

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## MINORITY BUSINESS

## HON. PARREN J. MITCHELL

OF MARYLAND  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. MITCHELL of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, I have served as a Member of this distinguished body for over 10 years. In this period of time, I have attempted to serve as a voice for the disadvantaged of this Nation. I am especially concerned with the economic development of viable minority businesses. Such businesses, I believe, can enhance greatly this Nation's effort to reduce unemployment and revitalize decaying neighborhoods. Of equal significance, minority businesses are eager to become a part of this country's economic recovery goal.

Since 1979, many of my distinguished colleagues have rallied to provide congressional support for minority businesses. I thank you for your support. Likewise, there is some positive movement in the corporate structure to develop partnerships with minority entrepreneurs. Mr. Speaker, regarding the latter, I am pleased to share with my colleagues excerpts from a speech by Arthur Levitt, chairman of the American Stock Exchange. The speech was presented in the spring of this year at the annual meeting of the Interracial Council for Business Opportunity.

Good Evening, as chairman of the American Stock Exchange and one of the founders of the American Business Conference—a new organization that promotes the interests of growth companies—I am unabashedly enthusiastic about small business.

Langston Hughes once told businessmen, their lives "ain't been no crystal stair," you survived. You absorbed in recent years the blows of hyperinflation and high interest rates; you made modest gains. For every few businesses that failed, at least one new venture started.

Allow me to point out some of the gains black businesses made in the 1970's.

In 1977, the most recent year for which statistics are available, blacks owned about 200,000 businesses that had gross receipts of over \$7 billion.

Eight years ago, the top 100 black businesses cited in Black Enterprise magazine showed gross receipts of \$459 million. The latest survey had revenues of the top 100 firms amounting to slightly over \$1 billion.

Today there are many black banks, savings and loan associations, and insurance companies with assets of approximately \$3 billion.

Black businesses are more diversified today than ever before with companies in the high-growth fields—electronics, computer software, and telecommunications.

There are prospering oil and oil-related companies; Wallace & Wallace Enterprises,

Inc. in St. Albans, N.Y.; Vanguard Oil & Supply Co., Inc. in Brooklyn; Grimes Oil Co., Inc. in Dorchester, Mass.

In technology there are companies like Ran-Der Industries, a supplier of oil field drilling chemicals and Baszile Metals Service, a metal parts supplier.

Ten years ago this country had only 14 black-owned radio stations, and 1 black-owned television station. Today there are 108 black-owned radio stations and 6 black television stations.

Timothy Person, president of Allstates Transworld Van Lines Inc., serves as a lesson in perseverance; after battling with the Interstate Commerce Commission for nearly two decades, he won the first nationwide operating license ever awarded to a black enterprise.

I believe I can speak for most small businessmen who welcome the President's so-called supply side economic policies—if those policies will do what is promised; that is, reduce the maze of restrictive regulations, ease credit for productive purposes and cut taxes in ways that will encourage savings and investment. But the worry of many small businessmen and women is that in the well-intentioned push to restore the country's economic vitality, the cure could prove to be worse than the sickness.

Indeed, the proposed cutbacks in the Small Business Administration budget and Federal contract procurement programs are bitter medicine.

One hundred million dollars would be cut from the SBA direct loan budget for fiscal year 1982. As a result, funding for minority enterprise small business investment companies (MESBICS) would be severely reduced. In addition, the interest rate on these loans would increase from 9% to 18 percent.

Another \$100 million would be cut from the SBA's guaranteed loan program.

Surety bonding, 8a contracts including the 15 percent setaside program in the Department of Transportation and the Commerce Department's Minority Business Development Agency face possible reductions.

Many of you in this audience may agree with one economist's assessment that these proposals, if adopted, could force 20 percent of all small businesses into bankruptcy; and almost half of the number of existing black businesses would have even less access to capital and to markets than they do now.

MESBICS, direct and guaranteed loans and Federal procurement programs made it possible for many black owned businesses to expand from mom and pop experience into franchises and into the high-growth fields I mentioned a moment ago.

Without MESBICS, the Interracial Council for Business Opportunity would have been hard pressed to come up with the \$132 million in financing that it secured for minority businesses since 1963. I wonder how many of you know that the National Black Radio Network was started with a \$450,000 MESBIC investment made by the Equitable Life Assurance Society? Today, the Nation's first black-owned, black-operated, and black-oriented radio network has 90 affiliates and 300,000 listeners. The parent company, Unity Broadcasting Network, had revenues of \$6 million last year.

I am hopeful that the new administration will be sensitive to the needs of all small businesses. I want to believe that the safety net the new administration says it will place under business will protect all businesses.

We should remember that small businesses do not always stay small and in need of Government support. They realize profits, reinvest capital, pay taxes, and eventually many grow into large corporations. More than half of the major corporations now traded on that other exchange here in this city—including Xerox, Alcoa, the Standard Oil Cos., and virtually every airline and aircraft manufacturer—started out as small companies traded on the American Stock Exchange.

Delegates to last year's White House Commission on Small Business drew up an agenda to give small and minority businesses a much-needed boost. Among other proposals, they sought mandatory goals for sharing of all Federal, State, and local government procurement contracts. They called for stronger enforcement of Public Law 95-507, which would require prime contractors to put their goals for small business contractors in writing. Last and not least, they proposed the adoption of a small business investment act to provide for 50 percent tax credits to investors in small or minority business development corporations. They also asked that investment corporations have the authority to borrow from Federal banks at subsidized interest rates.

A group of black Reagan supporters, Progress, Inc., is appealing to the President to drop what it calls the "falsely-held notion" that such programs are principal contributors to inflation. They want expanded SBA loan and 8a programs and special tax incentives to aid minority businesses.

Earl Graves of Black Enterprise magazine and Malcolm Corrin go even further. They are looking for partnerships between Government and the private sector. I mention this because private corporations are unfortunately dragging their feet. The most recent Conference Board estimate shows that of the more than 2 million corporations in the United States, fewer than 30 percent reported making any contributions to organizations like ICBO or other worthy groups.

There are of course exceptions. Corporations listed in ICBO's annual report obviously believe investing in black businesses is an investment in America's future. More corporations must understand that their future depends on a stable social system. They can help build this system if they bring people out of an impoverished underclass and into the economic mainstream. People who have a stake in the system are committed to making it work.

Blacks are not asking for handouts or welfare; just a real opportunity to try, to succeed, and perhaps even fail. After all, America was founded on the right of individuals to pursue a dream and to have every chance to make it a reality. Black business is really a pure form of the American spirit; men and women daring to experiment, to be innovative and to persevere.

At the beginning of his term in Office, President Reagan hailed the spirit of small

business people. Heroes, he called them. Entrepreneurs who possess "faith in themselves and faith in an idea, entrepreneurs who work to create new jobs, new wealth, and opportunity." Tonight, we have many of these men and women with us, heroes if you will. It is fitting that here and now those among you in Government and in the private sector renew our commitment to these men and women.

Not to get involved is tantamount to putting a foreclosure sign on the doors of black businesses. The new beginning hailed by this administration can and should be a new beginning for black businesses too. It should and must be the beginning of a drive to keep black business in the black \* \* \* and very much in business.

Thank you.●

### THE NATIONAL TOURISM POLICY ACT

**HON. NORMAN E. D'AMOURS**

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● **Mr. D'AMOURS.** Mr. Speaker, last Tuesday the House resoundingly passed the National Tourism Policy Act, a bill I cosponsored and one that I believe to be landmark legislation for the travel and tourism industry. This bill is the result of over 6 years of deliberations by the Congress and reflects the belief that an aggressive, imaginative effort to promote tourism will provide a great economic stimulus to our Nation.

Tourism is the No. 1 industry in my own State of New Hampshire and it is very important to New England and other regions of the country. The New England Council, a nonprofit association of New England employers who seek to improve economic conditions by monitoring national and regional decisions affecting New England, endorsed this legislation at its midyear meeting held in my congressional district in July. I applaud the council's support of this bill and its efforts in working for Tuesday's victory.

I might add that the council recently opened an office in Washington in an effort to further its effectiveness in bringing the voice of the New England business community to Capitol Hill.

I am inserting into the RECORD the council's position on the National Tourism Policy Act which was adopted by the group in early July:

Travel to New England for business and vacation purposes generates \$7 billion in income per year to the region and provides much needed tax revenues to the New England states in the form of meal, gasoline, liquor, sales and hotel taxes from a non-resident taxpayer population. We also know that the travel industry has been growing faster than other industries, that it provides over five percent of our total employment, and in some rural communities it is the single most important source of jobs and income for local residents. But the economic importance of tourism is not unique to New England: it is a national industry. Tourism

is the country's fourth major export. In 1980, more foreign visitors came to the United States than Americans traveled abroad, evidence that the tourism industry can make a major contribution to our balance of trade.

The National Tourism Policy Act would establish a national tourism policy. It would also convert the existing U.S. Travel Service into a U.S. Travel and Tourism Administration and upgrade its assistant secretary to an undersecretary thereby giving it a stronger role within the U.S. Department of Commerce. In addition, it would establish an interagency coordinating council designed to coordinate some 100 government programs in 50 federal agencies which deal with tourism. Through passage of this bill, the travel industry would gain national recognition, the support of the government systems necessary to increase international visitors to the United States, and be better able to compete both domestically and overseas.

While similar legislation was passed by both Houses of Congress in the 96th Congress, it was pocket vetoed by President Carter in the final days of his Administration. The New England Council supports congressional passage of H.R. 1311 and urges the Reagan Administration to support this significant legislation.●

### THE NATIONAL ENERGY POLICY PLAN, COAL

**HON. TOM CORCORAN**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● **Mr. CORCORAN.** Mr. Speaker, on July 17, the President transmitted to the Congress the Reagan administration's national energy policy plan. I support the approach suggested by the plan, and, as a member of both Energy Subcommittees of the Energy and Commerce Committee, I look forward to being closely involved with energy issues during the 97th Congress.

Mr. Speaker, for the benefit of our colleagues, I insert in the RECORD at this point the national energy policy plan's section on coal:

#### COAL

Coal is the Nation's most abundant fossil fuel, although it still supplies only one-fifth of the primary energy we consume each year. The Administration intends to reform Federal regulations that place unnecessary constraints on coal demand, to revise outdated leasing policies which threaten to limit future coal production, and to create an economic environment that enables the private sector to develop coal's potential.

Coal's price advantage over oil has widened rapidly during the past decade. Coal is the most economical fuel for most new large boiler applications, even if an oil-fired boiler is abandoned. The average fuel price difference between coal and oil delivered to utilities in the United States increased from about \$2 per barrel of oil equivalent in 1973 to \$23 per barrel in January of this year.

The coal industry has been responsive to such market forces. Although coal production remained nearly constant between 1970 and the middle of the decade, it rose by an average of about 5 percent annually be-

tween 1975 and 1980. Nevertheless, coal production is actually below capacity; and this rate of increase would have been much steeper, in fact, if domestic markets for coal had not been limited by many barriers to its use. The private sector is fully capable of meeting the anticipated future demand for coal in this country if it is not hampered by inappropriate Federal leasing policies and nonessential regulations. Because of the long lead-time required to develop new production capacity, the coal industry is planning now for increases in demand expected to result from higher gas and oil prices, expanding export markets, and the emergence of a coal-based synthetic fuels industry.

Domestic demand for coal is subject to many governmental restraints. The Federal regulatory process is being reformed to reduce impediments to the use of coal, including the excessive costs and lead-times now involved in building coal-fired utility and industrial installations. A switch to coal has been impeded by the significantly higher capital cost of the equipment to use this fuel, as compared with that for oil and gas. The Administration's Economic Recovery Program, which cuts taxes to encourage capital investments, should stimulate industrial and commercial users who will thus benefit from long-term fuel savings—and be able to share those economic benefits with their intermediate and ultimate customers. Several environmental laws are scheduled for review in the 97th Congress—the Clean Air Act and the Federal Water Pollution Control Act being most prominent. The Administration's current review of these acts is examining ways to maintain an appropriate balance between environmental quality and the Nation's need to produce and use more coal. (See Section V.) State and local governments also should focus on regulatory reform to remove unnecessary barriers to coal use and provide economically rational supervision of the Nation's regulated utilities.

National coal production capacity should also expand, even though it might take some time for domestic markets to "catch up." Fortunately, world demand for coal should put the excess output to good use, while also improving our trade balance through U.S. exports of steam coal as well as metallurgical grades. The Administration expects vigorous response by the private sector to rapidly increasing demand for such exports through further investment in mining, inland transportation, handling, and ocean transportation facilities. The costs of port and channel improvements needed to accommodate increased trade can be offset by users' fees; and foreign participation in the improvement of facilities intended for export markets should be encouraged. At the same time, the Administration is examining ways to assist the effort by reducing delays in facility and system improvements caused primarily by existing government regulations and permit-issuance procedures.

In the future, more coal is likely to be produced on Federal lands. The Federal Government controls four-fifths of all the known reserves in the western United States—where low-cost, stripable beds of coal are heavily concentrated. Within a few weeks the Administration is scheduled to complete a review of the existing program for coal leasing. This review is seeking changes that would accelerate the rate at which coal-bearing lands are leased and would eliminate redundant regulations for implementing such leases.



The Department of the Interior (DOI) has announced that by next year the primary responsibility for supervising compliance with regulations of the Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act of 1977 (SMCRA) will be transferred fully to those States that wish to assume this responsibility. The Department also has decided to rewrite the regulations to foster initiative and efficiency in the way compliance is reached. This can be done by replacing rigidly prescriptive "cookbook" design standards (telling industry precisely what it must do) with performance standards that are more responsive to local needs and conditions (telling industry what it is obliged to accomplish through its own resourcefulness).

Coal is delivered primarily within this country now by rail, truck, and barge; and private enterprise is exploring actively the possibility of transporting it extensively by slurry pipeline. The Administration is committed to removing regulatory constraints that would prevent the free market from determining the best way to move coal from mine to customer. The development and smooth operation of coal-carrying capacity is essentially a private sector issue, although maintenance of coal-hauling roads for truck movement is the responsibility of the States in which such roads are located.

Finally, by creating an environment that encourages private sector innovation and adoption of new coal technologies, it will be possible for the Administration to withdraw Federal support from near-term development and demonstration programs which could and should be carried forward by private industry. Government research funding can then be directed toward solving fundamental problems and toward generic research which may benefit many companies, rather than toward helping specific companies to develop new equipment and processes. Coal technology efforts by the Department of Energy (DOE) will focus on long-term, high-risk research and development where the payoff in the long run can be perceived, yet may not be clear enough to motivate adequate investment by individual companies or private institutions. The Administration plans to issue a policy statement on coal exports consistent with these principles. ●

#### THE CITY OF HOPE

HON. HENRY A. WAXMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. WAXMAN. Mr. Speaker, few institutions are as dedicated to the value of protecting human life as the City of Hope. Its fundamental philosophy is that, "Health is a human right"—a commitment that is under the most severe challenge from the economics of social austerity embraced by this administration. In his keynote address to the City of Hope annual convention, executive director Ben Horowitz outlined the decade of decision that lies ahead. Its ability to face the future lies in the strength of its past achievements. I am pleased to insert Mr. Horowitz's address in the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues.

#### KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY BEN HOROWITZ

Welcome delegates and members of the family of the City of Hope.

We are gathered in the 68th year of our history from various corners of the nation and from diverse segments of our population. You here are very special people. You have been chosen as delegates because of the leadership you have given to our auxiliary movement. You are the heart of yesterday's accomplishments, today's endeavors, and tomorrow's dreams of the City of Hope.

Our Conventions have a unique format. We utilize them to reinforce commitment to the noble traditions of our founding pioneers. We evaluate reports on plans approved at prior biennial convocations. We project ambitious programs for the succeeding two years, within our long range perspective.

These years of the eighties constitute a "decade of decision" for the City of Hope. Surrounding us are people caught up in a mood of frustration, a feeling that they cannot influence the course of events. We have imbued our supporters with a far different spirit—a sense of unified purpose, a refusal to let the future slip from our grasp, a determination to move forward to greater achievement on behalf of health and humanity.

The City of Hope has accepted the responsibility of giving active encouragement to creativity and innovation. This is implemented in effective fundraising by our auxiliaries, in the rescue of patients in our hospital rooms, in the discoveries emerging from our research laboratories, in the widening receptivity to our ideology.

The City of Hope is embarked on a great adventure. We have been gearing our organizational forces to win battles, better said victories, in the war against crippling and killer diseases. Our deep conviction is that lofty ideas and ideals can inspire people to fulfill their maximum potentials. Recognizing the capacity of men and women for both good and evil we have sought to influence them to constructive purposes and social obligations.

The contribution of the City of Hope to America has been monumental. Each Convention has recorded landmarks in our development, reflecting the enduring partnership of auxiliary workers and the medical-scientific staff.

My Keynote Address, and that which will take place in the sessions of the next two days, highlight sweeping advances of recent years. Their attainment emerges from the day to day efforts of our supporters, making a sum total of magnificent proportions. Listen to it with pride. You have a right to say as each area of activity is related, "I helped make it happen." My auxiliary did its share. "Our members are the lifeblood of the City of Hope."

#### OUR PATIENT SERVICES

We have insisted that our patient care continue to be free, of the highest quality, and with warm personalization. This reflects our philosophy that "health is a human right," the slogan of this convention.

In accordance with our piloting role, our Medical Center has initiated many new approaches which are becoming models of treatment for hospitals.

Our Bone Marrow Transplantation Program has effected high survivor rates and reduced costs for treatment of leukemia and aplastic anemia victims.

Our Medical Oncology Department is working with new drugs and combinations

of therapies to control the spread of cancer and to prevent the side effects of chemotherapy.

Our Respiratory Diseases Department has a rehabilitation program which substantially improves the functioning of disabled emphysema and chronic bronchitis patients.

Our Division of Surgery is stressing the importance of nutrition as essential to the healing process, is using new surgical techniques in combinations with other therapies, and has established a staff supportive program to minimize the emotional and social impact of cancer on patients and their families.

Our Division of Radiation Oncology has developed controls on radiation penetration of patients to avoid injuring underlying organs; and is one of the few engaged in delivering electron therapy for skin lymphomas.

Our Division of Pediatrics is dealing with various disorders affecting poverty stricken children, has introduced a new anti-virus drug for treatment of an infection affecting cancer patients, and has set up a psychology counseling service for children and their families.

These are only samplings of what is occurring in the many departments at our Medical Center. Rather than dwelling on additional details, let me relate a personal experience which brings these patient care programs into meaningful human terms. One day, as I was walking on a pathway at the City of Hope, a youngster raced up to me and gave me a hug. Breathlessly he said, "When I came in a wheelchair to the hospital, you told me 'Don't worry, you'll be walking soon.' See, I'm not only walking, I'm running!" That exemplifies the miracles you make available every day.

#### OUR CONSULTATION SERVICES

Almost three decades ago, the City of Hope formed a Consultation Service to offer the expertise of its staff "outside of its walls." In the early years patients were slow to take advantage of this option and physicians were less than enthusiastic about it.

In recent years, the validity of such "second opinions" has become an established fact. There is a recognition of the many unknowns and variables in diagnosis and treatment. Governmental and private health authorities have urged such confirmation in regard to serious ailments.

There has been widespread use of City of Hope specialists by patients desiring to continue care by their own physicians in their own communities. We have responded generously to this need. It should be particularly noted that our Division of Anatomic Pathology has given thousands of consultations on behalf of patients from every state in our nation and from 35 countries. The federal National Cancer Institute also supports a Reference Center at this division of the City of Hope of tissue sections from lymphoma patients from throughout the United States.

#### OUR ROLE AS A THINK TANK FOR OTHER HOSPITALS

We are vitally interested in improving the delivery of health care. This applies to improving the functioning of every hospital department, assuring maximum quality, quantity, economy and efficiency. We have won prizes from the National Association of Suggestion Systems for our ideas.

The general trend in the hospital field is to reduce paramedical services as an economy measure. We believe that such programs must be maintained to give patients a sense

of well-being, speeding recovery. Our innovations in paramedical services alert other hospitals to their necessity.

#### OUR RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

For many years the City of Hope has been designated as a Specialized Cancer Research Center by the National Cancer Institute of the federal government. Some 100 top-level clinical and basic researchers, aided by hundreds of others on our staff, are now involved in its activities.

More than 400 papers detailing the original findings from our laboratories during the last two years were published in scientific journals. They made an enormous contribution to medical science, laying the foundation on which researchers everywhere build. Our breakthrough in genetic engineering is resulting in vast consequences in unlocking the mysteries of disease.

The work of our scientists appears in professional journals throughout the world. National and international honors and awards are bestowed on our staff. They are invited to present their findings at conferences in this country, in Europe, and Asia.

Research projects at the City of Hope receive many millions of dollars each year from funds raised by our volunteers. This is supplemented by government grants, which in 1981 amount to \$6,000,000. The current cutbacks in federal and state grants, with more threatened in coming years, will save dollars at the expense of losing lives. Only scientific investigation can make a massive reduction in the "body count" of victims of disease, who number in the tens of millions. This motivated our thrust as a Pilot Medical Center, which has earned us world renown. There can be no impairment of our research endeavors for they are an essential core of our operations.

#### OUR AUXILIARIES

The dedicated and untiring efforts of our auxiliary members are the mainspring of the progress of the City of Hope.

We now have 511 chartered groups in 235 cities, 31 states, and Washington, D.C. It is gratifying that community and industry auxiliaries have done an outstanding job of reaching out for new members and new sources of income.

Since the inception of the City of Hope, our auxiliaries have provided the national organization with talented leaders and substantial funds. They have formulated the traditions and ideology of our movement and their members have spread its concepts to their communities.

Auxiliary members have written glorious pages in our annual records, but we are confident that the best is yet to come!

#### OUR FUNDRAISING

Income for 1979-81 will be approximately \$105,800,000. We far exceeded what was projected at our last convention. Nevertheless, we accumulated a deficit due to inflation, growth of staff and programs, purchase of new equipment, and other rising costs of health care.

The City of Hope launches a new budget every year. Each one demands a multimillion dollar increase. Its adoption is an act of faith by our Board of Directors, for there are no funds in our treasury. The grand total of dollars is a hope (and may I add a prayer) that the dollars will be forthcoming from our supporters.

Since the beginning of this fiscal year, we have been spending at the rate of \$1,100,000 every week. Next year will require an even larger sum. You give us the confidence that

it can be done. All of us know that we are not juggling abstract mathematical figures. Life and death are in our hands.

The budget becomes a solemn promise to those who plead for help. Our response is the finest expression of human will, love and compassion.

#### OUR LEADERSHIP

Napoleon said that every French soldier carried a marshal's baton in his knapsack. It was his way of saying that everyone in his army could be a hero, could rise to leadership.

This prevails in the City of Hope. The many facets of auxiliary activities call for a broad range of leaders who are consistently supplied again and again. We are fortunate in having enlisted so many capable and energetic individuals into our ranks. Our heartfelt thanks to them for their devotion and talents.

You elected a Board of Directors in 1979 with a mandate to do the difficult, if not the impossible. Its members have fulfilled their responsibilities and we owe them special appreciation. Tribute should be given to President Mike Hersch; Past Presidents Louis Tabak, Mannie Fineman, and Percy Solotoy. Our thanks should also be extended to Associate Director Sanford Shapiro, and Executive Medical Director Charles Mittman and Medical Center Administrator Tom Galinski.

#### OUR IDEOLOGY

The City of Hope visualizes itself as a unique phenomenon on the American scene. This means we can never permit institutional hardening of the arteries. We are constantly taking a fresh look at things, renewing and revitalizing ourselves, "reaching for the stars."

Our ideology comprises many aspects.

In a world which all too often emphasizes the depths to which individuals sink, auxiliary workers have demonstrated the heights to which they can rise. Association with the City of Hope has brought forth the best in us, individually and collectively.

We view spiritual values and humanitarian impulses as essential to the preservation of our modern civilization. Otherwise we are headed for destruction and decay.

We uphold the preciousness of human beings, and the need for safeguarding their dignity, self-esteem, and welfare.

We are engaged in a celebration of life. This encompasses both the quantity and quality of living. Human existence must be made meaningful, hopeful and joyful.

We believe that the genius, courage, and vision of the human race are without limit and that they can shape a future closer to our hearts' desire.

In pursuing our mission to further health and humanism, let us resolve:

We can overcome any obstacle.

We are ready to accept greater challenges.

We will mobilize every possible human and financial resource.

The America and the world we will help to bring into being will then surely be a heritage for all generations.●

## SENATE JOINS HOUSE IN ALCOHOL EFFORT

**HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.**  
OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, for a number of years now Senator THURMOND and I have been concerned about the health hazards associated with alcohol. We have proposed on numerous occasions that general health warning labels be placed on alcohol containers. In our eagerness to inform the public, we neglected a very real problem in that Americans have become skeptical about governmental warnings. Therefore, earlier this year I endorsed a warning label which specifically explains the most prominent dangers of alcohol. I am pleased to report that Senator THURMOND yesterday introduced a bill which will require a similar warning. He is being joined by Senators HATCH, LEAHY, GRASSLEY, JEPSEN, KASSEBAUM, and HATFIELD. I commend them for their efforts.

Alcohol is a hidden health hazard in our society. Few Americans realize its dangers: that drinking too fast may cause sickness or death; that consuming only two beers within an hour (for a man of average weight) may cause a 25 percent impairment in driving ability; that for a sizable minority alcohol is addictive; that alcohol consumption increases the chances of miscarriage; and that fetal alcohol syndrome is the third most common cause of birth defects.

It is important that we somehow counteract the immensely popular image of alcohol. Neither Senator THURMOND nor I wish to force Americans to stop drinking, only to allow people to make an informed decision, much in the same way smokers do today. I urge my colleagues to join me in these endeavors, and I hope that Members of the Senate will join Senator THURMOND in his efforts.●

## AMERICA IS GOD'S CRUCIBLE, THE GREAT MELTING POT

**HON. GUY V. MOLINARI**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. MOLINARI. Mr. Speaker, I would like to present today for insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the essay of a young man from the 17th Congressional District named Ned Neuberger. Ned is currently serving as an intern in my Washington, D.C., office. People say that the youth of today do not have the same enthusiasm for our country as past genera-



tions, however I believe that this young man represents the attitudes and opinions of many other young Americans. I am therefore proud to insert the following essay by Ned that recently won first place in the Staten Island American Legion essay contest.

"America is God's Crucible, the great melting pot, where every person is given the chance to prosper because of the religious and political freedoms that are given to him by the great laws of this land," so said Israel Zangwill, an immigrant.

The United States is the land of opportunity because it gives people freedoms not given by many other countries. To do what one wants to do, live where one wants to live, go where one wants to go, say what one wants to say, write what one wants to write, and become what one wants to become—this is what makes America the land of opportunity for one and for all.

Upon the Statue of Liberty, our guardian of democracy, are inscribed the words: "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free, the wretched refuse of your teeming shores send these, the tempest tossed to me. I lift my lamp beside the golden door."

Nowhere else can one find the mingling of so many different ethnic groups working and striving together for a better today and a stronger tomorrow. America is the land where a person from another country can come and live in peace without the fear of being persecuted by the government for one's religious or political beliefs.

As the Soviets are invading Afghanistan and are threatening Poland, and as other peoples of the world do not enjoy the political and economic opportunities ours enjoy, it is easy to see why America is the land of opportunity. As long as the people have their rights and governmental power is distributed, in the years to come we will be the country to which the oppressed people of the world will want to come to because we represent everything that is just and admired. This is why we are the land of opportunity.

The Constitution makes America the land of opportunity because its 26 Amendments make it possible for everybody to have the greatest chance of succeeding with equal ease. Where else but in America could poor men like Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller rise to become the heads of great corporations. James Madison once said this about the Constitution: "It is the greatest document in the world in regard to democracy which gives the people the means to live free and happy lives and to excel in their endeavors."

Probably the greatest reason why our country is the land of opportunity is that we promote democracy. Democracy means freedom to all people of the world. As the Soviet Union suppresses freedom and doesn't encourage prosperity, these two values are the framework of our country. We promote the minds of the people and let them do what they want. We give them the opportunity to express their beliefs and give their ideas on how to improve this country. Harry Truman once expressed a belief that the United States was the land of opportunity because it was in this country only that dreams become realities. Only in the United States could a poor Missouri farmer rise to become President of a country.

The U.S. hockey team which won the gold medal at the Olympics is a perfect example of why America is the land of opportunity.

With a lot of guts, determination and spirit, people can go to the top. Archibald MacLeish, a historian, puts it best why America is the land of opportunity: "Because of the imagination of the American minds—because they imagined a better, a more beautiful, a freer, happier world, because they were men not only of courage, but of warm and vivid desires; they had the power to make these desires come true." This is why America is called the land of opportunity. ●

#### A TRIBUTE TO JIM GRIFFIN

#### HON. WAYNE GRISHAM

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. GRISHAM. Mr. Speaker, Jim Griffin is a hard-working family man who drives a truck. It is quite possible that he drives a truck better than anyone else in our Nation.

Jim has been driving the congested freeways of Los Angeles for over 25 years—and he has never had an accident. Jim is one of the few members of the Million Mile Club. That means he has driven over 1 million miles without an accident. I should point out that I am making this statement on the floor today after Jim's record was brought to my attention by his co-workers at the Milne Truck Lines, who respect and admire Jim for all that he has done.

I think it is fitting that we honor Jim today not only for his record as a trucker, but as an outstanding member of his community. Jim has been nominated as Norwalk, Calif. Citizen of the Year for 4 years running, and is an active member of the Moose Club and the Elks Lodge. He has been active in politics and was recently elected to his third term as chairman of the Norwalk Citizens Action Council Consumer Organization.

By the way, Jim recently won first place in the California State Truck Rodeo, and will be going to the National Truck Rodeo this month to compete for the title of the Nation's No. 1 truckdriver. Good luck, Jim. ●

#### THE NATIONAL ENERGY POLICY PLAN, RENEWABLES

#### HON. TOM CORCORAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. CORCORAN. Mr. Speaker, on July 17, the President transmitted to the Congress the Reagan administration's national energy policy plan. I support the approach suggested by the plan, and, as a member of both Energy Subcommittees of the Energy and Commerce Committee, I look forward to being closely involved with energy issues during the 97th Congress.

Mr. Speaker, for the benefit of our colleagues, I would like to insert in the RECORD at this point the national energy policy plan's section on renewables.

#### RENEWABLES

Although there is some confusion over what constitutes a renewable energy source, this section will consider those technologies that are commonly called "renewable": solar, wind, ocean systems, biomass, and urban waste. These tend to be small scale; and in many (but not all) cases they are characterized by short lead-times for individual installations. Most "renewables" in this sense have little or no public opposition; nor do they pose severe long-term environmental problems. Thus, they are well suited (and may be confined) to any specific regional markets where they make economic sense. The Administration's clear and consistent adherence to free-market principles will remove artificial barriers and provide a major impetus to the development of such technologies.

The Administration's program for renewable energy resources has three major components that emphasize greater reliance on market forces and private investment initiatives. First, the elimination of large Federal subsidies for conventional fuels, together with the general increase in energy prices, enhances the competitive position of renewables. Second, the continuation of existing tax credits for the time being will stimulate further investment in renewable technologies (although ultimately these credits are subject to careful scrutiny to make sure that the systems favored by them have a reasonable chance of being competitive on their own within a reasonable time frame, via cost reductions, through high-volume production and installation, etc.). Third, the heightened ability of DOE to focus on long-range research and development should encourage the private sector to take greater responsibility for developing and marketing renewable systems.

Direct Federal spending on solar, alcohol fuels, biomass, and urban waste systems, projected through 1986, will drop by \$2.2 billion. The use of renewables should continue a healthy growth as the rising cost of conventional fuels and the new tax incentives stimulate demand. In addition, more capital will be available for private investment in renewables projects as a result of the President's Economic Recovery Program.

State governments, partially following the Federal example, have begun to offer solar tax credits and have begun to reduce institutional barriers (such as zoning codes and building standards) that were hindering solar development. In the private sector, financial institutions are becoming more familiar with renewables, so that loans in connection with these technologies are easier to arrange. Some utilities now market residential solar equipment.

In 1978 and 1979, more than 100,000 individuals claimed residential solar tax credits; and by last year 364 manufacturers were shipping a total of 19.5 million square feet of solar collectors. Actual and planned investments by the private sector in solar photovoltaics are estimated at nearly \$300 million to date. Direct combustion of wood (primarily in the pulp and paper industry) already provides 2 percent of our national energy consumption, and annual sales of wood stoves (generally for rural residential

use) have increased from 160,000 in 1972 to more than 1 million today. In the mid-1970s there were only about half a dozen importers or manufacturers of small wind systems, and little private funding was available for larger systems. Today about five times that many firms manufacture small wind systems in the United States, and there are at least five privately supported developers of intermediate and large-scale systems in this country. Electricity generated by a wind farm is now reaching utility customers, and similar wind farms are expected in other naturally favorable locations.●

#### PERSONAL EXPLANATION

##### HON. MARTY RUSSO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. RUSSO. Mr. Speaker, due to official business on July 27, 1981, I was unable to be present for the following rollcall vote. I am submitting for the record a statement of how I would have voted had I been present:

Rollcall No. 166 "Yea" on H.R. 4119, the Agriculture Appropriations for fiscal year 1982, including Rural Development, and Related Agencies.●

#### BAIL REFORM ACT

##### HON. HAROLD S. SAWYER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. SAWYER. Mr. Speaker, it is my great pleasure today to be joined by nine cosponsors in introducing the Bail Reform Act of 1981. A similar bill is being introduced in the other body by the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. Speaker, in my capacity as the ranking minority member of the Subcommittee on Crime, I am deeply troubled by the problem of bail crime in this country. Although some have argued that the incidence of such crime is relatively slight, statistics on rearrest rates give us little guidance as to the precise extent of the problem. Regrettably, since the chances of being apprehended in our criminal justice system are appallingly low, rearrest statistics do not reflect the total amount of crime committed by persons released on bail. Some studies suggest that the rate may be very high, at least with respect to certain crimes. Testimony received by the Subcommittee on Crime makes two things very clear: Drug traffickers, once released, carry on business as usual, and narcotics addicts who are released commit staggering numbers of crimes to maintain their habits.

I am convinced that the current provision of the Bail Reform Act are woefully deficient. There is simply no justification for permitting a judicial offi-

cer to consider danger to the community as a factor in setting bail conditions in capital cases only. Many non-capital cases, such as major drug offenses, are excluded. In addition, we must afford judges the opportunity to detain defendants charged with certain serious crimes prior to trial. Testimony before our subcommittee revealed a sad picture of conscientious and honorable judges who are forced to either release dangerous defendants on bail or to resort to subterfuge to do what commonsense dictates. I believe that preventive detention should be authorized, with a minimum of bureaucracy but with deference to due process rights.

Mr. Speaker, the bill that I am introducing today is an effort to achieve each of the goals that I have outlined. It provides that a defendant shall be released on his personal recognizance or upon execution of an unsecured appearance bond, unless the judicial officer determines that release will not reasonably assure the defendant's appearance at trial or will endanger the safety of any other person or the community. In any event, every release is subject to the condition that the defendant refrain from committing any crime while released. The court may impose additional conditions to assure community safety or the defendant's appearance at trial, including avoiding all contact with pretrial witnesses, reporting to law enforcement authorities, and undergoing medical or psychiatric treatment such as treatment for drug or alcohol dependency.

The bill provides for pretrial detention under two sets of circumstances, where no combination of release conditions is sufficient to assure community safety or appearance at trial. First, a person arrested while awaiting trial, sentencing, or appeal, or who is on probation or parole may be detained for up to 10 days to permit appropriate law enforcement authorities to take action. Second, where there is a substantial probability that the defendant committed the charged offense, defendant may be subject to pretrial detention if the requisite hearing is held. A detention hearing is mandatory in all cases involving a crime of violence, an offense punishable by life imprisonment or death, and certain narcotic offenses. The Government or the judge may initiate a hearing as they deem appropriate in cases involving a serious risk of flight, a serious risk of obstruction of justice or witness intimidation, or where the person arrested has two or more prior convictions involving a crime of violence, an offense punishable by life imprisonment or death, or certain narcotic offenses. The hearing must be held immediately upon first appearance before the judicial officer, unless a short continuance is requested and granted. Provision is made for drug

addict screening. The accused has a right to assistance of counsel, to testify, to present witnesses, to cross-examine other witnesses who appear, and to present information by proffer or otherwise. In the event detention is ordered, the accused must be afforded every opportunity to consult with counsel and may be temporarily released in the custody of another to prepare his defense.

With respect to release after conviction, my bill provides for first, detention pending imposition or execution of sentence, unless the court finds by clear and convincing evidence that the person is not likely to flee or pose a danger to the community if released; and second, detention pending appellate review of the conviction, unless the court finds by clear and convincing evidence that the person is not likely to flee or pose a danger to the community and determines that the appeal is not taken for delay and raises a substantial question of law or fact likely to result in reversal or an order for a new trial.

The bill provides strong criminal penalties for failure to appear at trial or for the commission of an offense while on release. Such penalties must be run consecutive to any sentence for other offenses. Finally, it authorizes sanctions for violating release conditions, including revocation of release, detention and prosecution for contempt of court.

Mr. Chairman, my bill differs from the bill introduced in the other body in one major respect—it does not abolish money bail as a condition of release. Based on my own experiences as a prosecutor and discussions with others currently operating in the field, I believe that this can be most effective in assuring the appearance of a defendant at trial. Like the District of Columbia law, however, my bill would not permit the imposition of a financial condition of release to assure the safety of any other person or the community. I believe this provides an appropriate balance by authorizing an appropriate condition of release, while protecting against its abuse. Under this approach, preventive detention is dealt with in an honest and open manner.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues on both sides of the aisle and in both bodies to join me and the cosponsors of the bill in support of this important piece of legislation. I am hopeful that there will be expeditious consideration of and action upon the Bail Reform Act of 1981 in both bodies so that we can have a bill on the President's desk before the end of this session.●



TRIBUTE TO MR. AND MRS.  
ANGELO DECRESCENTE

# HON. GERALD B. H. SOLOMON

OF NEW YORK  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pleasure that I call to the attention of my colleagues the family of Mr. and Mrs. Angelo DeCrescente of Mechanicville, N.Y. The DeCrescente family has been presented with the Family of the Year Award by the Order of the Sons of Italy in America.

This award, which is given each year to outstanding members of the Sons of Italy, recognizes years of service to the order and to the community. The DeCrescente family has indeed contributed much.

Mrs. DeCrescente is an active member of several of Mechanicville's community organizations. She is a charter member of the Senior Dante Club, Order of Sons of Italy in America, Mechanicville and was elected venerable in 1979. She has served as grand deputy to both the Albany and Schenectady lodges, and has been past president in the Peters-Purcell Post, Italian-American Society.

Mr. DeCrescente has been a member of the Primavera Italica Lodge, Order of Sons of Italy in America, Mechanicville for 50 years. He was elected venerable in 1953, served with the New York State grand lodge as a grand trustee, and served as grand deputy to both the Albany and Schenectady lodges. In 1966, he was elected supreme deputy to the Massachusetts Lodge, and was instrumental in the reorganization of the Rutland, Vt., lodge. He is an active member in many Mechanicville organizations and is a past president of the Mechanicville Lion's Club.

This family's generous spirit is especially inspiring in a society where often the most valuable gift is time. They deserve our deepest gratitude for their dedication to the community and to the family.

I ask my respected colleagues to join with me today in honoring Mr. and Mrs. Angelo DeCrescente, a truly outstanding American family.●

## FURTHER EXPLANATION OF REPRESENTATIVE GREEN'S AUTO THEFT BILL

# HON. BILL GREEN

OF NEW YORK  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. GREEN. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I shared with my colleagues an explanation of the first two titles of the Motor Vehicle Theft Law Enforcement Act of 1981, H.R. 4325. Today I

would like to provide an analysis of the remaining titles of the bill:

## TITLE III—IMPORTATION AND EXPORTATION MEASURES

### Section 301—Amendments to title 18, United States Code

Section 301 adds a new section 553 to chapter 27 of title 18, United States Code, creating a federal offense within the investigative jurisdiction of the U.S. Customs Service to import or export or attempt to import or export, stolen self-propelled vehicles, vessels, or aircraft, or their parts, with knowledge that the vehicle or part was stolen. The section also prohibits the importation or exportation of vehicles or parts whose identification number the importer or exporter knows to have been removed, obliterated, tampered with, or altered. These offenses are punishable by a fine of up to \$10,000, up to five years' imprisonment, or both. This section would obviously not be applicable to the importation or exportation of the conveyance by the lawful owner or his agent.

For purposes of this section, the term "self-propelled motor vehicle" includes any automobile; truck; tractor; bus; motorcycle; motor home; and any other self-propelled construction equipment, special use equipment and any other such vehicle designed for running on land but not on rail.

The term "vessel" has the meaning given it in section 401 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U.S.C. 1401).

The term "aircraft" has the meaning given it in section 101(5) of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 (49 U.S.C. 1301(5)).

### Section 302—Amendments to Tariff Act of 1930

Section 302 creates two new sections to the Tariff Act of 1930. Section 626 subjects any individual who imports, exports, or attempts to import or export any stolen self-propelled vehicle, vessel, aircraft or parts thereof, or any self-propelled vehicle or vehicle part whose identification number has been removed, obliterated, tampered with or altered, to a civil penalty of up to \$10,000 per instance, to be determined by the Secretary of the Treasury. In addition, under this section, any of the above-described self-propelled vehicles, vessels, aircraft or parts are subject to seizure and forfeiture, if they are imported or exported. This section is likewise not applicable to the importation or exportation of the conveyance or part by the lawful owner or his agent. The section also provides for a fine of up to \$500 for any person attempting to export a used vehicle who fails to present identifying documents to the appropriate customs officer prior to lading or export. Regulations governing this are to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury.

The terms "self-propelled motor vehicle" and "aircraft" have the same meaning as in section 301.

For purposes of this section the term "used" refers to any self-propelled vehicle, the legal title of which has been transferred, by a manufacturer, distributor or dealer, to an ultimate purchaser.

"Ultimate purchaser" means the first person, other than a dealer, who purchases a self-propelled vehicle for purposes other than resale.

## TITLE IV—REPORTING REQUIREMENTS

### Section 401—Report regarding theft of off-highway mobile equipment

Section 401(a) provides that the Attorney General of the United States, as soon as practicable after the date of enactment of

this Act shall establish a task force to study problems relating to the theft of off-highway mobile equipment and steps being taken to prevent the theft and subsequent disposition of such equipment. The task force shall prepare a report containing the results of such study, after consultation with the Secretary of Transportation, and shall submit such report to Congress not later than 2 years after the date of enactment of this legislation.

Section 401(b) lists those who will be members of the task force. Members of the task force shall serve without pay but are eligible for travel expenses. Subsection (c)(3) provides that the Attorney General, or his delegate shall serve as the chairman of the task force.

Subsection (d) requires that the report contain information relating to: (1) the development and effectiveness of identification numbering systems for off-highway mobile equipment and the major components and attachments of such equipment by manufacturers, user groups and others and the progress which has been made toward the development of a uniform national and international identification numbering system; (2) improvements in formats and procedures of the National Crime Information Center relating to reporting the theft of off-highway mobile equipment and the major components and attachments of such equipment, and the extent to which affected groups are furnishing information in accordance with such procedures shall be included in the report; (3) efforts made by the owners of off-highway mobile equipment voluntarily to affix identification numbers to such equipment and the major components and attachments of such equipment and to otherwise protect such equipment components and attachments, from theft shall be included in the report; (4) measures being taken by the manufacturers of off-highway mobile equipment relating to its physical security features; and (5) the effectiveness of any State laws relating to the titling of off-highway mobile equipment and/or making it unlawful to remove, obliterate, tamper with or alter any identification number affixed by a manufacturer to an off-highway equipment as a major component or attachment of such equipment and permitting seizure by law enforcement officers, for investigative purposes, of off-highway equipment and major components and attachments if identification numbers for such equipment, components, or attachments have been removed, obliterated, tampered with or altered.

The Report shall also cover the availability of certificates of origin which (A) contain adequate internal security features to deter forgery, alteration and counterfeiting; (B) list the identification number of the off-highway mobile equipment involved and major components and attachments of such equipment at original value; and (C) are suitable to serve as proof of ownership for off-highway mobile equipment through assignment to subsequent purchasers as stated in Paragraph (6).

The Report shall cover any action being taken by auction businesses, banks and other financial institutions (in connection with the making of loans) and insurance businesses to deter the reintroduction of stolen off-highway mobile equipment and major components or attachments of such equipment into the normal channels of commerce; as well as, the need for educational and training programs for State and local law enforcement officials designed to famil-

larize such officials with problems relating to the theft of off-highway mobile equipment will be part of the report.

In addition, the report shall include recommendations for legislative or administrative action if the task force considers any such action to be considered appropriate.

Subsection (e) defines for purposes of this section, the term "off-highway mobile equipment" to mean a work machine which is (1) self-propelled or pushed or towed by self-propelled work machine; (2) the primary function of which is off-highway in application and (3) any on-highway operation of which is incidental to the primary function of the work machine. Such term includes self-propelled agricultural, forestry, industrial, construction and any other non-transportation special use equipment.

**Section 402—Report regarding auto theft measures for state motor vehicle titling programs**

Section 402(a) provides that the Secretary of Transportation, as soon as practicable after the date of enactment of this Act shall establish a task force to study problems which relate to motor vehicle titling and control over motor vehicle salvage and which may affect the motor vehicle theft problem. The task force should propose a report containing the results of such study and submit such report to Congress and the chief executive officer of each state not later than 18 months after the enactment of this legislation.

Section 402(b) lists those who will be members of the task force. Members of the task force shall serve without pay but are eligible for travel expenses. Subsection (c)(3) provides the Secretary of Transportation, or his delegate, shall serve as chairman of the task force.

Subsection (d)(1) requires the task force report to be made only after a meaningful consultation process and review of existing laws, practices, studies, and recommendations regarding the affect that motor vehicle titling measures and controls over motor vehicle salvage may have upon the motor vehicle theft problem.

Subsection (d)(2) requires that the task force report specify the key aspects of motor vehicle antitheft measures necessary to prevent the deposition or use of stolen motor vehicle, or major components of motor vehicles, and to prevent insurance fraud or income tax fraud based upon false reports of stolen vehicles. The task force report is required to indicate any of the antitheft measures for which national uniformity would be crucial in order for the measure to be adequately effective. The task force is also asked to recommend viable ways of obtaining any necessary national uniformity.

In addition, the task force report shall include other recommendations of legislative or administrative action at the state level or at the Federal level, and any recommendations for actions by private industry which may be appropriate.

**Section 403—Report regarding implementation of the act**

Section 403 states that the Attorney General of the United States in consultation with the Secretary of Transportation, Secretary of the Treasury, and the Postmaster General, shall submit to the Congress a report on the implementation and development of the provisions of title I, the provisions of title 18 and title 39, United States Code, which are added by the amendments made in title II, and the provisions of title 18, United States Code, and the Tariff Act

of 1930 (19 U.S.C. 1202 et seq.) which are added by the amendments made in title III, and the effectiveness of such provisions in helping to prevent and reduce motor vehicle related theft. Such report shall be submitted on or before the first June 30 which occurs at least 15 months after the date of enactment of this act and on or before each June 30, thereafter for the following 9 successive years.●

#### A TRIBUTE TO SRI CHINMOY

**HON. GERALDINE A. FERRARO**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 27, 1981

● **Ms. FERRARO.** Mr. Speaker, I have long been aware of the good works of Sri Chinmoy, who resides in New York City and who will celebrate his 50th birthday this August 27. It was my privilege to become personally acquainted with this dedicated and creative individual at a program held at the National Visitors' Center in May of 1979 commemorating the International Year of the Child. I was honored that day to be one of the guest speakers at the program organized by the U.S. Department of the Interior in conjunction with the Sri Chinmoy Meditation at the United Nations, an organization dedicated to advance the cause of world peace through prayer and meditation.

On that occasion, I had the opportunity to witness first hand the beauty of a few of the hundreds of thousands of dynamic and colorful paintings by this extraordinary man, and to hear one of his many musical compositions, "This Is My Year", the official song of the International Year of the Child. Also during that ceremony, I joined in the dedication of a tree to the International Year of the Child. The tree was subsequently planted in the President's Park behind the White House where it stands today as a testament to America's commitment to the world's children.

The many varied accomplishments of Sri Chinmoy cannot be given proper respect in the limited space I have here, but I would like to highlight some of the achievements of this multitalented man. As a devoted marathoner and cyclist, Sri Chinmoy has served as a symbol of physical fitness to thousands of America's young people. In 1976, the President's Council on Physical Fitness issued a commendation to Sri Chinmoy for his role in the 9,000 mile Liberty Torch relay run held in honor of the Bicentennial.

But Sri Chinmoy is most noted for his creative drive. As a foremost authority on Eastern philosophy, he has authored over 400 books of essays, plays, and short stories.

He has produced some 140,000 paintings, and has received art awards from New York's School of Visual Arts and the Lake Placid School of Art.

He has composed over 4,000 songs, and has performed at Carnegie Hall and Lincoln Center in addition to giving free concerts all over the United States.

The example of Sri Chinmoy is an inspiration to thousands of Americans. I am pleased to join my colleagues in paying tribute to him to the occasion of his 50th birthday both for his many contributions to the American people and for his efforts to further international understanding as founder and director of the Meditation Group at the United Nations.●

#### GUAM LOSES A GOOD FRIEND

**HON. ANTONIO BORJA WON PAT**

OF GUAM

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● **Mr. WON PAT.** Mr. Speaker, I regret to inform my colleagues of the recent passing of a long-time friend of Guam's and a former employee of the Congress, Denver Dickerson.

Denver passed away recently at his home in Bethesda and his loss will be deeply felt by his family, his many friends in this area, and myself, who had the honor and privilege of knowing and working with this fine public servant for many years.

I first met Denver when he was a top aide to former Senator Alan Bible. In 1963 I suggested to Denver that he might be interested in pursuing the position of Secretary of Guam which in those days was the same thing as Lieutenant Governor. He served on Guam in that capacity for 6 years and was a most respected and well liked individual.

In later years, Denver worked for the Senate Rules Committee and later the Joint Congressional Printing Committee from which he retired last March. While Denver worked for the Printing Committee he performed yet another act of friendship for Guam. My office noticed that the picture of the Guam flag was missing from the booklet "Our Flag." I contacted Denver about this matter and asked his assistance in putting the matter straight. Much to his credit, Denver, in a manner which was typical of his ready and willing nature, started the machinery moving and in due time was able to put Guam's flag in the booklet alongside those of other American communities. This may be a small thing to some people, but it was an important act to the people of Guam and knowing this, Denver did his best to accommodate the best interests of Guam.

He was a true friend of Guam and I speak for my constituents when I express my great sorrow over his passing. I extend my sincerest sympathy to



Denver's loving wife, Maxine and his two children

I ask that the following article from the Pacific Daily News be reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

#### rites set for ex-Guam Secretary

WASHINGTON.—Memorial services will be held here Wednesday for Denver Dickerson, 67, secretary of Guam during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, who died of cancer Sunday at his home in Bethesda, Md.

Dickerson, the son of one-time Nevada Gov. Denver S. Dickerson, served in the Nevada Legislature for two terms, was speaker in 1943, was appointed secretary of Guam by John F. Kennedy in 1963 and was reappointed in 1967 by Lyndon B. Johnson. The secretary of Guam at that time functioned as a lieutenant governor. A Democrat, he resigned the Guam position in 1969.

Dickerson began his career as a reporter and political writer for the Reno Evening Gazette in 1934. He owned the Carson City Chronicle from 1937 to 1943, when he became a correspondent with the Sixth Army in New Guinea and Luzon. He was editorial director of the Las Vegas Review-Journal from 1955-57.

Besides newspaper and public-relations work, Dickerson served a three-year stint as a State Department public information officer at the U.S. Embassy at Rangoon, Burma, beginning in 1952.

He was press secretary for Nevada Sen. Alan Bible from 1957 to 1963 before interrupting his Senate career for the appointment on Guam. After returning to the mainland, he joined the staff of Sen. Howard Cannon, D-Nev., and later was a staff member on the Senate Rules Committee and Joint Printing Committee, from which he retired last March.

Upon his retirement, Sen. Claiborne Pell, D-R.I., praised him as "thoughtful, dedicated and thoroughly decent."

He will be cremated and his ashes interred at Arlington National Cemetery. He is survived by his wife, the former Maxine Desilet, and son, Jeffrey, both of Bethesda, and daughter, Diane Wayman of Washington, D.C.

#### A TRIBUTE TO FRANK "DOC" KAVANAGH

HON. GARY A. LEE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. LEE. Mr. Speaker, colleagues, I take great pleasure today in bringing to your attention the award of a special recognition by the President's Council on Physical Fitness to Frank "Doc" Kavanagh, one of the most colorful and highly respected figures on the campus of Cornell University.

Doc Kavanagh, as a trainer for many years with this superlative university, has also earned a place of respect in sports circles virtually throughout the world. He has served with U.S. Olympic teams of 1936 and for 5 years was trainer for the Coaches All-America football team. His ingenuity has produced much of the protective equipment which is today stand-

ard garb in both football and hockey contests.

In addition to his many accomplishments of merit, Doc Kavanagh is one of the finest gentlemen it has been my privilege to know. It gives me tremendous pleasure to see Doc's many accomplishments recognized by this Nation. My most sincere congratulations are extended to him for this recognition.●

#### THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION'S NATIONAL ENERGY POLICY PLAN—A RATIONAL APPROACH TO ENERGY POLICY

HON. TOM CORCORAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. CORCORAN. Mr. Speaker, I congratulate the Reagan administration for its energy approach as expressed in the national energy policy plan transmitted to the Congress on July 17. The President's new energy policy offers the hope of correcting the errors of previous misguided energy policies, and it truly reflects the collective interests of the American people.

The administration's national energy policy plan seems to carefully balance energy needs with economic realities and environmental protection. The new energy policy emphasizes the importance of the free marketplace as the most efficient allocator of energy resources. The administration has also recognized the importance of its policy as a critical component of the total Reagan economic recovery program. This new energy approach bodes well for America's future.

The new energy policy specifically stresses the role of the private sector and public choice. Only when the American people can make free and fully informed energy choices while operating under a free enterprise system can prudent energy policy be formulated. As the national energy policy plan report concludes:

All Americans are involved in making energy policy. When individual choices are made with a maximum of personal understanding and a minimum of government restraints, the result is the most appropriate energy policy.

By emphasizing marketplace realities, the national energy policy breaks cleanly and candidly with previous policy which relied heavily on Government intervention. In keeping with this free enterprise spirit, the administration will reduce Federal involvement in the energy business by decontrolling energy prices and reducing burdensome Government regulations. The report submitted to Congress prudently stresses that Government spending should only be considered

"in those promising areas of energy production and use where the private sector is unlikely to invest."

Another point emphasized in the national energy policy plan is the need for the Federal Government to manage properly our vast resources on Federal lands. This administration has correctly recognized the energy potential located on the Outer Continental Shelf and on other Federal lands. President Reagan's administration will hopefully move ahead in an effort to inventory and extract the energy wealth of the land without threatening its ecology. President Reagan is also committed to furthering U.S. cooperation with various international partners in pursuing energy objectives.

The economic recovery program espoused by the President's energy plan will promote development of energy alternatives cheaper than oil. By placing the emphasis on the free market and reducing Government interference and regulation, the administration's policy will increase domestic energy production without sacrificing public health and safety, economic efficiency, or environmental quality.

In the letter transmitting the national energy policy plan to the Congress, Secretary of Energy James Edwards stated,

Our basic role is to provide a sound and stable economic and policy environment that will enable our citizens, businesses, and governmental units at all levels to make rational energy and production decisions—decisions that reflect the true value, in every sense, of all the Nation's resources.

Mr. Speaker, I concur completely with that view, and I urge my colleagues in the Congress to support this approach.

#### SRI CHINMOY'S 50TH BIRTHDAY

HON. MATTHEW F. McHUGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. McHUGH. Mr. Speaker, 1,800 years ago St. Irenaeus said that "the glory of God is a human being who is fully alive." Today, in celebrating half a century of life for Sri Chinmoy, we celebrate not only the duration of a single significant life, but the limitless—the divine—in the life of all humanity.

It is that kind of vision of boundless human possibilities that the life of Sri Chinmoy evokes. The author of hundreds of books, creator of thousands of paintings and songs, proclaimer and teacher of the life of the spirit, and explorer and servant of the ways of peace—Sri Chinmoy has been all of these to his fellow sojourners on our planet. The example of his joyous immersion in life gently and beguilingly

calls us all to truer being, deeper becoming.

It is an honor to join in extending birthday greetings to one who daily honors us all with the beauty and goodness he brings to birth and shares with us.●

# DRUG TRADE REDUCED THROUGH SEIZURE OF ITS ASSETS

**HON. JACK F. KEMP**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues an article written by Peter B. Bensinger, former Administrator of the Drug Enforcement Administration in the U.S. Department of Justice. Mr. Bensinger describes how a change in Federal law to permit seizure of money and assets derived from illicit drug trafficking allowed DEA to curb drastically the drug trade in the United States. Additionally, he proposes a solution to the problem of illegal drugs entering our country—one which has proved to be successful in reducing the drug trafficking from Mexico.

[From the Washington Star, July 13, 1981]

## SUFFOCATE THE DRUG TRADE UNDER ITS OWN ASSETS

(By Peter B. Bensinger)

Drug trafficking in the United States can be curbed. And it will not cost much money. In fact, the criminals who deal in illegal drugs can finance their own demise.

No business, legal or illegal, can operate without capital. By wiping out the bank accounts of drug smugglers, seizing their assets—businesses, homes, aircraft, yachts and vehicles—the drug merchants will be forced to drown in their own cesspools of corruption.

In November of 1978, Congress at the request of the Drug Enforcement Administration, amended federal law to permit the seizure of money and assets derived from illicit drug trafficking. Using this powerful weapon in 1980, DEA agents seized the equivalent of nearly one-half their agency's annual budget. The forfeiture law is relatively new but it will be used with increasing success against the drug peddlers. DEA should seize in excess of \$150 million of assets this fiscal year. Testimony to the courage and tenacity of DEA agents is their remarkable record of cases completed in recent months at great personal danger.

### THE COMPANY CORRALLED

In St. Louis, a major drug ring known as "The Company", run with military precision and secrecy, has been smashed. Some 60 persons were arrested including the top leaders. Long federal prison terms have been handed down. But of equal, if not greater importance, DEA and IRS agents, using the federal forfeiture law, moved quickly to seize The Company's assets. In short order they confiscated over \$500,000 in cash, nearly \$2 million in real estate, aircraft appraised at nearly \$500,000, vehicles valued at nearly \$75,000, and brought in \$251,000 in fines.

A few months later, a two-year undercover operation by DEA agents came to fruition. Fourteen major drug organizations were immobilized. This DEA mobile task force case known as "Operation Grouper", undertaken in cooperation with 21 other federal, state and local agencies, resulted in the arrest of more than 155 individuals. One billion dollars in drugs were seized, along with \$12 million in trafficker assets, including 30 vessels, two airplanes and \$1 million in cash. Seizures of several times this amount are still being processed in collateral cases.

But the drugs in question come from outside our borders. Our nation must more vigorously attack the drug problem at its roots—in the countries that grow the opium, the coca bush, and marijuana, and produce and refine qualludes and hashish for export to the United States. Regrettably, the single biggest asset that has not been used recently is our Forest Assistance Act. We spend many billions of dollars overseas, but the U.S. State Department allocates only \$35 million annually to stem the mushrooming tide of drugs flowing into this country. This, mind you, while the drug dealers are doing a burgeoning business of over \$64 billion annually in drug trafficking in our country and while federal agencies are seizing four times the State Department budget in trafficker asset seizures.

### MEXICAN EXAMPLE

Five years ago the heroin coming into the United States came from Mexico. "Mexican Brown" was filling the void for our addicts caused by the demise of the "French Connection." It was then that we began a bilateral campaign with Mexico to eradicate that country's illicit opium poppy cultivation. President Ford issued a strong statement on drug abuse in 1976, and backed it up with \$100 million in assistance to Mexico, which provided several times that amount. In five years, Mexican heroin at street level has declined from seven tons to one ton and our national heroin overdose deaths have plummeted from 2,000 to 500 per year.

I realize that Secretary of State Alexander Haig is busy, but I'd feel more confident if he scheduled visits to Colombia, Jamaica, the Bahamas, Thailand, Burma, Pakistan and Peru—the major sources of the illegal drug problem in the United States today. We must encourage foreign countries to eradicate their narcotics crops by learning from Mexico's program for opium and marijuana destruction. An international commitment is the only answer to controlling the increase in violence and drug availability. We have to change the odds and ante up with an adequate commitment internationally to control illegal drug distribution. The additional money required is insignificant compared to the terror, violence, addiction and health damage we live with and what's more we can finance these new initiatives from the assets of the criminals we put out of business. But time is not on our side. President Reagan's crime message anticipated next September will give us his answer. I am optimistic.●

## SUMMARY REPORT ON THE 33D INTERNATIONAL WHALING COMMISSION MEETING

**HON. DON BONKER**

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. BONKER. Mr. Speaker, as a congressional adviser on the U.S. delegation to the 33d International Whaling Commission, which met last week in Brighton, England, I would like to report briefly on the results of this IWC session.

The U.S. delegation achieved two significant victories which will enhance protection for the world's whale populations. First, the IWC adopted an indefinite ban on the commercial killing of sperm whales in the Southern Hemisphere and North Pacific Ocean, and a 2-year phaseout on sperm whaling in the North Atlantic. This action will save the lives of over 1,000 sperm whales in the coming year. Second, the IWC agreed by consensus to extend the ban on the use of the cold—nonexplosive—harpoon to include the taking of minke whales, beginning in the fall of 1982. The cold harpoon causes a particularly cruel death for the smaller minke whales. Some 12,000 minke whales will be killed with this inhumane weapon before the ban becomes effective in late 1982.

Among other, positive actions, the Commission agreed to a slight reduction in overall quotas on the commercial hunting of fin, sei, and bryde's whales. The IWC also deferred until its 34th meeting a vote on various proposals to revise the new management procedure, the mechanism that recommends commercial catch limits. This 1-year deferral will permit the United States to gain broader support for the revision it tabled in Brighton.

The conservationists suffered several setbacks in the opening days of the session, most notably the failure to gain the required three-quarters majority on the complete, indefinite moratorium on the commercial killing of all whales. Other lesser moratorium proposals, like the ban on North Atlantic whaling, similarly failed to secure a three-quarter's vote. However, the adoption of the sperm whaling ban at the end of the meeting greatly offset these losses. The only major increase in commercial quotas was voted for minke whales, from some 11,000 to over 12,000. It should be noted that the data available for minke whales indicate that these populations have been expanding in recent years.

Mr. Speaker, these important achievements are due in large part to the outstanding leadership exercised by Tom Garrett, the acting U.S. Commissioner, and to the aggressive effort



made by the other members of the American delegation. I am very hopeful that the progress made this year in increasing protection for the world's whales has set the stage for finally bringing an end to all commercial whaling at the 1982 meeting of the International Whaling Commission.●

#### W. F. CARLE TO RETIRE

#### HON. BILL ALEXANDER

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, at the beginning of August another page will turn in the illustrious history of one of the largest farmer-owned marketing cooperatives in the middle-south States as W. F. Carle steps out of his post as President of Riceland Foods and into well-earned retirement.

Mr. Carle has served the farmers of Arkansas 38 years as a part of Riceland and its predecessor organizations. He will be succeeded as president by Richard E. Bell who has worked as Riceland's executive vice president since 1977, the same year in which Mr. Carle became the chief of the cooperative.

Mr. Carle began his career with the cooperative in 1943 when it was still known as The Arkansas Rice Growers Cooperative Association. His was an important role in the formation and development of Arkansas Grain Corp., the forerunner of Riceland's soybean division which he served as manager from 1958 until his election as president of the cooperative.

When he came to Riceland 4 years ago, Mr. Bell's was a name already well known in the agriculture industry as a result of his work with the U.S. Department of Agriculture. During the Gerald Ford Presidential administration, Mr. Bell worked as USDA's Assistant Secretary of Agriculture for international affairs and commodity programs. At USDA, Mr. Bell also served as president of the Commodity Credit Corporation and chairman of the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation. He was a negotiator of the long-term U.S.-U.S.S.R. grain sales agreement and a senior advisor to the U.S. delegation to the 1974 World Food Conference. Mr. Bell has recently been appointed to the Arkansas Industrial Development Commission.

Riceland Foods has processing facilities at Stuttgart, Jonesboro and Helena, Ark., and New Orleans. It receives rice, soybeans and other grains from its farmer-members at 41 locations.●

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

### THE SAGEBRUSH REBELLION

#### HON. JIM SANTINI

OF NEVADA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. SANTINI. Mr. Speaker, as my colleagues know, I am an ardent supporter of transferring to States control and management of public lands in the West. That is why I have introduced H.R. 3655, Public Land Policy Reform Act of 1981. It is also commonly known as the Sagebrush Rebellion. The movement behind the Sagebrush Rebellion originated in the 1970's with a few Nevada State legislators, and has gained considerable steam ever since. It is a controversial issue, but an important issue for all of us here in this body to address.

Since I first introduced the transfer bill in the 96th Congress, several other sagebrush rebels and I have faced considerable opposition from bureaucrats and outside critics. I am entering into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an April 26, 1981, Associated Press story which quotes former Bureau of Land Management Director Frank Gregg as saying the sagebrush rebels have "succeeded beyond their wildest dreams." The article was printed in the Las Vegas Review Journal on Sunday, April 26, 1981.

#### SAGEBRUSH REBS SUCCESSFUL

MISSOULA, MONT. (AP)—The so-called Sagebrush Rebellion is a "political phenomenon, according to the former director of the Bureau of Land Management, but it's more than just a land grab on the part of Western states.

Frank Gregg, who left the BLM post when former President Jimmy Carter left office, told those attending a public land law conference last week that the sagebrush rebels have "succeeded beyond their wildest dreams."

The conference was sponsored by the University of Montana law school.

"It's almost embarrassing," said Gregg. "The three Nevada state legislators who introduced the original sagebrush bill were really just looking for a little publicity."

The movement, which has gained steam in several Western states, is aimed at having the states gain control over most remaining federal land inside their borders.

"It's clear the Sagebrush Rebellion has touched a core of resentment about the tremendous role of (the federal) government in the lives of people," Gregg said. "Out of meetings presumably about the rebellion have come discussions about school busing, the MX missile, abortion and railroad deregulation."

Beginning with Nevada's move for all federal land within its borders to be put in state hands, the rebel cry swept the West, Gregg said.

"Politicians by the score were anxious to wrap themselves in the cloak of regionalism," he said. "Eventually, we ended up with a sagebrush rebel in the White House."●

July 31, 1981

### SEQUENTIAL REFERRAL

#### HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1980

● Mr. FORD of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, today is the discharge date for the Post Office and Civil Service Committee's consideration of the bill, H.R. 2590, on sequential referral.

H.R. 2590, which was reported by the Committee on Government Operations on June 16, 1981, would amend the Privacy Act to prohibit Federal agencies from disclosing any individual's address in any form which contains a ZIP code of more than five digits.

Because of the conference agreement on the provisions of the omnibus reconciliation bill which deal with the nine-digit ZIP code issue, I do not believe additional legislative action is needed at this time.

The conference agreement prohibits the Postal Service from implementing ZIP+4 until October 1, 1983. The Postal Service and the Postal Rate Commission will be permitted to take such actions as may be required before October 1, 1983, to prepare for implementation. [For example, the Postal Service may continue to gather necessary preparatory data, and the Postal Rate Commission may continue to process related cases.] Additionally, the conference agreement prohibits executive agencies from taking any action to conform their mailing procedures to the nine-digit system prior to January 1, 1983. The conferees also agreed that a joint House-Senate letter will be sent to the Comptroller General requesting that a full General Accounting Office study of the ZIP+4 program be made and a report delivered to the Congress on December 1, 1982.

The conference agreement delays any implementation of ZIP+4 for more than 2 years. That, plus the pendency of the GAO study and report, will have a natural go-slow effect on the actions the Postal Service will be taking relating to implementation. Congress, of course, can step in and take further action if necessary at any time.

In view of the conference agreement, I do not believe that, on balance, we need pursue any other ZIP code legislation at this time, and so the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service is being discharged from consideration of H.R. 2590 today with no further action.

I can assure the House that the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service will closely monitor implementation of the conference agreement—and will continue to carefully scrutinize all future actions by the Postal

Service relating to the ZIP+4 program.●

# THE NATIONAL POLICY PLAN, NATURAL GAS

**HON. TOM CORCORAN**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. CORCORAN. Mr. Speaker, on July 17, the President transmitted to the Congress the Reagan administration's national energy policy plan. I support the approach suggested by the plan, and, as a member of both energy subcommittees of the Energy and Commerce Committee, I look forward to being closely involved with energy issues during the 97th Congress.

Mr. Speaker, for the benefit of our colleagues, I insert in the RECORD at this point the national energy policy plan's section on natural gas:

## NATURAL GAS

Natural gas provides more than half of all the energy used within U.S. households. It is a leading commercial fuel in the country. And it is also a leading source of energy for our industrial sector.

Current Federal law already provides for some increase in permissible natural gas wellhead prices and deregulation of some post-1977 gas by 1985. (Prices to the consumer are also dependent on transportation costs, long-term contracts, and regulation by the public utility commissions within the respective States). However, the Natural Gas Policy Act of 1978 was based on two assumptions that have since been overturned by events. It assumed that oil prices would average roughly \$15 per barrel in 1985, but world oil prices are already more than double that level. As a result, if current trends continue, the existing law will produce a sharp jump in gas prices when most new natural gas is deregulated in 1985.

The act also was written under the assumption that domestic supplies of natural gas were severely limited, yet there are now heartening signs of additional gas reserves in such areas as the Eastern and Western Overthrust Belts and the Anadarko Basin. Expansion of our domestic gas reserves and increased U.S. production of that fuel, however, will lag somewhat below potential so long as controls continue. Because natural gas prices are well below free-market levels, the incentive to explore for new gas reserves is much less than the incentive for oil exploration. As a result, U.S. drilling activity has concentrated on oil—not gas. For the first 4 months of 1981, natural gas well completions increased by only 6 percent over the same period last year, compared to the 41-percent increase for oil.

In view of the situation described above, the Administration currently is assessing options for future natural gas policy.●

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

A TRIBUTE TO DAVID  
ROTHBAUM

**HON. NORMAN F. LENT**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. LENT. Mr. Speaker, in these cynical times in which we live we all too often fail to accord proper recognition to those among our citizens who distinguish themselves through invaluable services to their communities and to our Nation.

With that in mind, Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues the outstanding achievements of a most respected constituent residing in my Fourth Congressional District of New York, Mr. David Rothbaum, of East Meadow, N.Y.

Dave, as his many friends know him, has given much to his community and much to our great country. Dave came to the United States nearly half a century ago, emigrating from Poland. Not too long after his arrival in the United States, World War II broke out. During that conflict, Dave entered the Armed Forces of our Nation and gave his adopted country 4½ years of service with the 8th Air Force.

After his wartime service, Dave began a most successful career in the furniture business. He came to East Meadow some 30 years ago, establishing what is now the Clearmeadow Furniture Corp. As one of the outstanding small businessmen in the Fourth Congressional District, Dave Rothbaum has demonstrated the tremendous importance of successful small businesses to the economy of his community and of our Nation.

Just as important as the economic contributions of Clearmeadow Furniture have been the civic contributions of its founder. Dave Rothbaum has given much of his life in dedicated service to his community. Many are the honors attesting to this community leadership. Dave has served as president of the East Meadow Chamber of Commerce and the East Meadow Kiwanis. He has been a district officer of the Kiwanis. He is currently a member of the Nassau County Board on Consumer Affairs and has served on the county's Citizens' Advisory Board and on the Human Rights Commission.

The town of Hempstead, with a population of some 800,000, has depended on Dave Rothbaum for advice and counsel. Dave has served on the town's Citizens' Advisory Board, holding the office of vice president, and recently, Dave was named small business coordinator for the town, charged with responsibility for assisting the many small businesses operating within the town.

Mr. Speaker, the community of East Meadow, the town of Hempstead and

Nassau County are fortunate indeed to have a man of Dave Rothbaum's business capability and experience, and civic dedication. For three decades, Dave has performed outstanding service to his community. It has been my privilege to have enjoyed Dave's friendship during much of that time. He is truly a great American.

Mr. Speaker, our Nation has prospered and grown to become the envy of the world through the hard work and dedicated civic efforts of citizens like Dave Rothbaum. His life and work provide us an outstanding example of citizenship worthy of the highest commendation.

I know my colleagues join me in extending the heartiest congratulations to Dave, and in offering our very best wishes for the future.●

## THE BOTTOM LINE

**HON. THOMAS A. DASCHLE**

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. Speaker, an article in the Washington Post this morning clearly describes the grave consequences of adopting a Russian roulette approach to tax legislation. The Russian roulette approach is to enact the most costly tax bill in the Nation's history before balancing the budget.

In an open bidding war to achieve a political victory, the Ways and Means Committee bill and the Conable-Hance substitute resorted to an indefensible tax giveaway for the wealthiest and most powerful economic interests in this country. The result of this no-holds-barred effort to gain political victory meant defeat for the American people who will suffer from the unfavorable economic consequences, double-digit inflation, and relentless runaway interest rates, resulting from the massive deficit in Government spending produced by the brazen raid on the Treasury contained in both the Ways and Means Committee bill and the Conable-Hance substitute.

The totally unwarranted and lavish tax giveaways contained in both bills and the massive budget deficits they will produce are the reasons I could not support either tax bill with any enthusiasm and tried unsuccessfully to offer an amendment to both tax bills to delay tax cuts until the budget is balanced, an amendment which was strongly opposed by both political parties. It was a sad day when both major political parties oppose a yes-or-no vote on an amendment to balance the Nation's budget. It will be a sadder day when the consequences of massive deficit spending resulting from the House-passed tax bill must be borne by the American people.



Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent the article by Washington Post staff writer Caroline Atkinson appear in the RECORD at this point.

[From the Washington Post, July 31, 1981]

#### REAGAN'S NECK ON BOTTOM LINE

(By Caroline Atkinson)

With this week's overwhelming vote on the tax bill, Congress has put President Reagan's entire economic program in place. It has also put him on the spot.

Reagan promised that his program would lead to faster growth, more jobs, less inflation and lower interest rates.

The only remaining question is whether he was right.

From the start, experts across the political spectrum have questioned the economic basis for the president's plan. In particular they have doubted his forecast that faster economic growth would be combined with falling inflation.

Huge tax cuts to be assured for at least three years were a key element in Reagan's plan. Their distribution—with more of the benefit going to the rich, particularly those with incomes over \$100,000, and less to the lower and middle income wage earners—was also an important break with the past.

But many outsiders doubt whether such tax cuts can work the cure Reagan believes in. They believe that to the extent that the tax cuts spur growth, they will also threaten to worsen inflation; and to the extent that they are balanced by spending reductions, their effect on growth will be limited.

On top of this theoretical objection is an even more pressing practical one: Can Reagan achieve his goal of a balanced budget by 1984, and if his policies do not reduce the deficit, will they conflict with the tight money grip of the Federal Reserve Board?

This week's tax bill cuts an enormous \$285 billion from Treasury revenues over the next three years, according to the latest official estimates. So far Congress has agreed to cut about \$140 billion from spending in the same years, fiscal 1982 to 1984.

This contrast, coupled with fears that the administration's budget numbers will turn out to be too optimistic, makes many observers skeptical about the administration's chances of balancing the budget by 1984. Some congressional budget experts believe that the deficit may not be reduced significantly from this year's \$55 billion level.

These numbers strike horror into the hearts of Federal Reserve officials. As one economist remarked, the tax vote puts an enormous burden on the Fed's money policy, already in the front line of the fight against inflation. And high interest rates would be the inevitable result of a clash between an expansionary fiscal and tight money policy.

Of course, the budget cuts so far enacted are nowhere near the final Reagan target. Budget director David Stockman is working on sizable further cuts for 1983 and 1984.

In addition the program changes sealed in the reconciliation conference this week—from which the \$140 billion figure comes—account for three quarters of the total cuts Congress has promised to make in 1982 spending, leaving a significant one-quarter still to be made.

The administration has said that on top of these, and its planned Social Security reform, it intends to find further program cuts of \$30 billion in 1983 rising to \$44 billion in 1984. If Congress swallows these, then spending will be cut by \$240 billion

over the next three years and the budget will be balanced in 1984, officials say.

But congressional sources put the needed cuts in 1984 still higher by anything between \$25 billion and \$40 billion. And they wonder whether even Reagan can persuade Congress to ax so much more spending. If it does not, then fiscal policy in 1983 and 1984 will be expansionary.

Chairman of the president's Council of Economic Advisers Murray Weidenbaum is adamant that fiscal and monetary restraint are both necessary to bring down inflation. He stressed to a congressional committee this week that the thrust of the tax and spending changes in 1981 is toward restraint.

On a high-employment basis, which measures the budgetary stance after correcting for unemployment, there has been a swing of \$25 billion toward restraint between fiscal 1980 and 1981, according to figures calculated for the CEA. A further squeeze of about \$17.5 billion is due next year, if the further budget cuts go through.

These numbers help to explain the present dip in the economy. However, they begin to move the other way in the middle of next year, when the next slice of the tax cuts comes through. Reagan officials predict that then the economy will be picking up speed.

Many outside economists agree with them. But whereas the Reagan team expects interest rates to fall fairly steadily from now until then, other analysts predict that the tax-spurred growth in 1982 will run headlong into tight money.

The Federal Reserve, strongly backed by the administration, plans a persistent and quite dramatic slowdown in money and credit growth over the coming months and years. So far this year, this policy has kept interest rates at record heights.

Administration officials say that as markets begin to believe in the Fed's determination, and to anticipate lower inflation, then rates will start to fall. The continued lid on money growth will accelerate already evident signs of an improvement in inflation, bringing rates down still more.

But if private demand for credit is rising as tax cuts give business and individuals more money to spend, then interest rates must stay high to ration out the money. And since neither the administration nor the Fed can determine how much of a given money growth goes to pay for higher prices and continued inflation, and how much goes to real growth, the money policy on its own cannot reduce inflation.

The Democratic-led scramble for votes left the tax bill even larger than Reagan wanted originally. It is also loaded down with special provisions, which few believe will help to produce the noninflationary growth forecast by the president.

But since the president has embraced it, the responsibility for success is now squarely on his shoulders.●

#### TEN OUTSTANDING GOVGUAM WOMEN

#### HON. ANTONIO BORJA WON PAT

OF GUAM

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. WON PAT. Mr. Speaker, ordinarily a tribute to the advancement of women in business or public life might

be viewed by my colleagues as somewhat "old hat." But, on my island community of Guam, the rise of women to positions of equality has taken much longer than in the United States because of the restrictions and inhibitions of an old world culture.

After 400 years of Spanish colonial rule in an agrarian-subsistence way of life, there was little opportunity until long after World War II for women to first crack the work-a-day world and then advance up the ladder to positions of prominence. It was one thing to get away from the chores of raising a family and providing a home for that family and it was a major step outward and upward for a woman to obtain a job in the early government of Guam.

But even in this isolated Pacific island, located far from the teeming metropolises of the world, women were not to be denied, and with the help of a few farsighted public officials, they made their way up the ladder of success, particularly in the business of serving their fellow men and women.

Recently, the government of Guam's Women's Program Coordinators Organization honored 10 women for their advancement through the rank and file to a higher position; their desire for self-improvement through training, higher education, and civic activities; their leadership abilities; at least 2 years of service with the government of Guam; and their implementation of new ideas in their particular positions.

It is with a feeling of inner satisfaction and great pride that I insert this testimonial to the achievements of these 10 women in the RECORD and add my own personal congratulations.

#### CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION AWARDEES FOR 10 OUTSTANDING WOMEN IN GOVGUAM

Following are the names of awardees, their title, place of employment, and address:

Ms. Luling Flores, Personnel Services Administrator, Port Authority of Guam, Agana, Guam 96910.

Ms. Norma Aflague, Chief of Administration, Dept. Public Works, Tamuning, Guam 96911.

Dr. Katherine Aguon, Director of Education, Dept. of Education, Agana, Guam 96910.

Ms. Meding Aguai, Administrative Secretary, Dept. Public Safety, Agana, Guam 96910.

Ms. Adelina Garrido, Police Officer, Dept. Public Safety, Agana, Guam 96910.

Ms. Amparo B. Cenzon, Acting EEO Administrator, Civil Service Commission, Agana, Guam 96910.

Ms. Lourdes F. Cepeda, Wage and Classification Specialist, Civil Service Commission, Agana, Guam 96910.

Ms. Elizabeth Cepeda, Administrative Secretary, GEPA, Agana, Guam 96910.

Ms. Sally Coy, Planner IV, Bureau of Planning, Agana, Guam 96910.

Ms. Anna Muna, Public Information Officer, Guam Memorial Hospital, Tamuning, Guam 96911.●

## SOME ANSWERS TO THE PROBLEM OF HIGH-INTEREST RATES

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, the Banking Committee recently concluded its semiannual oversight hearings on the conduct of monetary policy. As you can well imagine, the focus of these hearings was the twin problems of inflation and disastrously high interest rates.

I believe that there is a fundamental misunderstanding as to why interest rates are so high today. More importantly, I believe that there are constructive and reasonable steps which can be taken to bring interest rates down in the short run and offer some hope to the millions of Americans who are punished daily by these high interest rates.

My ideas of how we can reduce interest rates now are contained in my opening remarks at these monetary policy hearings. Moreover, the answers to many questions—which I know are asked by everyone in this country—are contained in an insightful response to me by Under Secretary of the Treasury Beryl W. Spinkel, who was a witness at these hearings. Although I disagree with his answer to my last question about short-term solutions, his answers deserve a careful reading by all of my colleagues because they fully explain why interest rates are high and what we must do to lower them.

The material follows:

## OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. GEORGE HANSEN

Mr. Chairman, let me begin by expressing my appreciation for your testimony today on the conduct of monetary policy. I want you to know that I have faithfully supported the Reagan economic package from its inception during last year's election to date. The program in total offers us long-term hope for the future.

There are, however, short-term problems—such as painfully high interest rates—which I feel that we need to address. I believe there are solutions in the short-term. I am not talking about more phony money from the Federal Reserve, and I am not talking about credit allocation, which many of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle seem to flirt with from time to time.

Chairman Paul Volcker of the Federal Reserve Board has presided over that institution for the past two years. During this time, for whatever reasons, we have been plagued by double-digit inflation and 20 percent interest rates, M1-B—which the Federal Reserve pays the most attention to—has been wandering and rambling all over the place for the past several years. Although the Federal Reserve may hit a particular target during any particular quarter, more often than not the Fed has failed to hit its targets during the past several years. This committee repeatedly has urged the Federal Reserve to lower its targets and more importantly to achieve its targets. Secretary

Sprinkel, you correctly point this out in your testimony, and I urge you, in your behind the scenes discussions with the Federal Reserve, to keep their feet to the fire to meet their targets.

Secretary Sprinkel, I would hope that you would take my message back to the Treasury Department with you today and put your best economists to work to find some immediate step to take the hardship out of high interest rates. I like to think of our economy in terms of medical analogies. The Reagan Administration is on the right path to achieve a long-term cure for the cancer of inflation, and I fully support you in these efforts. What we need, however, is some simple, "fast-acting, quiet relief" aspirin for the immediate and painful headaches of high interest rates.

Our economy has been hooked on the heroin of deficit spending. Today, we are suffering from the DT's of this addiction. What we are looking for is an interim painkiller made up of moral confidence and certain available relief measures so that these temporary convulsions in our economic patient will, in fact, be relieved.

There are many quack doctors around today and perhaps many witch doctors that will prescribe various types of medicine for these maladies. Some would like to operate on the economy to do this, and some would like to perform an autopsy to do that. Before we know it, our economy would soon become a cadaver, drawn and quartered, with such devices as credit allocation by many well-intentioned people in the Government. If they are successful in dividing a basically cohesive economy, we will be left with a disjointed carcass by the side of the road.

Mr. Secretary, we must give the patient the moral and economic will to live. We cannot afford to let him slip out of the hospital and to go out on another deficit spending binge. I am confident that you can devise the means to resuscitate the patient to achieve the final necessary cure.

For example, to help bring interest rates down I believe that additional stimuli with little or no Treasury outlay can be given for business and construction activity through selective advancements of commitment dates on obligations the government is already planning to undertake. If procurement contracts or building commitments are in the pipeline, let's get them moving and put people back to work. Such activity would provide a meaningful signal without an early drain on government resources.

Second, I would urge you to abandon all government debt operations in the medium- and long-term issues and concentrate all necessary borrowing in short-term securities. This accomplishes two things: First, it emphasizes the Reagan Administration's determination to defeat inflation, because it anticipates lower interest rates and thus borrowing costs that would flow from reduced inflation rates in the foreseeable future. Second, it takes pressure off the parts of the credit markets which are especially important to the housing industry and for car buyers, two particularly dressed and interest-rate-sensitive sectors.

Mr. Secretary, these are just a few suggestions, which I would like to discuss with you further. It is time that the Federal Reserve learned that the gyrations of its roller coaster policies are creating chaos in the country-side. Why should we expect people in America to have confidence in the Federal Reserve, when the Federal Reserve can't control the money supply? Your appointment

as Undersecretary for Monetary Affairs should send a clear signal to the Federal Reserve that the Reagan Administration expects results.

Mr. Chairman, you know as well as I do that it is time that we do away with big leaps in money supply and higher and higher interest rates. It is time to start to think about the little guy from middle America who pays the majority of taxes in this country. It is time to save America and the American dream of affording a home or starting up a small business. We can do this only by declaring war on high interest rates.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,

July 29, 1981.

HON. GEORGE HANSEN,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN HANSEN: It was a pleasure to be able to participate in the House Banking Committee's semi-annual oversight hearings on monetary policy. The opportunity to meet with you and your colleagues to exchange views on the various issues relating to monetary policy was very useful.

My responses to the questions that you submitted to me in writing are enclosed. If my staff or I can be of any further assistance, please do not hesitate to call.

I look forward to working with you and the Committee in the future.

Sincerely,

BERYL W. SPINKEL,  
Under Secretary of the Treasury  
for Monetary Affairs.

Enclosure.

## QUESTIONS FOR UNDERSECRETARY SPINKEL FROM HON. GEORGE HANSEN

Q. Why are interest rates so high when the inflation rate seems to be subsiding? Please explain in such a manner so that my farmers, builders and small businesses in Idaho will understand.

A. Interest rates remain high because the financial markets are not yet convinced that the Congress, the Administration, and the Federal Reserve will persevere in the fight against inflation. Continued high long-term interest rates, despite the news that inflation is beginning to decline, imply that the financial markets expect inflation to resume in the months ahead.

That is why it is vital that the Federal Reserve persist in its policy to reduce money growth and that the Congress and the Administration maintain budgetary discipline in the months and years ahead. We must signal to the financial markets and to the public that we will not reverse our course before the real, long-term benefits of controlling inflation are appreciated.

Q. Do high interest rates track and follow increases in the money supply? Please elaborate and supply me with any charts or other data which you might have.

A. Excessive money growth causes inflation and, as we are all aware, inflation and the expectation that it will continue causes interest rates to rise. This can be seen in the charts appended to my written testimony. Money growth is closely associated with inflation approximately two years later and interest rates are closely related to current and past rates of inflation.

In addition, the financial markets, with years of rapid money growth and inflation fresh in their memory, have become so sensitive to the money-inflation linkage that even weekly increases in the money supply cause interest rates to rise. Recent experi-



ence indicates that this reaction now comes very quickly. This is demonstrated in the table on page 5 of my testimony.

Contrary to the popular view that more money leads to lower interest rates, more money, by causing inflation and generating inflationary expectations, causes interest rates to rise. In the current environment, any decline in rates associated with faster money growth would be temporary, if it happened at all. Ultimately, more money leads unavoidably to more inflation and would prolong or raise already high interest rates.

Q. How is the Federal Reserve responsible for high interest rates?

A. The high interest rates we have experienced for the past two years or so are the result of four years of excessively rapid money growth. When the money stock grows more rapidly than real aggregate output, the result is inflation. Inflation causes interest rates to rise in order to compensate lenders for the decline in the purchasing power of their money during the life of a loan. Moreover, the expectation of continued inflation causes interest rates to be bid up.

Excessive money growth, by generating inflation and inflationary expectations, therefore causes high interest rates. The Federal Reserve is responsible for high interest rates because it previously followed a path of too-rapid money growth. The slowdown in money that has occurred in recent months is a good first step toward reversing the cycle of fast money growth, inflation and high interest rates. The benefits, in terms of reduced inflation and lower interest rates, will not be realized, however, unless the policy of slower money growth is adhered to over the long run.

Q. People think that the Reagan Administration in its first six months in office is responsible for high interest rates. Is this possible?

A. No. First of all, interest rates were high when the Reagan Administration took office.

Second, the important psychological factors that are helping keep rates high—deeply entrenched expectations of inflation and pessimism that the Government can or will take effective action to curb inflation—have not grown up in response to Reagan Administration policies. They are the result of years of inflationary money growth and repeated broken promises to control inflation.

Q. In 1980 the Federal Reserve's target was 4½ to 7 percent for M1-B growth, yet M1-B grew by 7.3 percent by year end. M1-B growth was even higher in 1978 and 1979. Why has the Federal Reserve missed its targets? Be specific. Will they meet their announced targets in the future?

A. In most cases the Federal Reserve has missed its money supply targets because it has abandoned close control of bank reserves in order to try to affect interest rates. Interest rates fluctuate in response to changes in credit demand and general economic activity and, if the Federal Reserve tries to prevent or soften movements in market interest rates, it sacrifices close control of money supply growth. It is not possible for the Federal Reserve to maintain close control of the money stock and also attempt to manipulate interest rates.

For example, in the Spring of 1980 the combination of credit controls and a contracting economy caused a sharp decline in the demand for credit and interest rates fell rapidly. The Federal Reserve, apparently

unwilling to allow interest rates to fall as fast as market forces dictated, slowed the rate of growth in bank reserves and allowed the money supply to decline, even though the economy was contracting. Once credit controls were removed in the summer and the economy began to expand again, interest rates rose in response to increased credit demand. Again, the Federal Reserve tried to ameliorate the upward pressure on interest rates coming from market forces. They injected reserves into the banking system and the result was an explosion of money growth in the second half of 1980.

Q. How can we in Congress make or encourage the Federal Reserve to hit its target ranges, preferably the low end of the range? Please elaborate.

A. While the Federal Reserve is an independent agency, and I believe that independence should be maintained, its independence does not mean it is not answerable for its actions. It is accountable to the Congress and these oversight hearings are the best way for you to make your opinions and concerns, and those of your constituents, known to the Federal Reserve.

It is important for you to emphasize to the Federal Reserve that this Committee expects it to hit its announced targets. That message can be conveyed during these semi-annual hearings and subsequent Committee reports, as well as in your informal dealings with Federal Reserve officials. If the target are not met, I think that the Federal Reserve should be required to provide a detailed explanation of why they failed, what they intend to do to bring money growth back on target, and what they intend to do to avoid similar future failures.

As I mentioned in my prepared testimony, there are a number of procedural changes readily available to the Federal Reserve which I believe would improve the precision of monetary control. The Federal Reserve is considering these changes and I hope they are adopted as soon as possible.

Q. How can we expect to get results from the Federal Reserve to lower interest rates?

A. The only way the Federal Reserve can facilitate permanently lower interest rates is to persist in its policy to reduce the rate of money growth. Although it is popular to blame high interest rates on the recent slowdown in money growth, this is incorrect. Faster money growth will always lead ultimately to even higher interest rates. Recent experience shows that financial markets translate fast money growth into higher interest rates almost simultaneously.

We, therefore, have no alternative. To lower interest rates, we must achieve and sustain a lower, non-inflationary rate of money growth. I urge you and your constituents to support the Federal Reserve's policy of slower money growth for it is the only route to the lower interest rates we all seek.

Q. Since the inflation rate—measured either by the Consumer Price Index or the GNP price deflator—seems to be declining from record levels in the past few years, doesn't it stand to reason that interest rates will soon begin to decline as well? When will we see this happen? My constituents can't wait much longer.

A. Yes. Market conditions should allow for a decline in rates soon, but it is difficult to say exactly when or by how much. Continued high long-term interest rates, in the face of lower current inflation, reflects skepticism in the financial markets that money growth and inflation will be controlled over the long run. Once the markets

are convinced that this is not another false start in the fight against inflation, once they learn that we will persevere until that fight is won, inflationary expectations will abate and interest rates will fall.

Q. What short-term solutions, if any, are available to take the pain out of double-digit inflation?

A. I know of no easy remedies for the distortions caused by inflation. Years of rapid money growth and inflation have caused fundamental changes in the American economy and psyche. The distortions and uncertainties of inflation are reflected in wage settlements, speculative activity, pricing decisions, savings behavior, and government programs as well. They are also reflected in higher interest rates.

The attitudes and habits that have grown up over a decade cannot be reversed overnight. Particularly when previous Administrations have repeatedly promised to bring inflation under control, but have failed to do so. Returning the economy to a non-inflationary path of real growth is not an easy or painless task. Hopefully, our experience with double-digit inflation is behind us.●

### PLIGHT OF BORIS CHERNOBILSKY

#### HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my distinguished colleagues, the American people, and all those who are oppressed in the world, the traumatic plight of a Soviet citizen, Boris Chernobilsky. His only true desire in life is to emigrate to Israel with his family, where many there are waiting with outstretched arms to receive, one day, this noble and ill-fated human being.

Let me remind all of you that this brave "refusenik" applied for emigration to Israel in May of 1975, but was refused that right in March of 1976 on the grounds that he knew of too many secrets in his profession as a radio engineer. Since that time Boris Chernobilsky's safety and rights have been constantly challenged by the Soviet authorities; in fact, he is now being brought up on charges of "resisting a representative of authority while performing duties entrusted to him by law." He is being unjustly charged with calling a Soviet policeman, who was dispersing a peaceful gathering on May 10 in Ovrashky, a "Fascist." As you are aware, if found guilty of this charge, Boris Chernobilsky could face a maximum sentence of 5 years imprisonment. It is deeply alarming to me to see a retreat by the Soviet Government on its policy to allow emigration to Israel. Before 1979, many emigrants to Israel from the Soviet Union have enjoyed and are enjoying a peaceful and meaningful existence in a free society, where their contributions to that society are most appreciated. However, today we see the reverse

taking place in the Soviet Union; in fact, in the first 6 months of this year compared to the first 6 months of 1979, there has been a drastic decline in emigration of 73 percent. I am afraid that if we in the free world stand by idly and allow the Soviets to continue this inhumane policy on emigration, we will be just as much at fault as the Soviets. Thus, let it be known for all times that we in America will not stand by idly and allow, without our deep and earnest protest, human beings in Russia to be denied their basic right to emigrate just because of their religion or race or because of their desire to live in a free and meaningful place in the world. I ask to include in the body of the RECORD the following appeal of Boris Chernobitsky which has just been forwarded to me:

**AN APPEAL OF BORIS CHERNOBITSKY TO  
SOVIET PRESIDENT LEONID BREZHNEV**

In recent years, trials involving Jewish "refuseniks" have shown that we can't count on objectivity and impartiality for Jewish individuals in Soviet courts. It is obvious that the authorities fabricate false charges in order to intimidate other Soviet Jews wishing to emigrate to Israel. Every trial became a sham. The verdict of a trial like this is returned in advance. My trial is not an exception despite the fact that there are tens of witnesses who know that my being charged with something has nothing to do with reality.

I do not want to become the next KGB sacrifice. Since I do not have any other means of protecting myself, I simply refuse to show up for such a show trial.

**HENRY BRASHER, JR.**

**HON. J. J. PICKLE**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

• **Mr. PICKLE.** Mr. Speaker, I wish to call your and our colleagues' attention to the passing of a man whom I deeply respected, admired, and appreciated, and whose life is an example that we would all do well to emulate. This man was Mr. Henry Brasher, Jr., of Weimar, Tex.

Henry Brasher was born in Weimar, Tex., and it was in Weimar, Tex., that he stayed his whole life. This in itself is noteworthy in these highly mobile times—but Mr. Henry did not just live in Weimar for his entire life, he spent his entire life in the highest form of active involvement in that community, and in our greater central Texas community. I daresay there was not an area of business or civic or charitable activity that went on in that part of the 10th District that Henry Brasher did not have a leading hand in it. He spent 86 years, all told, working to benefit that community and its citizens, and his example of caring for others, and in so many ways, is what really makes the life of Henry

Brasher, Jr., noteworthy, and worthy of our esteem. Because even though he was a successful businessman and was always well liked and well respected, he did not stop there: He was always mindful of the welfare of others around him, and if he ever saw that things could be made better, Henry Brasher was the man who would jump in and make things happen. And he got positive results that stand in that community today for all to see.

Mr. Speaker, I insert herewith a newspaper account of the life and death of Mr. Henry Brasher, Jr., which tells as well as anything the accomplishments that this man achieved in one lifetime. I hope my colleagues will take a few minutes of their time to read this account thoughtfully and realize, as I have all too keenly, that we have lost and will miss this man who possessed those qualities that we would all do well to emulate. Our Nation was made, and made strong, by men of Henry Brasher's mettle, and we should all grieve the loss of this great and good man.

The article follows:

**HEART ATTACK FATAL FOR H. BRASHER, 86—  
LONGTIME CIVIC LEADER**

Henry Brasher Jr., a Weimar business and civic leader for more than 60 years, died of a heart attack Saturday morning, June 27, while seated at the breakfast table. He was 86.

A few minutes later, as was still his daily habit, he would have been driving to his office, at the automobile business he and his father founded in 1915.

He was a Buick dealer for 66 years, longer than anyone else in Buick's history, and a Chevrolet dealer for 49 years.

Funeral services were held Monday, June 29, from First United Methodist Church, with Rev. Howard MacAllister of Gonzales and Rev. Lyle Pierce, the Weimar pastor, officiating. Burial was in Masonic Cemetery.

Serving as pallbearers were Sam K. Seymour Jr. of Columbus, and Malvin Merrem, Leslie Townsend, Robert F. Kalous, Herbert Pickett, Ernest Scott, Milton Booth, and Jack Montgomery, all of Weimar.

Henry Brasher Jr. was born here January 19, 1895, the eldest of four sons of Henry Sr. and Mattie (Ferrell) Brasher. He was a 1910 graduate of Weimar High School.

After high school, in addition to helping out in the telephone business his family owned, he went to work at T. A. Hill State Bank. In December 1912, he took a job in the Jno. C. Hubbard Lumber Co. Then in 1915 he and his father accepted the Buick agency, and in 1922 they moved into the building that Brasher Motor Co. occupies today.

Over the years the company has expanded to many times its original scope, adding branches at Schulenburg and La Grange, along with a wholesale supply company and a finance company here.

At the time of his death Mr. Brasher was chairman of the board of directors of Hill Bank & Trust Co., a position he had held for many years. He was one of the original directors of Colorado County Federal Savings & Loan Association, and was serving on the board.

He was president of the board of trustees of Weimar Independent School District from 1932 until retiring in 1973.

He was a member of First United Methodist Church of Weimar, where he served as Sunday School superintendent for 25 years and on the church board even longer. He was a 65-year member of the Masonic Lodge, having served as worshipful master and in other offices, and was a member of Arabia Temple Shrine.

He was a charter member of and still active in Weimar Rotary Club and the Chamber of Commerce, having held several offices in both. He helped found and served as a director of the Golden Age Home, the Methodist-sponsored retirement home in Lockhart, and was the driving force in getting Parkview Manor retirement home established here.

"Mr. Henry," as many of at least two generations knew him, was an honorary Lone Star Farmer in the Future Farmers of America, and an honorary chapter member in both Weimar and Schulenburg. He was also an avid supporter of the Little League program.

He married Willie Black here on April 26, 1916. She survives him, along with his daughter and son-in-law, Catherine and David Gunn of Weimar; grandchildren, Henry and Suzie Gunn of Weimar, Martha and John Marsac of Houston, Margaret Gunn and David William Gunn of Weimar; and great-grandchildren, Seth Gunn and Ian Marsac.

Mr. Brasher's death came only six weeks after that of his brother, former mayor F. F. (Teddy) Brasher. The other brothers, Jack and Laure, died a number of years ago.

**THE NATIONAL ENERGY POLICY  
PLAN, SYNTHETIC FUELS**

**HON. TOM CORCORAN**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

• **Mr. CORCORAN.** Mr. Speaker, on July 17, the President transmitted to the Congress the Reagan administration's national energy policy plan. I support the approach suggested by the plan, and, as a member of both energy subcommittees of the Energy and Commerce Committee, I look forward to being closely involved with energy issues during the 97th Congress.

Mr. Speaker, for the benefit of our colleagues, I would like to insert in the RECORD at this point the national energy policy plan's section on synthetic fuels:

**SYNTHETIC FUELS**

The United States has enormous hydrocarbon resources in the form of coal, oil shale, tar sands, and heavy oil. Existing processes can extract those resources and/or transform them into synthetic substitutes for conventional oil and gas; and improved processes are being developed.

The Administration has restructured the national synthetic fuels program to rely more heavily on private investment initiatives and less on the general taxpayer. Responsibility for commercializing the technologies of alternative fuels is shifting to



the private sector, with potential support from the Synthetic Fuels Corporation (SFC). Feasibility studies and cooperative agreements which merely subsidize companies to prepare proposals for larger government construction subsidies are being terminated, and DOE funding is being ended for demonstration projects which do not muster significant private-sector support. Under this restructuring, DOE will continue to support and fund long-term, high-risk research and development projects which industry would not be in a position to finance.

This course will reduce Federal outlays substantially. By providing consideration for SFC assistance rather than nearly total DOE funding, the Administration's fiscal year 1982 budget revision document shows that taxpayers save at least \$2.7 billion in budget authority for construction over the next 5 years and another \$900 million in operating expenses. The development pace for a U.S. synthetic fuels industry will be determined appropriately by private investors, with assistance from the SFC. As its first priority, the SFC will provide financial assistance through minimal outlays "up front" (for example, it will emphasize loan guarantees and price guarantees). If current projections of actual process performance and world oil prices are reasonably correct, such "risk insurance" mechanisms will also minimize total budget outlays.

The prospective competitive position of synthetic fuels has improved as a result of high world oil prices, even though synfuel costs also rise on the basis of the conventional energy required in their production. Private corporate planning activities looking toward oil shale or coal synthetic fuels projects have intensified. Initiatives and financial support from the private sector alone have launched several commercial-scale projects, as well as major technical development programs. Seventeen of the top 20 oil companies are now involved in oil shale projects; and these companies have the financial and technical resources to commercialize technology. Among more than 60 responses to SFC's initial solicitation for proposals, many projects show that private enterprise has invested an impressive amount of corporate resources in them over the past 10 years.

Decontrol of conventional fuel prices, revitalization of the economy, and removal of regulatory uncertainties will improve the growth climate for synthetic fuels.●

#### REMEMBERING FRED J. KROLL

#### HON. JAMES J. FLORIO

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. FLORIO. Mr. Speaker, it is with great sadness that I rise with my colleagues to mourn the passing of a friend and leader.

Fred J. Kroll, president of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, lost a battle with leukemia yesterday, Thursday, July 30, 1981.

Fred's efforts on behalf of his membership frequently brought him to my office for discussions of mutual interest. I found him always to be a hard-working, concerned and informed spokesman for his membership. It is largely through his efforts that a

speedy compromise was achieved between the employees and management of Conrail, thereby preserving this vital transportation system and the thousands of jobs that would otherwise have been lost.

I would at this time like to submit the following biography for the record. Fred Kroll was a friend and a gentleman. He will be missed.

The biography follows:

FRED J. KROLL, 1935-81

A courageously-fought five-year battle with leukemia ended on July 30, 1981 when BRAC International President Fred J. Kroll died at the age of 45.

Death came in a Philadelphia hospital where he had been undergoing treatment and where, characteristically, he continued to chart the union's course and to develop programs and strategies for future collective bargaining and legislative campaigns.

Kroll first became president of BRAC in 1976 when he was chosen by the union's Executive Council to complete an unexpired term of office. He was reelected president by acclamation at BRAC's 1979 Toronto Convention.

When he was elected a member of the AFL-CIO's Executive Council in 1978, he became the youngest person ever to be named a federation vice president.

Assuming a leadership position within the ranks of rail labor, Kroll was elected chairman of the Railway Labor Executives' Association in February 1980. Composed of leaders of 20 unions with membership in the railroad industry, that RLEA is a policy-making group dealing with legislative and regulatory issues involving railway workers and the industry of which they are a vital part.

#### EARLY CAREER

No stranger to literally thousands of BRAC members, Kroll was an active and dedicated member of the Brotherhood for 28 years.

Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania on October 29, 1935, he came from a trade union family. His father was a long-time member of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers.

BRAC's leader launched his rail career in 1953 as an IBM machine operator on the former Pennsylvania Railroad. Quickly becoming involved in Quaker City Lodge 587, he served as vice president, president and local chairman. He also served as division chairman.

In 1970, he was elected general secretary-treasurer of the Penn-Central System Board. The next year he was elected general chairman.

Unanimously returned to office as general chairman in 1973, he continued to head BRAC's largest system board until January 1975 when the Executive Council elected him an international vice president. He was reelected at the union's May 1975 Convention in Washington, D.C.

During the period of his general chairmanship and later his vice presidency, his leadership abilities were successfully tested while meeting the challenge of protecting workers' rights when the northeast railroads (including the giant Penn-Central) plunged into bankruptcy. He played a key role in shaping the legislation that led to the creation of Conrail.

From his earliest days as a trade unionist, Kroll was widely recognized as a skilled and determined negotiator.

An equally skilled and forceful spokesman on behalf of his own members and all of rail labor, Kroll spearheaded the April 29 Rail Labor Rally in Washington that drew 20,000 railroaders to protest the Reagan Administration's budget-cutting policies with regard to Conrail and Amtrak. Throughout March and April, he worked tirelessly in testifying before Congress to urge restoration of adequate funding for both railroads.

And, shortly before his death, congressional conferees adopted legislation to insure the continuation of Conrail and Amtrak and to provide a solution to the financially ailing Railroad Retirement System.

#### FROM "REASONABLE MILITANT" TO "MAVERICK LOADER"

Once describing himself as a "reasonable militant," Kroll quickly captured the attention of the media after his election as BRAC president and was frequently profiled in major news magazines and newspapers.

The Norfolk and Western strike, which he launched in July 1978, and which lasted for 82 days, tested his mettle, and his masterful handling of it led to the eventual elimination of both the rail industry's mutual aid pact and one existing in the airline industry. Business Week magazine called him "the maverick leader who bested the N&W."

Kroll himself described that precedent-setting strike as one that "let the railroads know we are an aggressive union, that we mean business and that we have the support of our people."

A cover story in the August 1979 issue of Time Magazine on "Fifty Faces for the Future" cited BRAC's president as one of those who possessed "the sense of boldness that remains the prime prerequisite for leadership." The article described Kroll's efforts to make the labor movement more attractive for younger workers by encouraging greater initiative at the local level.

As Next Magazine phrased it in an April 1981 profile, Fred J. Kroll was one of the "five-score Americans who has the potential to achieve substantial power over the minds and lives of their fellow citizens during this decade."

That potential ended tragically on July 30, 1981 but his legacy of bold leadership and dedication to economic justice and dignity for workers will endure.

A devoted family man, he leaves his wife Hildegard; three daughters—Karen, Anita and Michale; his parents—Fred and Catherine; and three brothers—Albert, John and Joseph.

In lieu of flowers, the family requests that contributions be made to the Horbert L. Orlovitz Institute for Cancer and Blood Diseases, Hahnemann Medical College and Hospital, 230 North Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102.

Mass will be celebrated at 11 a.m. on Monday, August 3 at the Church of the Little Flower, 5601 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Bethesda, Maryland.●

#### REVEREND J. BAZZEL MULL

#### HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, Tennesseans have a special love for gospel music. I suppose its because of the nat-

ural beauty that surrounds us down there. We have plenty to be thankful for living between the Smoky Mountains and the Mississippi River.

In East Tennessee gospel music is synonymous with the Reverend J. Bazzel Mull. He has brought that music into the homes of many on Sunday mornings for the past 25 years. The show and its sponsor will be honored August 15 at the Tennessee Theater in Knoxville for their long-standing popularity and service to the community.

"Mull's Singing Convention" continues to appear at 8 o'clock Sunday mornings on WBIR-TV in Knoxville. The 1½-hour program includes gospel music, special guests, and community service. The program began with WBIR's broadcasting in August of 1956. The time slot has changed over the years, but the appeal of the program has kept it on the air.

I have had the privilege of being the guest of Reverend Mull and his wife Elizabeth many times in those 25 years. They have always been gracious hosts as well as entertaining and informative television personalities.

The Mulls are also good neighbors in the Christian sense of the word. The camera becomes a pulpit and the audience a congregation as the Mulls seek help for families who have suffered unfortunate tragedies. Over the years many families have been able to overcome formidable obstacles with the aid of Reverend Mull and his wife.

The gospel music weaves through all of this on the show. It is the link between the show's service and spirituality and the link between Reverend Mull and East Tennesseans. The honors that are being heaped on him for this anniversary are justly deserved.●

#### BLOCK GRANTS TO SUPPORT A CRUMBLING CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

**HON. STEPHEN J. SOLARZ**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Speaker, I am concerned about the many problems which our criminal justice system faces daily. This concern has led me to introduce legislation, H.R. 4344, the Criminal Justice Construction and Program Development Act of 1981. This bill would provide block grants for States to construct and modernize criminal justice facilities and to support programs and personnel in them.

H.R. 4344 is a response to the growing crisis in our criminal justice system. It is a Federal level response because many of the problems our criminal justice system is facing are the result of Federal actions. Recent

court cases have highlighted the need for improved prison conditions. The National Institute of Justice has recently published evidence showing that only 45 percent of our State and local prison and jail cells meet an acceptable standard of 60 square feet of space of each prisoner. In spite of the recent Supreme Court decision concerning the allowability of double celling in certain restricted circumstances, 31 States are either under court order to improve prison conditions or are facing such challenges. The minimum estimated cost of improving prison conditions to meet these federally recommended standards is more than \$10,000,000,000.

Overcrowding at the State and local levels is also created by other Federal criminal justice policies. Such crimes as interstate auto theft, drug offenses, and bank robbery, which were once prosecuted on a Federal level, are now considered State and local offenses. In addition, a lack of Federal prison space in many areas of our country leads to accused persons being held in State and local facilities in communities where their trial will be located.

There are major problems with other aspects of our criminal justice system. Other buildings including courts are often old and antiquated. Judges must often conduct trials under medieval conditions with rats and falling plaster. Personnel are often not able to investigate such major crimes as burglary; when arrests are made prosecutors often do not have enough time to prepare their cases thoroughly; and judges are often so overworked they must hear as many as 120 cases a day—about 1 every 4 minutes.

These conditions combine to present a picture of a disaster occurring in our rural county seats and jails as well as in our big cities and State maximum security prisons.

My bill represents a beginning toward the rebuilding and rejuvenation of our criminal justice facilities and programs through block grants to renovate existing facilities, construct new buildings and improve programs and staffing for these facilities. It would establish a program for issuing construction, modernization, and personnel grants; providing funds for demonstration grants directed toward evaluating innovative facility designs; collecting and disseminating information concerning advanced designs and practices; and providing an interest subsidy for State and local bonds issued for construction and renovation purposes.

This approach is in keeping with the recent recommendations of the Attorney General's Task Force on Violent Crime that we "should expand where possible the training and support programs provided by the Federal Government to State and local law en-

forcement personnel" and with a statement by Presidential Counselor Edwin Meese that:

We can do a lot better in the field of penology and the administration of prisons, but it's going to take money and the public generally is not willing to afford, to provide money for new prisons and better prisons. I think this would be one of our most effective investments.

We need to support the efforts by our State and local criminal justice agencies to control the rising tide of crime and make certain that criminals receive their just desserts. I feel that my bill represents an important start toward achieving the goal of controlling criminal activity and insuring full enforcement of our crime laws.●

#### SILVER ANNIVERSARY OF GREAT PLAINS CONSERVATION PROGRAM

**HON. E de la GARZA**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Speaker, we are within a few days of the silver anniversary of what I consider to be one of the most successful conservation programs of all time—the Great Plains conservation program for the 10 Great Plains States. Just 25 years ago, on August 7, 1956, President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed into law Public Law 84-1021 authorizing the first long-term conservation program in our Nation's history.

The law passed in 1956 allowed the program to expire in 1971. On November 18, 1969, President Nixon signed a law extending the program until 1981. Then on June 6, 1980, President Carter signed Public Law 96-263, which I sponsored, to extend the program until 1991.

In the 1930's, we saw important changes in agriculture which set the stage for the creation of the Great Plains program. Great Plains States, including my own State of Texas, had just experienced the worst drought of modern times. The era of farming with horses drew to a close by the end of the 1930's. Then came World War II with demands for all-out food production forcing rapid farm mechanization. Every available acre of land was put into food production. Weather was favorable, crops flourished, and there was a great optimistic outlook for agriculture on the Great Plains.

Then came the 1950's. The rains did not come, the winds blew, and dust clouds filled the sky. For the second time in a single generation, farmers were exposed to losing everything they had due to the whim of nature and their inability to deal with it; but there was hope. A conservation ethic was emerging with the rapid growth of



conservation districts. The Soil Conservation Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture was building a corps of personnel with expertise in providing badly needed technical assistance to individual farmers and ranchers. Cost-share programs were adopted to give farmers the incentive to apply certain erosion control practices. Their earlier efforts were good but they were not sufficient to meet the challenge of the 1950's. It was in the course of the long drought of this time that Congress passed the law enacting the Great Plains conservation program.

Under the program, land owners and operators work out complete conservation plans with SCS assistance on the entire operating unit. Contracts last from 3 to 10 years. Cost-share rates on various practices range from 50 to 80 percent.

The program has been highly successful in helping land owners and operators protect their land against drought, wind and water erosion, and also provides greater economic stability to farm and ranch units. Conservation measures and management systems applied on land in the Great Plains area will certainly help them combat the effects of future drought.

We can all take pride and satisfaction in the job done by farmers and ranches working through the Great Plains program. The conservation work they have done has helped them, but the benefits run much deeper than that. Protection of the soils of the Plains provides vital protection to the long-term interests of all Americans and the millions of people abroad who increasingly depend on American farm productivity for their food. If farm productivity declines in the Plains, the whole Nation and the whole world will suffer.

As good as the record is, however, it is not complete. This 25th anniversary of the Great Plains program should remind us that only about 25 percent of the necessary conservation work has been done. The rest of the job is still ahead of us, and we must do it to protect the lives of future generations. We should also give serious consideration to the plan, which has already been approved by the House Agriculture Committee, to apply the Great Plains program principle of targeted conservation to other parts of the country with serious conservation problems.●

#### CONFIDENCE IN SOCIAL SECURITY

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, during the Presidential campaign last year,

the Republican nominee told the American people he would protect the benefits of all those now receiving social security, as well as those looking forward to receiving those benefits in the future.

After taking office, President Reagan violated that campaign commitment. He pushed through legislation eliminating the social security minimum benefit.

Today, the House of Representatives voted to restore the social security minimum benefit.

This morning, Hon. CLAUDE PEPPER of Florida, the distinguished chairman of the House Select Committee on Aging, made the following statement before that committee. I submit his outstanding remarks for the RECORD and commend them to my colleagues.

STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE CLAUDE PEPPER, CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE ON AGING, AT HEARING ON ELIMINATION OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY MINIMUM BENEFIT—JULY 31, 1981

Less than half a century ago, our nation was ravaged by the depression, devastated by poverty, devoured by joblessness, and in the case of millions of our fellow countrymen, stripped of hope. Under the guidance of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, we embarked on a bold new course which changed the lives of everyone in America. The New Deal was the name of that course, of which many ideas, people and programs were a part. No part stands taller, none shines more brightly, none has meant more to more people, than Social Security.

Social Security is the shining star which pierces the gloom of want and despair in old age. Ninety-five out of 100 elderly people in this country depend on Social Security; at least 60 percent would be in poverty without it. But Social Security is not a magical blessing. It draws its lifeblood from the confidence and support of the 115 million Americans who contribute each and every working day to its support. Americans support Social Security like no other program, public or private, because they know it will be there to protect them if they retire, become disabled, or die.

Now, I am sure that I am only one of the Members of this House who is troubled by many of the things we hear from those in high places. Only this morning one of the top representatives of our President stated on television that nobody truly in need would lose any Social Security benefits. Does that mean that this Administration is trying to convert Social Security into a means test, that it's a welfare program only, and that's its real character? And that they will have nothing less than that objective?

People weren't so confident about Social Security at the start. But over a period of time, spanning eight Presidents, 22 Congresses, and 45 years, an unshakable, unbreakable, inviolable bond was forged between the Federal Government and the American people. That bond gave people the confidence that they would not be left to the uncertainty and indignity of charity if they lost their livelihood.

This measure that we have before us this morning on the Floor has been arrested, has been converted into inclusion in the Reconciliation Resolution, and destroyed. But with the hope held out by those who have been responsible for its destruction that

they will be able to get some money from SSI, to get off of Social Security and on to SSI, a program created by the Congress to take care of the blind, the disabled, and the impoverished of America, the welfare recipients.

People have proudly looked forward to the receipt of their Social Security checks, without a stigma of being impoverished or in the welfare class. There may be some who doubt it, but there are many millions of our fellow Americans who still have a sense of pride and don't want to go on welfare. In fact, the Administration itself has estimated that only a fourth of the people who lose their minimum Social Security benefits will go on SSI. They think they will save money. They are too proud to go on SSI, and they will save money, to kick them off of Social Security on to a program which they will not accept because they feel it tends to degrade them in their status.

In one cruel blow, this Administration destroyed a half-a-century of confidence. I don't know but what the President made an honest and a very revealing statement yesterday when he spoke to the Legislature in Atlanta, the Legislators of the several States. The President said, "We are in the throes of a new revolution." I thought he inferred, if he didn't say it, that he would never be satisfied, nor would his Administration, until it had dismantled and destroyed the social program erected under the guidance of Franklin D. Roosevelt and his spiritual and political successors.

In one cruel blow, this Administration destroyed a half-a-century of confidence. In one cruel blow, this Administration shattered the dreams of tens of millions. In one cruel blow, this Administration has launched the most devastating assault ever on Social Security.

These people, the group receiving Social Security benefits, minimum benefits, two-thirds of them are over 70 years of age, 500,000 of them are over 80 years of age, and a large number even over 90. I'm sure there are a few over 100. They got into the program long ago, when in many instances the occupation in which they were engaged was not covered by Social Security.

My sister retired two or three years ago from a 38-year period of school teaching. She gets a pension from her teaching of about \$700 or \$800 a month, and \$200 a month from Social Security, because she was only in the last few years eligible for Social Security, as so many of these people involved in this category.

Maybe they need to balance the Federal budget, too. Maybe they needed the money to pay for the billion dollar tax give-aways to the truly needy oil companies and other recipients.

I brought out in the Rules Committee yesterday afternoon that the amount of the cuts that have been brought about and are going to be consummated in the Reconciliation Resolution today are just about the same amount of money that will be given back to the taxpayers of this country, mostly to the well-to-do, by the tax bill that we passed on Wednesday.

I wonder if the rider has shifted to the poor, to give the others a tax benefit. Or maybe they just plain don't like the Social Security system. Maybe it started under Roosevelt. For whatever reason, the Administration wants to pull \$88 billion in benefits out of the pockets of beneficiaries over the next five years. They want to cut one-quarter of the program and throw it away.

Each one of the Administration's proposals, I must say, is worse than the other. And yet one proposal which stands to save very little money over the long run, stands above the rest in the disregard that we must have for it. The President has proposed, and is within a hairbreadth of succeeding, in slashing the benefits that the people at the very lowest end of the benefit ladder depend on.

The President has made a cruel mockery of his own pledge. "I will not stand by and see those of you who are dependent—" Now, what does "dependent" mean? Is that "Philadelphia Lawyer" writing that address for our President, making nice distinctions like a clever lawyer, to be sure that's how the contract will be construed? "Dependent upon", does that mean only 28 percent of the recipients of Social Security depend entirely on Social Security. Are they the only ones that are going to be protected? Is that what they mean by "dependent"? Or does it mean what if you get Social Security along with some other income? If you are "partially dependent", are you dependent? What do they mean by "dependent"?

In another case they said those will get back what they earn, indicating that they are going to use a different basis of calculation. And so our President said, "I will not stand by and see those of you who are dependent upon Social Security deprived of your benefits." The 3.1 million people in their 70s and 80s and 90s, who took the President at his word, will be in for a very rude shock when they go to their mailboxes after February of next year—unless the Senate concurs in what I hope we will do here today—to receive the checks that they were dependent on for years. These poor old people didn't realize they weren't what the President had in mind when he gave his pledge.

Maybe they ought to get a Philadelphia lawyer to advise them. They are just plain American people, attributing good faith to our highest executive, to our Administration chosen by the people, thinking that words used in their common understanding, the usual meaning that they had, not with a nice distinction that a technician would draw to safeguard against liability.

There are many compelling reasons not to cut these 3.1 million old people off the minimum Social Security program. Over one-half are near the poverty line, and 1.1 million more live in brutal, abject, grinding poverty.

You know, there are some I'm afraid who have forgotten that a lot of Americans are still desperately and meanly poor. Maybe we should go out more, like Thomas Jefferson when he was in Paris in the throws of a coming revolution. Thomas Jefferson went to many brilliant parties and soirees, but they say in his diaries that the only time Thomas Jefferson ever made any reference to what he did on these excursions into Paris was to go out into the homes of the poor and stick into the mattresses to see how soft the mattresses of the peasants were. I wonder if maybe we shouldn't go on some excursions like that, to see whether there aren't really many poor still left in America.

The proposal will, of course, save money. Much of it is a simple diversion of Federal funds away from Social Security benefits to SSI benefits and administrative costs. And recalculating 3.1 million benefits cases will paralyze the Social Security Administration and cost hundreds of millions of dollars.

But the real reason for keeping our pledge to these people can be said in one word—

confidence. There is no reason to eradicate in the blink of an eye the confidence built over the course of 45 years.

Last night I heard a young man speaking to a man from the White House who was standing with me. He said, "I wonder, they are tampering with Social Security so much now, I wonder if there will be anything left when I get there. What will they pay me when I become eligible to receive it."

Today the House will have the first opportunity for a separate vote on the Social Security minimum benefit. This will be legislation today, not an expression of the sentiment of Congress. The 36 million Social Security beneficiaries will be, I'm sure, praying with all their hearts that Congress will take the first step toward restoring confidence in their system.●

#### WHY I VOTED AGAINST H.R. 4331

#### HON. DENNY SMITH

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to explain to my constituents in the Second District of Oregon why I voted against H.R. 4331, a bill to restore the minimum social security benefit.

As you know, the social security system will be bankrupt by the end of next year if we do not take decisive action to restore the solvency of the system. The Democrats are presently accusing those of us who advocate responsible action to protect those workers who have paid the price of admission to social security of a callous disregard for the economic situation of elderly Americans. Just the opposite is true. The vote just taken in the House of Representatives was a purely political maneuver initiated by a party which is hard-pressed to find issues which they and the voters can agree on.

The Democrats suggest that if the minimum benefit is abolished, 3 million Americans will no longer receive social security checks. This is an intentional misrepresentation of the truth, calculated to scare elderly citizens who are not aware of how the minimum benefit works. The average recipient of the minimum benefit only worked enough quarters to qualify for \$62 worth of benefits per month. Even though this worker earned \$62 of benefits, he is currently paid a minimum benefit of \$122 per month. I emphasize the fact that anything above the \$62 is an unearned benefit. If the minimum benefit were abolished, each worker would be paid benefits at the level which he paid in. If he paid in \$62 he would get \$62 back out.

Now I realize that there are many elderly citizens who are completely dependent on the minimum benefit for their survival. The vast majority of beneficiaries who receive the minimum benefit would qualify for supplemental security income, and every

dollar subtracted from their minimum benefit would be replaced by an additional dollar of SSI.

At the time the minimum benefit was initiated, there was no adequate social safety net to protect low-income elderly with small earned benefits. Today, the Federal safety net of supplemental security income, food stamps, and medicaid can provide a combined benefit of \$10,600 per couple for low-income elderly—an amount three times greater than the average minimum benefit. Since this safety net would replace minimum benefits dollar for dollar, the latter has now become a windfall for recipients whose pensions and other income exceeds the safety net floor.

The average individual receiving a minimum benefit would receive \$2,122 in 1982 from social security trust funds. He or she would have contributed, based on typical total lifetime earnings for such beneficiaries, less than \$355 in social security payroll taxes. Not eliminating the unearned windfall would add \$7 billion to the trust fund deficit over the next 5 years, making the social security financing crisis that much more acute and jeopardizing benefits of those who earned them.

Based on General Accounting Office data, it is estimated that 450,000 minimum recipients receive Federal pensions. These retired Federal double-dippers now are estimated to average \$16,000 annually from the civil service retirement system on top of the minimum social security benefit for a total Federal retirement income of \$18,120. They should only get what they have earned.

In addition, 50,000 minimum recipients have retired spouses who are estimated to receive \$18,500 in Federal pension payments. The average family Federal retirement income of these minimum benefit couples is \$21,680 annually.

Another 300,000 minimum recipients have working spouses, according to GAO. These working spouses have earnings estimated to average \$21,000 annually, for an average family income of at least \$23,220 annually, including the social security minimum benefit.

Overall, these social security and GAO data suggest that up to 800,000 minimum beneficiaries have comfortable total incomes which exceed an average of \$20,000. This raises considerable doubt that eliminating the minimum benefit harms 3 million people, most of them poor.

The time to take decisive, responsible action is now. We must separate what is a purely emotional response to the social security system, and what is actual fact.●



# THE NATIONAL ENERGY POLICY PLAN, OIL AND ENERGY SECURITY

**HON. TOM CORCORAN**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. CORCORAN. Mr. Speaker, on July 17, the President transmitted to the Congress the Reagan administration's national energy policy plan. I support the approach suggested by the plan, and, as a member of both energy subcommittees of the Energy and Commerce Committee, I look forward to being closely involved with energy issues during the 97th Congress.

Mr. Speaker, for the benefit of our colleagues, I would like to insert in the RECORD at this point the national energy policy plan's sections on oil and energy security:

## OIL

Oil still represents about 40 percent of all the primary energy consumed each year in this country, so it is the most appropriate starting point for a survey of energy sources in this section.

The prices of petroleum products, such as heating oil and gasoline, had been increasing steadily before January 28, 1981, when the President eliminated Federal price and allocation controls in U.S. oil production and marketing. The full effects of the December round of OPEC price increases coincided with the removal of the subsidy for imports which had resulted from controls. The combination caused a temporary rise in average domestic prices early this year, but petroleum markets adjusted rapidly. Prices stabilized generally, and have dropped for the past several months. There will continue to be short-term ups and downs in prices; but it is Administration policy to let market forces, rather than government fiat, direct the pricing and sale of petroleum products, as well as investment within the exploration, production, and refining segments of the industry.

There is good reason for optimism about the future effects of this policy on the discovery and production of domestic oil reserves. New oil will not be found unless somebody looks for it. More than 650 land crews and marine vessels were engaged in seismic exploration during May 1981—roughly a 30-percent increase over the level a year earlier. U.S. drilling activity is increasing too. Rising prices prior to decontrol led to a 15-year drilling record in 1979, and it increased still further in 1980. But new drill rigs are coming on line now at a substantially faster rate than they did even last year—with more than 575 beginning operation during the four and a half months after decontrol. Oil well completions for January through April were 41 percent above last year's record during the same period.

The new efforts are productive, even though much of our "easy oil" may be gone. In 1979—the last year for which nationwide industry data are available—additions to reserves were 2.2 billion barrels (about twice the average annual additions reported for 1976 through 1978), and the discovery of new fields accounted for 239 million barrels within that figure. No larger volume of new field discoveries has been added at any time

in the past quarter century, except for 1970 (when the giant Prudhoe Bay field in Alaska was added to proved reserves).

Rational development in a free-market economy puts a premium on knowing the available resource base. The Administration's approach toward accelerating exploratory leasing will help raise the degree of certainty in future estimates of our energy resource potential.

By very definition, proved reserves increase to some extent as prices increase, because they are an estimate of the total amount of any resource within recognized fields that can be produced economically over the lifetime of the fields with presently accepted technology. Thus, even wells that had once been considered depleted may again become producers—if economics justify the use of more expensive recovery techniques.

Refiners, too, are responding to decontrol by additional investments. New facilities can upgrade heavy, high-sulfur crude oils into lighter products such as gasoline. Adding only the formally announced new projects to those that have been completed recently, we already see a capability of processing about 600,000 barrels per day of so-called "residual oil" into lighter fuels for which substitutes are less readily available.

Domestic production of oil—along with several other of the energy sources that are discussed in this section—will be greater as a direct result of Administration initiatives to remove unnecessary regulations apart from price. These policy directions are discussed in Section V.

## ENERGY SECURITY

### A. OIL STOCKPILES

The Nation's energy security can be ensured by a mix of private and government efforts.

A Federal role in stockpile development is essential, because—although the private sector has incentives to develop and maintain its own stockpile of both crude oil and petroleum products—commercial enterprises have no economic reason to achieve stockpile levels that are optimal from the national perspective. Under present conditions, many of the economic, national security, and international policy benefits from such stockpiles accrue to the general public rather than to investors.

To ensure optimal stockpiling of oil, the Administration is working toward a Strategic Petroleum Reserve (SPR) of 750 million barrels by 1989. The SPR will be filled as rapidly as possible, consistent with world oil market conditions and with the availability of storage capacity. In only the first 12 weeks of its tenure, the Reagan Administration contracted for more oil for the strategic reserve than had been contracted during all of 1979 and 1980. At current fill rates, the SPR inventory will more than double during the Administration's first year. Furthermore, various methods are being studied to accelerate the schedule and thus give the United States added protection from foreign oil cutoffs at any time during the 1980s.

Large public and private petroleum stockpiles may be a cost-effective form of insurance. They can lessen the adverse impact of any substantial supply interruption and give time to resolve the problems that may have caused the interruption without the type of severe pressures that can limit diplomatic options. The United States is a major force in the world oil market; so by controlling the short-term effects of supply interruptions on domestic prices, public and private

petroleum stockpiles in this country restrain the cost of all imports during a disruption. Furthermore, the very existence of such stockpiles will deter some possible supply interruptions. Reducing the potential economic impact of such interruptions on the United States and restricting the economic benefits to suppliers in the area of a possible disruption leaves us as masters rather than prisoners of any unfortunate situation that might arise.

The stockpiling approach is contrary to past government policies that attempted to manage any oil shortage by intervening in the marketplace. Oil made available from stockpiles actually alleviates a shortage and thus reduces its economic and social losses, without forsaking the principles of free choice for individuals and enterprises.

### B. INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

The U.S. economy and our country's international objectives are intertwined with the economic and geopolitical postures of other free world nations. Thus, security in energy supply is an international challenge. As a member of the International Energy Agency (IEA), this country is committed to cooperation under the IEA emergency oil-sharing system in the event of major oil supply disruptions. Market forces will be the primary means of response to disruptions, but useful adjuncts to those forces may include advance preparations for surge capacity in the production of oil and other energy resources, more flexible methods of using oil stocks during times of emergency, and emergency fuel-switching plans.

### C. EMERGENCY PREPAREDNESS

Analysis of previous disruptions of normal oil supply show that imposing an elaborate system of price and allocation controls only drives the social and economic costs higher. Many experts now agree that proposed gasoline rationing programs are administratively expensive and unworkable. A new approach to emergency preparedness is clearly called for, so the approach envisioned by the Administration encompasses the following features:

Primary reliance on market forces to determine the price and allocation of energy supplies, even during an emergency.

Rapid growth in the Government's Strategic Petroleum Reserve, and simultaneous removal of factors that have discouraged private firms from building up their own emergency oil stockpiles (for example, their assumption that government allocations will "rescue" those who have not planned ahead if a supply shortfall should occur).

Development of criteria and mechanisms for making the strategic reserve available for use in case of emergencies.

Encouragement of manufacturers and utilities to stress dual-fuel capability for installations and equipment, so that they could switch readily to the most widely available fuels during a disruption.

Advance planning to permit domestic energy producers to increase output and delivery above optimum levels temporarily during a disruption without economic penalties.

International coordination of emergency response.

The Administration realizes that free markets will not work perfectly during a severe disruption. In general, however, they will work more smoothly, with greater certainty, and ultimately more fairly than complex systems of price and allocation controls managed by the Government. If disruptions should occur in the future, the success of

the Administration's policies should not be measured against normal conditions, but against the chaotic conditions that have been experienced as a result of the rigid "father knows best" approach which was tried in the past for small disruptions. If a major disruption should occur, limited Government involvement might be warranted to make sure that essential services and functions (such as those connected with national security and public health and safety) continue.

Numerous Federal agencies, the States, and the public must all work together to make emergency policies effective in practice. The Administration intends to work closely with the States to ensure that Federal and State plans mesh, instead of moving at cross-purposes to one another.●

#### REJUVENATION OF TAKOMA PARK, MD.

**HON. STENY H. HOYER**

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, this past weekend I was pleased to take part in a celebration of the rejuvenation of one of the Washington area's most colorful Victorian communities. The city of Takoma Park, Md., perched on the northern tip of the District of Columbia within both Montgomery and Prince Georges Counties, is a fine community, flavored with the history of turn-of-the-century America. The wooded hillsides bisected by streams have attracted many families since the early 1900's, and they continue to provide a haven for people of all ethnic and religious backgrounds, making the Takoma Park community a thriving and vital neighborhood.

In recent years, the city has been the scene of a major residential revitalization as scores of young professionals have moved into the neighborhood, restoring the gracious Victorian homes located on its quite tree shaded streets.

Now the city fathers have begun the restoration of Takoma Park's aging commercial district located near the Takoma Metro station, launching the Laurel/Carroll Avenue commercial revitalization project. This project unites business, lending institutions, local governments, and the city's citizens in working together to develop a viable commercial district that is sensitive to the neighborhood needs and characteristics.

To herald the revitalization effort, the city held a Victorian Summer Festival on Sunday, July 26, with games, music, contests, and exhibits. It was a fine day, Mr. Speaker, and one which harkened back to a simpler time as the residents and businessmen of Takoma Park, Md., spent a Sunday afternoon visiting together.

The revitalization project in Takoma Park should be an important inspiration to all of the small cities and towns

across America which are seeking to refurbish aging business centers now forced to compete with newer commercial districts springing up on the fringes of its communities.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my fellow colleagues to review the Takoma Park experience, and to share with me in the celebration of renewal for our aging towns.●

#### ALAN EMORY'S "CHINA DIARY"

**HON. DAVID O'B. MARTIN**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I inserted into the RECORD the first part of "China Diary," a series of articles by Alan Emory, Washington correspondent of the Watertown (N.Y.) Daily Times and dean of the New York correspondents covering Washington. Today, I am pleased to offer four more articles of that series and, once again, to recommend it to all who recognize the importance of China and our need for more knowledge of that country.

[From the Watertown Daily Times, July 14, 1981]

#### CHINA DIARY—V

WESTERNERS AN ODDITY IN MONGOLIA

(By Alan Emory)

DATONG. To the 850,000 residents of Datong, a dusty, dry city on the Inner Mongolian border, fair-skinned westerners are a monumental curiosity.

The Chinese stare at these oddities without hostility, regarding them as something like monkeys in a zoo.

The appearance of a western tourist on the street causes cyclists to run into each other and children to be late for school as they flock around the visitor.

The youngsters are fascinated by digital watches, and let a visitor allow one to look through the viewfinder of his camera and he winds up with a long line of other children literally fighting for a chance to be next.

A small bus of tourists in downtown Datong last month was immediately surrounded by townspeople about 12 deep on all sides. When those inside the bus waved greetings, a few of the Chinese waved back, grinning.

At the railroad station early in the morning, people can be found sleeping on the ground, wrapped in colorful blankets, straw hats having been hung on posts. Inhabitants live in homes often 100 years old, some little more than cavities dug into the clay or sandstone, some having rounded tile roofs.

Datong is a coal-mining town, with 13 mines in the immediate vicinity, all of them deep. There is no stripmining.

Nearly one-third of the city's population is involved with agriculture, and the windows of the farm houses this time of year sport brightly colored paper showing the families' wishes for a good harvest.

Early in the morning the local residents head for key street corners where they load buckets with water, carrying them on yokes. Cyclists ride by with containers of human wastes, to be used as fertilizer in the fields.

Chickens and goats share with people what would, in a modern city, be a sidewalk, but here is nothing more than packed-down dirt.

On several corners men make fried bread for the Chinese breakfast, rolling out long strips of dough, dredging them with flour, then plunging them into a huge vat of oil over a fire. They are then coiled into rolls or sold as large breadsticks.

Located 150 miles west of Peking and 20 miles south of the Great Wall boundary, on a dry plain, Datong was the 15th-century capital of the Buddhist Northern Wei Dynasty.

Its major point of interest is the 21 caves of Yungang, 10 miles west of the city, reached by dusty roads through hilly country, past one-story mud masonry homes with tile roofs.

The caves, built in the middle of the 5th century, took 100 years to finish. They house more than 100,000 painted sandstone sculptures dug out of a half-mile-long hillside, and the first cave—which visitors are not allowed to photograph—contains a 230-foot-high Buddha with a gold face and blue features. It is a stunning introduction to the place.

There are other huge and intricately carved figures telling a host of stories.

Datong is also home to the largest Nine Dragon Screen in China. There are other Nine Dragon Screens, as well as screens with fewer dragons, in other cities, but this glazed tile work, dating from the Ming Dynasty, is a particularly colorful piece of art, enclosed in a courtyard bounded by a wooden fence.

Other points of interest include the Hua Yen monastery complex, with wood and stone structures dating from the 11th and 12th centuries, and the Shanhua monastery, with its many-tiered pagoda.

Datong has a factory that makes brass pots, with 160 workers and a supervisory staff of 40, working two eight-hour shifts. Most of the workers are from central Datong, though some commute from considerable distances.

Wages vary from \$21.60 to \$48 a month, depending on seniority and individual productivity. Eighty percent of the employees are women.

The factory proudly displays a commendation for quality and output.

Some of Datong's roads are being widened, with workers painstakingly placing the fill of stones by hand. The weather is hot and the work proceeds at a leisurely pace.

The principal hotel, known, as it is in several cities, as the Guest House, is set well back from the road and guarded by an iron gate.

However, a visitor strolling just outside the hotel grounds can be invited into a local resident's modest home, language barriers notwithstanding.

[From the Watertown Daily Times, July 15, 1981]

#### CHINA DIARY—VI

ANCIENT PAVILION SITS ATOP "AGELESS SPRING"

(By Alan Emory)

TAIYUAN.—The train traveling through southwestern China from Datong to Taiyuan takes the visitor through long arid stretches, with giant gullies hundreds of feet deep gouged out of the landscape erosion.



Occasionally individuals are sighted out in the wilderness seemingly far from any shelter.

Gradually the scenery shifts to lush vegetation, well-planned fields of crops.

The answer is water.

The water is channeled into running streams, farms have ponds and aqueducts carry the water for longer distances.

Clusters of goats, as well as cattle and pigs, populate the farms.

Taiyuan, the capital of Shanxi Province, has mushroomed to a community of 2 million people. Dating back to the third century, it was visited by Marco Polo. Now it is known for its coal mining and farm machinery industry.

The plain on which Taiyuan is situated reportedly holds some of the richest coal and iron ore deposits in the world.

The coal miners earn about \$96 a month—considerably more than the pay at the city's lacquer factory, where the floor is \$30 and the ceiling \$65, that for old masters. At a nearby steel mill the average is \$42 a month.

Lacquer workers whose production tops the average receive bonuses, but they run less than \$10 a month.

Between 15 and 20 per cent of a worker's salary goes into a fund to pay for medical care. This contrasts with state-owned plants, where all medical care is free.

The Taiyuan factory is entitled to keep half its profits because the funds to get it started were provided under a cooperative system by older plants.

At the lacquer facility the work day is four hours in the morning and four in the afternoon. Most of the screens and tables there are made for export.

Workers use layers of pigs' blood for glue, and rice paper is a reinforcing ingredient. The outlines of the pictures are traced from master sheets, and the interior parts are painted by hand.

The major point of interest in Taiyuan is the Jin Temple complex, whose buildings are 1,500 years old and span five dynasties of Chinese emperors.

The Complex is a series of pagodas with colorful mosaic tiling and a set of 44 statues of court ladies, displayed in the Hall of the Sacred Mother, dating from the Sung Dynasty. Each statue has a different expression.

The ancient Nanlaochuan Spring, source of a river, has waters that, according to legend, not only refresh but rejuvenate all who wash in them. Tourist try to make a point to drink some of the clear water. The Book of Songs says the spring is always fresh and "never gets old."

Above the spring is 1,400-year-old octagonal pavilion with large inscriptions by famous masters of calligraphy.

Another feature is a 3,000-year-old cypress, whose gnarled branches reach almost across one side of a courtyard.

In another part of the city sheep graze contentedly below the Double Tower Monastery, one of whose towers is under reconstruction.

In the provincial museum, located in a series of temples, there are bronzes, porcelains and examples of embroidery as old as 3,500 years and as "new" as several hundred.

Styles of painting vary, some pictures done with fingernails and palms, others in a more painstaking "classical" style.

One bronze item is what is coming to be known as the "bottoms-up cup," a container in the form of a small dragon with prongs

that touch the cheek and a spout that touches the forehead of the drinker when he has drained its contents.

The city is famed for its Apricot Village wine, a potent liqueur that can be purchased in large or small bottles and is produced the same way it was 1,500 years ago, when it became a favorite with emperors.

Fortunately, Taiyuan has an airport. Fortunately, because our original itinerary put us on a train from Taiyuan to Xian for nearly 15 hours.

Instead, the China International Travel Service, the counterpart to the Soviet Union's Intourist Bureau, arranged for our group to fly to Xian, instead, with the flight lasting only an hour and a half.

The service actually provided two planes, a larger one with about 40 passengers and a DeHavilland Otter to carry the overflow.

The plane flew above some of the most spectacular landscape I have ever seen, punctuated by the wide, muddy Yellow River.

[From the Watertown Daily Times, July 16, 1981]

#### CHINA DIARY—VII

#### TERRA COTTA SOLDIERS GUARD THE GRAVE OF A TANG DYNASTY EMPEROR

(By Alan Emory)

XIAN.—Imagine, if you can, an army of life-size soldiers, made of terra cotta, each different from the other.

The soldiers, with their weapons and horses, were enclosed in a 2,200-year-old tomb that was built in 11 years by 720,000 workers, a 70-minute drive from the fabled city of Xian, capital of Shaanxi Province.

Xian, located in the Wei River valley, was the seat of 11 dynasties under the ancient name of Changan and was chosen as the capital by China's first emperor.

The city was the center of the Tang Dynasty empire, considered the peak of China's literary and artistic achievements.

The soldiers, only 500 of whom have been uncovered and restored, some fragment by fragment, are about six feet tall each, and in battle dress, varied in uniform, face, hair style and expression. There are archers, spear carriers, swordsmen, charioteers, the latter still holding bronze reins.

The army, apparently created by potters using advanced ceramic techniques, and the idea of Emperor Qin Shi Huang, was discovered seven years ago by commune members as they were digging a well.

It, and its burial ground, are enclosed in a kind of airplane hangar surrounded by catwalks for workmen and visitors. No photographers are allowed, though tourist shops sell colored slides.

Xian thrives on antiquity. It is the home of the Banpo Museum, site of a 6,000-year-old village, one-third of which has been uncovered.

The village was discovered as a highway was being built through the region, and experts have reconstructed that the neolithic community was a matriarchal society of farmers.

The village originally covered 12 acres, with about a dozen dwellings, a moat and a cemetery.

Although Xian's population has reached 2.8 million and it is now becoming a tourist center—the largest tourist hotel has air-conditioning and serves ice cream for dinner dessert—it occupies less land than it did under the Tang emperors.

The main downtown site is the Bell Tower, which stands at the intersection of

four avenues and provides a panoramic view of the city.

There are two Wild Goose Pagodas in Xian, the most famous being Big Wild Goose Pagoda, a yellow brick tower with seven tiers. It got its name from a story of three monks who were starving for some kind of meat—deer, duck or wild goose.

As the story goes, a monk went outside, saw a flock of wild geese flying overhead, wished for one and it fell dead in front of him. Frightened, he buried it there and built the pagoda on top of it 1,300 years ago.

The courtyard shrine houses Buddhist statues, and a wall map shows the itinerary of pilgrims who brought the sacred writings introducing Buddhism from India to the pagoda.

The charming, fairyland-like Huaqing Hot Springs is renowned for what is called "The Xian Incident," the 1936 capture of Chiang Kaishek by two army generals who felt he was more concerned with fighting the Communists in China than Japanese invaders.

Chiang, according to the story, left his room in such a hurry his false teeth and most of his clothing remained behind and he ran to a cave in the hills that was too small for his body, so he was found with his rump outside. But he was not executed, because his captors were afraid of making him a martyr.

A visitor can dunk in the springs, and a large rectangular pool is framed by weeping willows and delicately painted pavilions.

Xian is home to a large textile mill with 6,000 workers and staff. Seventy percent of the output is for export, but some of the material to make cotton cloth is actually imported. The machinery is made and installed by Chinese.

The mill, which regularly exceeds state quotas, runs four shifts, and workers get two days off. The plant has its own housing, which workers built; a hospital with free medical treatment, primary and secondary schools, self-service dining halls, a swimming pool, volleyball court and other recreational facilities, all lighted for night activities.

Wages run from about \$19 a month to \$62, with the average \$36. Bonuses run around \$3 to \$9 a month, averaging \$5, for exceeding output quotas. The mill director receives \$72 a month, and apprentices are at the lower end of the scale.

At a school in Xian students applaud as groups of visitors enter the classroom.

Kindergarten children greet visitors with a rhythmic clapping and shouts as they line up along a path. Then, for us, they put on a musical show, in costume and make-up, with dance, mime and song, finishing up with "Jingle Bells"—with Chinese words, of course.

Xian's Provincial Museum is a special place itself. It houses a seismograph in the form of a pot with dragons on the outside. When an earthquake is sensed balls fall out of the dragons' mouths into those of bronze frogs surrounding the pot, predicting both the severity of the quake and the direction from which it is coming.

The museum shows the evolution of money from knives and shells and how Emperor Qin standardized money, writing and weights and measures. But he also murdered 400 scholars because he feared they were more clever than he and might try to take over.

A special attraction in Xian is the opportunity to talk with residents who can speak some English.

This is not trick. The Chinese hang around hotel entrances at night, and when visitors stroll outside then or early in the morning they are immediately surrounded by Chinese eager to try out their few words and phrases of English—and sometimes more than that.

One young man recited the Gettysburg Address to a Skaneateles teacher last month, while we were greeted by a teacher of Russian, who had taught himself by listening to English language broadcasts.

And nothing delighted the Chinese more than when this correspondent's wife joined them for some early-morning stretching exercises at Liberation Square.

[From the Watertown Daily Times, July 17, 1981]

#### CHINA DIARY—VIII

#### CHINA'S CANTON A CITY OF "STEAMING HOT" HEAT

(By Alan Emory)

CANTON.—China's fourth-largest city is steaming hot.

It swelters in tropical temperatures, and farmers swim in streams near the rice paddies with their water buffaloes.

The city streets are teeming at rush hour, and vehicles crawl along, the drivers leaning on their horns.

Skiffs piled high with vegetables and other goods do big business when they tie up at the riverside docks, and floating restaurants sport large red flags, looking something like an oriental Las Vegas on the water.

The broad river waters dividing the city have strong currents and are filled with freighters, junks and sampans.

Live ducklings are sold on the streets.

Canton, whose modern name is Guangzhou, has a population of 5 million, 60 per cent of which is packed into the center city.

A focal point of international trade—there are two major fairs annually, in the spring and fall—the 3,000-year-old city is a magnet for businessmen from all over the world.

Canton was where Sun Yat-sen founded the Chinese Republic, or Kuomintang, and led the rebellion against the emperors.

Known as the City of the Rams, or the City of Ears of Grain, Canton's legend-tellers say that five celestials came down from heaven, each riding a ram that held a golden ear of grain in its mouth.

The angels then gave the townspeople the ears of grain and blessed them with freedom from starvation forever.

Three rivers converge in the Pearl River delta, and Canton is located in the northern part of the delta. The Pearl divides the city into two areas, one the political and cultural center the other the industrial.

About 13 miles southwest of Canton is the Ta-li commune, run by 19 brigades and 270 teams, with a population of more than 70,000, half of them farmers. The other half work in commune factories.

Rice is the major crop, and it takes 100 days for a crop to grow. Fields yield two crops of rice and one of wheat in a growing year, but the farmers here also cultivate fruit orchards and raise vegetables, sugar cane and peanuts, while the livestock includes pigs, chickens, geese and ducks.

A farm family makes about \$60 a month. About \$300 a year is spent for rice, oil and other costs, with the money going to the commune. That leaves \$420 a year as net income, but a family may also raise poultry and vegetables for its own consumption and sell some farm products—and firecrackers, which commune residents manufacture.

The commune has its own schools, with more than 13,000 pupils, ranging in age from seven to 17. It has a hospital, supported by a family contribution of 20 cents a month.

Thirty per cent of the commune's output is sold to the government, and the operation is self-sufficient.

Visitors are routinely taken in small groups to family residences, but those that are visited seem hardly "typical."

They belong to commune leaders, are brightly decorated, with small rooms, pictures on the walls and a television set in the main room, usually covered by a cloth. The bedroom often has a mat bed, four-poster-style.

One home was owned by a family that actually owned three separate buildings in the commune. The woman worked on the farm, her husband in a factory, and together they earned \$1,200 a year.

Canton's points of interest include a host of parks, an orchid garden, the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall, a mausoleum of martyrs of the uprising under Sun Yat-sen in which 5,000 died, and the original site of the peasant movement institute that had been run by Mao Zedong.

In the middle of the Pearl River is Sha Mien Island, which had been a sanctuary for Europeans in pre-war days, but the once-charming villas are now overgrown with weeds.

There is no shortage of hotels, most of them downtown, but the brand-new South Lake Hotel is too plastic and garish, despite its modernity. It is far from shopping areas, the food is poor and the road that leads to the hotel from the highway is too narrow for more than one vehicle to navigate.

The two television channels carry programs in color, but the appeal to a tourist, unless his Chinese is good, is limited.●

H.R. 4083

#### HON. PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. McCLOSKEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise to commend the passage of H.R. 4083, designating certain public lands in California as wilderness, by unanimous consent on July 17. A virtually identical bill passed the House on August 18, 1980, but was killed in the Senate during the lameduck session.

The bill represents both a reasonable compromise as to the amounts and lands set aside for both wilderness and increased timber production—and also represents a fair step forward under the RARE II process.●

#### SUPPORT FOR ENDING LONGSHORE ACT ABUSE IS BUILDING

#### HON. JOHN N. ERLBORN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. ERLBORN. Mr. Speaker, the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act, unques-

tionably the worst workers' compensation law in the Nation, is in dire need of a major overhaul. After 4 years of oversight hearings before two House subcommittees and the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee, comprising thousands of pages of testimony, it is high time Congress act. My bill, H.R. 25, represents a comprehensive revision of this obscure and unnecessarily expensive program. It corrects the current imbalance in the program by returning the act to its proper moorings, both as a workers' compensation statute and as a means of assuring protection for maritime workers not covered by State workers' compensation laws.

I am not alone in this assessment and, in this connection, announce the names of my colleagues, so far Democratic and Republican, who have agreed to cosponsor H.R. 25. They are Mr. ARCHER, Mr. BADHAM, Mr. BEARD, Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama, Mr. EDWARDS of Oklahoma, Mr. FORSYTHE, Mr. FRENZEL, Mr. GOODLING, Mr. HIGHTOWER, Mr. LOEFFLER, Mr. JOHNSTON, Mr. McCLOSKEY, Mr. PARRIS, Mr. SHAW, Mr. STENHOLM, Mr. WHITEHURST, and Mr. WOLF.

I would be remiss if I failed to mention the heightened attention being paid to the Longshore Act by the Senate. The Senate Labor Subcommittee, chaired by Mr. NICKLES, has completed 3 days of hearings on his bill, S. 1182, which is similar to H.R. 25. The Nickles bill is sponsored by Senators NUNN, EAST, HAWKINS, SYMMS, and HELMS. Moreover, the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, chaired by Senator RUDMAN, following an extensive investigation over the past year when chaired by Senator NUNN, held hearings in February on waterfront crime, one major target of which is the extortionist's lode the Longshore Act offers for organized crime and corrupt union officials.

Earlier I said the Longshore Act was the worst workers' compensation law in the Nation. I am not alone. The Supreme Court, as well, has held the act up to contempt. The Chief Justice termed the act "about as unclear as any statute could conceivably be," and Justice Brennan, not to be outdone, referred to it as a "jurisdictional monstrosity."

What is the foundation of the Longshore Act's problems? Its deficiencies extend deeper than the provisions of the statute, themselves. A statute, after all, expresses merely the intentions of a legislative philosophy. So, behind every statute—somewhere—is a legislature's conceptual understanding of the legislation's purpose.

What is the concept of workers' compensation? Since its emergence in our country early in this century, workers' compensation has been conceived as a no-fault means of replacing lost wages



of employees suffering employment-related injuries. That was the purpose of the Longshore Act when enacted in 1927. That, unfortunately, is not the purpose of the act today; and it is here, with the concept of workers' compensation, where lies the Longshore Act's fundamental fault.

With the 1972 amendments, Congress approved a workers' compensation program which reached far beyond its traditional purpose, by incorporating concepts of pensions, life insurance, and punitive damages, and thus perverting the Longshore Act into a new form of social welfare. This excess baggage has strained severely the ability of insurance risk-assessment mechanisms to assure adequate coverage, driven up program costs astronomically, created claims filing incentives and rehabilitation and return-to-work disincentives and, all in all, imposed significantly higher costs of doing business. Not surprisingly, these higher costs have had an adverse effect on jobs and America's competitive edge in the maritime industry generally. I will get back to this point later.

I focus on the conceptual shortcomings of the Longshore Act because that is really what is addressed in H.R. 25 and S. 1182, and because I want to underscore that the insurability crisis in the act stems not from greedy insurance companies ripping off businesses, as organized labor would have us believe, but organized labor's broadened concept of employee social justice. The square peg of workers' compensation cannot fit within the round hole of labor's view of workers' compensation's role. Unless Congress alters the concept of the Longshore Act by ridding the statute of inappropriate provisions, the insurability crisis will worsen. This has been my compass in drafting H.R. 25.

Both H.R. 25 and S. 1182 would return the Longshore Act to its function of replacing lost wages. Benefits for injuries, except permanent total cases, would cease at retirement age because, by definition, retired people cannot lose wages they do not earn. Permanent total benefits would continue for life, because I am concerned that a young worker who becomes truly disabled and has not earned sufficient quarters for social security or whose pension is not vested would unfairly lose financial support at what would be normal retirement age. However, for those premanent total cases not in this extreme category, the bill imposes a benefit offset, so that a retired worker does not reap a windfall through pyramided benefits.

The bills would repeal the unrelated death benefits provision, because life insurance would not be part of workers' compensation. They also cap death benefits at the same level as disability benefits, reestablishing the link

between a survivor's benefits and employment. Gone as well are punitive damages features which have permitted awarding of permanent and temporary partial disabilities without any loss of wages. The bills accomplish this by redefining wage-earning capacity so that benefits are paid only for wages actually lost.

Another punitive damages type of provision is the uncapped annual escalator, in that it overlays an already rich benefits structure and, in itself, probably contributes more to the act's uninsurability than any other feature. H.R. 25 and S. 1182 cap the escalator at 3 percent. Frankly, I believe some escalation is appropriate in today's inflationary economy. Yet, the cap, to be meaningful, and not to perpetuate the insurability problem, must be considerably lower than current inflation. This differential also serves one other beneficial purpose from a legislative perspective: If benefits prove to be inadequate over time, there will be political pressures on Congress to address itself to the perceived shortcomings, and that pressure will permit Congress to reexamine the act on a more regular basis. The cap is, in a sense, a sunset provision.

The other major element of both bills is contracting jurisdiction. The Longshore Act was meant to cover maritime workers who could not constitutionally be covered by a State's workers' compensation law. The 1972 amendments strayed significantly from this purpose. The legislation would go a long way toward reflecting this original purpose.

Against this backdrop, H.R. 25 and S. 1182 should be viewed as merely correcting an imbalance in the program stemming from the 1972 amendments. They most emphatically are not a "gutting of the act" or "vicious" as some labor leaders have so demagogically charged. The shrillness of their voice is meant to cover the weakness of their case. Their reaction reminds me of the mine workers who threatened an illegal strike when the President proposed limiting black lung benefits to those with medical proof of disability due to pneumoconiosis. To believe labor's charges, the President was about to take away benefits from miners disabled by black lung and their widows when this was simply not true.

Moreover, organized labor is incorrect in suggesting that employers now are reneging on their agreement embodied by the 1972 amendments. Specifically, labor alleges that it traded a workers' right to sue a vessel owner for maintaining an unseaworthy vessel in exchange for higher benefits. There was no agreement. The repeal of the seaworthy remedy flowed as a natural consequence of raising benefits, due to the nature of the remedy. Seaworthiness was replaced by a negligence

remedy as a Longshoreman's third-party right of action. This right is continued in my bill.

I find the Longshore unions' sudden reverence for the sanctity of agreements refreshing. It should not object, then as it does, to provisions in H.R. 25 repealing unrelated death benefits, and uncapped escalation of disability and death benefits. Employers and insurers contend these elements were not to be part of the 1972 compromise, that they were deceived by Senate Labor Committee staff at a now-infamous midnight meeting when the staff rewrote the bill.

In any case, one yardstick against which to measure a workers' compensation program is the recommendations of the 1972 National Commission on State Workmen's Compensation Law. Personally, I believe the Commission's work, though now somewhat dated, to be a useful contribution to a debate on workers' compensation, although to focus solely on its recommendations as commandments engraved in stone, handed down by some higher authority, is to be narrowminded. Still, this is how organized labor views the Commission's recommendations, so how do H.R. 25 and S. 1182 stack up? Pretty well.

First, the maximum weekly benefits rate remains 200 percent of the national average weekly wage, in conformity with the recommendations of the National Commission. In fact, the National Commission recommended a gradual increase to 200 percent by 1981—this year. The Longshore Act has had this maximum since the 1972 amendments. No other State, except Alaska, has a maximum so high.

Second, there remain no dollar limits on disability, medical, or death benefits and no limit on duration of medical benefits, in conformity with the National Commission's recommendations.

Third, the minimum disability benefit rate is changed from 66 2/3 percent of gross wages to 80 percent of spendable income, in conformity with the National Commission's preferred recommendation.

Fourth, the bills continue to pay full benefits during periods of rehabilitation.

Fifth, they require estimates of permanent partial impairments to be in accord with the American Medical Association's guides to the evaluation of impairment, assuring that similarly impaired workers are treated equally. The National Commission recognized that State industrial commissioners lacked adequate criteria for evaluating impairments and cited the AMA guides, specifically, as a useful basis for State commissioners. Some States are now adopting the guides. The Longshore program contains no unified impairment criteria.

Sixth, claims processing in the interest of both employer and employee.

Seventh, a conservator for the special fund is established to prevent unjustified claims on the fund's resources, which would endanger the future payment of benefits from the fund.

Eighth, the bills retain the assessment of employee attorney fees against the employer although in more limited circumstances.

Ninth, they adopt a strict definition of permanent total disability so that, to be judged a permanent total case, a worker must be precluded from earning any wages. This definition comports with social security disability and Internal Revenue Service definitions and, again, is consistent with a recommendation of the National Commission, and most importantly—

Tenth, they do not reduce by 1 cent the benefits of anyone now receiving them.

Incidentally, this legislation deletes provisions of the current act not in conformity with the National Commission's recommendations. I referred to them above: uncapped annual indexation of benefits.

What has been the impact of the 1972 amendments? Truly astounding:

In 1972 the premiums established by the New York State Compensation Rating Board for General Stevedoring was \$29.90 per \$100 of payroll. As of 1980 that rate had risen to \$87.24, translating into \$21,000 in premiums for each employee—more than many families earn in a year;

Direct labor payroll of \$303 million paid by west coast stevedores generated premiums in excess of \$100 million, nearly \$10,000 per employee. The annual cost of benefits now nearly equals the cost of all negotiated employee fringe benefits plans;

Skyrocketing retainage of excess insurance purchases, from \$30,000 in 1973 to \$500,000 now;

Container lift rates nearly 30 percent higher than neighboring Canadian ports, virtually all the differential attributable to workers' compensation, which for one company has become its greatest expense after wages, representing about 8 percent of total costs;

This same company has reduced average annual injuries by 27 percent since 1973 but has experienced a 300-percent increase in premiums. The upshot is continued diversion of cargo to Canadian ports;

For a self-insured company, retention rates have also risen substantially, so that now it faces a possible retention of \$1 million. That is, the employer must absorb the first \$1 million in the cost of each claim before a reinsurance company will provide excess coverage. The average cost per claim for this company has risen from \$1,378 in 1971 to \$5,840, an increase of 324 percent, while the cost of living rose

only 78 percent. Corporations of similar size experience workers' compensation costs as a percentage of revenues less than four-tenths of 1 percent—.325 percent—compared to this company's 4.6 percent;

Diversion of cargo to Canadian and Mexican ports. Cargo-handling costs of American-flag subsidized vessel operators is now 24 percent of total vessel-operating expense, approximately 60 percent of which is accounted for in cargo handling at U.S. ports;

An efficient Canadian rail system with track in the United States permits easy diversion of U.S. cargoes. Canadian ports are substantially cheaper with a manual rate in Halifax of \$2.25 per \$100 of payroll and in St. John of \$3.50. Export revenue losses from 1974-76 have been estimated by the Commerce Department to run over \$90 million.

The act also costs the Federal Government untold millions of dollars. The act has been extended to private sector employers in the District of Columbia and, therefore, it covers all of Washington's subway construction. The Federal Government finances 80 percent of the costs. Compensation payments by March 1981 totaled \$131 million, representing \$1.9 million for each mile of subway constructed or under construction—66.3 miles. Were workers' compensation costs not so high, it would be easier to finance extension of Metro, including lines to Dulles Airport, and other areas of Fairfax County, Va., and to other points in Montgomery and Prince George's Counties, Md.

Few probably realize the budgetary impact on the Pentagon. Although I have not yet received a report of these costs, pursuant to me and Congressman JACK EDWARDS' requests, I am convinced they will be substantial. The military costs, assumed directly or indirectly, flow from: First, contracting for stevedore services; second, ship construction; and third, extensions of the act—the Defense Base Act, War Hazards Act, and the Nonappropriated Fund Instrumentalities Act—which apply in a military context.

I wonder how many defense dollars will be wasted in refurbishing the U.S.S. *New Jersey* and in building the 600-ship Navy we need, due to excessive Longshore Act costs.

Mr. Speaker, the Longshore Act affects—no, infects—commerce far beyond stevedoring, if that were not tragic enough. Furthermore, it has been a hidden source of higher Government spending which has fueled inflation. The act is one disease that needs curing right away. The antidote is H.R. 25. This bill was not drawn up in the dead of night; it is no "midnight express." It reflects compromises and painstaking review. I am gratified more of my colleagues are sharing my support of H.R. 25.●

## HOBSON'S CHOICE BECOMES REAGAN'S CHOICE ON TAX

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, if the \$500 income tax standard exemption of 1946 had been tied to the Consumer Price Index these 35 years, it would be worth \$2,123 today, the Library of Congress says.

The \$1,000 individual exemption in the tax bill is tied to the index at a future time.

That one change—an exemption that reflects what has happened to the country—would have produced a tax bill that is fairer to working people than anything that has been sent to or debated by this Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I am among what may be a very few Members of the House of Representatives who were not called by the President on the tax bill.

I wish he had called.

I had a question to ask and some things to say.

I would have asked this:

If our 15-year fandango with inflation was caused by Government's refusal to raise taxes to pay for the Vietnam War, which seems to be a consensus starting point, then how can Government now stop inflation by cutting taxes by 25 percent over a very short time while increasing defense spending by \$1.5 trillion over a short time?

The proposition does not fit experience; it wildly overlaps it and wishfully defies it.

And I wanted to say: It is an exercise in wishful defiance to expect the bulk of the people to save and invest their tax cut when the bulk of the tax cut goes to the minority of the people; the bulk of the people will have to spend what they get to keep up;

It is an exercise in wishful defiance to expect the bulk of the people to save and invest when the provisions of the bill do not address savings incentive in a way that means anything to people making less than \$50,000; for example, rough calculation indicates an individual will need about \$6,500 to invest to get full use of the \$1,000 exemption for large-denomination savings certificates; and the working people of America can only put their savings away at \$50 or, maybe, \$100 a month in a good month.

The bill is overgenerous in regard to individuals who make more than \$50,000 a year and, in some regards, to business and in energy, and it is an invitation for inflation to step back into the double digits.

It will keep a balanced budget far out of reach and—if the beneficiaries do not invest as theoreticians theorize—it could help institutionalize



these high-interest rates that work such hardships now.

Combined with the budget bill passed earlier, the whole package is so loaded by the administration and backers with specially bargained-for benefits—like sugar price supports—and unknown hits for future cashing that we will be a few years identifying the damage.

A saving feature of the committee bill was that it provided a pause before plunging ahead; if things were not working as planned after the first two steps—if it looks like an application of Murphy's Law rather than Reaganomics—we would not have taken the third, which might be the step that goes over the edge.

But the idea of putting a safety on this particular gun was too conservative for those in power.

So, on the one hand, with the measured and responsible approach rejected by the administration, there still was a tax bill offering to do some of the things that need to be done even if unfair and tilted away from the working people.

And on the other was an economy in trouble, a tax system that is terrible and a part of our problem, and a need to resurrect those things that produce jobs and goods.

The need to try to change the system so there will be more workplaces for more workers was heavier than the accumulated shortcomings of the bill.

I want this particular combination of radical spending and tax cuts to work, and I hope the misgivings I have are misgivings and not premonitions. If they are not, we will spend the 98th and 99th Congresses undoing what this bill will do.

But of the choices available—rejection and no change in a problem causing tax system or acceptance of the administration bill—the decision had to be in favor of change in hopes America's working people will benefit from a renewed industrial base. Therefore, I cast the only vote that was available to me for the workers, and voted yes on final passage of the bill.

The invitation to inflation carries an RSVP. We can start listening for responses on the effective date, October 1. ●

#### THE MILLS BROTHERS

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, the career of the Mills Brothers has spanned over 2½ score. Through these 56 years they have brought joy to many people of this great country, and all over the world. They have particu-

larly brought pride and joy to the black community, for their music is a true source of happiness and inspiration. Since their career began they paved the way for many later groups in the popular music industry.

They recently were honored by the Temptations at the Savoy, and I would like to share with my colleagues the story that appeared in the New York Times.

[From the New York Times]

MILLS BROTHERS, 56 YEARS AND 2,246 RECORDS LATER

(By Stephen Holden)

With a performing career that has spanned 56 years, the Mills Brothers, who are appearing with Helen O'Connell and Harry James at the Westbury Music Fair this weekend, are not only one of the longest running show business acts, but they also have probably made more records than anyone else—2,246. Originally a quartet, the group now consists of Herbert Mills, 68 years old, Harry Mills, 67, and Donald Mills, 65.

Although their cool three-part harmonies evoke a genteel placidity that is very different in spirit from the emotion-charged gospel-oriented style of most contemporary black groups, the Mills Brothers are regarded as the founders of modern-day black harmony singing. When the Temptations performed a historical tribute to harmony groups at the Savoy recently, their medley appropriately began with the signature song of the Mills Brothers, "Paper Doll." That's because the Mills Brothers were the first singing group to freely incorporate the inflections of band instruments into barbershop harmonies, paving the way for the more uninhibited doo-wop style of 1950's rock-and-roll.

"When we started out in 1925, we were billed as 'Four Boys and a Guitar,' Harry Mills, the trio's spokesman, recalled the other day. 'We were a novelty quartet whose forte was to imitate instruments with our voices.'"

LESSONS FROM DAD, THE BARBER

The Mills Brothers came from a musical background, both their parents having performed in light opera. When they were growing up in Piqua, Ohio, their father, a barber, taught them to sing. But their style of imitating jazz instruments was something they developed on their own. After having their own successful radio show on Cincinnati's WLW in the late 1920's, the brothers achieved international fame in the early 30's with their recording of "Tiger Rag," a song they had been singing for several years.

"There was a seven-piece band that used to play in our hometown at a club called the Roof Garden," Harry Mills said. "They used to play this little fast tune that didn't have words, and we found out it was called 'Tiger Rag.' That's how we got the idea of trying to sound like a band. We took the song home and started playing with it and finally got some words—'Hold that tiger/Let that tiger go.' After that, we sang it everywhere we went, passing the hat. When we got a little bigger, we recorded it in Indianapolis. But nothing came of it until we went to New York and re-recorded it for Brunswick Records. Then pow, it hit like a ton of bricks."

In the early 1930's, the Mills Brothers were well-known radio stars who sang commercials for Procter & Gamble on one of

the first CBS network shows. After "Tiger Rag," they had a series of hits on Brunswick Records that included "You're Nobody's Sweetheart Now," "Sweet Sue," "Lazy Bones," "Old Rockin' Chair" and "Bye-Bye Blackbird." In 1934, Brunswick was bought by Decca, with whom the Mills Brothers recorded for the next 24 years.

The group faced a crisis in 1936 with the death of the oldest brother, John Jr., who sang bass and played the guitar. "We were so broken up, we wanted to get out of show business, but our mother talked us out of it," Mr. Mills said. "So, very halfheartedly, we started auditioning bass singers. Then one day our dad announced he was taking over. Since he had sung bass in his own barbershop quartet and had listened to how John Jr. had imitated a tuba, he fit in perfectly."

John Mills Sr. preformed with the Mills Brothers until his death in 1968, at the age of 85.

SUCCESS WITH THE "DOLL"

In 1943, Johnny Black's novelty ode to the pinup, "Paper Doll," became the quartet's biggest record, launching a string of top-10 hits that continued into the 1950's. As is often the case with novelties, the song's success was as unexpected as it was instantaneous. Recorded in 15 minutes, it had been picked by Donald Mills as the B-side of "I'll Be Around."

"Paper Doll" was followed by "You Always Hurt the One You Love," in 1944. Other songs to reach the top 10 included "Till Then," "I Wish," "Across the Alley From the Alamo," "I Love You So Much It Hurts," "Someday (You'll Want Me to Want You)," "Daddy's Little Girl" and "Nevertheless."

In 1952, the group began recording with band arrangements, mostly by the arranger-conductor Sy Oliver. "Glow Worm," their biggest hit with a band, rose to No. 2 on the pop charts. After the 1950's, the hits didn't come so regularly, but "Cab Driver," on their third label, Dot, reached the top 25 in 1968. Since leaving Dot a decade ago, they've recorded an album of country tunes for Ranwood, an independent label.

The Mills Brothers' show today consists entirely of their old hits, revamped with light band arrangements but using the original three-part vocal harmonies. Donald, Herbert and Harry sing first and second tenor and baritone respectively, with a bass guitar filling in the fourth voice.

The sound remains as distinctive and familiar today as it was 40 years ago. "It's in the blood," Harry Mills maintained. "The Boswell Sisters and the Andrews Sisters had it too. It's a family thing."

Tonight's performance begins at 8:30 p.m., tomorrow's shows are at 6:30 and 10, and Sunday's are at 3 and 7:30. Tickets are \$9.75 and are on sale at the Westbury box office, at Ticketron locations and through MasterCard and Visa. Call Chartist, 944-9300. For further information, call (516) 333-0533. ●

**IL PROGRESSO—100 YEARS OF QUALITY AND EXCELLENCE IN JOURNALISM TO BE COMMEMORATED IN NEW YORK**

**HON. MARIO BIAGGI**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, on December 13, 1980, a major milestone in U.S. journalism occurred as *Il Progresso*, the leading Italian language newspaper, observed its 100th birthday. On September 9, 1981, a special 100-page issue will commemorate the 100th anniversary of the founding of this newspaper. I am honored to bring this information to the attention of my House colleagues, and wish to pay tribute to *Il Progresso* for this marvelous achievement.

In 1880, *Il Progresso* was founded by Carlo Barsotti to serve the needs of the burgeoning Italian immigrant population in the United States. The first issue was published on December 13 of that year. *Il Progresso* continued to operate under its original owners until 1928, when the paper was sold.

New ownership and life came to *Il Progresso* in the summer of 1928, when it was purchased by Generoso Pope, the famous industrialist and philanthropist. Under Mr. Pope's direction, this journal became the leading Italian language newspaper in the United States. It is published daily and on Sundays. To Italian immigrants, *Il Progresso* became a dear friend, aiding them in assimilating into the United States while allowing them to remain in touch with their homeland.

Throughout its 100 years, *Il Progresso* has had a profound impact on politics, business, government, education, and the professions. When Generoso Pope assumed ownership of *Il Progresso* in 1928, Italians and Americans of Italian origin held no high positions in the aforementioned fields of endeavor. By demonstrating the kind of journalistic persistence that has characterized *Il Progresso*, he let politicians, businessmen, labor people, educators, and professionals know that there were highly qualified, intelligent, hard-working, dedicated men and women of Italian origin available and ready to accept important and responsible positions. Fortunately, the tide began turning; today we can point to great progress, measured by the increased number of Italian Americans in the upper echelons of these fields.

*Il Progresso* has always used the columns of its newspaper to reinforce the bond of friendship between Italy and the United States. It has consistently been in the forefront of all campaigns to help Italy whenever the country was struck by a disaster. One personal

example I can recall occurred following the tragic earthquake which devastated the Friuli region of Italy. Working closely with *Il Progresso*, we were able to pass emergency legislation providing some \$25 million in relief aid to Italy. *Il Progresso* leadership also aided in raising millions from other sources to help the affected area. *Il Progresso* has never let the Italian people down in their hours of need.

Another area in which *Il Progresso* has been in the lead is the battle to end discrimination against Italians. I have worked with *Il Progresso* throughout my life in public service, in a partnership to eliminate those false stereotypes and stigmas about Italian Americans which have been allowed to exist for too long in our society. This is a battle in which progress, though it is being made, never seems to be swift enough. Yet we would not have made what progress we already have, had it not been for the work of *Il Progresso* and the Pope family.

In April of 1950, Generoso Pope passed away and his son Fortune Pope became publisher and editor. I am proud to say that Fortune is one of my closest friends, and that under his leadership, many important technical and editorial changes have been made to improve the quality of the newspaper. Through his talent and hard work, Fortune Pope has earned both national and international acclaim and respect. Like his father, he continued to defend and fight for the rights of Italians and Americans of Italian origin.

The profession of journalism is a highly competitive one in these United States. Through some 1,700 daily newspapers and 8,000 weekly newspapers, the multiplicity of journalistic voices in the United States by far surpasses that of the rest of the world. Consequently, in order for a newspaper to continually publish for 100 years, it must maintain both a standard of excellence and a fluidity to reflect the changing times. *Il Progresso* has done this and much more in its history.

Journalism has always been a profession in which experience is the best teacher. The breadth of experience associated with *Il Progresso* is remarkable. As it observes its 100th anniversary, *Il Progresso* looks back with pride on what it has accomplished, and forward—to another 100 years of service. I know my colleagues in the House join me in congratulating *Il Progresso* on its 100th anniversary.

No tribute to *Il Progresso* would be complete without a special commendation being extended to the entire Pope family. I have already cited the accomplishments of Generoso and Fortune Pope. Catherine Pope, wife of Generoso and mother of Fortune has been a special inspiration to *Il Progresso*. Her support and dedication are constant

and she has made a major contribution to the success which *Il Progresso* has and will continue to enjoy. Special recognition must also go to Anthony Pope and Gene Pope, Jr. The Pope family has been deeply involved in many endeavors outside of *Il Progresso*. For example, they have awarded thousands of scholarships to young American students of all backgrounds. The Pope family combines a strong work ethic with a sense of deep ethnic pride in all they do. They are a family to be emulated for what they have accomplished.●

**THE NATIONAL ENERGY POLICY PLAN, NUCLEAR POWER**

**HON. TOM CORCORAN**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. CORCORAN. Mr. Speaker, on July 17, the President transmitted to the Congress the Reagan administration's national energy policy plan. I support the approach suggested by the plan, and, as a member of both energy subcommittees of the Energy and Commerce Committee, I look forward to being closely involved with energy issues during the 97th Congress.

Mr. Speaker, for the benefit of our colleagues, I would like to insert in the RECORD at this point the national energy policy plan's section on nuclear power:

**NUCLEAR POWER**

For several years, between one-eighth and one-ninth of all U.S. electricity has come from nuclear power. During certain months of the year, nuclear plants now generate more electricity nationwide than those using oil, gas, or hydropower; and nuclear power already accounts for more than half the electricity needs of some States. New plants that are now ready for operation or that are scheduled to be ready by the middle of the decade will raise total generating capacity to approximately twice what it was at the beginning of last year. Looking ahead to the early 1990s, the national share of kilowatt-hours supplied by nuclear power is projected to increase to about 25 percent—based solely on plants now under construction.

Nuclear power has proved to be a safe, economical, and environmentally acceptable energy source. Furthermore, the United States has substantial domestic resources of uranium ore, capable of lasting well into the 21st century as used in the current generation of reactors. Breeder technology multiplies the effectiveness of these resources sixtyfold, so that they could last easily for several centuries.

After the 1973 oil embargo made people more cost conscious about energy, U.S. utilities cut back their projections of future growth in demand for electricity, from 7 percent annually to about half that. Many orders for generating plants of all kinds were cancelled or postponed. The cutback was most severe for nuclear units, however—primarily because excessive and unre-



dictable government regulatory procedures added cost and time to earlier construction plans, and because the importance of such differences was exaggerated at the time by high inflation rates and high interest rates. Those two factors in the economy worked against capital-intensive projects whose schedule might be stretched out, even though the projects might embody the probability of savings after becoming operational.

The Administration is committed to reversing past Federal Government excesses and to providing a more favorable climate for efficient energy production, thus allowing nuclear power to compete fairly in the marketplace with other potential sources of energy supply. The President's Program for Economic Recovery will reduce inflation and improve the availability of capital to the utilities. Decontrol of oil encourages its more cost-effective allocation and the substitution of lower cost, resource-conserving alternatives, including nuclear power. (See Section III.)

The Economic Recovery Program can provide regulatory relief without compromising safety or basic environmental values. The Administration has the existing licensing process. The Administration will also work with State regulatory bodies to identify and implement needed changes in such areas as siting and waste disposal.

The Federal Government has direct responsibility for two areas that are integral to the future role of nuclear power: (1) proper disposal of highly radioactive or very long-lived wastes, and (2) development of breeder technology to a point where timely commercialization is feasible. In regard to the first, there is no question that technically acceptable means of disposal exist; and the promise has been made for many years that disposal technique(s) would be demonstrated once a number of potential repository sites had been explored and the suitability of a preferred site could be verified through the emplacement of waste. The Administration is taking steps to make that pledge a reality. The Administration's program of breeder reactor demonstration, which contemplates the reprocessing of spent fuel by either the private or the public sector to provide a complete cycle, reflects a similar commitment. With private sector cooperation, the breeder program provides the necessary focus to maintain this potentially important supply option for the future. Appropriate safeguards against the possible misuse of nuclear power must accompany each new step. To further articulate its nuclear power view, the Administration plans to issue a nuclear policy statement.

#### ELECTRIC UTILITIES

Electricity is not itself a primary source of energy, but it serves as a more flexible and convenient delivery system for many applications of the energy content of coal, gas, uranium, falling water, and a variety of other sources that could be important to us in the future. Thus, electric utilities are consumers, converters, and distributors of energy. They are regulated at the State level for sales to consumers and at the Federal level for "wholesale" transactions. Historically, regulation was meant to prevent utilities from taking advantage of natural monopoly power to charge excessive prices; but some regulations of recent years are not relevant to that purpose (for example, regulations mandating the use of specific fuels). In connection with the Fuel Use Act, the Secretary of Energy has recently exempli-

fied the Administration's preference for allowing purely business decisions to remain with business to the greatest practical degree.

For financial reasons, however, many utilities have not been able to make decisions consistent with real-world economics or based on long-run energy capacity needs. Regulation has increased at an alarming rate, delaying construction and licensing of needed new plants. Cost escalations, coupled with construction delays and the regulatory lag in public utility commission proceedings on rate adjustment, have greatly weakened the financial health of the utility industry. Consequently, that industry is faced with levels of oil and gas usage that are higher than economically desirable, and reliable service in some sections of the country could be threatened during the 1980s because of insufficient generating capacity.

The Administration is reviewing Federal licensing activities, fuel use stipulations, and environmental restrictions, with an emphasis on streamlining procedures, eliminating costly delays and uncertainties, and rescinding ineffective and unnecessary regulations. State public utility commissions will continue to have principal responsibility for economically rational regulation of the utilities. ●

#### THE CASE FOR THE GOLD STANDARD

#### HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, one great obstacle stands between us and the beginning of the American renaissance toward which we have worked: the problem of restoring a stable and honest dollar. Like the continental dollar and the Civil War greenback, our latest decade-long experiment with an unbacked paper currency has been a disaster. Since 1971 it has led only to rising prices, rising interest rates, and rising unemployment.

Each time in the past, such unfavorable conditions have been ended only by making the dollar convertible into something of value—silver or gold. I am convinced we must do so again.

No one understands the causes and the nature of our Age of Inflation better than Lewis Lehrman. Lehrman is a successful entrepreneur, a respected academic, and a first-rate, innovative monetary theorist. Because of his eminence, Lehrman was appointed as a member of the U.S. Gold Commission.

In yesterday's Wall Street Journal, Lehrman outlined the dangers to our country of relying on a policy of monetarism, and put forward the case for a modernized gold standard. As Lehrman observed:

Irredeemable paper money has almost always been accompanied by unbalanced budgets, high inflation and high interest rates. But the true gold standard has been associated with balanced budgets, reasonable price stability and low interest rates.

Paper money has been the handmaiden of war, protectionism and big government. But the gold standard was the symbol of peace, free trade, and limited government.

Our choice between the two systems is the most crucial of our generation. I commend Lewis Lehrman's excellent article to my colleagues.

#### THE CASE FOR THE GOLD STANDARD

(By Lewis E. Lehrman)

The U.S. dollar today is an inconvertible paper currency. But this is nothing new. In 1690, the Massachusetts Bay Colony promised a limited issue of 7,000 pounds in paper notes. But by 1714, the colony had issued 194,000 pounds worth, and the value of the paper pound had fallen 70%. Naturally, the politicians blamed the currency depreciation on the people, they being "so sottish as to deny credit to the government."

During the revolution, the Continental Congress financed the war with paper money. "Do you think, gentlemen, that I will consent to load my constituents with taxes," said one member of Congress, "when we can send to our printers, and get a wagonload of money, one quire (25 sheets) of which will pay for the whole?"

Congress issued \$2 million worth of continental currency in early 1775. At first, the law required two Congressmen to sign and number each note—a sunlight procedure that much appeals to me. But that implicit restraint limited the number of paper notes, and the issuing technique was soon changed. By 1779 Congress had issued \$200 million in continental currency and its purchasing power had fallen to 1/1000th of gold's.

American patriots suffered most of the depreciation, wrote William Gouge, President Andrew Jackson's financial adviser, since they accepted and held the paper money. "The Tories . . . made it a rule to part with it as soon as possible." More than two centuries later, we still hear the phrase "not worth a continental."

#### PAPER MONEY

During the Civil War, both North and South printed paper money. The Union issued \$450 million worth, and the price level more than doubled. Every American knows what happened to Confederate paper money.

In our own time, President Nixon officially uncoupled the last link between the dollar and gold. The U.S. currency became once again in irredeemable paper money issued at will by the government. Since that act in 1971, the money supply has more than doubled, and so have prices.

Irredeemable paper money has almost always been accompanied by unbalanced budgets, high inflation and high interest rates. But the true gold standard has been associated with balanced budgets, reasonable price stability and low interest rates. Paper money had been the handmaiden of war, protectionism and big government. But the gold standard was the symbol of peace, free trade and limited government.

At one time, American companies could sell 100-year bonds paying 4% interest. Because of the gold standard, Americans saved and lent their savings for generations to growing corporations. People saved because the gold dollar's purchasing power did not decline. The price level was no higher in the 1930s, when we left the domestic gold standard, than it had been under President Washington.

Today, we must decide whether to have a nominal paper dollar or a real dollar, defined by its weight in gold; whether to have a budget balanced at current tax receipts, or continued deficits.

Establishing the gold standard would by itself balance the budget. One trillion dollars in national debt will cost the Treasury about \$100 billion in interest payments next year, at about a 10% average annual interest rate.

Under the gold standard, the national debt could be refinanced at an interest rate of 5% or less, thus saving at least \$50 billion. David Stockman estimates the 1982 deficit at approximately \$45 billion.

The road to the balanced budget is paved with the gold standard.

To choose the gold standard and the balanced budget is to choose stable prices, low interest rates and economic growth. To some, that choice seems too simple—a prime reason many economists, politicians, and intellectuals reject the gold standard. Even a balanced budget is too straightforward for them. They want more complex institutions and problems to manipulate.

But a gold-based currency is the only money worthy of a free people. Most Americans cannot afford sophisticated financial and tax advisers, nor an economist to figure out the Fed's actions. Gold money, on the other hand, can be easily understood by everybody, and working people can control the quantity they desire. People, free to choose, decide for gold, because it is democratic money.

Gold is also the best co-ordinator of a world market order. For centuries gold has been a common international currency. A gold dollar would benefit all nations, because there is only one economy, the global economy. Through the mechanism of arbitrage, the prices in all national economies are linked. This is, of course, a good thing. It leads not only to the maximum amount of individual liberty, but also to the maximum production of goods and services, to the special benefit of the poor. To choose the gold standard is to choose openness over isolation.

Inflation is immoral as well as an economic problem. The gold standard, being a human institution, is imperfect. But it is the least imperfect of all monetary institutions. Paper currencies and unbalanced budgets are dishonest and disorderly. The depreciation of the dollar deranges the movement of relative prices and interest rates around the world, and it causes unemployment through misdirected investment and uncertainty.

Above all, inflation fraudulently transfers hundreds of billions of dollars from the weak and honorable to the slick and well-placed. This wealth transfer—from the thrifty to the speculator, from the small businessman to the giant government contractor, from the saver to the spender, from the aged and poor to the rich and powerful—violates our religious heritage, makes a mockery of honest work and erodes our faith in constitutional government.

Today, interest rates are at the highest levels in American history: higher than during the Civil War, when the very life of the nation was in question. The real value of the average worker's paycheck is 14% less than 10 years ago. Small businessmen are being crushed by government bond sales, the result of federal deficits. At present interest rates, Americans can no longer afford to borrow money for a car or a house. They are not consoled by government officials who preach sacrifice for working people while spending more on the public sector.

## ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE

The Dow Jones average is 52% lower, in real terms, than in 1971. The bond market is 61% lower, and most companies find it almost impossible to raise long-term capital.

As a remedy we are offered austerity and monetarism. But these well-meaning policies will not work here, any more than in Margaret Thatcher's Britain, where in two years they have doubled unemployment to 11.8%. Compassionate and enterprising Americans reject such an outcome here.

What America needs is a policy of financial order, the Reagan tax program and economic growth. That is why the establishment of the U.S. Gold Commission by Congress was so timely. The commission will consider, in the words of the Helms-Paul Amendment, what role gold should play "in the domestic and international monetary systems."

The National Monetary Commission of 1908 led to the creation of the Federal Reserve System in 1913. The Gold Commission could be as significant, as its work inspires a national debate about the choice between paper money and the gold standard. There is nothing like the free market to determine the real value of a product or idea.

As in the marketplace of ideas, so in the world of money: Now every American must discover again what is false, and what is true. ●

# REPRESENTATIVE MARTIN REPORTS ON SURVEY

## HON. DAVID O'B. MARTIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. MARTIN of New York. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to report to our colleagues the results of my first survey of opinions among my constituents on some of the major issues facing our Nation today.

First, however, I want to emphasize how heartened I have been by the interest and concern shown by the 10,134 people, from throughout the seven counties of New York's 30th Congressional District, who responded to my Spring 1981 legislative questionnaire. Many of them addressed the complexities of the issues involved by including written remarks with their responses. These comments, along with every single response I received, will be of tremendous assistance of my work in Congress.

I would also like to emphasize the remarkable level of support among my constituents for President Reagan and his program for economic recovery. This sentiment, I believe, places the 30th Congressional District squarely in the mainstream of American opinion, and I am extremely proud that Congress, as a whole, has recognized that mainstream sentiment and responded in a most appropriate manner.

I know, Mr. Speaker, that the responses of my constituents will be helpful to all of us in the weeks and

months ahead as we continue our work in this historic 97th Congress.

Those responses have been listed below by rounded off percentages:

## RESULTS OF SPRING 1981 LEGISLATIVE QUESTIONNAIRE (IN PERCENT)

1. The Reagan Administration has proposed that we sell sophisticated airborne surveillance equipment to Saudi Arabia in order to protect American interests and maintain stability in the Middle East. Opponents of the plan say the kind of surveillance this equipment provides would pose a serious threat to the security of Israel. Should Congress approve the sale? Yes, 60, no, 40.

2. Non-military aid to foreign countries made up approximately 1.12 percent of the U.S. federal budget in 1980. Those who favor foreign aid cite a variety of reasons, ranging from humanitarianism to the maintenance of American influence throughout the world. Others claim that foreign aid money often is misused and, moreover, that we should solve our problems at home before helping others. Do you think we spend too much money on foreign aid? Yes, 58, no, 42.

3. There has been much discussion of tuition tax credits for parents of private and parochial school children. Proponents claim this is necessary to preserve the quality of education offered by our financially strapped private schools and to provide some relief to parents who must pay spiraling tuitions in addition to school taxes. Opponents claim these tax credits would have a damaging effect on our public school systems. Would you favor some degree of tuition tax credit for students (a) elementary and secondary schools? Yes, 47, no, 53. (b) post-secondary education? Yes, 49, no, 51.

4. Another subject of discussion is "Youth Differential" legislation which would permit businesses to hire young people at a lower minimum wage. Supporters claim this would help combat youth unemployment by providing jobs and valuable work experience. Those opposed to this kind of legislation claim it would endanger the higher paying jobs of adult workers. Do you support the concept of a lower minimum wage for teenagers? Yes, 69, no, 31.

5. Some members of Congress are proposing that able-bodied public assistance recipients should be required to work at public service jobs in order to receive payments. They argue that this "workfare" would cut down on fraud and abuse while encouraging welfare recipients to find gainful employment. Others claim that welfare is a benefit to which the less fortunate members of society are entitled; the cost of administering a "workfare" system, these opponents further claim, would offset any savings. Do you support the concept of "workfare"? Yes, 93, no, 7.

6. Among the many proposals for insuring the future financial viability of the Social Security system are some which would gradually raise the age for retirement with full benefits to 68. Proponents of these proposals point out that a retirement age of 65 was established when life expectancy was lower than it is today. They emphasize that any change in the system would not affect those nearing retirement age. Their opponents argue that we should adhere to the traditional retirement age and shore up Social Security in other ways, such as reducing benefits or raising Social Security taxes.



Do you favor an eventual increase in the age of retirement with full Social Security benefits? Yes, 42, no, 58.

In general, do you support President Reagan's plan for economic recovery? Yes, 81, no, 19.

8. How would you evaluate President Reagan's overall performance in office this far? Excellent, 25; good, 47; fair, 16; questionable, 8; and poor, 4.●

## AFGHANS BATTLE ON

### HON. DON RITTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. RITTER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues some recent statements of Afghanistan made by former Washington Post reporter and now ABC Television producer Carl Bernstein. In a recent article written for the New Republic and a film segment on the June 18, 1981, edition of the ABC news program 20/20, Mr. Bernstein claims that the Afghan Freedom Fighters are receiving all sorts of aid from the United States and other governments which includes, among other things, antihelicopter rockets.

Having traveled to the Afghanistan-Pakistan border to talk with Mujahedin—(freedom fighters)—and having talked with those who have come to the United States to seek assistance or medical attention, I have neither seen nor heard anything that would confirm the Afghan fighters are receiving the types and amounts of weapons and general aid that Mr. Bernstein's reports claim. While I was in Peshawar, Pakistan, which is purported to be one of the main staging areas for supplies going into Afghanistan, I did not see any evidence that would confirm Bernstein's reports.

Last week I met with Malik Muhammad Hussain Wardok, a leader of an Afghan freedom fighter group operating out of the Wardok Province of Afghanistan. Mr. Wardok had spent the previous 3 weeks walking out of Afghanistan so that he could testify in the congressional Helsinki hearings of July 22. During and after the hearings, I met with Mr. Wardok to discuss his situation. Although he claims that many of his men have automatic weapons, these weapons have not come from outside sources but from killing Soviet soldiers and capturing weapons from ambushed troop convoys. Mr. Wardok told me that he had never even seen a heat-seeking missile. This man is on the frontlines all the time and cooperates with six or seven active groups in his region.

What I have learned, however, from the many people who are knowledgeable with the current situation there and from those who are doing the day-to-day fighting, is that the Afghan freedom fighters need assistance.

They need SAM-7 or equivalent backpack missiles to stop the helicopter gunships that destroy their people and villages, they need ammunition, and they need medicine and foodstuffs.

While the Afghans are doing better today than they were a year ago, the situation in Afghanistan is not a turkey shoot for the Afghan fighters, as Mr. Bernstein's coverage leads one to believe. I am enclosing, for the benefit of my colleagues, an article by noted Afghan expert Roseanne Klass, which appeared on the July 30, 1981 op-ed page of the New York Times:

#### AFGHANS BATTLE ON

(By Roseanne Klass)

The Afghan people are more than holding their own in their struggle to regain freedom and national independence. They should not be abandoned by the West, which might be tempted to accept Kremlin terms for a cosmetic withdrawal of Soviet troops in the hope of restoring the atmosphere of détente that was destroyed by the invasion.

Ever since the Soviet Army rolled into Afghanistan on Christmas Day 1979, the world has assumed that the country was conquered. Reports of a growing nationwide resistance, holding its own and even gaining, have been dismissed as bravura boasting by scattered bands of diehard religious fanatics.

But today it is apparent that Afghan resistance, largely under local leadership, is indeed blocking Soviet conquest. After 19 months, 90 percent of Afghanistan, a country somewhat larger than France, is in the hands of the Afghan people. They have paid a terrible price—an estimated one million civilian casualties, and more than two million refugees—but they are united as never before in a single-minded struggle to reject the Communist takeover that began in 1978 and to regain their freedom.

The Russians and the puppet regime that they installed control only Kabul, parts of other cities, major military bases and garrisons, the north-south supply route from Kabul to the Soviet border, and pieces of the north, including the natural-gas fields that fuel the Soviet Central Asian economy.

Even these areas are not secure. Between April 13 and July 15, at least 107 high-level Afghan Communist officials and Soviet officers were assassinated in Kabul, on two occasions at the very gate of the Soviet Embassy at midday. In Herat, a no-man's-land for two years, Soviet soldiers are killed in their barracks. Unable to wrest Kandahar from the resistance, the Russians bombed much of it into rubble in June; two weeks later, the resistance again controlled Kandahar. On June 19, the main Soviet airbase at Bagram was set ablaze, and fuel, ammunition dumps, and aircraft were destroyed. In July, the resistance won Gulbahar on the north-south supply road. The landscape is littered with ruined Soviet tanks and armor.

Contrary to news media reports, the Afghans have received little outside aid. They have fought with the courage and cunning accumulated during centuries of guerrilla resistance to all invaders—and with weapons provided by Afghan forces, who desert en masse, and Soviet troops, who sell arms for hashish, American whiskey, and blue jeans. The Afghan Army has disintegrated so badly, and the loyalty of remaining troops is so suspect, that the Russians no longer allow the Afghan soldiers to have antitank

and antiaircraft weapons. The regime is reduced to impressing 14-year-olds into military service and ordering civil servants into uniform. Army posts are ringed with mines to keep soldiers in as well as guerrillas out.

Estimates of the Soviet dead run to more than 20,000. The dead are now being buried in Afghanistan because the shipping of coffins to the Soviet Union had become too conspicuous.

Having failed to gain control of Afghanistan, first by proxy in 1978 and 1979 under the regimes of Nur Mohammad Taraki and Hafizullah Amin (aided by 10,000 or more Soviet "advisers" commanding down to the brigade level in the field), and then by using the Soviet Army, Moscow is now seeking to achieve it by diplomatic means.

For months, Soviet officials have been spreading the word that the Kremlin would like to negotiate a settlement. The European Economic Community, eager to restore trade relations damaged by the invasion of Afghanistan, sent Lord Carrington, Britain's Foreign Secretary, to Moscow recently with a proposal for negotiations that was promptly rejected. Undaunted, the E.E.C. hopes to work out terms that would bring the Russians to the negotiating table by late fall.

The Soviet Union has stated its requirements clearly: Its puppets in Kabul would have to participate in negotiations—that is, the Soviet-installed regime would have to be accepted as the legitimate Government of Afghanistan. If the E.E.C. yielded on this point, that would of course legitimize all past Soviet actions and leave the Kabul regime free to keep, or call back, the Soviet Army at any time under a 1978 treaty, regardless of the outcome of negotiations.

That is precisely the sort of sellout feared by the Afghans. The Afghan people won't accept any government imposed by outside powers, or any Communist regime, and would keep fighting. Such a deal would cut off any possibility of international assistance, leaving the Afghans isolated for as many decades as Moscow would need to destroy them. It would force Pakistan to choose between driving two million refugees home to die or accepting them permanently. It would assuredly make a mockery of any claim by the Western democracies to stand for freedom, self-determination, and human rights, and would discourage any future resistance to aggression anywhere in the world.

NOTE: Roseanne Klass is director of the Afghanistan information center at Freedom House, which monitors political rights and civil liberties around the world.●

## RESPONSIBLE ARMS CONTROL TALKS WITH THE SOVIET UNION

### HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, since taking office in January, the Reagan administration has repeatedly stated its commitment to the pursuit of responsible arms control talks with the Soviet Union. However, no real progress has yet been made.

The date for resuming negotiations with the Soviets has been shifted many times. Timetables for beginning new talks have been discussed only in the vaguest terms.

In January, Secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger said that at least 6 months of preparation would be required before Arms talks with the Soviets could be renewed. In late May, President Reagan was quoted as having planned to adhere to an arms talks timetable outlined at a NATO ministers meeting which called for resuming negotiations in December. Now, Secretary of State Alexander Haig has announced that arms control talks will not resume anytime soon.

Mr. Speaker, one must begin to wonder how high a priority the President and his cabinet have assigned to continued progress toward the control of strategic arms.

Two misapprehensions may be inhibiting that progress. First, it is said by some that nuclear arms control is not centrally important to our security. Second, there are those who believe that all strategic arms limitation agreements are necessarily concessions to the Soviet Union rather than mutually beneficial to both sides.

In the nuclear age, national security cannot be measured exclusively in terms of a nation's ability to fight a war and win. Our security depends even more on our ability to prevent the ultimate disaster of nuclear holocaust. In the end, that ability depends on continued progress toward effective arms control.

A responsible arms limitation treaty would enhance our military security as well as our economic strength;

It would free up resources for our domestic needs as well as for conventional arms to deter Soviet adventurism;

It would head off the frightening prospect of an unchecked nuclear arms race; and

It would keep open the lines of communication between the two superpowers at a time when such a dialog is essential.

Let there be no mistake regarding the character of the people with whom we must deal. The Soviet Union continues to be a global predator, snapping up any opportunity to exploit perceived weaknesses in the posture of the West, intimidating the Poles and other East European nations, and perpetrating international muggings such as the continuing brutalization of the people of Afghanistan.

Moreover, Soviet imperialism has always been accompanied by an unprincipled eagerness to employ duplicity and deceit in the pursuit of its ambitions.

None of this diminishes the reality of an ongoing need for strategic restraint. It does underscore the require-

ment that any negotiated arms control agreement with the Soviets must be verifiable through modern means of surveillance and independent inspection.

Mr. Speaker, President Reagan must decide whether arms control agreements will play an important role in his policy of bolstering our Nation's security. The administration has already demonstrated the qualities of firmness, consistency, and hard bargaining which are necessary for the achievement of a responsible arms agreement. It is to be hoped that those qualities will soon be brought to bear in a new round of strategic arms control negotiations.●

#### RUDOLF HESS—POLITICAL PRISONER NO. 1—PART I

HON. LARRY McDONALD

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. McDONALD. Mr. Speaker, there has been throughout the Free World a growing concern for and appreciation of human rights and justice. There is a mounting awareness of the dangers of excessive political power. There is one case, however, that cries out for justice in a voice stronger than all the rest. That is the case of prisoner No. 7 in Spandau Prison, Rudolf Hess.

A review of the Hess case must be read without prejudice, for only the dispassionate mind can follow this tale of world barbarism in a climate saturated with propaganda. Honorable men in America, England, and Europe have expressed the view that Rudolf Hess should be released from prison so that he may live out his life with his family. This release, they feel, is not only humane but just.

It should be pointed out in passing that periodically in Germany today much is made in the news media over activities of neo-Nazi groups. In Germany, such groups are as small as they are comical, with their occasional paramilitary exercises. Such groups have their counterparts in the United States; they are equally comical and have a miniscule impact upon American society and Government. Yet such silly little neo-Nazi groups play a major role with certain elements of the news media.

In the skilled hands of certain media types, these extremist groups are used to smear the legitimate concerns of honorable men and women. That is, the fact that these tiny groups favor the release of Hess is used to imply that anyone who wishes to see justice done in the Hess case is a secret neo-Nazi. That is untrue.

Those whose minds are clouded by propaganda and whose knowledge of

history is dependent upon old World War II movies on the television late shows need not read further. None is so blind as he who will not see. This is true in the amazing story of Rudolf Hess, a story of monumental injustice.

Can it be that this injustice is being continued to protect certain high-level wartime leaders? Is Hess a prisoner of the treason of diplomats—a treason against civilization?

Unless death intervenes, October 1, 1981, will mark completion of Rudolf Hess' 15th year as the sole inmate of Spandau Prison in Berlin. These 15 years of solitude lie heavily upon the previous 25 years of imprisonment. On May 10 of this year, Hess had endured 40 continuous years of captivity. He is now 87 years old.

The U.S. Government participates in this protracted torment of a very old man. Our Government's explanation is that we can not help ourselves, because the Soviet Government wishes to continue the torment as long as possible.

Surely this is an excuse unworthy of a great nation.

Few Americans have even an inaccurate notion of who Rudolf Hess is, and virtually none have any accurate notion of why he has been imprisoned all this time, much less why the U.S. Army must still detail American troops to prevent his release.

Rudolf Hess was born in Alexandria, Egypt, on April 26, 1894. His father was a prosperous German merchant, his upbringing comfortably middle class, his education directed toward having him follow a career in commerce. Before his basic dislike of this prospect could cause family problems, World War I intervened; Hess volunteered. After being repeatedly wounded in ground combat, he was commissioned and assigned to the flying corps.

After the war, as a veteran in a Germany crushed by military defeat compounded by the notorious Versailles Treaty and by determined Bolshevik efforts to exploit the condition of the nation, Hess returned to his studies. Abandoning commerce, he studied history, economics, and political science at Munich University. The professor who was to influence him most profoundly was Karl Haushofer, a world renowned geographer and exponent of broad geopolitical theories.

At the same time, many veterans, Hess was appalled at what was happening to his country, and sought out groups which offered some way out of the imposed poverty, humiliation, and disorder which afflicted Germany.

In 1923, Hess encountered Adolph Hitler at one such meeting, and fell under his charismatic spell, believing that Hitler was the type of man necessary to restore Germany to its previously respected status, Hess became a



devoted follower, and participated in the so-called Beer-Hall Putsch in Munich on November 8, 1923.

The failure of the attempt led Hess to seek refuge with professor Haushofer, where he was safe for a while. Eventually, however, both Hess and Hitler were sent to Landsberg Prison, Hitler with a 5-year sentence, and Hess with a sentence of 18 months.

It was here, of course, that Hitler wrote *Mein Kampf*. Since he did not type, Hess helped him in this and other ways, and it was through Hess that Professor Haushofer's geopolitical theories entered the book, with far-reaching consequences indeed for Haushofer.

Both Hitler and Hess were released early from Landsberg, in 1924. Hess thus became first unofficial, then official private secretary to Hitler, a title which became "personal adjutant" in 1929, and in 1933 he became officially a deputy to Hitler and Reichsminister without portfolio. He held these positions until the events of 1941.

Hess was close to Hitler as his trusted deputy, of long-standing proven loyalty. He did his best to do what Hitler wanted him to do. He never tried to escape any responsibility through the plea of "only following orders", and his flight to England in 1941 was a startling exhibition of his personal initiative. It was simply in the nature of Hess' relationship to Hitler that he carried out policy to a far larger degree than he helped to formulate it.

His actions during the 1930's were later combed over thoroughly by investigators for the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg. Yet details of the charges of which he was found guilty appear, in retrospect, remarkably vague and even trivial. For example, Hess was ponderously convicted of having signed Germany's draft law in 1935.

Rudolf Hess maintained his friendship with Professor Haushofer and his family; he protected them from the Gestapo, because Haushofer's wife was Jewish, and his son Albrecht was rather outspokenly anti-Nazi, even though he was employed in the German Foreign Office under Joachim Von Ribbentrop. It was either partially or entirely through the Haushofer connection that Hess was drawn to make the flight which was the most dramatic and fateful move of his career, the event which often constitutes the sole reason why his name is remembered.

The geographic and political position of Germany, its placement between both strong powers which are active or potential enemies, and weak powers which can be used as pawns, imparts a great complexity to its foreign affairs. The political basis of the wars of Europe since Germany became a strong, unified nation in the late

19th century will be addressed at another time.

The bare facts of Rudolf Hess' flight to Britain on May 10, 1941, are that he took a Messerschmitt 110 fighter, which he had been privileged to fly, and sought out the airstrip on the estate of the Duke of Hamilton near the west coast of Scotland. Hess could not find the strip, but knew that he was close, so he parachuted to ground; he landed, with minor injuries, about 10 miles from his objective, and was taken into custody.

The entire episode was thereafter at the mercy of wartime security, censorship, and propaganda efforts, so that almost any aspect of it is, to the present day, debatable in some way by someone. There is general agreement that Hess sought to prevent further armed conflict between Britain and Germany. We must stop short here, because acrimony swirls about his presumed reasons for doing so.

Another question which probably should be regarded as settled by now, but which still arises from time to time, is whether Hess made his flight on his own initiative, or whether Hitler sent him. Not only does Hess insist that he went on his own, but Hitler certainly would not have dispatched a close aide with a head full of state secrets to his enemies, without a shred of diplomatic or any other protection. The clinching argument might be that the Nazi propaganda organization needed 3 full days in order to come up with the least damaging "party line" on the subject, which was that he had been acting strange lately.

The matter of sanity, or lack thereof, has been addressed primarily by the British. The fact is that Hess is remarkably sane, especially under the circumstances. He has been the object of the attention of nearly 200 psychiatrists during his 40 years of captivity. Some of these gentlemen were not gentlemen, either. Hess developed the feigning of amnesia to a fine art and devised other defenses against the mindbenders, and they do not like being fooled.

It is wise to keep in mind that the British, far from choosing to reveal what Hess had to say when he landed, have kept that information secret since 1941, and the interrogation transcripts remain officially sealed until the year 2017.

Why? Which individual or individuals are being protected? We should remember that even the documents confirming the *Lusitania* conspiracy of 1914 were only sealed for 50 years, so that we are only now seeing the evidence of how Winston Churchill and Franklin D. Roosevelt were linked to the sinking of the *Lusitania* to cause well over 1,000 civilian casualties, largely American, in order to incite a surge of anti-German sentiment in America. Churchill, of course, hoped

to bring America into the European war on the British side.

After his arrival in Britain, Hess never saw the Duke of Hamilton, but became the guest of British intelligence until October 1945. He was then transferred to Germany to participate involuntarily in the famous Nuremberg trials, the proceedings of the four-power International Military Tribunal.

World War II was a monument to both duplicity and brutality. Yet anyone anxious to parcel out blame should hold short, while completing a close reading of the preceding 100 years of European history, as well as the history of the world at large since 1945.

Everybody committed atrocities. Everybody engaged in treachery. Britain invented the concentration camp during the Boer War. Stalin practiced genocide more enthusiastically than Hitler—not to speak of our newfound friend in Southeast Asia, Pol Pot. The list is endless, the cynicism boundless, numbing to all sense of justice and morality.

At Nuremberg, the victors invented an ex post facto set of laws which have had but one application ever, to the losers of World War II. All of the "crimes against the peace," "war crimes," and "crimes against humanity," the three classes of crime devised for Nuremberg, have been committed enthusiastically all over the world since 1945-46, but there do not seem to have been any further indictments.

Hess was charged with all three classes of crime, and convicted only of "crimes against the peace." The specific actions included his signing of the German draft law in 1935, and his giving of a speech in support of the Hitler-Stalin Pact of August 23, 1939. The fact that every participating nation had a draft law, or that the judge representing the Soviet Government thus represented a cosigner, did not seem to have any bearing upon the proceedings. Of course, there is no question but that Hess had carried out Nazi Party policy up to the moment of his May 10 flight.

Hess and his codefendants assumed, rather reasonably, that the tribunal would do with them as it wished, and aside from being forced to attend, they had no desire or even reason to take part in the charade.

Hess was charged with the full array of Nuremberg crimes. Yet it is vital to note that, even in the charged atmosphere prevailing Hess was found innocent of "war crimes" and "crimes against humanity."

Nevertheless, Hess expected the death penalty. Life imprisonment, in Western practice, offers some glimmering hope of freedom; in Stalinist practice it did not, and to the heirs of Stalin, evidently it does not.

Senator Robert A. Taft, a strong voice of American conservatism, in 1946, commented upon the Nuremberg trials and executions as follows:

The trial of the vanquished by the victors cannot be impartial no matter how it has hedged about with the forms of justice. I question whether the hanging of those who, however despicable, were the leaders of the German people, will ever discourage the making of aggressive war, for no one makes aggressive war unless he expects to win. About this whole judgment there is the spirit of vengeance, and vengeance is seldom justice. The hanging of the eleven men convicted will be a blot on the American record which we shall long regret.

In these trials, we have accepted the Russian idea of the purpose of the trials—government policy and not justice—with little relation to the Anglo-Saxon heritage. By clothing policy in the forms of legal procedure, we may discredit the whole idea of justice.

Pope Pius XII, who knew a very great deal about the intrigues of Europe's two disastrous wars in this century, stated that:

... the uninvolved party is shocked at seeing how the victor sentences the vanquished for war crimes after the cessation of hostilities, while the victor has been guilty of similar offenses against the vanquished.

Between 1946 and 1966, almost nothing was heard of the inmates of Spandau. The book "Prisoner No. 7: Rudolf Hess," Eugene K. Bird, who was for several years the U.S. director of Spandau, reveals the round of daily life quite well. Prisoners and keepers, in such small numbers, were inevitably on rather familiar terms. In fact, they grew old together, giving the impression to the reader of a home for indigent men with higher authorities constantly struggling to negate everyone's better nature, through the enforcement of a prison regime.

Colonel Bird tried to make life as bearable as possible for the solitary old man who had been selected as a kind of human sacrifice. He says that he was also detailed to wrangle certain items of information from him, which he did, and after he had done so, his own higher authorities belatedly discovered his bending of the Soviet-style rules and sacked him.●

#### INTRODUCTION OF NONTAXATION OF HOLOCAUST REPARATION PAYMENTS

**HON. ROBERT GARCIA**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. GARCIA. Mr. Speaker, I am extremely glad to be here today to be able to help right, at least partially, one of the great wrongs of recent history. A mere four decades ago the German National Socialist regime was in power across Europe. People were

fighting to retain their lives, their homes, their way of life, and their ideas. One group of people was fighting more than that. These people, the Jews, were fighting extinction.

The world has long since realized the horror of those years, and the evil genius that lay behind the Nazi's. After the war was over, and the damage done and cleaned up, the various governments involved had to account for their actions. For the victims of the holocaust that accounting has come to mean reparation payments, payments so that the people who suffered the total destruction of their lives, the death of family and friends, and the horrors of the concentration camps could be paid back in some way for the atrocities they suffered through.

We, as Americans, long ago realized that the taxation of these moneys would be cruel, and useless. The Government rightly decided not to further burden those who have already been through so much. Unfortunately, we did not follow up that decision. Recently, one of my constituents, a Mrs. Sonia Gorin wrote me. Mrs. Gorin was born in Kovel, Poland. After she finished her education, she took a degree in nursing. At that point the Germans overran Kovel and carted Mrs. Gorin off to a concentration camp. She was eventually interned in five different concentration camps. This good woman has decided to use the funds the German Government gave her for her dreadful experiences to help others. Sonia's dream is to help provide a good education for children in Israel whose parents are not able to do so.

Right now the U.S. Government is taking that dream away from Mrs. Gorin by taxing her special savings account which contains the payments from the German Government. I see no reason why we should continue to harm these people who have suffered so much, who have had so many burdens placed on them. The amount of money gained from taxation of these reparation payments is small. The bill I am introducing today is designed to stop the taxation of savings accounts which contain reparation payments. With the introduction and passage of this bill the American Government will no longer be oppressing people like Mrs. Gorin and their dreams but will be helping to right the great wrongs of the last few decades. Passage of this bill hurts no one and only helps restore those people who have been so sorely harmed.●

#### THE TAX CUT

**HON. THOMAS A. DASCHLE**

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. Speaker, a principal difference between the Ways and Means Committee tax bill and the Conable-Hance tax bill was the size of the tax cut for middle-income taxpayers. Compared to the Ways and Means Committee tax bill, the Conable-Hance substitute which was approved by the House provides substantially less tax relief for individual taxpayers earning between \$10,000 and \$50,000 per year, the overwhelming majority of taxpayers, and much larger tax cuts for the wealthiest taxpayers.

According to an analysis prepared by the Joint Tax Committee, under the House-approved Conable-Hance tax bill, 35.1 percent of the individual tax cuts will be received by only 5.6 percent of the taxpayers. This seriously disproportioned distribution of individual tax cuts for individuals is grossly inequitable and no amount of cosmetic rhetoric to the contrary will disguise the simple fact that the Conable-Hance tax bill greatly favors the wealthiest.

Unfortunately the vote on the tax bill in the House was not limited to the tax cut plan contained in the Ways and Means Committee bill which I favored versus the tax cut plan for individuals contained in the Conable-Hance substitute which I opposed and with reluctance I supported the Conable-Hance substitute tax bill.

Mr. Speaker, the gross inequities in individual tax cuts contained in the Conable-Hance substitute have been explained clearly in a recent article written by Washington Post staff writer Thomas B. Edsall and I ask unanimous consent that this article appear in the RECORD at this point.

#### UNDER TAX BILL, 5.6 PERCENT WOULD GET 35.1 PERCENT OF CUTS

(By Thomas B. Edsall)

Under the tax bill passed Wednesday by both houses of Congress, 35.1 percent of the individual tax cuts in 1982 would go to 5.6 percent of the population—those making \$50,000 or more a year.

The share going to the top 0.2 percent of taxpayers—those making \$200,000 or more—would be 10.4 percent, according to figures compiled by the Joint Committee on Taxation. This translates into \$3.58 billion of the \$34.6 billion 1982 cut going to the top 162,000 taxpayers out of a total of 77.2 million.

For the average taxpayer in the range of \$20,000 to \$30,000, this would mean a break of \$398 in 1982; the average reduction for those in the \$30,000-to-\$50,000 range would be \$751. For the taxpayers receiving above \$200,000, this would mean an average cut of \$22,129.

At the bottom end of the scale, there are 31.7 million filers who make \$15,000 a year



or less; this group, 41 percent of the total, would get 8.5 percent of the 1982 cut, according to the committee. The average reduction for those making \$10,000 to \$15,000 would be \$147 in 1982.

The administration and Republican sponsors of the legislation have supported this apportionment on two grounds: that it distributes tax cuts in proportion to the amount of taxes paid by income groups, and that by granting large cuts to the wealthy, savings and investment in economically productive activities will grow rapidly.

In this respect, the legislation represents a rejection of policies implicit in many past tax bills of using the legislation to increase the progressivity of the distribution of income.

Instead, the GOP argument is that, by taking a gamble on supply-side economics, the general improvement resulting from a tax bill granting significant benefits to the well-to-do will, in the long run, result in an improvement in the quality of life for everyone. Liberal Democrats contend this policy as it has been translated into the individual rate cuts in the tax bill amounts to a return to the "trickle down" economics of the 1920s.

Republicans point out that the 5.6 percent of taxpayers making more than \$50,000 pay 33.8 percent of the taxes. The 0.2 percent of those making more than \$200,000 pay 7.4 percent of total taxes.

The joint committee's figures do not include a child-care provision that was included in the Senate bill, but is not in the House version.

In addition, the distributional tables do not reflect a variety of other provisions that do not directly alter income-tax tables, including major breaks for oil producers and royalty holders, the near elimination of the estate tax, and exemptions for charitable contributions.

If the House-Senate conference committee that is expected to start work on the legislation today approves the child-care credit, it is likely to benefit those in the lower- and middle-income brackets. Most of the other provisions would result in additional benefits for those with high incomes.

The legislation calls for individual rate cuts totaling 25 percent over three years. In a series of hypothetical examples for 1984, the joint committee found that under the legislation a one-earner couple getting \$5,000 in wages would get no tax reduction; at \$10,000 the reduction would be \$83; at \$20,000, \$464; at \$30,000, \$914; at \$40,000, \$1,438; and at \$50,000, \$2,158.

For a two-earner couple, these benefits would grow because of the reduction in the so-called marriage penalty. In the upper-income brackets, the difference would not be significant, but for a two-earner couple making \$10,000 the break would be \$702 instead of the \$83 for a one-earner couple.

For those with income from investments and savings—known as unearned or property income—the break under the legislation would be far more significant because of the drop in the maximum rate on this form of income from 70 percent to 50 percent. For a one-earner family with \$100,000 in property income, the break in 1982 would be \$6,478. At \$200,000, the break would grow to \$17,514, and at \$500,000 it would be a cut of \$62,204.●

## DISAPPROVAL OF CZM CONSISTENCY REGULATIONS

HON. JOEL PRITCHARD

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. PRITCHARD. Mr. Speaker, a concept central to the Coastal Zone Management Act (CZMA), enacted in 1972, was that the most effective protection and management of land and water resources of the coastal zone would result from encouraging the States to exercise their full authority over these resources. As a result the responsibility for planning and implementing coastal zone programs was given to the States. It also was recognized that activities occurring beyond State boundaries or as a result of Federal programs would affect coastal resources and that it was necessary to insure the coordination of these activities with the planning and management efforts of the States. For these reasons, provisions were included in the act requiring that Federal activities affecting the coastal zone be conducted, to the maximum extent practicable, in a manner consistent with approved State coastal zone management programs.

These consistency provisions have generated conflict principally in one area—OCS leasing activities. The States and NOAA have maintained that preleasing activities, the selection of tracts and formulation of lease stipulations, directly affect coastal zones by initiating a process culminating in development activities which will cause economic and environmental impacts, and which will alter land and water uses. Therefore consistency determinations are appropriate at this stage of the process to encourage the early participation and cooperation of the States. The Department of the Interior has not acknowledged that their leasing decisions directly affect coastal zones and therefore has been unwilling to consider consistency with State CZM programs.

In attempting to resolve these disputes, NOAA decided to issue regulations defining the term "directly affecting the coastal zone" which is the key test triggering consistency determinations. The rules, published on July 8, 1981, represent a total reversal of NOAA's position on this issue. The interpretation adopted is highly restrictive, limiting consideration to "identifiable physical alterations" and delaying the application of the consistency provisions to late in the planning process. This effectively excludes the States from meaningful participation in decisionmaking when plans are still flexible and when a comprehensive overview of the project is still being considered. The exclusion of consideration of State CZM programs is likely

to result in litigation at later stages of development. This outcome directly contradicts the spirit of coordination and cooperation which was the intent of the consistency provisions in the CZMA.

Therefore, yesterday I joined in co-sponsoring a resolution disapproving NOAA's regulations interpreting the term "directly affecting the coastal zone" as published on July 8, 1981. In promulgating these regulations NOAA and the Department of Commerce have failed to meet their responsibilities for insuring that the objectives of the CZMA are met. These regulations will diminish the effectiveness of State CZM programs by excluding consideration of major activities which will affect their coastal zones. This can only reduce coordination and thus frustrate efforts at comprehensive coastal zone management.

I agree that clarification of the term "directly affecting" is needed to resolve the conflicts which have arisen and which will continue to arise. I hope that NOAA will submit revised regulations which recognize the importance of the role of the States in implementing the CZMA and which adhere more closely to NOAA's historical position of strongly supporting the objectives of the act.●

ROBERT MOSES—GREATEST  
BUILDER

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 30, 1981

● Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, New York, and the entire Nation lost our greatest builder—Robert Moses. He had a greater role in designing New York's physical plant than any other man during the 20th century. His vision of large apartment towers, landscaped highways, open parks, and beaches became the face of New York, and other metropolitan areas throughout the Nation.

Robert Moses believed "it is important to get things done," and "those who can, build." He lived up to both statements. During his more than 50 years in public service, he constructed hundreds of public works projects throughout the State. He was a man of extraordinary energy—often working 15 hours a day, and at one time occupying 12 positions simultaneously. They included, New York City Parks Commissioner, head of State Parks Council of the State Power Commission, and Chairman of the Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority.

He focused his projects on the rise of the automobile and the suburbs. His highway, bridge, and tunnel projects, made New York the first city prepared for the automobile age. His

work became the model for such efforts like the Los Angeles freeway system. He believed that "we live in a motorized civilization," and his work reflected that.

Robert Moses was not an architect, nor an urban planner. He was a political scientist, educated in Yale, Oxford, and Columbia, who used his education and energy to implement his vision of the public good.

His first, and one of his greatest achievements was the creation of Jones Beach, on the south shore of Long Island. Despite opposition from some of the rich landowners on Long Island, he created a family resort for the masses of people from the city and suburbs. In 1930 Jones Beach opened, complete with bathhouses, restaurants, a bell tower, and an outdoor theater. It is still used as originally planned.

During the Depression, as head of both the city parks department, and the Triborough Bridge Authority, he created mass public works projects. In 1934, within months he had completed 1,700 projects from rebuilding the Central Park Zoo to park bench repairs. In the 1930's he built hundreds of playgrounds, and parks. His highway projects included the Laurelton, Gowanus, and Henry Hudson expressways.

Robert Moses changed the face of New York. It is impossible to conceive of modern New York without his influence. From the thirties to the sixties his power was almost complete. He transformed a modest State park system into one that includes 2,567,256 acres. He built 658 playgrounds in New York City alone. He created 416 miles of State highways and seven bridges. His projects ranged from the 1964-65 World's Fair, to the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, to Jones Beach, to the metropolitan area highway system, to the Triborough Bridge, to housing projects throughout the State.

His overwhelming presence in the New York park and highway systems brought him great nationwide influence as his ideas were used, copied, and reacted to. Robert Moses, was known as an advocate of landscaped highways, parks, and open spaces. He symbolized the sweeping, commanding approach to urban renewal.

I extend my heartfelt condolences to his wife Mary, and his children Barbara Olds, and Jane Collins, and to our entire State. We have lost a great source of energy, ideas, and action. But if anyone seeks his monument they do not have to look far. New York's highways, bridges, and parks are all monuments to Robert Moses.●

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## MSHA GETS GAO SEAL OF EFFECTIVENESS

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, few things are as rare as a compliment from the General Accounting Office, so it is a pleasure for me, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Health and Safety, to report that the Mine Safety and Health Administration has been judged and found effective.

The General Accounting Office (GAO) recently studied coal mining in the United States, and in the study made observations and judgments on the Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA) that should be of interest to the House; coal occurs in 52 percent of the States and virtually no State is without mining of some kind.

Although safety was not the point of the study, it was a part, and MSHA drew high marks.

Among GAO's conclusions were these:

MSHA regulation dramatically reduced fatalities in coal mines;

MSHA regulation improves fatality rates by preventing disasters;

Fatality rates underground declined by 10.8 percent annually between 1969 and 1978;

Fatalities underground and in strip mines have declined since 1970 and, before the act was passed, the fatality rate in strip mines was rising;

Strip mine fatalities declined an average of 16.1 percent between 1969 and 1978 while they had been rising prior to passage of the act;

Underground fatalities for 1977 were about half of what they would have been if fatalities had continued at pre-act rates;

Six disasters killed 84 workers in the 8 years following passage while the 8 years preceding passage saw 12 disasters kill 221 workers.

Congress passed the Mine Safety and Health Acts of 1969 and 1977 in response to disasters and rising worker deaths. MSHA has reduced those deaths. MSHA does what Congress intended, Mr. Speaker.

In this relatively new agency we are developing a body of knowledge and the ability to apply it; this is paying off now and will pay bigger dividends in the future as MSHA gets better.

This is true in mining coal and in other forms of mining. Those who would change the act beyond fine tuning should bear in mind that the act was passed because mining deaths caused a public outcry, and that Congress is getting from MSHA exactly what it intended—a reduction of deaths.

Mr. Speaker, my next remarks on mine safety will focus on the nature of death in an underground coal mine.●

## SUBSIDIES FOR SYNTHETIC FUELS INDUSTRY

HON. THOMAS J. DOWNEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. DOWNEY. Mr. Speaker, our colleague from Connecticut, Mr. MOFFETT, has been leading an important and thorough investigation into the use of Federal dollars to subsidize the synthetic fuels industry.

Apparently Mr. MOFFETT's actions have led to direct involvement at the highest levels of the White House.

In the recent Washington Post article, correspondent Martin Schram examined the dispute that has developed over the question of taxpayer funding of oil company synthetic fuel programs. At this point in the RECORD, Mr. Speaker, I wish to insert that Post story:

[From the Washington Post]

SUBSIDIES FOR SYNTHETIC FUELS INDUSTRY  
(By Martin Schram)

Stepping in to referee a bitter cabinet dispute, President Reagan yesterday overrode the strong objections of Office of Management and Budget Director David A. Stockman and authorized Energy Secretary James B. Edwards to sign a Union Oil synfuels contract—just in time to rescue his energy chief from a contempt-of-Congress citation.

Reagan's decision, which was never announced by the White House but was disclosed by an administration official, promptly led the House Government Operations Committee to cancel a vote set for today on a subcommittee resolution citing Edwards for contempt of Congress.

"We had the votes by a big margin and they knew it," said Rep. Toby Moffett (D-Conn.), chairman of the energy subcommittee that had earlier cited Edwards for refusing to provide subpoenaed documents concerning the Union Oil Co. contract to build an oil shale plant in Colorado. The project could cost the government \$400 million, since the Defense Department is promising to purchase the plant's entire production, at a price guaranteed by the Energy Department.

Energy officials said that now that the contract is being signed, Edwards will furnish the Moffett subcommittee with all the documents it requested.

The Union Oil contract was one of three synfuels projects under consideration for loan guarantees that had ignited perhaps the most acrimonious battle yet within President Reagan's frequently fractious cabinet government.

Energy Department officials, while basking in yesterday's victory for their boss, said the president's Union Oil decision did not necessarily mean that the other two projects would also be approved. The battle over synfuels goes on, they said.



The personal battle inside the Reagan inner circle, however, left Edwards and Stockman barely on speaking terms.

"The bitterness is all one-sided—that's what's so weird," said a senior aide to Stockman. "Dave is not the one who is bitter. But it didn't have to be raised to such tension levels."

Edwards, who is a low-key contrast to the hard-charging director of the Office of Management and Budget, concedes that there may be bad feelings. But he hastens to add, "Well, it's not on my part, anyway. . . . I'd like to believe that Dave Stockman was sincerely trying to help me. . . . I'd like to believe he was."

At issue is the fact that Stockman, in his zeal to end all government aid to synthetic fuels programs, wound up working with Moffett's subcommittee in the hope of outflanking Edwards, who has become a champion of the synfuels cause. This left the energy secretary doing a slow burn.

"Either I'm being taken in by you," Edwards says he told Stockman at one point, "or you're being taken in by Moffett." Edwards, clearly upset by it all, makes no secret that he thinks it is the former.

At issue also is whether Stockman went so far as to ultimately bestow his quiet blessing upon the subcommittee's vote that last week cited Edwards for contempt of Congress.

Stockman denies it. His aides concede that they worked with Moffett to make sure the synfuels projects were accorded a long and thorough congressional investigation, one that would delay their federally guaranteed funding.

But Stockman aides maintain that their concerns were philosophical, not fratricidal—and they deny that they advocated the contempt citation that stemmed from Edwards' refusal to give the subcommittee the documents it subpoenaed on the Union contract.

But Edwards remains unconvinced.

"Strange things do happen up here in Washington," says Edwards, who learned his politics as the governor of South Carolina, but says he is just beginning to get educated about the way Washington works. "I'd like to believe that it didn't happen. I'd like to believe."

But he says he has heard that it did.

Moffett, meanwhile, confirms that he decided to press ahead with the contempt of Congress vote in his subcommittee after a conversation between his chief aid and Stockman's. But as Moffett tells it, any encouragement Stockman gave was tacit, not overt.

"There was a noticeable change in attitude from Stockman calling me every day in the recess, when I was in Connecticut and saying, 'Don't go through with this contempt citation,'" Moffett said. The change came after the energy department had responded—unsatisfactorily, he says—to a series of inquiries that Stockman helped Moffett and his staff frame.

"Then suddenly, after we got that insulting reply from Edwards, there was nothing from Dave Stockman," says Moffett. "No more pleas for a delay."

There was, however, the phone call from Las Vegas, word of which has made the rounds. The energy secretary has heard of it—and it makes him furious. The industry lobbyists have heard of it—and it makes them wonder.

It was from Stockman's associate director for energy, Frederick N. Khedouri, to Moffett's subcommittee staff director, John

Galloway, and it has assumed an importance all its own in the controversy.

"I heard there were some telephone calls from Khedouri," says Edwards. "I heard he called the members of the committee, giving them some instructions [about the contempt vote]."

Galloway says Khedouri never urged that the committee go ahead and cite Edwards for contempt, but that he did not repeat the previous requests for a delay in the vote. In the call, Khedouri says, Galloway expressed the view that the contempt citation could be enforced even if Edwards subsequently provided the subpoenaed documents.

Khedouri says he urged Galloway to let Edwards' legal advisers know that. "I was not encouraging them to do it [cite Edwards for contempt]," Khedouri says. "I was encouraging them to convey their attitudes."

The call reportedly ended with Khedouri telling Galloway to "have fun" at the upcoming subcommittee meeting. But Khedouri explains: "I say that to a lot of people."

One side issue that has left all of the principals puzzled is the way presidential counselor Edwin Meese III intervened in a bid to head off that contempt citation vote. In a threat that Stockman, Edwards, Moffett and their aides consider bizarre, Meese is said to have twice warned that the White House in turn would accuse Moffett's entire subcommittee with violating the Corrupt Practices Act if it persisted in seeking the DOE documents before the Union contract was signed.

The subcommittee's ranking Republican, Representative Joel Deckard of Indiana, says Meese made the threats to him in phone calls last week. Meese's effort failed, as Deckard was the only Republican to vote for the contempt citation, providing the crucial margin in the final 6 to 4 subcommittee vote.

When Moffett's subcommittee subpoenaed DOE's records on the Union Oil contract, in an effort to ascertain that the deal was being overseen properly, Stockman saw his opportunity. He volunteered his good offices to head off the subcommittee's effort to enforce its subpoena upon Edwards.

Stockman telephoned Moffett in the role of an eager negotiator. According to Moffett, Stockman asked that the committee delay citing Edwards for contempt. In turn, Stockman promised to get the subcommittee the documents it wanted.

In the meantime, he pledged, he would withhold his own certification, required by law, that the funds are available to guarantee the loans. Thus the subcommittee would be assured that the contracts could not be completed while the negotiations over the documents were under way.

As mediator, Stockman had the rationale he wanted for blocking the projects. When Edwards learned of what Moffett said Stockman had promised, he was furious. And in his low-key way, he quickly made this known to the director of OMB.

They agreed to meet in Moffett's office. But Stockman showed up 45 minutes late, which further angered the ever-punctual Edwards. The two barely spoke to each other, other participants say.

And after about 20 minutes, Edwards got up to leave. "I have an appointment," Edwards said coolly to his Cabinet colleague. "I think it is discourteous to keep people waiting, Dave."

Eventually, Reagan had to involve himself in the controversy and chaired a Cabinet council on it last week. There, Stockman

pulled out a photograph of another oil shale project, Gulf and Amoco's Rio Blanco site, offering it as proof that a plant could be started without government subsidies.

Edwards sat in puzzled silence. Later, the secretary conferred with aides and wrote Reagan a letter saying that Gulf and Amoco in fact had applied for loan guarantees of an unspecified amount.

Asked about Stockman's photograph, Edwards now says: "It was rather misleading, in a way." ●

ANITA DUNCAN AND PHILIP  
EURIE: ACE INTERNS

HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, during this summer session, our offices and halls are filled with congressional interns. These young people journey to Washington to see their Government in action through their actual participation. Two of the finest interns it has been my pleasure to know, Anita Duncan and Philip Eurie, have worked in my office these past months. They have been actively involved in various aspects of the office duties including research and writing, as well as the often maligned but vitally necessary clerical duties. Both of these young people have handled these tasks with skill and professionalism far beyond their years. In addition, their good humor has helped their office mates to maintain a sense of perspective in this rather gloomy legislative session.

Anita and Philip will soon be returning to their studies and then on to careers. I am sure that they will meet with great success in every endeavor they undertake. Hopefully, their experience in my office will prove as beneficial to them as they were helpful to me. I join my staff in wishing a sad farewell and good luck to Anita Duncan and Philip Eurie. ●

HANDICAPPED TO BE EXCLUDED  
FROM PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION

HON. GEORGE MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, the Secretary of Transportation's recent decision to eliminate guarantees for handicapped citizens' access to public transportation is a shortsighted move which ignores the needs and desires of millions of disabled and elderly individuals in this country.

The regulations implementing section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of

1973 were developed to correct long-standing inequities which kept the handicapped of our society hidden from view. Much more can, and should, be done to rectify past neglect. The administration's recent decision, however, will effectively stop significant progress toward integrating handicapped citizens into the mainstream of daily life.

Despite its lipservice to "independent living" and self-sufficiency for all Americans, the Reagan administration has now deemed that the cost of providing accessible public transportation to 10 percent of our population outweighs the benefits which would accrue to them. Has the administration forgotten that many disabled people pay taxes, and they have every right to use the public facilities they helped to fund?

Has the administration also forgotten that most disabled individuals currently dependent on Government assistance would themselves become taxpayers, if only they could reliably get to the workplace?

The Department's action also reduces from 5 percent to 3½ percent the amount of its Federal support which local transit authorities must spend on undefined "special efforts" to provide some form of transportation for the disabled.

Consequently, not only will the administration's action remove hard-won protections, but it also further reduces the possibility that handicapped citizens will receive even limited segregated transportation.

Not content to simply deny the disabled the ability to use public transportation, the administration has decided to review section 504 regulations Government-wide, with an eye toward the cost of compliance. How, I wonder, does one measure the cost-benefit of a feeling of self-worth, of independence, of contributing to society, that comes from holding a job because you can count on an accessible bus to take you to work every day? It costs roughly \$10,000 to install a lift in a new bus. If just five handicapped individuals use that bus twice daily for 1 year, it would cost approximately \$2.25 per ride, not including the fare. Is that too high a price to pay for a privilege all able-bodied citizens take for granted? You and I consider transportation to be a minor detail in life, and usually give it little thought. We can hop in our cars, take a bus, or walk wherever we are going. Many disabled people cannot. Accessible buses could mean the difference for a disabled person between a fulfilling, creative, and tax-paying, career and a jobless, frustrating, and Government dependent existence.

Recently I received a letter from two disabled Californians who rely daily on the newly accessible services of Alameda/Contra Costa Transit (AC Tran-

sit). Their extreme dismay with the Department of Transportation's decision is a poignant reflection of the setback in store for millions of other disabled individuals throughout the country. I urge the Department of Transportation to reconsider its decision. The letter follows:

**HANDICAPPED TO BE EXCLUDED FROM PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION**

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MILLER: We are utterly overwhelmed and dismayed at the Department of Transportation's decision to throw out the 1979 504 regulations. While we have always felt that those regulations were a reasoned compromise between the concerns of the transit operators and those of the disabled community, we realize that for some local rail and bus operators the implementation of the regulation posed severe problems. The Secretary had the waiver power written in the regulations; this could have been exercised rather than completely scrapping the regulations which guaranteed our right to public transportation and putting in their place a set of old regulations which have been shown to be next to useless in terms of guaranteeing service to elderly and disabled persons.

We can't believe that not only is it now left up to the local operators to decide how they will provide service, but that they are not even given minimum service standards to guarantee that service will be even remotely comparable to that provided the general public. And that the insufficient minimum funding levels of the 1976 regulations have been even further decreased. The disastrous impact these regulations will have on disabled and elderly people of this country is heartbreaking.

We now have 150 AC Transit (Alameda/Contra Costa Transit) accessible buses in the main service area. You would be proud of the service, and the next time you're back here in the district, we invite you to ride the bus with us. On our own together, we have ridden AC Transit and Santa Clara buses and BART to Marriott's Great America, and on AC buses to the Berkeley Marina, to a baby shower, and to San Francisco to film a commemoration of the 1977 504 sit-in. We could never have done this before because our disabilities prevent us both from driving. We both ride AC Transit buses to work every day. This has really changed our lives and given us a new independence which cannot be adequately described.

Although the service is less than two months old, thousands of lift passengers have already used the service. In the one day AC did an official count, 71 wheelchair passengers and 23 other passengers used the lift and 329 passengers requested use of the kneeler. The accessibility program has started off so successfully here because AC Transit has approached it very positively and has worked with the Elderly and Disabled Advisory Committee and the community at large every step of the way.

AC Transit has pledged to continue purchasing accessible buses and we commend them highly for this, but we are totally disheartened to know that this type of service will be eliminated for millions of disabled and elderly people in other parts of the country. We ask your support in anything you can do to influence this situation as we have always been able to count on you in the past.

Sincerely,

KITTY CONE,  
JUDY HEUMANN.●

**THE HOUSE TAX CUT ACTION**

**HON. DON BONKER**

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 31, 1981

● Mr. BONKER. Mr. Speaker, from a political standpoint I must congratulate President Reagan on his victory Wednesday on the tax cut vote. It demonstrates his continued strength and overwhelming persuasiveness.

Mr. Reagan has now had 100 percent of his economic recovery program approved by the Congress—budget cuts and tax cuts. He now has the full opportunity—and the full responsibility—to bring about economic recovery in this country.

From a substantive standpoint, however, I must confess grave misgivings over the President's victory.

I did not support the President's tax package, because I did not believe it to be in the best interests of the people of the Third District. According to most economists, it will prove inflationary, and it will result in massive budget deficits and continued high interest rates over the next 3 years.

The Congressional Budget Office has estimated that the Federal Government will run a budget deficit of \$80 billion by 1984 if the President's 3-year tax cut were enacted.

Federal deficits are one of the chief causes of high interest rates, which have devastated the housing and timber industries in my district. Thousands of men and women in my district have been thrown out of work. In some of the counties that I represent, unemployment is a staggering 16 percent. All told, the unemployment rate in my district is 11 percent, compared to a national jobless rate of about 7.3 percent for the same period.

The President's budget cuts and Wednesday's tax plan will be a savage one-two punch to the people of my district. Funding for social service programs, including unemployment compensation and job training, will be slashed just as high inflation and continued record interest rates—fueled by this tax cut—throw still more people out of work.

We must balance the budget. The Federal deficit is approaching \$1 trillion; it cost \$75 billion just to finance that debt last year. Mr. Reagan's tax cut proposal refuses to address these realities.

The vast majority of the people in the Third District agree with me on this point, even though many of them may support the President anyway. It is a testimony to his public relations skill.

In a recent poll I sent to all constituents in the Third District, 64 percent



said they would not support a tax cut that results in higher Federal deficits.

Nationwide polls have found that 70 percent of all Americans would rather passup a tax cut in 1982 in order to balance the budget.

In good conscience, I could not support a policy which would pay for a tax cut by Federal borrowing.

The second central issue in the tax debate was who would benefit.

The Reagan plan skewed the tax cut to the 5 percent of the population earning more than \$50,000 a year.

The median income in the Third District is only \$9,736, with a mere 18 percent of the families earning more than \$15,000.

A tax cut that favors the wealthy simply is not in the best interests of my constituents.

Another disturbing factor in the Reagan proposal is that it ignores the interests of small business, the backbone of the American economy and of the Third District. The President has skewed his proposal to favor the largest corporations.

I supported a third alternative tax cut bill, which would have provided meaningful tax cuts for middle-income Americans and productivity incentives for American businesses but would have resulted in a \$2 billion budget surplus next year, and a \$20 billion surplus by 1983.

It did so by eliminating the billions of dollars of special interest loopholes for the oil companies and commodity traders found in the Reagan proposal.

A tax cut is overdue, but one that shortchanges working Americans is unfair.●

#### IRISH GUN BAN TO MARK 2-YEAR ANNIVERSARY

**HON. MARIO BIAGGI**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, July 31, 1981*

● Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow, August 1, marks the second year that our Department of State has suspended the sale of arms to Great Britain for use in Northern Ireland. As chairman of the Ad Hoc Congressional Committee for Irish Affairs, and the sponsor of the legislation which resulted in this suspension, I restate my commitment today to maintaining this suspension pending completion of the ongoing review of our foreign policy in this area.

Let me refresh the memories of my colleagues here today on the exact events which led to this suspension. It was brought to my attention that on January 31, 1979, our State Department has approved a license for the sale of 3,000 .357 magnum handguns and 500 .223 rifles to the Royal Ulster Constabulary, the official police force

in Northern Ireland. This action was wrong in two respects. First, the licensing was done without any consultation with Congress. Second, this action violated one very basic tenet of our foreign policy, articulated on numerous occasions by former President Jimmy Carter: respect for the human rights of all citizens of all nations. The RUC, has been cited on countless occasions by international organizations for their violations of human and civil rights of prisoners and prison suspects in Ulster. To sell arms to this organization was to make a mockery of the principal of human rights while at the same time, fueling the fire of repression which reinforces the notion that humans can be a selective, rather than a universal concern of this country.

Finally, this sale was wrong because it was in violation of the intent of section 502(b) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 which prohibits sales or licensing under the Export Administration Act for "crime control detection instruments and equipment to a country, the government of which engages in a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights."

Once this sale became public knowledge, cries of outrage came from all corners of this Nation. Concerned Irish-Americans as well as others who value and respect the human rights component of our foreign policy noted the inherent hypocrisy in selling arms to the RUC. The police force has been cited for countless violations of human rights by Nobel Prize winning Amnesty International, the European Court and Commission on Human Rights, and most notably, the Bennett Commission, appointed by their own British Government.

In response to this public outcry, I dispatched a letter, cosigned by 29 of my colleagues on the ad hoc committee, to the State Department, expressing our disapproval of the sale on June 6, 1979. The reply I received on June 15 prompted me to offer an amendment to the 1980 State Department appropriations bill to prohibit the use of State Department funds for any further arms sales to Great Britain for use in Northern Ireland.

It is most important to note that in this amendment effort, we had the close cooperation of our former colleague, the late John Slack, of West Virginia, who managed this bill on the House floor and was chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee on State, Commerce, and Judiciary. His untimely passing created a great loss in this body. John Slack was responsible for providing us the opportunity—for the first time on the floor of the House in general debate—to discuss the gun sale issue in relation to the State Department.

As a result of that debate, with the cooperation of House Foreign Affairs

Committee Chairman CLEMENT ZABLOCKI, I withdrew my amendment in exchange for congressional hearings by his committee on the gun sale issue. The result of those hearings, in which I participated, the State Department announced its intention to suspend all sales of arms to Britain for use in Ulster pending a "full review of our policy in this area."

To date, this suspension remains in effect. This has been confirmed by letter I have received from the previous administration as well as the current administration. One of my first actions at the onset of the 97th Congress was to contact President Reagan and request a status report on this issue. I received a reply from the White House on March 5 of this year reaffirming the ban on gun sales to Northern Ireland police and security forces. For the benefit of my colleagues, I wish to insert a copy of this letter at this point.

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
Washington, March 5, 1981.

HON. MARIO BIAGGI,  
Chairman, Ad Hoc Congressional Committee for Irish Affairs, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MARIO: This is to thank you for your February 24 letter cosigned by your 35 colleagues on the Ad Hoc Congressional Committee for Irish Affairs, in which you urge the President to maintain the embargo of U.S. arms to the Royal Constabulary of Northern Ireland.

Please know that the President shares your concerns toward the achievement of a peaceful political solution in Northern Ireland. As the situation now stands, the Administration is holding to the policy of not approving licensing for sale of hand-guns to the RUC. We support cooperative United Kingdom-Ireland efforts to halt terrorism in Northern Ireland and we believe that the only reasonable basis for a solution to the conflict there is a settlement which the parties living there can accept.

Again, thank you for writing and sharing with us the timely presentation of your views on this matter.

With cordial regard, I am

Sincerely,

MAX L. FRIEDERSDORF,  
Assistant to the President.

The issue of human rights in Northern Ireland has as much, if not greater significance today, than it did 2 years ago. In retrospect, over the past 2 years, human rights violations have continued, unabated in Ulster. To compound the problem, we have witnessed the tragically unnecessary deaths of eight young men in the Maze Prison from hunger strikes. As chairman of the Ad Hoc Congressional Committee for Irish Affairs, I introduced House Resolution 158 regarding the hunger strike, as well as condemning the violence which has preceded it and accompanies it. This resolution calls upon the British Government to abandon its position of intransigence in this matter and escalate its efforts to end this situation. House Resolu-

tion 158 currently has over 70 cosponsors and I intend to push for its adoption. Approval of House Resolution 158 will send a clear and unmistakably signal to the British that we feel that this situation must be resolved in we will ever be able to find a just and lasting peace for all of Ireland.

It is essential that we continue this current suspension of arms to the RUC. I intend to seek a status report of the ongoing review of this policy at the State Department during consideration of the 1982 appropriations bill by the House next week. Further, I intend to investigate reports we have received regarding the use of U.S.-made plastic bullets by the RUC to quell the most recent outbreaks of violence there. I wish to include my response from the State Department on this plastic bullets issue in the *RECORD* at this point.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
Washington, D.C., July 22, 1981.

HON. MARIO BIAGGI,  
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. BIAGGI: The Secretary has asked me to reply to your letter of June 15, requesting information regarding the origin of the plastic bullets used by security forces in Northern Ireland.

The Department has had extensive consultations with United States industry and Americans knowledgeable in the ammunition industry. To date we have been unable to identify any conventional "plastic bullets" that are of United States origin for use

in a rifle, carbine, or handgun. It might be that the "plastic bullets" are plastic projectiles for dispersing tear gas which, when used incorrectly, could cause bodily harm. Such projectiles are manufactured in the United States and are on the U.S. Munitions List, requiring Department of State approval prior to export.

Since August 1979, the Office of Munitions Control has not approved any license for the export of arms, ammunition or riot control equipment on the U.S. Munitions List destined for end-use in Northern Ireland. All such applications have been returned without action or are currently being held in abeyance.

To enable us to provide you and your Ad Hoc Congressional Committee for Irish Affairs with more complete information, the Department has asked its Embassy in London to obtain information as to the description and origin of the "plastic bullets". When this information is received from the British authorities or when additional information becomes available, we will advise your office immediately.

I hope this will be helpful to you and your committee.

Yours sincerely,

RICHARD FAIRBANKS,  
Assistant Secretary for Congressional  
Relations.

It should be noted that this letter both reaffirms the suspension of arms sales to the RUC as well as notes the final word on the issue of U.S.-made plastic bullets by the RUC has yet to be heard. As chairman of the Ad Hoc Congressional Committee for Irish Af-

fairs, I believe I speak for all members of our committee when I say that this issue is of primary concern to us and we will pursue its resolution with vigor until we have confirmed that the United States is not supplying these bullets to the RUC—lethal bullets which have been used to kill and maim innocent women and children in the name of crowd control. It is interesting to note that while Great Britain condones the use of plastic bullets in Northern Ireland, it has, at the same time, outlawed their use in their own country to deal with the current riots by unemployed youth which have occurred because of their lethal nature.

The Ad Hoc Congressional Committee for Irish Affairs will continue to monitor this situation closely in the weeks ahead. I intend to resolve these issues so that the current suspension of arms sales to Northern Ireland will become a permanent component of our foreign policy in this part of the world. Today marks a milestone—and provides testimony to the effectiveness of the ad hoc committee in raising the issue of Northern Ireland both in Congress as well as around the world. We have as our shared goal, the return of peace and justice to all people of Northern Ireland. We will continue to raise this issue until our goal becomes the reality that we all long for.●



