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tide of mass insanity and mass murder; too few men willing to be different.

In Nazi Germany, there were not enough uncommon men to stop the Holocaust; and in the Soviet Union under Stalin, there were too few uncommon men to stop the programs and purges.

"We will never understand totalitarianism if we do not understand that people rarely have the strength to be uncommon," said Ionesco.

It would also be correct to say that we will never understand genocide if we do not understand that people rarely have the strength to be different when confronted with mass sameness.

If we were to study the causes of genocide, I think we would find that before the actual act of slaughter, great and continuous pressures were being brought to bear on the people to conform, to toe the official line, to support the final solution, to solve the Armenian question.

All individuals are pressured in some way to conform to some act or deed or thought. Surely each of us who are Members of Congress feel the great and continuous pressure to support party policy, or administration policy, or the demands of constituents. Surely each of us understands the strength it takes to be uncommon.

It should be clear then to Members of this body that we must make a special effort to be tolerant of difference. We must not be punitive toward those who act in an uncommon manner.

Had the Ottoman Turks been tolerant of difference, there would not have been an Armenian genocide. Had the Nazis been tolerant of others, there would not have been a Holocaust.

The great strength of this country has come from its individuals and the Nation's desire to protect and respect the feelings and opinions of the individual, the ultimate minority.

In such an environment, mass slaughter is unthinkable. It only becomes possible in an environment of forced commonality and coerced conformity.

If we do nothing else today, let us strive for greater tolerance of difference; let us try harder to understand those who are uncommon; let us be perceptive enough to recognize the dangers inherent in a large group of people who march to the same drummer, let us be wise enough to smile at the solitary marcher. ●

FIFTH ANNUAL OLIN E. TEAGUE AWARD PRESENTED TO VA NURSE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. MONTGOMERY) is recognized for 5 minutes.

● Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, a Veterans' Administration clinical specialist in rehabilitation nursing, Ms. Mary Ann Mikulic, R.N., of Seat-

tle, has one the Olin E. Teague Award for her work in the rehabilitation of war-injured veterans.

The annual award goes to a VA employee or group of employees working as a team, whose achievements have been of special benefit to veterans with service-connected injuries. It was named in honor of the late U.S. Congressman from Texas who served as chairman of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs for 20 years.

Ms. Mikulic was selected for this year's award from nominations submitted by VA facilities around the country. She has served at the VA Medical Center in Seattle, Wash., since 1975, when she assumed the position of clinical specialist in rehabilitation nursing.

During this period, Ms. Mikulic has conducted studies on patient treatment issues that impede or promote rehabilitation, and her work has been extensively published in professional journals. She has also taught and participated in development of the faculty for nine VA regional medical education center programs in rehabilitation-related issues.

She has been widely recognized in the non-VA professional community as well. A recipient of the Army Commendation Medal in 1981, Ms. Mikulic has also received the National Association of Rehabilitation Nurses Certificate of Appreciation for outstanding service.

Ms. Mikulic joined VA in 1952 as a staff nurse at the agency's Vancouver, Wash., hospital. She has taught at the University of Washington School of Medicine since 1975, and is a colonel in the Army Nurse Corps, U.S. Army Reserves. She received her nursing degree from the University of Portland in 1946 and her masters and postmasters from the University of Washington.

Mr. Speaker, the presentation of this award speaks eloquently for its worthy recipient; for the overall excellence of VA's Department of Medicine and Surgery; and, most especially, for the achievements of the man in whose name this award is offered. Indeed, I cannot imagine a more fitting tribute to the man who accomplished more for veterans, particularly the disabled veteran, than any single American in our Nation's history. Olin Teague's legacy of determination and forthrightness can only inspire those of us who follow him.

The award will be presented to Ms. Mikulic by VA Administrator Harry N. Walters in a special ceremony this afternoon. I am delighted that Mrs. Olin Teague and her son, James M. Teague, will be attending the ceremony. ●

THE SOVIET SMEAR CAMPAIGN—AN EXTENSION OF ITS PROPAGANDA EFFORTS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gen-

tleman from Florida (Mr. YOUNG) is recognized for 10 minutes.

● Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, I have devoted a great deal of time to the investigation of Soviet active measures operations in the United States and throughout the world. Through these activities, the Soviets are attempting to undermine the credibility of our Nation.

Our committee and the American intelligence community received tremendous insight into Soviet active measures operations last July when Stanislaw Levchenko, a former high-ranking KGB officer and active measures specialist in Japan who defected to the United States in 1979, testified before our committee. He was the first Soviet active measures officer to make himself available to our intelligence organizations.

During his testimony, Mr. Levchenko provided detailed accounts of Soviet active measures operations he was directly involved with in Japan. His testimony provided valuable evidence and insight into these Soviet activities, and even though he was not directly involved with the active measures campaign in our country, we learned from the CIA and FBI that Soviet influence operations such as his in Japan are similar to those employed by the Soviet Union in the United States and throughout the world.

From testimony of the CIA and detailed questioning of Mr. Levchenko, our committee determined without a doubt that Mr. Levchenko's information was accurate and that he was presenting it in the best interest of the United States. The CIA researched and investigated Mr. Levchenko and his statements and assured the committee that they were accurate and of great value in providing new information and validating established techniques for spotting Soviet active measures operations.

According to the testimony of the CIA:

The information that he gave us we have been able to check out through various other means, and we are satisfied not only that he told the truth, but also that the extent of the information that he gave us was so damaging to the Soviet cause that it would be inconceivable that he might be under Soviet KGB control.

As a result of Mr. Levchenko's testimony, which the CIA labeled as devastating to the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government, following a secret trial, sentenced him to death in absentia—the most severe penalty the Soviet Government can pass down to one of its citizens. This in itself demonstrates the impact his testimony has had on the Soviet Union.

Still, the Soviet Union, in a last gasp attempt to discredit Mr. Levchenko, has turned its active measures apparatus against him. Using a standard active measures technique known as disinformation, the official Soviet

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Government newspaper *Isvestiya* carried in February a lengthy smear attack on Mr. Levchenko. The attack included false quotations attributed to him which called into question his motivation for defecting and his mental and physical state, it claimed he was acting as a puppet of the U.S. Government, and implied that the members of the committee held a negative attitude toward him.

None of *Isvestiya's* statements could be further from the truth. The members of the committee were greatly impressed by Mr. Levchenko's knowledge and understanding of the complex Soviet active measures operation and were moved by his willingness to risk his life to assist our Government. As he said in his testimony:

I have provided the Central Intelligence Agency with the information I had. I hope this information will help the cause of defending the free world against the menace of Soviet expansionism and aggression.

These are not the words of an American puppet, they are the words of a former higher echelon Soviet citizen who became so disenchanted and resentful of the Soviet system, that he fled to the United States to gain his long deprived freedom.

In testimony to our committee, Mr. Levchenko detailed the expansive Soviet active measures operation in Japan, which included the use of contacts in the Japanese media and the Japanese Government. Needless to say, his testimony shook Japan. The Japanese press has been investigating Mr. Levchenko's testimony since I first made it public last December, and despite the lies the Soviets are attempting to spread about Levchenko, even the official newspaper of the Japanese Communist Party, *Akahata*, has acknowledged the accuracy of his testimony. *Akahata* has accurately reported his testimony to the Japanese people and has added details of its own which confirm Mr. Levchenko's information. The Japanese Government, in addition, has publicly expressed its faith in his testimony.

As the Japanese have learned, it is imperative that people throughout the world be aware of increasing Soviet efforts to tip the balance of peace. While the threat posed by Soviet weaponry has received great attention, the growing list of successful Soviet propaganda campaigns continues to be ignored.

By presenting information on Soviet active measures such as its smear campaign against Mr. Levchenko, the American people will have a better understanding of Soviet operations aimed at discrediting the United States. It is only through an informed American public that we will be able to successfully challenge this Soviet threat to our Nation's freedom and security.●

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gen-

tleman from Texas (Mr. GONZALEZ) is recognized for 30 minutes.

[Mr. GONZALEZ addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. ANNUNZIO) is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mr. ANNUNZIO addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

#### MORTGAGE RELIEF FOR VETERANS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. SHELBY) is recognized for 5 minutes.

● Mr. SHELBY. Mr. Speaker, today my Subcommittee on Housing and Memorial Affairs began hearings on the VA housing program. One of the bills being considered is H.R. 2618 which I introduced on Tuesday.

This bill would provide financial relief to unemployed veteran homeowners facing foreclosure. If a veteran, through no fault of his own, is at least 6 months delinquent in his mortgage payments, the VA would be authorized to set up an escrow account in his behalf to make him current and provide up to 6 months of additional relief. This assistance could be extended, if necessary, but in no event could the total monetary advance exceed \$8,400.

This measure is specifically geared to those needy veterans who are suffering from the effects of unemployment, underemployment or serious illness. Recent statistics indicate that 800,000 Vietnam and disabled veterans are unemployed.

Mr. Speaker, I feel this is important legislation for us to consider. The economy appears to be on the upswing but there are many veterans who continue to be unemployed. The chances are good, however, that they will be able to get back on their feet shortly.

Meanwhile, foreclosures are at an alltime high. We must do something to help our veterans during this interim period of economic adversity. As you know, the House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee has reported legislation which would establish a new revolving fund to assist homeowners facing foreclosure on home mortgage loans not insured by the Federal Housing Administration or the Farmers Home Administration. Although this measure would help some veterans, we believe our bill provides an alternative remedy.

It should be noted that our bill requires no new money from taxpayers to provide this assistance. This program would be funded out of existing revolving funds currently used to pay claims. It is possible that this bill could even prove cost effective by substituting this mortgage payment advance for the high expenses currently incurred by the Veterans' Administra-

tion in paying claims of lenders, instituting foreclosure procedures and reselling acquired properties.

I am pleased to say that my bill is cosponsored by the chairman of the full committee, the gentleman from Mississippi, Mr. SONNY MONTGOMERY; the ranking minority member of the subcommittee, Mr. CHRISTOPHER SMITH of New Jersey; Mr. BOB EDGAR of Pennsylvania, the distinguished chairman of our Subcommittee on Hospitals and Health Care and a gentleman who is known for championing the cause of all veterans; Mr. LANE EVANS of Illinois, a Vietnam veteran and outstanding member; and Mr. BILL RICHARDSON of New Mexico, a distinguished member of the subcommittee who is vitally interested in assisting veterans in need, especially those who served in Vietnam.

Mr. Speaker, it is my intention to mark up this vital piece of legislation in the near future.●

#### NELSON AND WINNIE MANDELA: HONORARY U.S. CITIZENS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. CROCKETT) is recognized for 5 minutes.

● Mr. CROCKETT. Mr. Speaker, Nelson Mandela, black nationalist and leader of the antiapartheid movement in South Africa, has said: "To overthrow oppression has been sanctioned by humanity and it is the highest aspiration of every free man."

As we in the 98th Congress continue to discuss the issues before us, the author of those words, Nelson Mandela, is serving the 21st year of his life sentence for advocating the abolition of racial apartheid in South Africa. His wife, Winnie Mandela, is beginning the 21st year of her banning in South Africa for her own part in founding the now-banned Black Parents Association in South Africa.

Mr. Speaker, those Members who have taken the initiative to learn about South Africa know of the continuing oppression of blacks by the South African Government, and the continuing repression of dissent in any form by that racist government.

While he has been cut off from virtually all outside contact during his imprisonment, Nelson Mandela remains, nonetheless, a focal point of opposition in South Africa. Today, he is recognized as the leader of the struggle for the liberation of South Africa by virtually every independent black political figure inside South Africa, as well as by a growing number of whites.

Winnie Mandela, whose banishment from her family and friends to the small town of Brandfort, South Africa, has brought her great hardship, has been "free" only 11 months since 1962.

In recognition of Nelson and Winnie Mandela's contributions to the struggle for civil and human rights in the world, I have introduced legislation to

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make them honorary citizens of the United States, and to urge our Government and the Government of South Africa to free the Mandelas from their imprisonment as political prisoners. I invite those Members who have not yet indicated their interest in cosponsoring these resolutions to contact my office.

Mr. Speaker, the apartheid system in South Africa is the last bastion of colonialism and systematized racism, where the entire government and social structure is built on violence, economic exploitation and deprivation of basic human rights and civil rights. The Government of the United States, the Security Council and General Assembly of the United Nations, and virtually every country in the world condemns the Government of South Africa for its practice of apartheid.

Nelson and Winnie Mandela are in the vanguard of the struggle to overturn the apartheid system in South Africa. In 1944 Nelson Mandela joined the African National Congress, which is committed to eradicating the South African Government's official policy of racial apartheid and in its place erecting a society in which the rights of all South African citizens are the same, regardless of race, color or sex. He became one of the more effective and charismatic leaders of South Africa's 20 million blacks, and was instrumental in raising the membership of the African National Congress from 7,000 to 100,000.

On August 5, 1962, the South African Government arrested Nelson Mandela, and charged him with leaving the country without a valid passport and inciting the country's workers to strike. He was acquitted of those charges, but was again arrested and charged with sabotage. He was convicted and sentenced on June 12, 1964, at the "Rivonia Trial," of life imprisonment without hope of parole. Following his imprisonment, there was an international outcry at the actions of the South African Government, and the United Nations on several occasions demanded the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners in South Africa. There have been countless requests for his release from individuals and organizations, both within and outside South Africa.

Now 64, Nelson Mandela has spent the last 20 years of his life in a maximum security prison on Robben Island and at Pollsmoor, South Africa. Yet, despite the fact that he has been cut off from the liberation movement for 20 years, Nelson Mandela remains the leading symbol of resistance to oppression in South Africa, and the most widely recognized leader of that country's black population.

Meanwhile, the South African Government has intensified its legally sanctioned oppression of the majority black population through inhumane detentions, bannings, banishments, the revocation of citizenship and other means. It has continued its harass-

ment of Nelson Mandela's wife Winnie, by a series of arrests, imprisonments, and bannings that have spanned 19 of the last 20 years. She has repeatedly been held under South African "terrorism" statutes, allowing indefinite imprisonment without charge. She is now "banished" to Brandfort, approximately 250 miles from her home in Johannesburg. She is permitted to see only one person at a time and is restricted to her home at night and on weekends.

The lives of Nelson and Winnie Mandela are a testament to the inhuman brutality of the South African apartheid system, and a symbol of hope to those who seek justice and human rights.

I urge my colleagues to join me in extending to these two courageous people the title of honorary citizen of the United States, and in seeking their release from prison in South Africa. ●

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. RODINO) is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mr. RODINO addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

#### ADOPTION OF AMENDMENT CALLING FOR FURTHER STUDY OF MUTUAL GUARANTEED BUILD-DOWN

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEVITAS) is recognized for 5 minutes.

● Mr. LEVITAS. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, the House accepted an amendment I offered to House Joint Resolution 13, which proposes that the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee study reductions in nuclear weapons and complementary and concurrent arms control proposals with particular focus on proposals "aimed at progressive reductions in the number of destabilizing weapons through a mutual build-down or other verifiable processes."

The concept of a mutual guaranteed build-down was thoroughly discussed during the debate on another amendment, which I offered, which would have incorporated this proposal into House Joint Resolution 13. Some Members expressed concern over considering this proposal in the context of the freeze resolution; nonetheless, many recognized the merits of the build-down proposal and feel it deserves further, serious consideration.

The amendment accepted yesterday will assure further consideration of the mutual guaranteed build-down and the means it provides for moving toward reductions of destabilizing weapons. The build-down can move us toward a safer, more stable world, and it should be considered and implemented in the very new future.

An editorial in the New York Times of April 19, 1983, took note of this imaginative initiative, and also the proposals put forward for deMIRV'ing and moving toward the ideas expressed in the Scowcroft Commission report for reducing multiple warhead missiles. I would like to put this article into the RECORD, and I am glad we have adopted my amendment calling for further study of these ideas.

#### "STOP NUKES"; THEN WHAT?

The nuclear freeze resolution that comes up before the House of Representatives tomorrow is a primal scream against mankind's atomic predicament. O.K., agreed: The overhanging nuclear nightmare justifies screaming. But then what? To exclaim "Stop nukes now" displays passion, but no practicality. What's the next sentence? Where is the credible arms control policy that freeze advocates have failed so far to advance?

To its credit, the movement has aroused widespread public support, undoubtedly tempering the belligerency of the Reagan Administration's statements and helping to induce the reasonable new proposal for the Euromissile negotiations in Geneva. The freeze movement has also stirred Congressional interest in arms control—probably influencing the Scowcroft commission's farsighted proposal to replace destabilizing multi-warhead missiles with small, single-warhead "Midgetman."

Yet the proposals of the freeze movement itself have barely evolved past the original, simplistic formula of "stop, now."

The House resolution still calls for an "immediate" freeze through negotiations with Moscow. Yet such negotiations would have to take several years. The resolution still calls for a "verifiable" halt in producing nuclear arms. Nice, but infeasible.

A freeze would ban weapons modernization—thus halting improvements in weapons that would stabilize the balance of terror. The resolution calls for but fails to give useful "special attention" to destabilizing first-strike weapons. It would freeze America in a potentially vulnerable Minute-man land-missile deployment while doing nothing about the Soviet Union's potential first-strike force. The remedy, the ingenious Scowcroft proposal to create "Midgetman," would be barred.

Is there some way to harness all this political energy to constructive arms control ends? There is talk of a conference committee compromise between House and Senate resolutions, but the best that could produce is a least-common-denominator compromise. What's needed is a new approach to the arms control dilemma along the lines suggested by the Scowcroft report.

Two imaginative precursors of this proposal are already before Congress: the "build-down" proposal sponsored by Senators Nunn and Cohen would require dismantling of two older nuclear weapons for every new one deployed. Representative Gore's comprehensive plan would also move the superpowers toward the Scowcroft goal of reducing multiplewarhead missiles. Both would build on the SALT treaties, but emphasize ceilings on warheads rather than launchers and missiles.

A dozen or more pro-freeze senators have endorsed the build-down idea. Unfortunately, instead of welcoming such innovations, many freeze enthusiasts attack them. And the House Democratic leadership continues to press for the freeze resolution: stop, now.