELLY. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing legislation today to deal with the Health Care Financing Administration's policy toward reimbursing hospitals for expenses of undergraduate nursing education programs. Quite frankly, Mr. Speaker, HCFA's policy ignores the need for quality nursing education programs in this country, and my legislation is designed to correct this counterintuitive policy. I am also pleased that Senator BENTSEN, the distinguished chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, has introduced similar legislation as part of his rural health initiative.

Mr. Speaker, the Medicare Program reimburses hospitals on the basis of a prospective payment system. Payments per case are generally determined in advance and adjusted for certain extra costs incurred by hospitals. One such add-on under the prospective payment system is for costs incurred by hospitals for direct medical education programs operated by providers. Thus, expenses that are directly associated with approved medical education activities are specifically excluded from the

prospective payment system and are reimbursed on a reasonable cost basis.

Central to the issue of direct medical education expenses is the concept of control. As discussed above, the approved medical education program must, under the regulations, be under the direct control of the provider (42 CFR 413.85(d)). Thus, joint educational training programs under which students of a nearby educational institution receive clinical training at a hospital are considered to be normal operating expenses, and as a result, are part of the prospective payment per case. It is this aspect of HCFA's policy that I believe is incorrect.

The legislation establishes 20 demonstration projects for hospitals to engage in joint undergraduate nursing education programs with educational institutions. Under the bill, a hospital awarded demonstration authority which had a written agreement with an educational institution to conduct an undergraduate nursing education program and provide clinical training would be able to treat those costs as direct medical education costs. The provision applies for hospital cost reporting periods beginning after October 1, 1989, and expires in 1994. The Secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services would be required to report to Congress on the effectiveness of these programs.

In addition, my bill expressly overrules a position taken by HCFA with respect to nursing education programs which are under common control with the provider. Under the bill, costs incurred by hospitals to train nursing students from educational institutions which are under the common control with the hospital—that is, identical or overlapping board members—would be treated as approved educational activities. The provision would apply only where the hospital incurs substantial direct cost and the nursing program is operated by the hospital or by corporations controlled by or under common control with the hospital.

No inference is intended, by the introduction of this legislation, as to the proper treatment of costs incurred by hospitals in this situation. The provision applies generally for cost reporting periods beginning after October 1, 1989, except in the case of hospitals which were waived from the normal principles of Medicare reimbursement for whom HCFA is retroactively applying this policy. In the case of these hospitals, the provision applies for hospital cost reporting periods beginning after the date on which the hospital was no longer waived from the normal principles of Medicare reimbursement, as described above.

Mr. Speaker, HCFA's policy on this issue is wrong; worse, it is applied arbitrarily and inconsistently. I plan to aggressively pursue enactment of this legislation this year as the Subcommittee on Health begins consideration of its budget reconciliation instructions.

WILDERNESS LEGISLATION

HON. BARBARA F. VUCANOVICH

OF NEVADA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mrs. VUCANOVICH. Mr. Speaker, today I have reintroduced my wilderness bill which

would designate Forest Service wilderness in the State of Nevada. My bill would designate approximately 132,000 acres in 4 areas. It would also designate about 29,000 acres on Mount Rose as a national recreation area.

The wilderness issue in Nevada is extremely controversial and has been hotly debated for several years now. Over the years, bills have been introduced that would designate as little as 132,000 acres and as much as 1.4 million acres of Forest Service wilderness. I believe my bill most accurately reflects the wants and desires of Nevadans on this issue.

Nevada is a public lands State—87 percent is owned by the Federal Government. Multiple-use management is very important to many Nevadans because they rely on these lands for their livelihoods. My bill contains language that would protect existing rights like mining, grazing, and water.

I am very pleased to propose the creation of a national recreation area on Mount Rose. Mount Rose is right in Reno's backyard and has been used for years as a prime recreation area by hikers, off-road vehicle users, cross-country skiers, and snowmobilers. As a national recreation area, the Forest Service would be directed to manage the area to preserve and protect these traditional uses. In accordance with that, the entire area would be closed to timbering and mining. Mr. Speaker, I believe my bill would be good for Nevada. I hope it is favorably considered and that the Nevada Forest Service wilderness issue will be finalized during this Congress.

TEACHER OF THE YEAR

HON. HERBERT H. BATEMAN

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. BATEMAN. Mr. Speaker, during the first week of April millions of Americans were privileged to see, hear, or read about a Virginia high school instructor, who came to this country from her native Greece at the age of 21, as she was honored as America's Teacher of the Year.

The award to Mary Bicouvaris is of special significance to the people of my congressional district, because Mary Bicouvaris teaches at Bethel High School in Hampton, Virginia. Along with my constituents, I took particular pride in the achievements of this remarkable woman as she received the recognition she had so justly earned.

If, as H. G. Wells warned us years ago, history is becoming "a race between education and catastrophe," then Mary Bicouvaris is a leader among those seeing to it that education wins the race.

When she came to Washington to be honored, she shared with the Nation her philosophy of education in memorable words.

"The rewards of teaching are not external," she said. "The satisfaction in teaching is very much like the pleasure a farmer takes in sowing, watching for growth, praying for rain and finally reaping the harvest."

Mary Bicouvaris—"Mrs. Bic" to her students—has been faithfully sowing, watching, praying and reaping since 1963, when she

launched her teaching career in Hampton even before she had become an American citizen. She had been in the United States just 3 years and had just earned her bachelor's degree at Ohio State University. A few years later she received a master's degree from the College of William and Mary.

"As a naturalized citizen," she said when she received her award, "I have an abiding love for my chosen country. It has been my goal to help young Americans understand and appreciate their country, its government and its crucial role in international affairs."

Her success in achieving that goal led to her recognition in her community, her State and ultimately the nation at large.

The organizations which sponsor the Teacher of the Year Award—the Council of Chief State School Officers, Encyclopedia Britannica and Good Housekeeping—noted that among the main factors leading to Mrs. Bicouvaris' selection were a positive approach to teaching and innovative teaching strategies, including involvement of her students in such activities as political campaigns and Model United Nations programs.

"Throughout my teaching career I have looked for ways to bring the world into my classroom and to take my students out into the world," said "Mrs. Bic" as she received her award.

During 3 days in Washington, the Teacher of the Year went through a hectic schedule of interviews and ceremonies. I was privileged to be present at a luncheon in her honor and at a ceremony at the White House where she was honored by President Bush. Throughout this period, Mrs. Bicouvaris displayed a poise and grace under stressful conditions, which like her eloquent words bespeak a dedication to her craft and a commitment to excellence both for herself and for the students she has helped to prepare for the race with catastrophe.

On behalf of her students, the community which she serves and myself, I am proud to congratulate Mary Bicouvaris on her well-earned honor.

During the year ahead Mrs. Bicouvaris will be speaking to educational and business groups and civic organizations all around the nation. I want to close by quoting her own statement about the message she will be bringing to these audiences.

"My message to America would be one of pride, hope, and promise in the educational system of a nation that sent the first man to the Moon and which has yet to reach its greatest potential.

"I would speak of the need to reach a national consensus on what is good for America's children and what is needed for this country to maintain its position on the world stage.

"I would speak, too, about the challenges we face in continuing to strive for excellence in education. I would express the hope that all American children will be given the opportunity to become literate in their own culture and at the same time develop an international perspective that will enable them to work, lead and thrive in a global community.

"Finally, I would assure the Nation that American teachers are ready to help usher

our Nation into the 21st century and into another era of greatness."

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

HON. NANCY PELOSI

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I offer a personal explanation of my absence for yesterday's votes. I was delayed due to air traffic and arrived on the floor after the votes had been taken. Had I been here to vote, I would have voted the following way:

On rollcall No. 28, passage of H.R. 20, the Federal Employees' Political Activities Act, "yes";

On rollcall No. 29, passage of H.R. 1385, the Martin Luther King Commission, "yes."

I ask that my explanation appear at the appropriate point in the RECORD.

A TRIBUTE TO CHARLES KENNY MCCLATCHY

HON. ROBERT T. MATSUI

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. MATSUI. Mr. Speaker, it is with great sadness that I rise today to pay tribute to my close friend, Charles Kenny McClatchy, who passed away this Sunday.

C.K., as he was called by family, friends, employees and the thousands who were fortunate to have met him, was the editor and chairman of the board of McClatchy Newspapers. His nationally-respected newspaper chain includes the Sacramento Bee, the Fresno Bee, the Modesto Bee and nine other west coast newspapers.

As the fourth-generation family member to direct the business, C.K. was far from the impersonal, isolated corporate chief that has become so prevalent in today's business world. Instead, C.K. was more like a concerned neighbor. And unlike most of us who have only one neighborhood, C.K. had many. He was a daily neighbor to residents in Sacramento as well as those in Fresno, Modesto, and even Anchorage, AK, where he took one newspaper from rock bottom to the heights of Pulitzer.

C.K. had a deep and personal commitment to the principle that operating a newspaper was a public trust of the highest order. He set standards that all of us aspire to achieve. He once said that, "An uninformed public is in a fool's paradise, trapped by its own ignorance into accepting the distortions and falsehoods of politicians hiding their misconduct."

Mr. Speaker, C.K. McClatchy was born on March 25, 1927. He attended California public schools and received his high school diploma from Deerfield Academy in Massachusetts. He went on to attend Stanford University where he spent summers working as a reporter for the Sacramento Bee. After graduating in 1950, C.K. served in the U.S. Army where he rose to the rank of first lieutenant.

Following his military service, C.K. worked as a reporter for the Washington Post and as press secretary for Adlai Stevenson. In 1957, he became a reporter for the Washington, DC, Bureau of the American Broadcast Co. One year later, he returned to the Sacramento Bee as a reporter and was later promoted to associate editor and later editor. He was elected president of McClatchy Newspapers in 1978.

Mr. Speaker, it is difficult to find the words to adequately describe the contributions C.K. McClatchy made to our society. Perhaps more than anyone I have ever known, C.K. made a difference in the lives of thousands of people he touched every day. He leaves behind him a legacy of fairness, wisdom, integrity, and commitment. As that legacy lives on, I will miss him very much.

EFFECTIVE USE OF LAND

HON. CHARLES HATCHER

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. HATCHER. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing legislation today to allow the citizens of Clay County, GA, to make effective use of a tract of land purchased many years ago from the Army Corps of Engineers.

In 1963 Clay County purchased 50 acres of land from the Army Corps of Engineers. The land was surplus to the needs of the corps, but unfortunately the deed contains a restriction that the property be used solely for the development of public port facilities. Such development has never taken place, and the citizens of Clay County would now like to use their property to bring jobs and economic activity to this depressed area. A retirement complex has been planned for the site and this project has great potential for all of Clay County and the surrounding area.

My legislation will direct the Secretary of the Army to release a reversionary interest in this property so that my constituents may develop the land as they see fit.

I have already been joined by a number of my colleagues from Georgia and I ask that the rest of my colleagues lend their support to this measure.

A CONGRESSIONAL SALUTE TO WILLIAM "WALKIN' WILLIE" CROKER

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to an unselfish individual who has devoted many years of his life trying to promote cancer awareness. William "Walkin' Willie" Croker finished his second cross-country walk from Los Angeles to Washington on April 16, 1989, in an effort to encourage individuals to get cancer checkups. This occasion gives me the opportunity to express my sincere appreciation for his many years of hard work and unending commitment.

Born in Long Beach, CA, raised in Redondo Beach, and now a resident of Hawaiian Gardens, "Walkin' Willie" started walking for cancer awareness after the death of his mother, father, and sister of cancer. In each case, doctors said early detection would have saved their lives. Willie's arrival here in Washington on April 16, marked the completion of his second cross-country walk in 3 years. In addition to his walks across America, in 1988, he walked from Los Angeles to Sacramento. It was a very successful trip culminating with his speech on the floor of the California State Senate.

Willie's other walks for cancer include a journey from Los Angeles to Las Vegas as well as across Death Valley in July. Despite his devotion to promoting cancer awareness, he also works in a service station when not on the road.

"Walkin' Willie" has brought joy and hope to my district, the State of California, and the entire Nation over the years. He also shares his indomitable spirit and love with his wife, Lucy, and his daughter, Catalina. My wife, Lee, joins me in extending our deepest appreciation to this caring and giving person. He is truly a remarkable individual who has devoted so much of his time and energy to enriching the lives of many other people. We wish William Croker, his wife, Lucy, and their daughter, Catalina, all the best in the years to come.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, on April 17, 1989, I was absent from floor proceedings because of general legislative business in Michigan and missed rollcall vote 28. I request that the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD reflect that if I had been able, I would have voted in favor of H.R. 20, the Federal Employees' Political Activities Act.

MOTHERS AND CHILDREN HIGHLIGHTED IN FOREIGN AID

HON. CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, last week during consideration of the rewrite of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 by the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations, the subcommittee accepted two amendments to establish the health needs of women and children in the developing world as major goals of U.S. foreign policy. The first amendment will—for the first time—make prenatal, neonatal, and maternal health care a funding priority for U.S. health assistance. The second amendment directs the President to prioritize funding for child survival activities: Simple, low-cost, high yield health technologies such as oral rehydration therapy and childhood immunizations.

As you know, Mr. Speaker, over the last decade there has been a silent revolution waged in the health missionfields, one which has been fought with simple and basically inexpensive technologies. We are beginning to see the tangible results of the child survival revolution—children's lives are being saved from diseases and disorders which can be the kiss of death in developing societies. There is one battle for the lives of mothers and their children, however, which we seem to be losing, or at least not fully addressing.

Mr. Speaker, as many as 50 percent of infant deaths occur during the neonatal period which is the first 28 days after birth, according to a joint statement made by WHO/UNICEF in 1986. It is particularly disturbing to point out that these terribly vulnerable lives are largely unaffected by the current child survival activities. Hence, Mr. Speaker, it is important that U.S. economic development assistance target the care of these children as a priority foreign policy goal.

Appropriate prenatal care can help prevent the deaths of hundreds of thousands—99 percent of the 500,000 women who die annually worldwide are from developing countries—of mothers in developing countries who die annually from complications related to pregnancy such as infections—tetanus, in particular—hemorrhage which is closely tied to anemia, obstructed labor and toxemia—pregnancy-induced hypertension, especially in very young and older mothers. It is clear, Mr. Speaker, that prenatal care such as nutrition supplements and, generally, better medical attention, not only keep the mother strong and healthy throughout her pregnancy but help nurture normal birth weight children and promote intrauterine growth.

Mr. Speaker, a link between iron deficiency anemia and low birth weight, premature babies has been established. The health prospects for low birth weight babies are grim. These children have about 20 times more risk of infant mortality than normal birth weight children because they are more susceptible to diarrhea, contagious diseases, and malnutrition before their first birthday. Of approximately 22 million low birth weight babies born worldwide, 21 million are in the developing world.

Mr. Speaker, claiming at least 800,000 infant deaths each year, neonatal tetanus is the single most important identifiable cause of infant mortality in the developing world. Tetanus for the infant is the child's death knell. Prevention is the key. Providing tetanus toxoid immunization for mothers, and better yet, for all women of childbearing age, is especially important in an effective maternal and prenatal health regimen. AID has already identified the most logical starting point for providing this: Namely, mothers should be vaccinated when their children are given childhood vaccinations.

Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to hear that AID's new 5-year, \$17.5 million project for maternal and neonatal health and nutrition is now underway after crossing several hurdles. It is my understanding that a substantial portion of the project will focus on the systematic design, implementation and evaluation of maternal and neonatal health care programs to

determine the essential components of a cost-effective package.

Comprehensive research and experience, both internationally and domestically, have proven that proper prenatal care spells the difference between a healthy or health-threatened mother, and a strong or vulnerable child, or even death. Mr. Speaker, we must commit ourselves to promote healthy mothers and healthy babies, as the slogan goes, "right from the start." While survival is critical, strong babies will immediately slice infant mortality in half.

Mr. Speaker, having a strong commitment to prenatal care both in policy and in funding will help complete the arsenal in our revolution for child survival. As I mentioned earlier, Mr. Speaker, the twin engine components of immunization and oral rehydration have driven the revolution in child survival throughout many developing countries. Hundreds of thousands of lives have been saved and diseases such as polio have been prevented. Mr. Speaker, we have only begun the fight to mitigate the incidence of the preventable diseases. We simply must not lose the momentum at this critical time. And while we make progress in our efforts to achieve the goal of universal immunization by 1990, the additional question now is how will we sustain high levels of immunization once achieved?

Mr. Speaker, I am hopeful that the funding for this outstanding and exemplary foreign assistance project will increase. The Child Survival Fund has translated into saved lives and healthier, more productive children.

THE SMALL AUTOMOBILE DEALER INSTALLMENT SALES ACT

HON. ED JENKINS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to introduce today, the Small Automobile Dealer Installment Sales Act. This legislation is designed to assist the small independent automobile dealer and the consumer in the purchase of essential transportation. This legislation would correct an unfortunate oversight in the 1987 Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act [OBRA].

OBRA was passed late in the first session of the 100th Congress. It incorporated an amendment to the Internal Revenue Code which repealed a method of accounting which has been used by dealers in personal property, such as used automobiles, for more than 60 years. The installment method of accounting permitted dealers to make tax payments as purchasers made their payments on installment notes.

Mr. Speaker, when this legislation was passed, I was concerned that it would have unintended effects on many small businesses, which were in effect being called upon to loan funds to the Federal Government prior to the receipt of income. Unfortunately, correspondence from many individual automobile dealers in Georgia, and from the Georgia Independent Automobile Dealers Association and the Na-

tional Independent Automobile Dealers Association has established that my concerns were well-founded. I have received many comments and letters regarding the adverse impact of the repeal of the installment method of accounting on small automobile dealers.

Most dealers selling used automobiles cannot sell the installment paper they issue. That is because many banks are not interested in this paper, and other financial institutions are either not interested, or charge exorbitant discounts, ranging as high as 50 percent. Such a charge erodes all profit from the transaction. It places a severe financial strain upon dealers who depend on such sales.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation would restore the installment method of accounting for licensed used car dealers selling automobiles over 3 years of age, valued at \$6,000 or less. Dealers would be required to pay interest under Section 453(a)(c) of the Code as in the case of sales of other products, which we have permitted to continue under the installment method.

I urge my colleagues to support this legislation.

A TRIBUTE TO JAMES KINNEY

HON. NITA M. LOWEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mrs. LOWEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take a few moments today to honor James Kinney for his heroic rescue of three people from a burning apartment house in my district.

Mr. Kinney, a letter carrier in New Rochelle, NY, was making his rounds on March 11 when he saw raging flames coming from an apartment building on his route. He rushed into the wood frame building to rescue an infant from the second floor and help two elderly residents to safety. After he was certain that no others were in the building, Mr. Kinney picked up his mailbag and continued making his deliveries.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that Mr. Kinney's heroism was in the best tradition of the U.S. Postal Service. He saw a need and responded with valor and without expecting recognition. Late last month, on behalf of the community he so meaningfully serves, the East River Savings Bank honored Mr. Kinney. That recognition of this fine gentleman who put his own life on the line to help others was richly deserved.

I am proud of Mr. Kinney and wish him all the best.

THE 90TH BIRTHDAY OF EMILY TAFT DOUGLAS

HON. RICHARD J. DURBIN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. Speaker, I rise to call the attention of this House to a special occasion.

April 19, 1989 marks the 90th birthday of one of our distinguished former colleagues.

Emily Taft Douglas was elected to the 79th Congress in 1944, serving from January 3, 1945, to January 3, 1947. Her career in Congress and in public life was a great example to this body. She dedicated her efforts to women's rights, civil rights, and economic justice. She was truly a pioneer and her legacy as a legislator and author endures.

Mrs. Douglas still holds a special distinction as the only woman in the history of our Nation to precede her husband into Congress. The late Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois and Mrs. Douglas not only made history with their elections, they brought pride to both this House and the Senate with the quality of their service.

I join my colleagues; Mrs. Douglas' daughter, Jean Taft Douglas Bandler and her husband, Ned; her two grandchildren, James Douglas Bandler and Jolen Taft Bandler; and scores of friends in wishing Emily Taft Douglas the happiest of birthdays.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

HON. JIM COURTER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. COURTER. Mr. Speaker, due to previously scheduled business in my district I was not present for two rollcall votes on April 17. Had I been present I would have voted "yes" on Journal vote numbers 28 and 29.

TRIBUTE TO THE ST. GEORGE BYZANTINE CATHOLIC CHURCH OF YOUNGSTOWN, OH

HON. JAMES A. TRAFICANT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. TRAFICANT. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to St. George Parish of Youngstown, OH, on the occasion of their 75th anniversary. This country owes a great debt to the religious institutions of this country. Our tradition of religious worship has shaped the moral fiber of this land, forging the strong bonds that truly make us "one nation under God." In my 17th Congressional District of Ohio, we have been blessed with the presence of a special group of people, who are proud to be celebrating a rich history of religious leadership in our community.

For many years the founding fathers of St. George Parish worshipped at St. Mary's Church in Youngstown. In May 1914 a committee, supported by 100 signatures, took the first steps toward the founding of St. George Parish. On Labor Day, 1917, the untiring efforts of the forefathers culminated with the blessing of the parish's first church building. This marked the beginning of a long and glorious history of religious service to the Youngstown Byzantine Catholic community. In the spring of 1968, the church celebrated its first liturgy in the beautiful house of worship that

the church occupies today. Although the church has come a long way from its early beginnings, it is still characterized by the strong love of God, country, and neighbor that marked its early history.

I ask that the House join me today in honoring St. George Parish. May the parish continue to serve the spiritual and cultural needs of the community with the same zeal and dedication it has shown in the past 75 years. Let us extend to the people of St. George Parish our deepest appreciation, our heartiest congratulations on the occasion of their anniversary, and our best wishes for continued prosperity in the future.

CONGRATULATING ARCHBISHOP IAKOVOS ON 30 YEARS AS PRIMATE

HON. OLYMPIA J. SNOWE

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Ms. SNOWE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to recognize today a distinguished prelate who is celebrating the 30th anniversary this month of his enthronement as primate of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America.

His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos has worked diligently for over three decades now to bring greater vitality and unity to the church, initiating reforms and advancing the frontiers of Eastern Orthodoxy as the spiritual leader of over 2 million Greek Orthodox faithful in the Western Hemisphere.

Not only has Archbishop Iakovos worked tirelessly for the betterment of the Greek Orthodox Church and the Greek-American community, but His Eminence is now the senior religious leader of the United States, and he has been honored by numerous universities and church and political leaders.

It is therefore my pleasure to join other Greek-Americans this month in congratulating Archbishop Iakovos and in wishing him continued success in his important work around our country.

THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNION COUNTY ASSOCIATION FOR RETARDED CITIZENS

HON. MATTHEW J. RINALDO

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. RINALDO. Mr. Speaker, on April 29, 1989, the Union County Association for Retarded Citizens will celebrate its 40th anniversary.

Forty years ago this organization was formed by a group of parents concerned for the future of their retarded children.

In the intervening years the association has grown to a full service agency helping people

who are retarded and their families at every stage of life. The Association for Retarded Citizens of Union County provides assistance for infants, preschoolers and adults. The services include adult training centers, recreation programs, group homes, a thrift shop, a summer day camp, and support groups for parents.

Many factors have contributed to the stability and effectiveness of the Union County Association for Retarded Citizens. The most important factor, however, is the dedication of the unit's members. These individuals have worked tirelessly for years and have encouraged the involvement of the general public in volunteer service and financial support.

I wish to commend the outstanding men and women who have contributed so much to the success of the Union County Association for Retarded Citizens during the past 40 years, and I extend my best wishes in their continuing efforts to meet the needs of Union County's retarded population.

NEA PRESIDENT

HON. GEORGE J. HOCHBRUECKNER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. HOCHBRUECKNER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to commend Ms. Mary Hatwood Futrell for her 26 years of leadership and service to our Nation's educational system. For the last 6 years, Ms. Futrell has served as president of the 1.9 million-member National Educational Association [NEA]. Her third and final term ends on August 31, 1989.

Ms. Futrell, a native of Virginia, started teaching business courses at Parker-Gray High School in 1963. She served as secretary and president of her local NEA group, and took the office of president of the Virginia Education Association in 1976. Before being elected to the NEA presidency, Ms. Futrell served as secretary-treasurer of the organization. In addition, Ms. Futrell has participated in many task forces, committees, and special studies concerning educational issues.

Ms. Futrell has been actively involved in other organizations as well. She served for 5 years as president of ERAmerica, sits on the executive committee of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights and the board of the U.S. Commission for UNICEF, and is a member of the Women's and Labor Councils of the Democratic National Committee.

Ebony and Ladies Home Journal have honored Ms. Futrell for her influence, contribution, and achievements in education. She has received honorary degrees from seven different colleges and universities. Her accomplishments and recognitions speak to the dedication and service Ms. Futrell has given to our Nation's school system. I ask that my colleagues join me in thanking Ms. Futrell for her commitment.

ALAR/APPLE SITUATION

HON. BOB McEWEN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. McEWEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to address the disturbing rumors concerning the safety of the apples we feed our children. It seems to me that many people are talking and few are listening to the facts surrounding the apples we grow.

Recently CBS News managed to panic concerned parents with a news broadcast that focused on purported dangers of a chemical used on apples. They cited a recent Natural Resources Defense Council [NRDC] report which asserts that children are subject to serious health problems from pesticide residues in food. One example was the use of Alar on apples. The reaction to this broadcast was so extreme that schools are removing apples from their lunchrooms and parents are taking applesauce down from their shelves.

Mr. Speaker, this report is grossly misleading and irresponsible. The Environmental Protection Agency, which sets the standards of risk of illness for chemical residue, has found the NRDC report to be unreliable and inappropriate. The date used is considered invalid and poor. Moreover, the American Council on Science and Health has also rejected this report. The Council points out many shortcomings in the report, which range from imprecise terminology to critical omissions of scientific knowledge.

Let me take a moment to go over the facts of the situation. Alar is not a pesticide, it is a chemical which stimulates growth in trees. Moreover, Alar was used on only 5 percent of the apples grown in the United States last year. The level of tolerance set by EPA is 40 times less than the actual level at which studies suggest health problems might occur. Moreover, EPA tests on apples generally show no residue, and if they do, the level is a fraction of a percentage point. That's a safety margin.

I have four young children. I understand why parents are concerned. But the quickness with which the Government reacted to the fruits from abroad which were contaminated should reassure everyone that health is a major concern of the present Government. The facts concerning our apples need to be acknowledged, and the American public needs to know that an apple a day will still keep the doctor away.

NEW BEGINNINGS IN TROPICAL FORESTRY

HON. BRUCE F. VENTO

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. VENTO. Mr. Speaker, the destruction of the world's tropical forests has become a global crisis. Each year 27 million acres, an area the size of Pennsylvania, is logged, burned, and converted to nonforest uses. Tropical forests contain 50 percent of the

world's plant and animal species. Scientists predict that 2.5 million species in these forests have not yet been discovered and may never be discovered if the rapid deforestation continues. It is quite likely that this tremendous loss of tropical forests and dependent species is lessening the world's biodiversity, and will contribute to global climate change and is preventing new medicine, foods, and other forest products from benefiting mankind. The Forest Service, as the world's largest forestry organization, needs to play a lead role in helping to find the means and knowledge to save tropical forests. With its outstanding research branch, the Forest Service has an important capacity to utilize and can make a significant difference. Its Institute of Tropical Forestry in Puerto Rico should expand its tropical forestry research programs.

Working in close partnership in Puerto Rico with the Institute of Tropical Forestry is the Caribbean National Forest, the Nation's only tropical national forest. Also known as the Luquillo Experimental Forest or El Yunque, it serves as a natural, outdoor laboratory for the institute and receives a million recreational visitors a year. The forest has great potential to be a model of quality tropical forest management for tropical countries throughout the world.

Tragically, as the global tropical deforestation crisis has worsened, the Forest Service's tropical forestry research efforts have shrunk just when they are needed the most. The agency, ironically, has no congressional mandate for tropical forestry research and, in the past 10 years, the administration has deeply cut the budget for this program, has eliminated important long-term tropical forestry research projects and has reduced the number of Forest Service scientists working in this field. Furthermore, the Caribbean National Forest is far from reaching its potential as a management model. For example, it lacks facilities to house visiting researchers and managers from other countries.

I have introduced the Tropical Forestry Initiative Act to strengthen the Forest Service's Tropical Forestry Research Program. Joining me as cosponsors are Mr. VOLKMER, chairman of the Agriculture Subcommittee on Forests, Family Farms and Energy, Mr. FUSTER, resident commissioner from Puerto Rico and Mr. MARLENEE and Mr. LAGOMARSINO, the ranking minority members of the Subcommittee on National Parks and Public Lands. I appreciate their support of this bill and their commitment to the world's tropical forests.

This bill strengthens the Forest Service's tropical research program in the following ways:

1. It gives the Forest Service a Congressional mandate to conduct a research program that focuses on methods to slow or reverse tropical deforestation.

2. It requires the Secretary of Interior to assist the Secretary of Agriculture in this research through a memorandum of understanding between the two Secretaries.

3. It establishes a line item in the Forest Service's budget for tropical forestry research.

4. It gives the Forest Service's Institute of Tropical Forestry a congressional mandate to expand its current program to include research on recreation and tourism, alternative

economic uses of tropical forests that sustain them as forests including the development of new products, and the affects of tropical deforestation on biodiversity and global climate change.

5. It directs the Institute to share its findings with other countries and to assist researchers and natural resource managers throughout the tropical world.

6. It directs the Secretary of Agriculture to manage the Caribbean National Forest as a model of tropical forest management with an international outreach program and with the necessary training and educational facilities to fulfill this role.

Another important Forest Service tool to help slow tropical deforestation is the agency's international forestry program which provides technical assistance to other countries. However, this program needs to expand to be effective during the current crisis in the tropics. Out of an organization of 37,000 full-time employees, only 9 are on overseas assignments. Hampering expansion is the lack of clear authority and direction from Congress for international forestry and restrictions in the annual Interior appropriations bill which requires the Forest Service to go to other agencies for approval for its international projects. These restrictions, for example, prohibit the Forest Service from giving assistance to Brazil, one of the places where the tropical deforestation crisis is the most severe. I am working closely with Mr. DE LA GARZA, chairman of the Agriculture Committee, on an international forestry bill for the Forest Service which he will introduce and I will cosponsor. This bill would provide the agency with the direction and authority it needs to increase its technical assistance to tropical countries. I commend Chairman DE LA GARZA for taking the leadership on this issue.

Both of these proposed laws are important steps in giving the Forest Service and our Nation a leadership role in helping the world to solve the growing crisis in the world's tropical forests. Such resources are far too important for America to stand on the sidelines and passively watch their gradual destruction. Americans and people everywhere need tropical forests. The very health of our planet depends on our Nation actively becoming involved in their protection and management. The Forest Service needs to mobilize its resources and expertise to lead the way. These legislative measures will provide a much needed focus on the proper policy path to achieve the objective of proper utilization and preservation of our global environments.

TUFTONIA DAY

HON. BILL RICHARDSON

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise to bring to my colleagues' attention that tomorrow throughout the world my fellow Tufts University alumni are celebrating the fifth annual university holiday of reminiscence and revelry we call Tuftonia Day. Held every year on April 19, Tuftonia Day is a special time for the

60,000-plus alumni of this great international institution located in Medford, MA. It is a day for Tuftonians to get together with one another to remember, recognize, and celebrate their alma mater.

Tuftonia Day derives its name from the title of the venerable Tufts football fight song written by E.W. Hayes, class of 1916. This Tufts holiday has been celebrated in diverse ways and recognized by people throughout the world. In past years, official proclamations for Tuftonia Day have been issued by the Governor of Massachusetts and the mayors of Boston, Medford, and Somerville, MA. In addition to a formal ceremony on campus, there are local and international observances ranging from small gatherings in restaurants to champagne receptions in museums, art galleries, and private homes; from a group trolley ride to a ride on a jumbo elephant in India. Tufts alumni from Hartford to Hong Kong and from San Diego to Sao Paulo come together to think Tufts, thank Tufts, and toast Tufts.

This year, Tufts' male a cappella singing group will make a musical journey, via Amtrak, down the Northeast corridor. "The Great Tuftonia Train Ride" will stop at railway stations to serenade alumni, parents, and accepted students in Boston, Providence, New Haven, New York City, Trenton, Philadelphia, Wilmington, Baltimore, and Washington. The trip will end with a celebration at Union Station on Sunday, April 23.

Tufts University was founded in 1852 and enrolls approximately 7,200 students from 48 States and 75 foreign countries. The main campus in Medford/Somerville houses the College of Liberal Arts, College of Engineering, Jackson College, Boston School of Occupational Therapy, Graduate School, College of Special Studies, School of Nutrition, and Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. The Boston campus features the Schools of Medicine and Dentistry, while Grafton is the site of the only School of Veterinary Medicine in New England.

A TRIBUTE TO COMSTOCK TOWNSHIP PUBLIC LIBRARY

HON. HOWARD WOLPE

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to the Comstock Township Public Library on the occasion of its 50th anniversary. The Comstock Township Public Library was the first library in Kalamazoo County. Started in 1938 as part of the Works Progress Administration county-wide library service, it brought a wealth of knowledge to our community.

Like the minds of those who read have grown, so has the Comstock Township Public Library. The reading facility has had many homes, starting first with 500 books in a space offered by a food store on River Street. In 1956, after voters approved the establishment of a free library and \$1 million for its support, a newly constructed library was opened with 6,000 volumes. Today, after two expansions, the Comstock collection boasts over 55,000 volumes and is now physically attached to Comstock Township Hall.

Mr. Speaker, the successful evolution of the Comstock reading collection was made possible by residents dedicated to education and growth. On the 50th anniversary of the Comstock Township Public Library, I salute the citizens of Comstock and their extraordinary library, the educational cornerstone of their community.

JEFFERSON NATIONAL EXPANSION MEMORIAL

HON. JERRY F. COSTELLO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. COSTELLO. Mr. Speaker, today I joined Senator PAUL SIMON in introducing legislation to make possible an Illinois extension of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial. This park, better known as the home for the Gateway Arch in St. Louis, was built as a monument to Thomas Jefferson and the Nation's Westward Expansion.

The completion of the Gateway Arch and Missouri section of the park in 1965 was an historic milestone for project architect Eero Saarinen. However, it was Mr. Saarinen's intention to include land on the east side of the Mississippi, in Illinois, as part of this memorial.

In 1984, Congress passed legislation to create a 20-member commission to study the expansion proposal and come up with recommendations to move forward with the Illinois park plans. In an effort to do so, some small language in the original act needs to be amended. With the legislation we are introducing today, these concerns will be met, and I am hopeful that the proposal will be acted on quickly.

Mr. Speaker, expansion of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial will not only fulfill the designer's original intentions for the landmark. It will provide a source of pride and beauty to the residents of southwestern Illinois, and will serve as a cornerstone for economic development in that area.

I feel that there is great promise for this project. It would be the only national park in my State. There are plans to construct a museum on the expansion site, and it would complement its Missouri counterpart by bringing added tourism and excitement to the region. I want to thank my colleagues in Illinois and Missouri for their support for this project, and hope that we can soon make this worthwhile memorial a reality.

H.R. 1487

HON. TOM LEWIS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. LEWIS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, last week the House passed H.R. 1487, the State Department authorization. Although budget deficit considerations compelled me to vote against this bill, I would like to take this opportunity to reaffirm my support for three programs which are included in this legislation.

The first of these programs is the \$100 million in supplemental appropriations for assisting refugees, primarily from the Soviet Union. As you know, these added funds became necessary because of the Soviet Union's new rules regarding emigration. Mr. Speaker, it is imperative that those who flee religious persecution are given every opportunity to be reunited with their families. This supplemental appropriation is essential to accomplishing that goal.

Another extremely worthwhile program in this legislation is the funding for Radio Marti, and the possibility of funding for Television Marti. These broadcasts are irreplaceable sources of truthful information for the people of Cuba. If the President deems it feasible, Television Marti will begin broadcasting into Cuba by the end of the year. After 30 long years, the people of Cuba will be able to see the world as it really is, not how Castro says it is.

Finally, I applaud the decision to authorize danger pay for Drug Enforcement Agency agents stationed in dangerous positions abroad. These agents risk their lives every day to end the scourge of drugs in our country, and this is but one small way in which we can show our appreciation.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the members of the conference committee to work to retain these programs, while structuring the State Department authorization so that it takes on an air of fiscal responsibility. In these times of budget deficits, we must prioritize our spending so that programs such as the aforementioned are retained while other, less imperative programs are studied more closely.

THE 90TH BIRTHDAY OF THE CURTIS BAY COAST GUARD YARDS

HON. C. THOMAS McMILLEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. McMILLEN of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor the Nation's only U.S. Coast Guard shipbuilding and repair yard, in celebrating its 90th birthday, the Curtis Bay Coast Guard Yard. Founded in 1899, the 112-acre yard, located in Curtis Bay, MD, was the first permanent home of the Coast Guard Academy.

As the Coast Guard's most modern, industrial plant, the yard is responsible for the construction, repairs, and renovation of vessels and various aids to navigation, and for the manufacturing of miscellaneous Coast Guard equipment.

Besides its principal shipyard role, the Coast Guard yard serves as host facility for the Baltimore Group and Curtis Bay Station. It is also home for the Coast Guard Cutter *Sledge* and the Coast Guard Cutter *Red Birch*.

Last year there were calls to close down the yard, dismantling not only the facility but ending the history of this fine facility. Through the work of the Maryland congressional delegation we succeeded in keeping the yard open, and it's now looking to a bright new future—having been selected to build the pro-

tototype of the new Heritage class Coast Guard cutter. Today, over 819 civilian employees and 250 military personnel are stationed at the yard.

The U.S. Coast Guard has a rich history, from the Revolutionary days when it was named the Revenue Marine, to today's task of patrolling our southern shores in the war on drugs. The Curtis Bay Coast Guard Yard has complemented that mission with excellence, professionalism, and patriotism.

I hope that all of you will join me in commemorating the yard and its employees on their 90 years of success.

THE STUDENT AID READJUSTMENT ACT

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 18, 1989

Mr. FORD of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, postsecondary education is increasingly necessary for our Nation's workplaces. Today, 50 percent of all job classifications require some education beyond high school. That percentage is expected to increase to 75 percent by the middle of the next decade. However, the obstacles faced by those trying to pursue their educational goals are mounting.

As the price of postsecondary education is rising, the Federal grant assistance for students is falling. We are telling our high school students that there is student aid available to help them achieve their educational goals, yet, their college financial aid administrator tells them that this aid is in reality a loan, which they must repay.

At the beginning of this decade, the maximum Pell grant covered about 50 percent of the average cost of postsecondary education. That figure has slipped to below 30 percent. In fact, in the last 16 years, the Pell grant program was fully funded only three times. We have created a marvelous irrigation system for delivering student aid and are only running a trickle of water through it.

That is why I introduced H.R. 2020, the Student Aid Readjustment Act [SARA]. This bill would restrict borrowing under the Stafford loan program to only those students who have successfully completed their first 2 years of postsecondary education.

In exchange for this limitation, Pell grants to students in their first and second year of postsecondary education would be increased. Someday Pell grants should increase for all students, but due to budgetary constraints, this legislation would restrict Pell eligibility to students in their first 2 years of study.

This legislation would also make Pell grants an entitlement program, thus preventing Federal budget problems from denying students access to education.

The end result would be to provide students, who are now receiving Federal aid in the form of a Pell and a Stafford loan, a grant in their first 2 years of education and a loan in their last 2 years. Since the majority of Federal student financial assistance goes to students in their first 2 years of study and the majority of student dropouts occur in the first

2 years of study, this legislation would help many students achieve their educational goals.

The purpose of this legislation is twofold—to restructure our student aid programs to again provide equal educational opportunity for needy students and, second, to reduce the costs to the Federal Government of student loan defaults.

The Pell Grant Program was established to allow needy students to pursue postsecondary education—to remove the financial barriers which at one time made postsecondary education a luxury reserved only for the wealthy.

The law still states that the Pell grant's purpose is to provide "75 percent of a student's cost of attendance" when combined with parental assistance, State grants, and the smaller Federal grant programs. As recently as 1986, in the higher education amendments, Congress reaffirmed its commitment that students could only afford to finance 25 percent of their total educational expenses and this should be done through work and loans.

However, Federal grant aid has decreased to such a degree that the guaranteed student loan is no longer a loan of convenience, but the primary foundation of a student's financial aid package—a purpose this program was not designed for.

Students from low-income families, who do not have experience as borrowers, are being forced to borrow an average of \$4,000; 20 percent of student borrowers came from households with annual incomes of under \$5,000; 60 percent of student borrowers come from families who earn less than \$20,000 per year. Allowing a student to borrow a significant portion of their annual income is not assisting the student.

Also, studies have shown that minority students have an aversion to borrowing. The recent declines in minority enrollment in postsecondary education are in large measure due to the requirement that these students borrow to finance their education.

The original vision of Senator PELL was to extend free education to the postsecondary level, so that students would have at least 14 years of free education. The current funding levels of student aid programs do not permit this. Providing enough grant assistance cover need in the first 2 years of postsecondary education would be an effective strategy to ensure educational opportunities for all students.

H.R. 2020 would also save the Federal Government on student loan default costs. In fiscal year 1989, the Stafford Student Loan Program cost the Federal Government about \$4.5 billion. This represents in-school interest payments, special allowance for lenders, reinsurance for guaranty agencies, and about \$1.7 billion in default costs.

About 62 percent of student loan borrowers are in their first 2 years of postsecondary education; almost 80 percent of defaulters are in their first 2 years. Disallowing borrowing on the part of first and second year students could save about \$1.8 billion and could reduce default costs by almost \$1.4 billion.

The U.S. Department of Education is interested in this idea. In a hearing before the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor, Health and Human Services, Education

and Related Agencies, Kenneth Whitehead, then-Assistant Secretary for Postsecondary Education described SARA as "an idea that deserves some attention." He went further, "We have reached a stage where the grant-loan ratio is tilting more toward loans. This is clearly something we should examine."

Furthermore the National Council of Higher Education Loan Programs [NCHELP] has endorsed the principal of lending only to those students who have completed some of their postsecondary education.

They wrote me saying:

NCHELP believes that the idea of providing substantial assistance at the beginning of a student's academic career makes a good deal of sense, both for the student and for the Federal Government. The transition from high school to postsecondary education, or the return to postsecondary education from a working career, is a substantial one.

The student should be allowed to focus on this transition, and to develop the study skills necessary for success in postsecondary education, without having the spectre of debt hanging over his head from the outset. Studies have shown that students who persist in their educational programs have a substantially higher probability of repaying their loans than those who drop out early. Thus, a restructuring of student aid such as you propose makes sense for the student and will also significantly lower federal program costs.

By providing grant assistance to first and second year students and restricting loan eligibility to those who have completed their first 2 years of postsecondary education, the student aid system would be restructured to both reduce loan default costs, but more importantly, to again provide equal educational opportunity for all students, regardless of economic background.

The maximum Pell grant is currently \$2,300. The maximum guaranteed student loan for students in their first 2 years of postsecondary education is currently \$2,625, at least \$125 of which goes immediately to origination and insurance fees. Therefore a maximum Pell grant of \$4,800 would provide students with the same amount of Federal assistance they currently receive under both the Pell and GSL Programs.

The Department of Education estimates that increasing the Pell grant maximum to \$4,800 would cost \$8.381 billion, or a \$3.898 billion increase; \$1.36 billion would be saved through reductions in loan default costs; 80 percent of defaults would be eliminated by disallowing borrowing to first and second year students. The Department of Education estimates that defaults cost about \$1.7 billion a year. Another \$896 million would be saved by making this program an entitlement.

Estimates show that between 55 and 65 percent of borrowers are students in their first 2 years of postsecondary education. The Federal dollars saved by not having to pay in-school interest subsidies and special allowance costs for first and second year borrowers would cover the remaining costs of increasing the Pell maximum.

I look forward to comments on this bill from those interested in Federal student financial assistance. I would like this legislation to be

