

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Monday, March 9, 1992

The House met at 12 noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James David Ford, D.D., offered the following prayer:

When decisions overwhelm and patience is strained, we pray, gracious God, for a spirit of calm and assurance. May the bounty of Your blessings so touch our thoughts and our words that we sense Your presence with us at all the moments of life. Remind us that the substance of the spiritual is more powerful than all that we so easily measure or observe, that the life that is focused on the reality of faith and hope and love gives a stability and strength to all our decisions and sustains us in the depths of our souls, now and evermore. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Pursuant to clause 1, rule I, the Journal stands approved.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. SKELTON] come forward and lead the House in the Pledge of Allegiance.

Mr. SKELTON led the Pledge of Allegiance as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE HONORABLE BOB MICHEL, REPUBLICAN LEADER

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication from the Honorable BOB MICHEL, Republican leader:

OFFICE OF THE REPUBLICAN LEADER,
Washington, DC, March 6, 1992.
Hon. THOMAS S. FOLEY,
Speaker of the House, House of Representatives,
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Pursuant to Sec. 201(B)(11) of Public Law 101-445, I hereby appoint the following as a member of the National Nutrition Monitoring Advisory Council:

Honorable Marlene E. Marschall, Commissioner of Health, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Sincerely,

BOB MICHEL,
Republican Leader.

LET US NOT FORGET AMERICA'S SCIENTISTS

(Mr. RICHARDSON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material.)

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, at a time when America's nuclear scientists are being laid off by defense cuts because of the declining Soviet threat, the United States Department of Energy is hiring Soviet scientists to work on nuclear fusion and space missile defense.

The export of American jobs has reached an all time low. We are now displacing our best and brightest, American scientists. What do the hundreds of American scientists at Los Alamos, Sandia, Oak Ridge, and our other national laboratories facing possible layoffs think of this practice? They have been toiling against the Soviet bear for years. Because of these scientists we won the cold war. What is their reward? They may be fired and replaced by Russian scientists.

Mr. Speaker, the United States Government has proceeded with hiring of Soviet scientists after the deal we announced that is closing a major fission facility at Los Alamos Laboratory threatening 400 possible jobs. Last year DOE shut down a valuable nuclear fusion project at Los Alamos. What is next? Are we going to hire the old Soviet politburo to replace the United States Congress?

While I know this may sound appealing to some, let us not get carried away by our newfound love for the former Soviet Union. Let us not forget our own.

Mr. Speaker, I will be taking appropriate action to remedy this situation in the days ahead.

I include for the RECORD the following newspaper articles:

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 7, 1992]

U.S. TO HIRE RUSSIANS FOR FUSION STUDIES
(By Thomas W. Lippman)

The United States and Russia, already partners in a long-term effort to develop an inexhaustible source of cheap, clean energy through nuclear fusion, have taken cooperation to a new level: Some Russian scientists are going on Uncle Sam's payroll.

The State and Energy departments confirmed yesterday that the Energy Department will pay \$90,000 in a one-year contract to buy the services of 116 physicists at a Moscow laboratory.

Under the agreement, first reported in the trade journal Inside Energy, the scientists will conduct fusion experiments that were scheduled but now cannot be carried out for

lack of funds, U.S. officials said. The United States will receive the data from the experiments.

"If they had a healthy, well-funded program, we would have had people there, they would have had people here and we would have collaborated," said N. Anne Davies, director of the Energy Department's fusion research program. "They weren't going to be able to do [their experiments]. But when they said they could run the program for less than \$100,000 a year, they got our attention."

"It's obviously something we support," State Department spokesperson Margaret Tutwiler said. She said the fusion agreement is separate from the U.S. effort to find useful work and adequate wages for scientists formerly employed by the Soviet Union's nuclear weapons program. The United States has pledged \$25 million toward establishing an institute where former weapons scientists could find peaceful work that would help them resist temptation to emigrate to nations seeking nuclear weapons capability.

The fact that \$90,000 will be sufficient to fund a year's work by 116 leading scientists speaks volumes about the current economic conditions in Russia. The Energy Department is spending \$337 million this year on its fusion energy program, which amounts to an international effort to build a machine that would replicate the energy-generating properties of the sun: Atoms of an isotope of hydrogen, which is universally available at virtually no cost, would be heated under intense pressure until they fused, releasing energy that would be captured to make electricity.

Scientists know how to produce energy through fusion, but existing machines have not been able to produce more energy than they consume.

Under an earlier agreement, Russia is a partner with the United States, the European Community and Japan in developing the proposed International Thermonuclear Experimental Reactor (ITER) intended to demonstrate feasibility of fusion energy.

Energy Secretary James D. Watkins has told Congress that the schedule calls for development of ITER to be followed by operation of a demonstration power plant by 2025 and operation of a commercial fusion powered electric generating plant by 2040.

Davies said the scientists hired under the new contract will not be working on the ITER design, but conducting experiments on existing machines, called "tokamaks" from their Russian acronym, that are more powerful than either of the two existing U.S. reactors.

The Russians "have some unique capabilities," she said. "They have higher power and frequency than we have available." The scientists at the Kurchatov Institute of Atomic Energy in Moscow will be working on a tokamak designated T-10, which, according to Davies, has "a different geometry" from U.S. machines.

Tokamaks, invented by scientists in what was the Soviet Union, are reactors in which an intense magnetic field confines the compressed hydrogen fuel in a doughnut-shaped cavity. Experiments in U.S. and Russian tokamaks are aimed at developing the sci-

□ This symbol represents the time of day during the House proceedings, e.g., □ 1407 is 2:07 p.m.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.

entific and engineering basis for building ITER, which will be "the first place we fully ignite a [gas] plasma, that is, make it burn [until] it sustains itself like a star," said Robert W. Conn, director of the Institute of Plasma and Fusion Research at UCLA.

[From the Washington Times, Mar. 7, 1992]
U.S. EMPLOYS RUSSIANS FOR NUCLEAR FUSION WORK

The United States has hired Russian scientists to unlock the mysteries of nuclear fusion and is considering working with the former Soviet Union to develop a space missile defense, U.S. officials said yesterday.

In Moscow, meanwhile, a U.S. Senate delegation led by Armed Services Committee Chairman Sam Nunn opened four days of talks on converting Russian defense plants to civilian uses and dismantling the Soviet nuclear arsenal.

Department of Energy spokesman Phil Keif said Washington was paying \$90,000 for the services of 116 fusion researchers at the prestigious but financially pressed Kurchatov Institute of Atomic Energy in Moscow. It is the first known American employment of scientists from the Commonwealth of Independent States.

"We've obviously been working with the Soviets for a long time anyway, and they were in trouble with this institute [for nuclear] fusion," Mr. Keif told Reuters news agency in a telephone interview. "These guys are top-notch fusion scientists, we don't want them to drop off. It's an amazing bargain."

Mr. Keif could not confirm that a contract had been officially signed, but he said the Russian scientists were already working under conditions of the contract, which provides them with \$65 a month, more than seven times the unofficial national average monthly rate in the former Soviet Union.

The aim is to fashion machines that would, sometime in the 21st century, produce a new kind of nuclear energy that is cheap, clean and virtually inexhaustible.

In Moscow, the Senate delegation is scheduled to meet senior government officials in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus—three of the four republics with strategic nuclear weapons—during a five-day visit.

Mr. Nunn, Georgia Democrat, praised Ukraine's pledge to transfer all its nuclear weapons to Russia for dismantling by July. Ukraine aims to become a nuclear-free country.

Mr. Nunn said the delegation also wants to work with republics to avoid the spread of nuclear, chemical and other high-technology weapons. He said the senators were interested in how members of the C.I.S. were centralizing control of their tactical and nuclear weapons.

Western governments have expressed concern since the collapse of the Soviet Union that countries like Libya and Iraq might offer its nuclear scientists attractive salaries to help them make nuclear devices.

In a move designed to counter those fears, nuclear scientists in the former Soviet Union published a statement yesterday defending their integrity.

"Recently . . . a number of reports have appeared stating that nuclear physicists engaged in research on nuclear weapons are receiving offers to work in countries interested in building atomic bombs," the statement said.

"We . . . state that there is no more reason to question the personal and professional integrity and responsibility of our colleagues than that of specialists from the U.S., Brit-

ain, France and China, where work on nuclear research is conducted."

The statement, published by the Itar-Tass news agency, acknowledged that the situation of scientists, engineers and nuclear specialists gave cause for concern. It also welcomed Russian and Western moves to adapt their skills to peacetime uses.

In another development, the European Community yesterday signaled its desire to match a U.S. pledge of \$25 million to help keep former Soviet nuclear scientists under control, but EC officials said Japan must do the same.

A plan proposed by Germany, the United States and Russia, and endorsed last month by the EC, would create an International Science and Technology Center to keep the scientists busy and prevent them from being snapped up by Third World states with nuclear ambitions.

EC officials say one possibility is to enroll the scientists in programs to help Ukraine, Belarus or Kazakhstan dismantle their nuclear weapons if the former Soviet states wish to do so.

A CALL FOR FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE OF MANAGEMENT OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

(Mr. THOMAS of Wyoming asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. THOMAS of Wyoming. Mr. Speaker, I have been in this body now for something less than 3 years. When I first came, as a matter of fact, I was the last Member to be sworn in by the previous Speaker, Jim Wright. There had been great troubles here and I had assumed that perhaps the troubles would be over.

Unfortunately, the management troubles in this House are not over. We have bank troubles, including reluctance to open the fact book to the people about the bank. We have post office troubles, troubles apparently known about for some time and nothing has been done about it. We have spending troubles, both internal, and troubles, of course, with the budget. It is no wonder people are fed up with the Congress. I do not blame them.

Now I understand comes a recommendation from some of the Democratic leadership that we install a new level of bureaucracy; that we in fact put in another patronage position that would simply fit into what we already have.

Mr. Speaker, I do not believe that is the question. We need a fundamental change here. We do not need someone else appointed by the same people to be accountable to the same people that have brought us where we are. What we need is to change the people if they are not doing the job. What we need to have is a fundamental change in accountability, a fundamental change in the auditing that has taken place in this House.

Mr. Speaker, it is time for change. It is time for change to take place on the floor of this House.

AMERICA STILL NEEDS A STRONG MILITARY

(Mr. HUTTO asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HUTTO. Mr. Speaker, the clamor to draw down the military does not bode well for the United States of America. We have had bad experiences in disarming after several conflicts in our Nation's history. Sure, there have been some very encouraging things that have happened over the last few years, like the falling of the Berlin Wall, the move by the Eastern bloc nations toward democratization, and yes, the breakup of the Soviet Union, but there are still threats there.

Who would have thought just a short while before it happened that we would have 500,000 troops in the Middle East? And they did a great job for us. We know that there are other threats there, and in the Soviet Union or the Commonwealth of Independent States, as it is now called, there are some 30,000 warheads that have not been dismantled. Saddam Hussein is still there. The Qadhafis of the world are still there.

As the leader of the free world, Mr. Speaker, we have to maintain a strong military for deterrence and in defense of freedom. Caution must be used in this drawdown. We have already embarked on a 25-percent drawdown. The President has added \$50 billion in cuts on that. I say that that is far enough. It causes too much pain and suffering for us to throw the military, the uniformed military as well as civilians, out of the job market.

Let us exercise caution in the drawdown of our military.

KENTUCKY SHOWS LEADERSHIP IN CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

(Mr. MAZZOLI asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, my political career began in the Kentucky State senate. I am always proud when my former colleagues have done what I consider to be an excellent legislative job. They did so last week by passing by a very broad 31 to 7 vote a statewide campaign reform bill. That bill, among other things, puts overall limits on campaign spending, limits the amount of money which any individual candidate can raise from political action committees, and limits the amount of money which political action committees can contribute into a campaign, and it provides a beginning, an experiment, with limited public financing of campaigns.

Mr. Speaker, to your everlasting credit you have led the charge in this Chamber and in this Congress for campaign reform of a very substantial na-

ture. The campaign reform activities which Kentucky has engaged in parallel the activities we have in our bills pending in this House and in the Congress.

I hope the work Gov. Brereton C. Jones and State Senator Mike Maloney have done at home will be followed quickly by passage in this Congress of substantial campaign reform. I believe nothing by itself will raise voter confidence, increase the respect and the credibility of this body more than to pass effective campaign reform.

□ 1210

COMMUNICATION FROM THE
CLERK OF THE HOUSE

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication from the Clerk of the House of Representatives:
WASHINGTON, DC,
March 6, 1992.

Hon. THOMAS S. FOLEY,
*The Speaker, House of Representatives, Wash-
ington, DC.*

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Pursuant to the permission granted in Clause 5 of Rule III of the Rules of the U.S. House of Representatives, I have the honor to transmit a sealed envelope received from the White House at 4:42 p.m. on Friday, March 6, 1992 and said to contain a message from the President wherein he transmits his statement with regard to the attached Summary Report of the 1991 White House Conference on Libraries and Information Services.

With great respect, I am

Sincerely yours,

DONNALD K. ANDERSON,
Clerk, House of Representatives.

SUMMARY REPORT OF 1991 WHITE
HOUSE CONFERENCE ON LI-
BRARY AND INFORMATION
SERVICES—MESSAGE FROM THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED
STATES

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Education and Labor:

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit to you the Summary Report of the 1991 White House Conference on Library and Information Services and my recommendations on its contents as mandated by the Congress in Public Law 100-382, section 4.

The world has changed dramatically since the last White House Conference on Library and Information Services. The thirst for freedom has swept aside the acceptance of tyranny. New and amazing technologies have made ideas accessible to everyone. Books, faxes, computer disks, and television and news broadcasts have ended the reign of ignorance and helped create a whole new world of enterprise, competition and, with it, intellectual growth.

Library and information services are vital because they help ensure a free citizenry and a democratic society. It was appropriate that the 1991 Conference addressed three major themes of great concern to our own society: literacy, productivity, and democracy. These three issues are now more important than ever as we work to raise our Nation's educational level, to make the American work force preeminent in the world, and to serve as an example to the rest of the world regarding the benefits of a democratic society. We live in exciting times with our world changing daily. Not only are we on the verge of revolutions in educational practice and workplace improvements, but technology is helping to change the very way in which we learn and work. Library and information services are at the center of this change with new sophisticated technologies that not only improve the quality of information but actually make it more accessible to the people who need it. It was the realization that library and information services are in a period of rapid change that prompted the establishment of the 1991 White House Conference on Library and Information Services.

Participants at the White House Conference considered the themes of literacy, productivity, and democracy, and how library and information services can contribute significantly to the achievement of those goals. The 984 delegates to the Conference included librarians, information specialists, and community leaders. They represented all the States and territories and the Federal library community. Prior to the Conference, there had been innumerable pre-Conference forums involving more than 100,000 Americans. These meetings produced 2,500 initial proposals regarding library and information services. The Conference delegates deliberated on 95 consolidated proposals before making their final recommendations. I wish to commend the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science for its key role in making the Conference a success. The recommendations, thoughtfully considered by the delegates to the Conference, are intended to help frame national library and information service policies for the 1990s.

THE IMPORTANCE OF LIBRARY AND
INFORMATION SERVICES

Library and information services have always played a significant role in our society. From colonial times forward, our libraries have acquired, preserved, and disseminated information to Americans. Today libraries and information services are expanding their roles and, with the advent of new technology, changing the ways in which we use and share information. As we move toward the new century, we should acknowledge the contributions that libraries have made and will continue to make in the years ahead.

A particular strength of our libraries and information services is that they are locally controlled. Whether in the public or private sector, these services are best maintained at the local level where they can be most responsive to citizens and where they can adapt to new local needs. Likewise, the States have a long tradition of fostering the development and expansion of library services to all citizens. In combination, both local and State governments are the primary supporters of our Nation's libraries and information services. The Federal role in library and information services has been one of encouraging and leveraging State and local support to expand the availability of library services to all Americans.

LITERACY

The quest for the future begins with literacy. Literacy is a goal that we must make every effort to achieve. It has been estimated that 23 million adult Americans are functionally illiterate, lacking skills beyond the fourth-grade level, with another 35 million semilliterate, lacking skills beyond the eighth-grade level. The effects of illiteracy in this Nation are staggering as people find themselves shut out of opportunities and as our governments struggle to find ways to assist these disadvantaged individuals.

My Administration is committed to improving education for all Americans. With broad bipartisan support, we are moving rapidly to implement strategies to achieve our six National Education Goals. These Goals, developed cooperatively with the Nation's Governors, address critical education issues ranging from ensuring our children start school ready to learn and attaining a 90 percent high school graduation rate, to being first in the world in math and science, demonstrating competency in core subject areas, and ensuring safe, disciplined, and drug-free schools. Goal five states that by the year 2000, "Every adult in America will be literate and will possess the skills necessary to compete in a global economy and exercise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship." As we pursue education reform across America, one of our emphases must be on a literate America. To that end, I have consistently worked for an increase in Federal efforts for literacy programs. Our national education strategy, AMERICA 2000, is designed to help achieve all of the goals, and libraries, serving as community centers, can therefore play a major role in helping communities and schools across the country reach the goals.

The Conference recommendations include several statements that also address the literacy issue. I would urge the Members of Congress to review these suggestions carefully and to consider them in any future deliberations regarding literacy and library and information services.

PRODUCTIVITY

Today's workplace demands a new definition of the term productivity. Rather than a traditional perspective that measures the production of items, we must recognize that we now live in an Information Age. In today's Information Age, many of our workers are knowledge workers who create and use information in totally new environments and in totally new ways. What we must do is to ensure that these workers achieve maximum productivity in their efforts.

The White House Conference recommendations regarding productivity are varied and far-reaching. Of perhaps greatest significance is the support shown for a national network for information sharing. The recent passage of the High-Performance Computing Act of 1991 responds directly to this recommendation and is a major step in the direction of increased productivity for American workers. Other recommendations address copyright statutes and business information centers, both of which would have a positive impact upon the efforts of American business and employees.

My Administration is committed to the full employment and increased productivity of the American work force. We can, and we must, become the most skilled work force in the world if we are to remain preeminent in today's global economy. Throughout the Federal Government, efforts are being made to bring to Americans the kinds of resources that they need to improve their on-the-job effectiveness. For example, within the Department of Education, an information resource for teachers, parents, and communities is being developed. To be known as SMARTLine, this data base will contain the best of education research and practice. This resource will be available locally—through schools and community libraries—to educators and parents who want to improve classroom instruction methods and to raise the education levels of our children.

DEMOCRACY

An informed populace is a great guarantee that our democratic way of life will continue and flourish. Recent events have shown us that people in other countries are struggling to emulate what we have known for the past two centuries. The free flow of information in countries all over the world and especially in Eastern Europe has played a strategic role in releasing people from the bondage of ignorance.

Library and information services provide an infrastructure by which we can obtain information and can contribute to our democratic way of life. In our country, there are more than 30,000 public, academic, and special libraries, and there are an estimated 74,000 school libraries and media centers. These library and information centers are the links between our citizens and

the information that they need. These libraries provide the kind of ongoing education that each man, woman, and child will need in order to remain a fully productive and fully participating citizen.

The 1991 White House Conference on Library and Information Services has generated many worthwhile recommendations. Clearly these ideas illustrate not only the changing role of libraries, but also the revolutionary changes affecting our own society. As our culture changes, so must the institutions that serve it. The Conference Report makes it clear that library and information services are changing rapidly in response to an increasingly complex and global society. As we strive for a more literate citizenry, increased productivity, and stronger democracy, we must make certain that our libraries and information services will be there to assist us as we lead the revolution for education reform. As I stated in my speech at the White House Conference, "Libraries and information services stand at the center of this revolution."

GEORGE BUSH.

THE WHITE HOUSE, March 6, 1992.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER

The SPEAKER. The Chair wishes to make a statement.

On rollcall 41 and rollcall 42, as shown in the RECORD of March 5, 1992, it appears that the yeas and nays were ordered by unanimous consent on adoption of the divided portions of House Concurrent Resolution 287. In fact, the Chair put the question on the adoption of those portions of House Concurrent Resolution 287 to a vote by electronic device without first putting the question by a voice vote and without first asking whether one-fifth of those present supported a demand for the yeas and nays.

The Chair was in error in so ordering the vote to be taken by the yeas and nays without first going through the required procedure, but at the time members of the committee on both sides of the aisle were on their feet, and the Chair assumed that a demand for a record vote would be made immediately by one or the other of the members of the committee. When the Chair ordered the vote to be taken as he did, no objection was raised by either side of the House, and the House was implicitly granting unanimous consent for the vote to be taken by the yeas and nays, and the Parliamentarian suggested the RECORD should so reflect that.

THE COMPONENTS THAT HAVE MADE THIS COUNTRY STRONGEST IN THE WORLD

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from

Wyoming [Mr. THOMAS] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. THOMAS of Wyoming. Mr. Speaker, for the last several weeks this House has addressed itself to the question of economic growth and the budget, and properly. We have addressed ourselves to jobs and how do we best move in the direction of strengthening the economy and what do we do about strengthening the availability of jobs. I think that is the proper thing that we should be talking about, and we should be looking for solutions.

Too often we find ourselves debating issues, when we are talking about solutions.

This country has long been recognized as the most preeminent powerful country in the world. We find now in the great changes of the last several years almost all of the countries in the world adapting to our system of government, adapting to a market economy, moving away from a command economy, adapting themselves to a democracy, moving away from totalitarian government. I think that is a great honor to us, to the American people that have made this system the strongest system in the world in 200 years.

We have provided more things for more people and at the same time retained more personal freedom than any country in the world.

So as we change and as we look for ways, I think we ought to take a look at what it is that has made us great. It seems to me that there are a number of things. One is our encouragement for the private sector and the market system. Another is taxes; we have generally kept them low and kept the money in the pockets of the citizens. The third is profit: Profit has been the motivation that has caused the economic engine that we have to drive to provide us the opportunity to do other things.

The size of government, the relative size of government—ours has been relatively small.

Mr. Speaker, my point is that I think we ought to take a look at those components that have made this country the strongest country in the world and when we move toward strengthening this economy even more and moving it to where we would like rather than spending all of our energy with the kind of safety net sort of things that deal with the fact that the economic engine is not going, that we move to cause it to go. That is not to say that we do not need safety nets. Of course, we need unemployment, of course, we need welfare. But we need it to be based on the notion that it is a temporary assistance and that we provide jobs to move people into the private sector.

Jobs are created in the private sector.

We have overburdened our private sector, it seems to me, with regulatory

problems and taxes. We need to talk about moving away from those kinds of things and providing the incentives through tax incentives, through removal of regulations, through making them less costly, to cause jobs to be developed.

Taxes: Certainly increasing taxes are not good for the economy. We need to leave taxes in the hands of investors, taxes in the hands of consumers, so that we can, indeed, provide jobs in the private sector profits. There is nothing wrong with profit. Profit is what drives this economy. Profit is what has made us successful.

We begin sometimes to think that profit is an unhealthy kind of thing. On the contrary, it is profits that are healthy.

Size of government: We continue to make it larger, larger, larger. It all has to be taken from the private sector before there is any money for it.

We should have some goals, it seems to me, for fundamental changes. One is that we ought to provide in this system quality jobs for everyone who wants to work. We do that in the private sector. We ought to provide a quality education for everyone who wants to learn. We ought to provide health care for all of our citizens. Those ought to be the goals of this Government, and we need to make some fundamental changes to restrict and to cause our interests and our energies to be in the areas that made this country strong and will continue to make it the best nation in the world.

EXPRESSION OF OUTRAGE OVER AN ACT OF HATE AND VIOLENCE

(Mrs. MORELLA asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. MORELLA. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to express my outrage over an act of hate and violence which was inflicted last week upon two young black women in Montgomery County, MD. The women were allegedly chased and attacked by two white males who were later taken into custody. One woman escaped physical harm when taken into the home of two good citizens who called police. The second had her clothes ripped from her and was doused with lighter fluid, after which her assailant attempted to light her on fire. Fortunately, police arrived and thwarted these actions.

It is unconscionable that, after almost 30 years following the passage of the Civil Rights Act, we are still faced so pathetically with the ignorance and hate of racism. Black women often suffer double discrimination as they become the targets of hate because of their sex, as well as their race. It is imperative that we continue our efforts to educate our youth on the value and beauty of diversity, but, at the same

time, our laws must reflect a societal condemnation for racial intolerance and all hate crimes. This unfortunate incident is yet another example of our need to pass the Violence Against Women Act and other legislation which will assist in making this country safer for women.

□ 1220

MY ADVICE TO THE PRIVILEGED ORDERS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. VOLKMER). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, I continue the presentation to my colleagues in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on the policies, or rather what has been called policy, but contradictory and I think to the detriment of the national interest, with respect to the executive branches principally, though not quite altogether disassociated from some either congressional indifference or abdication making it possible to have the rather sad and tragic tale of the relationship with Iraq, and the fact that the documentation that I am presenting today and which I will append at the end of the special order clearly reveals that in retrospect there was good reason to conclude that Iraq and its leader, Saddam Hussein, had every reason to believe that they were pursuing what they have long pursued, which was their claim to those areas that are in the present country known as Kuwait ever since the partition of part of the Middle East or the Persian Gulf.

The tragic thing is that we have not learned anything, and I will demonstrate why from this rather woeful narration of terrible foreign policy errors, and involving again in the background and lurking as sort of a fertile ground floor contradictory policy individuals who in effect and morally speaking had a conflict of interest and should not have been making the decisions they did and should have recused themselves at the time, which they did not, and Presidents who for whatever reason in their structured inner council arrangements were indifferent to what was going on just right around them or in the basement of the White House.

Now, all this presentation is for the purpose of showing how banking and financial activities, both national and domestic as well as international, are at the bottom of the whole series of tragic developments, not only in this and almost everything else that we can consider to be a continuing matter of concern for our national interests, and this is where we come in, the Banking Committee.

Now, as I have said before, we first in the name of the committee looked into

this almost 2 years ago. As a matter of fact, it was 3 years ago that I noticed a small item in the Wall Street Journal indicating that an agency bank of a foreign bank, known as the Italian Bank, BNL, which means Banca Nazionale del Lavoro, which is really again Italian Government owned.

This is the thing that all through the consideration in our committee from the beginning and the first International Banking Act in 1978 which I caused to bring about after the hearings that I had caused to have in San Antonio, my home town, in 1975 and the fact that our country is very vulnerable and has no regulatory oversight method of accountability for this huge amount of money now known as Foreign Bank or Foreign Financial, which amounts to a huge \$800 billion and which, of course, at any given moment can have a tremendous impact on whatever we do as a domestic policy matter. This is the reason for the concern. We are not interested in trying to show up the ineptness or the clumsiness or the negligence per se of personnel, other than as it has resulted in a very dangerous situation as far as the framework of regulatory accountability that our country still fails to provide.

Now, today's statement will show that the administration repeatedly misled the Congress and the American people about the use of the CCC, the Commodity Credit Corporation guaranteed program for Iraq, and which was the reason my eye caught that little article saying that \$3 billion worth of letters of credit for Iraq were being issued through the Atlanta, GA, agency of this Italian bank. It seemed to me even then that amount of billions of dollars, and to my distress I discovered that was just one of the last crunches of letters of credit, that the sum total would amount to \$5 billion.

Now, I think the undesirable part of that is that those letters of credit issued on the basis of the guarantee through the CCC are taxpayer-guaranteed, so the taxpayer now has a bill of somewhere around \$3 billion being dumped in its lap. I use the \$3 billion that would feed our domestic needs in the very committee that I chair, because we have jurisdiction of everything from housing to economic stabilization, otherwise known as wage and price controls and, of course, the community or the infrastructure of the community development. That is our jurisdiction.

I can tell you what we could do with the money that this reflects for such things as the distressful homelessness problem which is basically a critical shelter or housing problem that has grown up in the last 10 years.

So when we look at it from that standpoint, that viewpoint, of course we consider it a matter of urgency that we plug those crevices in our laws that

make it possible for these activities, plus many others that we know and suspect, such as drug money laundering that are financed through just a small amount or segment of this huge \$800 billion that is loose in our country. It can be multiplied tremendously and quickly, and through the use of the banking system, through not only the Italian bank, which in turn used the Morgan Bank, for instance, as its syndicator, that is the fancy word that is used, and then the Morgan Bank in turn found methods to involve German banks, French banks, and believe it or not, our old friend the BCCI.

There again, we have our laws and we had a few amendments this last November when we passed the Banking Act of 1991, but it is not enough.

□ 1230

We were able to get the Federal Reserve Board to go along only after we had these revelations, and over the protest of the Attorney General, who was trying to get us to drop the hearings. So, it has not been easy.

Even now we have not had access to the documents that the committee subpoenaed. We were able to prevail, in a unanimous committee, to subpoena over 100 documents from Federal Reserve, State Department, CIA. And it is strange that some of these agencies that you would think would say, "We are not about to," like the CIA, have been more or less forthcoming than some of the others, even the Federal Reserve. But through one of those fateful things that some of the documents we could not get from the Fed we were able to get from our colleagues, from the Italian Senate and its distinguished chairman, Senator Carta, who is heading an investigative committee on this matter; that is, BNL and its letters of credit to Iraq, and others, its involvement with BCCI, because it is going to cost the Italian taxpayers about \$2 billion, as well.

So, through him and his generosity we got the documents that the Federal Reserve said we could not have because they were, of course, over in Rome. Anyway, we got them.

It helped considerably because it rounded out a fuller picture of the intricacies of this very byzantine arrangement.

Now, we have proved that the administration engaged in a policy permitting such things as intelligence-sharing with Iraq, which had started during the war between Iraq and Iran.

Now, when you look at it from that standpoint and at the time that it began after President Reagan took Iraq off the list of nations labeled as terrorist nations, that opened the gates under our laws to everything, commercial, every other kind of intercourse.

But at that time it was feared that Iraq might lose that war and Iran was looked upon as the more undesirable

element that would seriously and maybe perhaps for the foreseeable future, disturb whatever it is they call the balance of power in the Middle East.

Rightly or wrongly, the decision was made to aid Iraq, even to the point of intelligence-sharing, through the CIA and other intelligence agencies, with Iraq.

The unfortunate thing is that on the other hand and in order to evade the 1982 Boland Act restricting appropriated funds from going down to the Contras in Nicaragua, the administration then turns around and, through its agents, Israel, was able to contact Iran and promised and in fact delivered armament.

So, we found ourselves thinking we were so smart we could lend money and credit and intelligence, and also supplies in pretty substantial amount and prevailed on other countries to send armament to Iraq, but they, too, were also providing Iran, and so did we, with the so-called Iran/Contra scandal.

Naturally, with our traditional contempt for other peoples whom we consider inferior, we did not guess that each one of those countries would know that we were playing such a duplicitous role. Of course, it did.

Besides, we did not seem to be sensitive to the history, and that is that Iraq and Israel had been in a state of war since 1948-49, and were then.

The additional fact that Iran is not an Arabic nation, it is a non-Arabic nation, and the fact that Syria, which had been considered the most implacable enemy there as far as Israel is concerned, through the Lebanon situation, was the only Arab nation to go against Saddam Hussein. But if anybody thinks it was done in the name of any noble purpose and not because of this very, very complicated power struggle that is ceaseless and has been from time immemorial in the Middle East, just does not know what the facts are.

And when I reported last week that as long ago as 7 or 8 months ago—mind you, it was more than that, about 9 months ago, shortly after the so-called end of the Desert Storm—that Syria obtained 300 improved Scuds from North Korea. So I was interested to see, 3 days later, last week, the President—I guess he was answering some questions—saying, "We are intervening and protesting to North Korea to see if we can prevail upon them to stop sending Scuds to the Middle East," meaning Iran.

Well, North Korea—does North Korea produce those Scuds? That is a question I would like to have answered. The improved Scuds? Those are Russian-derived.

But on the other hand, even with all of this, we still have not learned anything. Our policy with respect to North Korea, for instance, our policy with respect to China, the People's Republic of

China, which is the last communist, or rather is the largest communist stronghold in the world, and the fact that even as late as last year we had our National Security Adviser going to China and coming back and saying, "Well, you know, they have promised they are going to abide and that they are not sending any more armaments to the Middle East."

Well, China had been visited by three Secretaries of Defense, three Presidents, and on each one of those they promised they were not going to send arms to the Middle East. On one of them they got the license to manufacture the Silkworm missile. Now, that is American. We gave it to Red China.

So, as late as a year ago more or less, we have the National Security Adviser going and saying, "Oh, they have now promised to stop." But they had said they stopped 2 years before.

So, we constantly want to be deceived and fooled, and we have lost control of that, anyway.

But it should have been obvious the moment we began this sort of schizophrenic combination of what passes for diplomatic commerce, we had all the agencies from the Commodity Credit Corporation to the Export-Import Bank to the Department of Commerce and 80 of our big corporations running over to see how much they could get over in Iraq, but losing sight of the fact that as far as the geopolitical situation was concerned, as I said a few minutes ago, a state of war still exists and has existed since 1948 with the State of Israel.

So, today what I want to bring out is how this, as a continuing problem, not having learned anything, still further compounds our dilemma as far as our international financial relations are concerned.

Recall that these countries work through what they call their central bank; the Central Bank of Iraq, for instance. But in those countries the officers are interchangeable. Saddam Hussein's son-in-law was both the secretary or minister for military procurement as well as commerce and as well as dictating in the name of the Central Bank of Iraq.

Now, the bad part of our laws is, as the Federal Reserve tells us, "We can't give you information, because in this reciprocal world we can't tell you what the central banks and who is behind those Central Bank deposits."

So, it is entirely possible as I am speaking right here that Saddam Hussein could have millions of dollars squirreled away in their own banking system, without any of our agencies really knowing that, right now as I am speaking.

It sounds incredible, but sometimes they say truth is stranger than fiction.

Now, what I have here now is the documentation showing the so-called Iraq options paper, which means that the

administration made a decision to continue the intelligence-sharing at least until May 1990.

□ 1240

Remember, Mr. Speaker, it was on August 2 that Iraq invaded Kuwait. But as late as May we still had, even through the Iraqi war with Iran had ended, it had terminated, and supposedly and in fact the disturbing thing is that, when Mr. Robert Gates was being questioned by the Senate for appointment as a Director of the CIA, he told the Senators that that in fact had happened, that with the termination of the war, why they had no further intelligence exchanges. But the same Mr. Robert Gates was in charge of the national security and the intelligence with CIA at the time.

Mr. Speaker, these papers show that the national security and the State Department were using the intelligence-sharing arrangements with Iraq as a foreign policy tool and raises a myriad of new questions about the scope and the duration of the intelligence-sharing arrangements with Iraq.

Now mind you, as long as that continued, remember, with the interchangeability and these countries' government not like ours; they do not have separation of powers or anything that the financial and the banking is inextricably linked, and, if they have access to our intelligence resources, what were those resources? Has the Congress ever been given a report? If so, I do not know about it.

In 1984, with Iraq being considered in serious jeopardy of losing that war with Iran, President Reagan signed a national security decision directive authorizing the CIA to engage in a limited intelligence-sharing program with Iraq. At that time Mr. Robert Gates was a Deputy Director for intelligence at the CIA, and he had overall responsibility for preparing the intelligence to be shared under this arrangement. In April 1986, 2 years later, the intelligence-sharing authority was further modified by the National Security Council to allow for the sharing of additional types of information related to the results of Iraq's military operations, which means procurement and everything else. In October 1986 the authority was modified again to permit yet additional types of information to flow to Iraq. Like what? What would be those additional informational flows?

Now by October 1986, Mr. Gates was the Deputy Director of the CIA. In recent congressional testimony he stated that in 1986 he had delegated the management of the intelligence-sharing arrangement with Iraq to Richard Kerr. Until today the public believes that the intelligence-sharing arrangements with Iraq ended in 1988 with the end of the Iraq-Iran war.

Now the Senate report indicates, and this was of October 24, last year, 1991,

that the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence released a report entitled "Nomination of Robert M. Gates to be Director of Central Intelligence." This report contains a section entitled, "Sharing Intelligence with the Government of Iran." This section provides the Congress and the American public with details of the administration's policy of sharing intelligence information with Iraq.

Regarding this intelligence-sharing arrangement the report concludes, and I quote, "that intelligence sharing continued on a sporadic basis until 1988, when the war between Iraq and Iran ended." A second passage backs up the assertion that intelligence sharing with Iraq ended in 1988, the passage which deals with the nature of the intelligence-sharing arrangement. It indicates that the intelligence information provided to Iraq was related solely to the Iran-Iraq war, and it reads, and I quote, that United States assistance was limited to providing intelligence and advice with respect to the pursuit of the war, end of quote. Since Iraq and Iran ended their pursuit of war by agreeing to a cease-fire in August 1988, this passage provides additional support to indicate that the sharing arrangement with Iraq ended in 1988.

The Senate report is misleading because the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs has these documents that the intelligence-sharing arrangement did not end in 1988.

In April 1990, then-National Security Deputy Director Robert Gates presided over an NSC deputy's committee meeting on Iraq. The meeting was called to discuss the rapidly deteriorating relations between the United States and Iraq and the explore ways to forestall that deterioration. Now this is in April 1990.

After the meeting, a list of policy options for dealing with Iraq was crafted by the Near East and South Asia section of the State Department. The list was referred to as the Iraq option paper. The options paper, dated May 16, 1990, contains a menu of Government programs that the administration can supposedly use as leverage to mitigate Iraq's increasingly belligerent actions.

On May 16, 1990, the State Department forwarded the paper to NSC Director Brent Scowcroft. The cover sheet accompanying the option paper states, and I quote, "that attached is a paper containing a list of options for responding to recent actions and statements by the Government of Iraq." It was prepared at the request of the deputy's committee which met on April 16:

We ask that you pass this paper to Robert Gates for his review and circulate it to obtain the views of the deputy's committee members and concerned agencies in advance of further discussions by the deputy's committee.

The paper contains over a dozen policy options, and under each is a short

summary of the props and cons related to the pursuit of each particular option. One of the more prominent political options listed in the paper deals with the United States-Iraq intelligence cooperation programs, and it states this: "Intelligence cooperation. Intelligence exchanges have waned," waned, not stopped, "since the gulf war cease-fire. Pro: They will provide Iraq with limited information and Iranian military activity that would be missed. Con: Ending this contact would close off our very limited access to the important segments of the Iraqi establishment." Obviously the intelligence-sharing program between the United States and Iraq was still operational as of May 16, 1990.

On May 29, 1990, 13 days later, a second NSC deputy's committee meeting was convened to go over the options paper and to develop a strategy for dealing with Iraq. The meeting was held at the White House situation room. The agenda for the meeting shows a meeting to be comprised of three segments, as follows:

Segment 1, intelligence update presented by CIA; segment 2, review of United States-Iraq programs and policy options presented by the State Department; and, segment 3, summary presented by Robert Gates.

Taken together, the April and the May 1990 NSC deputy's committee meeting show that of course Mr. Gates played a key role in the formulation of the Bush administration's policies toward Iraq. They also reveal the awareness of the intelligence-sharing arrangements between Iraq and the United States.

Now in September 1990 the Senate Intelligence Committee began an investigation to determine if the Congress was properly notified about the intelligence-sharing agreement with Iraq so that during the 1991 confirmation hearing the issue of intelligence sharing with Iraq received additional attention.

□ 1250

I have quoted from the pertinent sections.

The Senate committee found no evidence in the report that they had that indicated Robert Gates himself took any action to keep the oversight committee from being informed. The revelation that Mr. Gates was aware that the intelligence-sharing arrangement between the United States and Iraq was ongoing at least until May 16, 1990, raises these new questions about his role as Deputy Director of the NSC between 1989 and 1991.

In the setting of the NSC Deputy's Committee meetings, the options paper illustrates that the United States-Iraq intelligence-sharing arrangement was thought of and used as a foreign policy tool.

Now, these are very basic things, and I have said repeatedly that we have

gotten into trouble in our country when we stray from basics, basics involving everything from fundamental constitutional provisos and guidances and precedents to either judgmental decisionmaking matters.

I am going to quote from Senator HOWARD METZENBAUM of Ohio. He said this during the floor consideration of the nomination:

The Iraq case provides a clear example of why the intelligence committees have a right to be concerned about liaison relationships * * * now we have CIA agreement on an important point. When intelligence liaison goes beyond routine cooperation and is used by the NSC as a tool of foreign policy, the intelligence committees shall be informed as a matter of course.

The revelation that intelligence-sharing with Iraq continued well into 1990 also raises new questions about the administration's reporting to the Senate and House Intelligence Committees. Based on the fact that the Senate committee report on the Gates nomination contains that fact that shows differently, I just do not know to what extent the Senate was informed.

That the United States was engaged in intelligence-sharing with Iraq well into 1990 raises a myriad of policy questions. At a minimum, it raises new questions about the scope and duration of that sharing arrangement. It raises new questions about the testimony that Mr. Gates gave, and besides that, this is in my book the fundamental question: Under what authority was the intelligence-sharing arrangement with Iraq carried out? Was the CIA involved in the post-cessation intelligence-sharing arrangement? What role did the State Department and the NSC play in the arrangement, and what did they know?

Did the post-cessation intelligence liaisons with Iraq require the administration to inform the Congress of such activities? Did the intelligence-sharing policy send Saddam Hussein the wrong signal? I conclude that it did.

I think when we look at these things from an overall bird's-eye view, we can see why. Saddam Hussein, together with his predecessor leaders in Iraq, had always contended that that portion of Kuwait that they claim had been wrongfully subdivided by the British when the British were in power properly belong to Iraq.

So here we have this very intimate relationship, and a very costly one, between the United States and Iraq, obviously saying, "You are the side we favor."

Why should we have been so surprised? In fact, before the outbreak of the shooting, of course, then we read about the rather contradictory reported behavior of Ambassador Glaspie and how she had this conversation with Saddam Hussein, and in effect Saddam Hussein said, "You know, we are grateful for your understanding and your support."

So obviously we were not really evaluating all of the ingredients of that equation over there.

Now, what was the gain to the United States for sharing intelligence with Iraq? What was the gain to the United States for going on these huge taxpayer-guaranteed outlays, not only through the Commodity Credit Corporation but the Export-Import Bank? It was in the name of balancing our international trade account and getting U.S. businesses involved. Many of them did get involved, but there was cupidty on the part of our policymakers and some American citizens and businessmen who failed to realize that they were being taken, that Saddam Hussein was interpreting that as obtaining out of 3 billion or so of those letters of credit of the total 5 that Iraq defaulted on, at least half of that that went to direct arms procurement and chemical weapons procurement.

There was the big gun, the giant gun whose inventor was assassinated in Belgium. That was very close to realization, and the money that was going to complete that was part of the money raised in the United States and funneled through these corporations in a way that really should have been quickly recognized as going not to provide grain and food but armaments, not only traditional armaments but sophisticated devices, nuclear, with computers and what not.

I brought this out last year, that as a matter of fact the Defense Department had clearly warned the Export-Import Bank. We did not have documentation showing they had done the same thing with the CCC, but I am sure it did happen because we had what I would call the interagency committees that met. That included Agriculture, the State Department, and the CIA, and they sat there, and the military intelligence and the Defense Department intelligence actually warned the State Department. But it was the State Department that dominated, and as I showed last week and week before last, we had then-Vice President Bush and later Secretary Baker actually intervening on behalf of these credits and pushing and actually lobbying very strongly. So we had the State Department dominating in some cases, and to the detriment of what would be considered the sum total of the national defense interests, these are important oversights, and as I say, the overarching background being our financial and banking resources and activities as the actual base or predicate.

Everything that happens eventually has a financial or a banking premise, even the hostage taking in Iran, as I pointed out earlier.

I am going to more or less round this out by quoting the chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee. I am quoting here:

I am a believer in the oversight process because it is virtually the only way that the

American people—not Members of Congress, but the American people, with their elected representatives acting on their behalf—

Well, of course, we are supposed to be representing the American people—

have to make sure that the most secret programs of our Government are operated in a way which is not only cost-effective, but perhaps even more important, consistent with the basic bedrock values to which we are committed as Americans, and that the law and the Constitutional processes be followed. We had the tragedy in this country of the Iran-Contra affair because this was a failure to notify the oversight committees.

□ 1300

I will end the quote there, because I think that is very naive. Obviously it was not to notify, but to deceive the committees in the Congress, to evade the law passed by Congress known as the Boland Act.

Mr. Speaker, I will continue this at a later time and end up by presenting the suggested legislation we will be recommending for first our committee, and hopefully my colleagues in the full House of Representatives.

Mr. Speaker, I include for the RECORD the National Security Council document dated May 18, 1990, referred to earlier:

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL,
Washington, DC, May 18, 1990.

Memorandum for:

Dr. Carnes Lord, Assistant to the Vice President for National Security Affairs.

Mr. Robert Kimmitt, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Department of State.

Mr. Charles Dallara, Assistant Secretary for International Affairs, Department of the Treasury.

Mr. Paul Wolfowitz, Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, Department of Defense.

Mr. Dennis Klose, Under Secretary for Export Administration, Department of Commerce.

Mr. Richard T. Crowder, Under Secretary for International Affairs and Commodity Programs, Department of Agriculture.

Mr. Richard J. Kerr, Deputy Director of Central Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency.

Admiral David E. Jeremiah, Assistant to the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Subject: NSC/Deputies Committee Review of PCC Paper on Iraq (S).

In response to the NSC/Deputies Committee meeting of April 16, the PCC has prepared an options paper on Iraq (Tab A), listing all U.S. economic and political programs that might be used to respond to recent Iraqi actions and statements. Based on your consideration of the options outlined in the PCC paper, I would like to have your agency's position on options for those programs for which your agency is responsible or in which you have a direct interest by noon Wednesday, May 23. (S)

If you have any further questions, the NSC point of contact is Ms. Sandra Charles, 395-3552. (U)

BRENT SCOWCROFT
Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, DC, May 16, 1990.
Memorandum for: Brent Scowcroft, The
White House.

Subject: Options Paper on Iraq.
Attached is a paper containing a list of options for responding to recent actions and statements by the Government of Iraq. It was prepared at the request of the Deputies Committee, which met on April 16, 1990. We ask that you pass this paper to Robert Gates for his review, and circulate it to obtain the views of Deputies Committee members and concerned agencies in advance of further discussion by the Deputies Committee.

J. STAPLETON ROY,
Executive Secretary.

IRAQ: OPTIONS PAPER

The following list of options for responding to recent actions and statements by Iraq was prepared at the request of the NSC Deputies Committee, which met on April 16, 1990. The only intention is to be comprehensive: the list does not advocate any particular option or group of options. It offers a range of choices from the largely symbolic to a virtually total economic embargo and political break with Iraq. (A non-proliferation PCC will develop specific options for steps in the area of export controls and licensing.)

ECONOMIC

Ban Oil Purchases: The largest benefit Iraq receives from the United States is through our oil purchases, which could total more than \$3 billion in 1990. PRO: Oil provides the wherewithal for Iraq's efforts to develop its own non-conventional military production capacity. A total ban on U.S. oil purchases would have some short-term impact. CON: In the longer run, Iraq would soon find other buyers. Such action might also have an impact on U.S. oil prices.

CCC Program: This is the largest program we currently have with Iraq. All the sanctions legislation on the Hill, aside from Inouye-Kasten, exempts CCC. PRO: Since Iraq's record of repayment on CCC-guaranteed loans is good and USDA's review will probably give Iraq a fairly clean bill of health, suspension of CCC at this point would be a strong political statement. CON: It would violate our policy against using food as a political weapon and hit some U.S. agricultural exporters hard. It might also lead Iraq to default on CCC-insured loans. Other countries would sell these commodities to Iraq.

Exim: In January the President waived the statutory prohibition on Exim programs with Iraq. The program could be cut off by rescinding or suspending the waiver. PRO: It would be a clear, relatively easy to accomplish public gesture containing a political message. CON: The Exim facility is not essential to the Iraqis, but its suspension would harm some U.S. producers.

Licensing/Trade: Current controls on exports to Iraq are already very restrictive, but new controls could be added to ban sale of all possible dual use items. Congress is considering new controls to ban such sales to all states in the region, including Iraq. A non-proliferation PCC will look at possible options in this area in the near future.

Full Trade Embargo: PRO: It would send a strong signal. CON: This would mean a virtual end to relations with Iraq. Our allies would not go along and, indeed, would jump in to take our place wherever they could.

POLITICAL-BILATERAL

Reduce Embassy Staff: PRO: Withdrawing our Ambassador or reducing Embassy staff

(with parallel reductions at the Iraqi Embassy here) would clearly demonstrate our displeasure to the Iraqis. CON: It would further limit our ability to work in Baghdad and strain an Embassy staff that is already short-handed. Removing other Embassy staff (the DATT, for example) would not impress the Iraqis but could seriously reduce mission effectiveness.

Cultural: USIS runs several programs, including a self-sustaining and very popular English instruction program and a small number of exchanges. It also plans to help establish a Baghdad headquarters for U.S. archeologists working in Iraq. PRO: Cutting these programs would be a symbolic gesture. CON: Its only substantive impact would be on the persons involved.

Drug Enforcement: Iraq had its first-ever consultations with DEA this year and expressed interest in getting DEA training for a small number of police officers. PRO: Cancellation of the training would, again, have some symbolic importance. CON: It would have little practical effect for the Iraqi Government.

Intelligence Cooperation: Intelligence exchanges have waned since the Gulf War ceasefire. PRO: They still provide Iraq with limited information on Iranian military activity that would be missed. CON: Ending this contact would close off our very limited access to this important segment of the Iraqi establishment.

Presidential Message: Saddam Hussein likes the personal touch. PRO: A carefully crafted message from the President could be effective if it hit hard on our key concerns, proliferation and regional tension (conflict through a miscalculation by either Iraq or Israel), but also emphasized a continued desire for improved relations. CON: It could be construed here as being soft on Saddam.

Iraqi Opposition: The political opposition to Saddam and the Ba'ath Party, such as it is, is down-at-the-heels, mostly in exile, and (apart from some Kurds) lacks a following in Iraq. We could, nonetheless, find some public way to acknowledge it—the Kurds especially. There is little to recommend this option.

POLITICAL-MULTILATERAL

Move Toward Normalization with Iran: PRO: A change in policy toward a more neutral or even pro-Iranian stance in international fora (UNSC, IMF, World Bank, etc.) would be a strong signal. CON: It also would send paranoia-meters in Baghdad off the end of the scale. It would raise basic questions about our policy in the Gulf and the region as a whole that would have to be addressed here. Iraq's reaction would be unpredictable.

Isolate Iraq: We could use diplomatic pressure with our friends in Cairo, Amman, and Sanaa to encourage resistance to Iraq's efforts to make itself a political and military leader of the Arab World. PRO: This would help limit Iraq's influence. CON: It could bring an unpredictable reaction from Baghdad and could, in fact, backfire in important Arab capitals.

Human Rights: We could sponsor or encourage further action on Iraq's human rights record bilaterally and in a number of international fora. PRO: We have already criticized Iraq's human rights policies on the record, and Saddam is clearly sensitive to such criticism. CON: It would be difficult to get Nonaligned support for further action on Iraq in international organizations. Saddam has demonstrated time and again that he will not allow public pressure, especially from foreigners, to influence his behavior.

Joint Action with Allies: Possible joint action on Iraq would be an appropriate subject

for consultations with our allies and for consideration at the Houston Economic Summit. PRO: Concerted steps by the United States, Western Europe and Japan on such issues as technology transfer would be of much greater concern for the Iraqis than anything the U.S. might do unilaterally. CON: Consensus on concrete measures would be difficult to achieve, and failure to agree on serious joint action could even encourage the Iraqis to ignore our concerns.

DRAFT: NEA/MGA:JRMCGhee.
SENGAGEN 282 4/25/90 x76111.
CLEAR: NEA/NGA:LEPope;
NEA:EWGnehm; NEA:JHKelly.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL,
Washington, DC, May 24, 1990.

Memorandum for:

Mr. Carnes Lord, Assistant to the Vice President for National Security Affairs.
Mr. Stapleton Roy, Executive Secretary, Department of State.

Ms. Emily L. Walker, Executive Secretary, Department of Treasury.

Col. George P. Cole, Jr., Executive Secretary, Department of Defense.

Mr. Robert S. Ross, Jr., Executive Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice.

Ms. Susan Nelson, Executive Assistant to the Secretary, Department of Agriculture.

Mr. Joseph S. Casper, Director of Executive Secretariat, Department of Commerce.

Brig. Gen. Thomas E. White, Jr., Executive Assistant to the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Mr. Lawrence Sandall, Executive Secretary, Central Intelligence Agency.

Subject: NSC/Deputies Committee Meeting on Iraq (S).

There will be a meeting of the NSC/Deputies Committee on Tuesday, May 29, at 4:30 p.m. in the White House Situation Room to discuss U.S. policy options for Iraq. An agenda for the meeting is attached. (S)

Please notify my office of your agency's participants (principal plus one) for this meeting. (U)

WILLIAM F. SITTMANN,
Executive Secretary.

THE NSC/DEPUTIES COMMITTEE MEETING
Date: May 29, 1990.

Location: White House Situation Room.
Time: 4:30-5:30 p.m.

IRAQ Agenda

- I. Intelligence Update, CIA.
- II. Review of U.S.-Iraqi Programs and Policy Options, State.
- III. Summary, Robert Gates.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. NICHOLS) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. RIGGS, for 5 minutes, on March 10 and 12.

Mr. RIGGS, for 60 minutes, on March 11.

Mr. SANTORUM, for 60 minutes, on March 18.

Mr. HANCOCK, for 5 minutes, on March 11.

Mr. THOMAS of Wyoming, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. GONZALEZ) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. ANNUNZIO, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. EDWARDS of California, for 5 minutes, on March 10.

Mr. FAZIO, for 60 minutes, on April 7.

Mr. GONZALEZ, for 60 minutes, on March 10.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

(The following Member (at the request of Mr. NICHOLS) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. MICHEL.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. GONZALEZ) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. ANDERSON in 10 instances.

Mr. GONZALEZ in 10 instances.

Mr. BROWN in 10 instances.

Mr. ANNUNZIO in six instances.

Mr. PASTOR.

Mr. LANTOS in two instances.

Mr. LIPINSKI in two instances.

Mr. KLECZKA.

Mr. BONIOR.

Mr. BACCHUS.

SENATE ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled bills of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 996. An act to authorize and direct the Secretary of the Interior to terminate a reservation of use and occupancy at the Buffalo National River, and for other purposes; and

S. 2184. An act to establish the Morris K. Udall Scholarship and Excellence in National Environmental Policy Foundation, and for other purposes.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock p.m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, March 10, 1992, at 12 noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

3025. A letter from the Acting Assistant Secretary for Science and Education, Department of Agriculture, transmitting the 1990 Annual Report on the Food and Agricultural Sciences, pursuant to U.S.C. 3123(f)(2)(F); to the Committee on Agriculture.

3028. A letter from the Deputy Director, Defense Research and Engineering, Department of Defense, transmitting summaries

outlining two additional projects recommended for fiscal year 1992 funding, pursuant to 10 U.S.C. 2350a(g); to the Committee on Armed Services.

3027. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Defense, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend chapter 47 of title 10, United States Code (the Uniform Code of Military Justice), to improve the quality and efficiency of the military justice system; to the Committee on Armed Services.

3028. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of the Treasury, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Asian Development Bank Act to authorize consent to, and authorize appropriations for, the U.S. contribution to the fifth replenishment of the resources of the Asian Development Fund, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs.

3029. A letter from the Secretary of Education, transmitting notice of final priorities for fiscal year 1992—special projects and demonstrations for providing vocational rehabilitation services to individuals with severe handicaps, pursuant to 20 U.S.C. 1232(d)(1); to the Committee on Education and Labor.

3030. A letter from the Secretary of Health and Human Service, transmitting the Family Planning and 5-Year Plan reports for fiscal year 1990, pursuant to 42 U.S.C. 300a-6a(a); to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

3031. A letter from the Secretary, Interstate Commerce Commission, transmitting notification that the Commission has extended the time period for issuing a final decision in ex parte No. 346, rail general exemption authority—miscellaneous agricultural, commodities—petition of G&T Terminal Packaging Co., Inc. et al, to revoke Conrail exemption, pursuant to 49 U.S.C. 11345(e); to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

3032. A letter from the Chairman, Federal Election Commission, transmitting proposed regulations governing the allocation of Federal and non-Federal expenses, pursuant to 2 U.S.C. 438(d); to the Committee on House Administration.

3033. A letter from the Director, Financial Services, Library of Congress, transmitting a report on the activity of the Capitol Preservation Fund for coin sale surcharges and gift and sales of art, property and money for the month of January 1992 and the period April 1, 1991 through January 31, 1992; to the Committee on House Administration.

3034. A letter from the Assistant Attorney General for Legislative Affairs, Department of Justice, transmitting copies of the report of the Attorney General regarding activities initiated pursuant to the Civil Rights of Institutionalized Persons Act during fiscal years 1990 and 1991, pursuant to 42 U.S.C. 1997f; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3035. A letter from the Assistant Attorney General for Legislative Affairs, Department of Justice, transmitting comments on H.R. 1717; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3036. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting the President's memorandum of justification regarding the drawdown of defense articles and services for Mexico, pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2411; jointly, to the Committees on Appropriations and Foreign Affairs.

3037. A letter from the President and CEO, Resolution Trust Corporation, transmitting the January 1992 report on the status of the review required by section 21A(b)(1)(B) of

the Federal Home Loan Bank Act and the actions taken with respect to the agreements described in such section, pursuant to Public Law 101-507, section 519(a) (104 Stat. 1386); jointly, to the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs and Appropriations.

3038. A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary, Department of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to withdraw and reserve certain public lands and minerals within the State of Colorado for military uses, and for other purposes; jointly, to the Committees on Interior and Insular Affairs and Armed Services.

3039. A letter from the Acting Administrator, Federal Aviation Administration, transmitting the report of progress on developing and certifying the traffic alert and collision avoidance system, covering the period of October through December 1991, pursuant to 49 U.S.C., app. 1348 note; jointly, to the Committee on Public Works and Transportation and Science, Space, and Technology.

3040. A letter from the Secretary of Transportation, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to provide for the continued improvement and expansion of the Nation's airports and airways, and for other purposes; jointly, to the Committees on Public Works and Transportation and Science, Space, and Technology.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

[Submitted March 6, 1992]

Mr. JONES of North Carolina: Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. H.R. 2056. A bill to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 to require that subsidy information regarding vessels be provided upon entry within customs collection districts and to provide effective trade remedies under the countervailing and antidumping duty laws against foreign-built ships that are subsidized or dumped; with an amendment (Rept. 102-284, Pt. 2). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

SUBSEQUENT ACTION ON A REPORTED BILL SEQUENTIALLY REFERRED

Under clause 5 of rule X the following action was taken by the Speaker:

[Submitted March 6, 1992]

The Committees on Energy and Commerce and Public Works and Transportation discharged from further consideration of H.R. 2941. Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 5 of rule X and clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. MAVROULES:

H.J. Res. 434. Joint resolution designating April 2, 1992, as "Chuck Taylor Day"; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. MURTHA (for himself, Mr. HAMILTON, Mr. SOLARZ, Mr. SHAYS, and Mr. RAVENEL):

H. Res. 391. Resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives regarding the signing of the agreements for a formal cease-fire in El Salvador, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. YOUNG of Alaska:

H. Res. 392. Resolution commemorating the 20th anniversary of the Iditarod Trail Sled Dog Race, an event which pays tribute to the Iditarod Trail and the history of Alaska; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

ADDITIONAL SPONSORS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, sponsors were added to public bills and resolutions as follows:

H.R. 124: Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota.
 H.R. 1456: Mr. RICHARDSON.
 H.R. 1637: Mr. YATES and Mr. ROGERS.
 H.R. 1987: Ms. DELAURO, Mr. HOCHBRUECKNER, Mr. ANDREWS of Maine, Mr. ABERCROMBIE, Mr. TORRES, Mr. LAFALCE, Mr. EVANS, and Mr. FAZIO.
 H.R. 2385: Mr. MFUME.

H.R. 2452: Mr. SWETT.
 H.R. 2906: Mr. GORDON, Mr. CLEMENT, and Mr. WALSH.
 H.R. 2872: Mr. MOORHEAD.
 H.R. 3360: Ms. OAKAR, Mr. MOLLOHAN, and Mrs. BYRON.
 H.R. 3780: Mr. SWETT, Mr. JONTZ, and Mr. PENNY.
 H.R. 3809: Mr. WAXMAN, Mr. McMILLEN of Maryland, and Mr. LIPINSKI.
 H.R. 3846: Mr. KOSTMAYER and Mr. WELDON.
 H.R. 4100: Mr. OBEY, Mr. RANGEL, and Mr. MANTON.
 H.R. 4107: Mr. GUARINI.
 H.R. 4169: Mr. TAUZIN.
 H.R. 4212: Mr. BEREUTER, Mr. STAGGERS, and Mr. WISE.
 H.R. 4224: Mr. FIELDS, Mr. STEARNS, Mr. ZIMMER, Mr. WALSH, and Mr. EWING.
 H.R. 4239: Mr. MARTIN and Mr. RANGEL.
 H.R. 4250: Mr. SCHUMER and Mr. RINALDO.
 H.R. 4256: Mr. SCHIFF and Mr. ROE.
 H.R. 4276: Mr. HASTERT, Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts, Mr. RANGEL, Mr. HORTON, and Mr. JACOBS.
 H.R. 4369: Mr. NICHOLS, Mr. THOMAS of Wyoming, Mr. OXLEY, and Mr. ALEXANDER.

H.R. 4378: Mr. LANTOS.
 H.J. Res. 390: Mr. LANCASTER.
 H. Con. Res. 232: Mr. KENNEDY.
 H. Con. Res. 248: Mr. JEFFERSON and Mr. WOLPE.
 H. Res. 332: Mr. LEWIS of Florida.
 H. Res. 359: Mr. ANDREWS of Maine, Mr. JONES of Georgia, and Mr. DWYER of New Jersey.
 H. Res. 377: Mr. SKAGGS.
 H. Res. 384: Mr. HANSEN, Mr. THOMAS of Georgia, Mr. BOEHLERT, and Mr. MARTIN.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

142. The SPEAKER presented a petition of the Chicago Housing Partnership, Chicago, IL, relative to a moratorium on certain HUD regulations; which was referred to the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR JENNINGS
RANDOLPH OF WEST VIRGINIA
ON THE OCCASION OF HIS 90TH
BIRTHDAY

HON. NICK JOE RAHALL II

OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 9, 1992

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege for me to raise in tribute to a great American, whom I am proud to call a friend, a mentor, and a former colleague, Senator Jennings Randolph of West Virginia, now retired.

The occasion we are acknowledging is the Senator's 90th birthday which he celebrated on Sunday, March 8, 1992, and on which day I talked personally with him and marveled at the strength in his voice.

In years past, in my commentary I have proudly told and retold the tales about the dedication and hard work that permitted this able statesman to achieve the heights of public service that he achieved during his 40-year tenure in Washington. And justly so, I spoke in a voice tinged with pride, of the many socio-economic benefits that flowed from the public service efforts of Jennings Randolph. Much of his work was intended for the greater good of all humankind, but most special were the benefits he was able to provide for his beloved West Virginians.

Mr. Speaker, for those who have heard those past tributes we have made to Jennings Randolph, they will clearly recall that he began his tenure as a Member of the House of Representatives in 1933, and served ably during the historic first 100 days of the Presidency of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Today's tribute to Senator Randolph is not to repeat the litany of his many legislative and personal achievements and other triumphs of his life, but to speak of his close relationship with President Roosevelt, and of Senator Randolph's own last public speech, in 1988, made shortly before he placed himself in a personal care home near his son and his grandchildren in Missouri.

If Senator Randolph were here today, standing in the familiar well of the House, he would tell you that his friend and early mentor, President Franklin Roosevelt, was called upon by his country to expend his energies and his talents on making war, when he was in fact a prince of peace.

Jennings Randolph, too, was a prince of peace—even though he stood with his President in declaring war against the Japanese after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. Early in his congressional career, in 1945, after the harrowing war which victimized, and finally killed, his friend and mentor Franklin Roosevelt, Jennings Randolph began pursuing the establishment of an arm of Government committed to peacemaking. He proposed first a Department of Peace—and he did so in 1945

when we still had the Department of War. The Department of War was changed to the Department of Defense in 1948. Later, Senator Randolph proposed a cabinet level Secretary of Peace—and later an Academy of Peace.

But it was not until he was near to retirement in 1984 that Congress enacted into law the establishment of the U.S. Institute of Peace, along with the Jennings Randolph International Peace Scholars Exchange Program. At the time of its creation, there was much talk about naming the Peace Institute for Senator Randolph. He would not permit it—for he wanted it to be or become the "peace arm" of the U.S. Government, not a shrine or think tank named after a Member of Congress. But if he had been made to name the Institute after someone, Senator Randolph would have named it for Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Senator Randolph revered Franklin Roosevelt, and saw him as a visionary—more so than any of the other eight Presidents Senator Randolph served under—from Truman to Eisenhower, Kennedy to Johnson, Nixon to Ford, Ford to Carter, and last Carter to Reagan.

It was during the Reagan Presidency, when Randolph was pushing his Institute of Peace idea toward enactment, that he received a call in the middle of a Labor and Human Resources Committee markup. When Senator Randolph was told that President Reagan was on the line, Randolph waved the staffer away with the statement: " . . . well, tell the President I am busy here . . . will have to call him back." Eyes wide, the staffer careened off to tell the White House operator that President Reagan would have to wait.

Senator Randolph was not being rude, or out of line, he was just being himself. He was a Senator, he was busy carrying out his work as the ranking Democrat on the Labor and Human Resources Committee, and his committee was about to begin its markup. First on the agenda that day was a matter close to the heart of Senator Randolph—that of agreeing to a budget waiver that would permit the Senator's Peace Institute bill to be brought to the floor of the Senate for consideration. As soon as the Peace Institute budget waiver was agreed to by the committee, Senator Randolph said: "I will speak to the President now if someone will get him on the phone for me."

When President Reagan came on the line, Randolph apologized for not taking his earlier call, but told President Reagan that while he, the President, could oppose the Peace Institute all he wanted to—which Reagan was strongly denying—that he—Randolph—was not about to do so, not even to take a call from the President himself while the committee in the next room was voting on a measure that held the Institute's very future in its hands. Reagan never did publicly support creation of the Institute but, once Congress acted in the affirmative, he signed the measure into law in October 1984.

On July 3, 1988, Senator Jennings Randolph made his last public appearance and speech in Gettysburg, PA, standing on the same ground where another famous President, Abraham Lincoln, had stood while making more words immortal. The Senator spoke in Gettysburg in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Eternal Light Peace Memorial, and he spoke of the death of Franklin Roosevelt, but he also spoke of his life. In his speech in 1988, Senator Jennings Randolph told his audience about the last speech prepared for President Roosevelt to deliver, but that he died before he could do so. And then Senator Randolph proceeded to deliver the 1945 Roosevelt speech to a wailing audience.

Senator Randolph believed that the words of President Roosevelt in 1945 were still relevant 50 years later, in 1988. I believe they still are, in 1992. For this reason, and in further tribute to him, Mr. Speaker, I insert the last public speech given by Senator Jennings Randolph hereafter in the RECORD.

In conclusion, I want to say to Senator Randolph: Senator I am as much in awe of your lifetime of achievement today as I was in 1976 when I was about to be sworn in as the (then) youngest Member of the House of Representatives. My respect for you has grown over the years.

More than anything else, I am proud to be associated, as a West Virginian and as a Member of this House, with your record of leadership. The RECORD will reveal that you acted always with clarity of thought; that you believed deeply in the inherent abilities and talents that lie within every American; that you were able to lead others, not through outrageous or revolting words or deeds, or through bellicosity or belligerence, but simply, with an honest expression of confidence made quietly, a silent gesture or salute, a humorous anecdote, and if absolutely necessary, a gentle rebuke.

You treated all of us with the characteristic wit and wisdom of a true gentleman, embodying the finest traditions of the House and of the Senate, and of this great country.

Senator, as you read my words, and as you read many other tributes to you in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, put there by your many friends and former colleagues in the House and Senate, please know that I hope your 90th birthday is the happiest one yet, and that I wish you many, many, many more to come.

REMARKS BY HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH, JULY 3, 1988

It was an end of an era, the end of the stewardship of a very remarkable man who led a prostrate nation out of the depths of its worst depression and then harnessed the resources of free men and women to defeat the most serious threat we had ever known to peace and human rights. Franklin Roosevelt was a casualty of that war.

As sorrowful as that memory of 38 years ago may be, I recall a nation and a world beginning a new era during which we would

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.

strive to fulfill the commitment made by our commander-in-chief. He said these words: "We look forward to a world founded upon our essential human freedoms: The first is freedom of speech and expression * * * The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way * * * The third is freedom from want, which means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants * * * The fourth is freedom from fear, which means a worldwide reduction of armaments to such a point, and in such a thorough fashion, that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor anywhere in the world."

Franklin Roosevelt was forced to expend his enormous energies and talents in pursuit of war, but he was by every measure a prince of peace. His speeches and writings during those years of bitter conflict underscored his crusade to secure peace and human liberty.

During this entire time, we were troubled and the waters were rough. Franklin Roosevelt understood the sea. No navigator ever distinguished himself on a calm sea. That happens only when the person who understands troubled waters and rough times places his hand on the tiller and hopes that people everywhere, in a sense, can do it, too.

Elsewhere on the globe, menacing forces were on the rise. During the late 1930's, the accelerating expansionism of Hitler and Mussolini in Europe and Africa, continuation of Japanese warfare against China and the Axis alliance formed by Germany, Italy, and Japan foretold the outbreak of World War II.

After the collapse of France in 1940 and the start of the Nazi assault against Great Britain, in early 1941 Roosevelt launched an extensive lend-lease program on behalf of the Allies, which included Britain, Free France, China, and the Soviet Union.

The day after the surprise Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, the United States declared war on the Axis powers and began an all-out global effort to defeat them. Roosevelt mobilized the nation, defined war aims, and coordinated and conferred with other Allied heads of state.

Franklin Roosevelt literally was now commander-in-chief of the U.S. fighting forces. His rendezvous with destiny was at hand. Enormous will and reservoir of strength were required of him to conduct the war effort and govern at home.

Roosevelt was not content, we must remember, to guide our nation and free world from the safe confines of the White House, Hyde Park, or Warm Springs. Truly, he operated as a commander in the field traveling to Casablanca, Tehran, Quebec, Cairo, and Yalta to coordinate the war effort and, most importantly in his mind, secure a program of peace and human rights once the conflict was successfully concluded.

As the Allies moved closer to victory, Roosevelt devoted much more energy and time to the establishment of the United Nations. To reconcile to the maximum extent the conflicting demands, the national interests, the pursuits of power and territorial demands, particularly in negotiating with Stalin, required the great persuasion and patience that this president could muster. The United Nations became his dream, an international organization dedicated to the pursuit of peace and human rights. He did not, as we know, live to see that dream become a reality or to witness the victory in war for which he had worked so long and hard. On April 12, 1945, at the age of 63, Franklin Roosevelt died in Warm Springs, Georgia. He was

to have given a speech in St. Louis, Missouri on April 13. I have read the remarks our great president prepared. I quote from them so that you may understand the depth of his concern for the people of the world if we did not learn to live together in a world, "Where time and distance are no more."

I continue to quote from his undelivered speech: "We as Americans, do not choose to deny our responsibility, nor do we intend to abandon our determination that, within the lives of our children and our children's children, there will not be a third world war."

"We seek peace, enduring peace. More than that an end to this brutal, inhuman and thoroughly impractical method of settling the differences between governments."

"The work my friends is peace. More than an end to this war—an end to the beginnings of all wars. Yes, an end forever, to this impractical, unrealistic settlement of the differences between governments by the mass killing of peoples."

"Today we move against the terrible scourge of war—as we go forward toward the greatest contribution that any generation of human beings can make in this world—the contribution of lasting peace. I ask you to keep up your faith."

President Roosevelt, in his own hand, added, "The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith."

It is my belief that, at long last, we have the first shaping of an instrument through which a more peaceful world may be achieved, and President Roosevelt's dream fulfilled. In June of 1945, I introduced a bill to establish what was then called a Department of Peace. Such a department would have the responsibility of formulating and publicizing educational programs for promoting better understanding of the other peoples of the world and better understanding of the fundamental principles of international relations and of cooperation among nations.

On October 19, 1984, thirty nine years later, President Ronald Reagan signed the United States Institute of Peace Act, and thus created an institution to develop and disseminate knowledge about the peaceful resolution of international conflict. In 1986 the presidential nominees to the Institute's Board of Directors were sworn into office by Chief Justice Warren Burger, in his private chambers. On February 25th of that same year the Institute's Board of Directors, to which I am the senior advisor, held their first meeting before a standing-room-only audience. The doors of the Institute officially opened on April 14, 1986, and work commenced.

I firmly believe that the United States Institute of Peace will allow us to realize the hope that Franklin Roosevelt once expressed as, " * * * an end to the beginnings of all wars," a hope symbolized by this Eternal Light Peace Memorial which he dedicated 50 years ago today, and which we now rededicate with the same hope for a world of peace.

BAKER'S SLEDGEHAMMER DIPLOMACY AGAINST ISRAEL

HON. MEL LEVINE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 9, 1992

Mr. LEVINE of California. Mr. Speaker, the following commentary by William Safire,

"Humiliating Israel," New York Times, March 2, 1992, outlines the damaging effects of the Bush administration's sledgehammer diplomacy against our only democratic ally in the Middle East. By refusing to accept even a congressional compromise on the humanitarian loan guarantees for Israel—deducting from the amount Israel spends on West Bank and Gaza settlements—this administration is, as Safire puts it, holding hostage Jews fleeing from feared pogroms and persecution in the former Soviet Union.

Safire also correctly observes that in its refusal to compromise and insistence that the President must have the discretion to suspend the loan guarantees at any time, the administration has usurped the power to formulate Middle East policy from the Congress. By failing to distinguish friend and foe in this region, the administration is walking a dangerous path.

I strongly urge my colleagues to review this insightful analysis.

[From the New York Times, Mar. 2, 1992]

HUMILIATING ISRAEL

(By William Safire)

WASHINGTON.—The depth of James Baker's anti-Israel animus was displayed last week when he complained to Congress, "Nobody else is asking us for \$10 billion in addition to the \$3 billion to \$4 billion we give every year with no strings attached."

That was a lie twice over. Secretary Baker is a lawyer who weighs his every word. He knows that Israel asks only for a cosigner on a loan from private banks, has offered to pay the 2 or 3 percent set-aside costs and is by no means "asking us for \$10 billion."

He knows, too, that \$1.2 billion a year comes right back to us as repayment for military aid we "sold" Israel to offset our sales of advanced jets and tanks to its enemies. And most of the economic aid is for goods that must be purchased in the U.S. So much for "no strings" from an Administration that just forgave Egypt's \$7 billion debt.

The Iceman of Foggy Bottom is prepared to practice such deception to accomplish one goal: to limit the settlement of the West Bank to Arabs only. The majority of Jews in Israel believe that would lead to an independent P.L.O. state at their jugular.

To this war-inviting end, Mr. Bush has taken two steps that would have been anathema to any previous U.S. President:

First, he has held hostage Jews fleeing from feared pogroms in Russia and Ukraine. Unless Israel knuckles under to Mr. Bush about the West Bank, there will be no help in borrowing money to house the refugees.

Second, he is unabashedly seeking to topple the Government of an ally. His message to Israelis is unmistakable: Vote out Mr. Shamir and his party of the right—or else.

How can he get away with this strong-arm stuff? Why isn't he concerned about public opinion and Congressional reaction?

Here's why: On the left he has the editorial support of our leading liberal newspapers; on the right, he sees The Wall Street Journal's news pages savaging Israel's supporters in the U.S.

In the Congress, he enured Senator Patrick Leahy, overseer of foreign aid appropriations, into what the Vermont Democrat thought was a compromise that would assert mutual interests: deducting from the loan guarantee the amount Israel chose to spend on settlements on disputed land.

But now President Bush's operatives are gleefully passing the word that they have

compromised that compromise. They will let Congress authorize the loan guarantee—but only if it gives the President and Mr. Baker the power to withhold its use if Israel does not obey the Bush Administration's West Bank diktats.

Such an abdication of responsibility would transfer power from Congress to the executive branch concerning Mideast affairs (and be a step in the direction of a line-item veto, which every President seeks).

Too many supporters of Israel in the U.S. are persuaded that it's O.K. for Mr. Bush to direct a labor victory, because they think Yitzhak Rabin will stop the settlements, hand over the West Bank and call that peace.

But Mr. Rabin is on the record against political settlements—not settlements needed for Israel's security, which he supported as Prime Minister in the 70's. He is no Peres patsy. If a Labor-Likud unity government emerges, as is likely, Mr. Bush would be infuriated at its refusal to accept his Solomonic decision to cut Israel's territory in half.

If Mr. Bush succeeds in turning the Leahy compromise into a Leahy double-cross. Mr. Baker will tell Israel: "Take it and leave it." Take the guarantee to borrow the refugee-housing money and leave the West Bank to exclusive Arab development—and, ultimately, Arab sovereignty.

No self-respecting nation can accept such a dishonorable deal. Better to withdraw the guarantee request and let the Russian refugees live in tent cities—call them "Bushvilles"—throughout the West Bank. Perhaps televised suffering will appeal to the world's conscience.

Mr. Bush put a leash on Israel when it wanted to respond to Iraqi Scud attacks. He has been trying to bring Israel to heel by electing his choice of a Prime Minister. And now he wants Congress to let him force the people of Israel—desperate to house refugees from feared religious persecution—to sit up and beg.

Too much. In trying to humiliate the only free nation in the Middle East, George Bush and his hatchetman at State demean us all.

MIRACLE ON THE EMBARCADERO

HON. TOM LANTOS

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 9, 1992

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, on the Embarcadero in San Francisco, a miracle is taking place everyday. That miracle is called the Delancey Street Foundation, a highly innovative drug and alcohol rehabilitation facility that is literally saving lives by instilling hope in the hearts of society's castaways.

To merely call Delancey Street a halfway house is to belie its imaginative and dynamic approach to rehabilitation. Serving 700 adult and juvenile residents, the organization is run by Mimi Silbert, one of the most courageous and remarkable women I have ever encountered.

She runs Delancey Street Foundation singlehandedly—her only partners in rehabilitating the residents are the residents themselves. She works with the absolute bottom rung of our society: addicts, prostitutes, con men, thieves, felons. But rising from the ashes of addiction and despair, the lost find new life at the Delancey Street Foundation.

The mission of Delancey Street is best described by Mimi Silbert herself:

The people who come to Delancey Street are pretty much the ones who should be here: they're nasty, vicious, really anti-social, self-destructive, self-hating, and other-hating people * * * We don't change people for the inside out. We change them from the outside in. You act as if you're decent, as if you're kind and good. And eventually you learn to become all of those things * * *

We spend a lot of time caring. The way the place is structured, they have to care, because there's no staff, only me. They have to care for each other, or they will die.

The horror of Delancey Street is that when people split, leave early, they don't make it for one reason or another, they're soon dead. Literally, we fight for lives. We have success because we believe in something larger than ourselves; we plan all the time, talk incessantly about how we need to prepare for the kids now standing on street corners, kids we don't know but who are going to need help. We build not for ourselves but for them, for the future.

In 1989, the foundation embarked on a bold and glorious experiment. With limited financial resources, the residents—former convicts, addicts, and former lost souls—built from scratch a \$30-million, three-acre complex of living space, shops, restaurants, and a fitness center along the waterfront on the Embarcadero. I recently had lunch at this exquisite new facility. It was quite an experience.

It is difficult to convey just how deeply moved and impressed I am with the mission and accomplishments of Delancey Street. Indeed, a personal visit to the facility is the best way to grasp the miracle that renews the lives of its residents.

The facilities are merely a concrete, external projection of the spectacular work they do in restoring, enhancing, and glorifying human lives. The dignity and grace of manners, warmth, and enthusiasm of each person associated with the foundation is reflected in the sparkle, cleanliness, and elegance of the buildings, courtyards, and dining rooms.

Delancey Street is without a doubt one of the best rehabilitation programs in the Nation, if not the world. Attesting to its great success, programs similar to Delancey Street have been cropping up all over the country, and the Department of Justice is studying it as a model for its own rehabilitation program.

Mimi speaks of the transformations she has witnessed:

It's unbelievable to see 40-year-olds, coming from despair, regaining childlike wonder, getting hope, learning how to care for the first time. That moment of wonder, this little something they never thought they could do. There's nothing more wonderful.

Mr. Speaker, it is said in the Talmud that—
* * * Whoever saves a soul is as though he saved a universe.

Delancey Street, under the inspiring leadership of Mimi Silbert, is saving many souls, many worlds. I would like to publicly express my deep gratitude to Mimi for enriching our world by lighting so many bright and beautiful candles where there was only darkness before.

CONGRESS, NOT THE SUPREME COURT, SHOULD DECIDE THE FATE OF HABEAS CORPUS

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 9, 1992

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, the U.S. Supreme Court is continuing to chip away at habeas corpus with the intent to eliminate it. In a disturbing move, the Court has ordered the parties in a Virginia case, *Wright versus West*, to argue whether Federal courts should defer to State court judgments in habeas corpus cases. This issue is the very one Congress has been actively considering and is at the heart of the habeas corpus provision contained in H.R. 3371, the omnibus crime bill conference report that the House passed just last November and that the Senate is currently debating. In a letter to the editor of the *New York Times*, Morton Stavis, the president of the Center for Constitutional Rights, states that where habeas corpus is concerned, Congress, not the Supreme Court, should have the last word. I share his view and hope that my colleagues will read this letter and understand the role that Congress has to protect one of our most important constitutional rights.

[From the *New York Times*, Mar. 2, 1992]

CONGRESS CAN RIGHT HIGH COURT'S ERRORS
To the Editor:

The Rehnquist Court is threatening a major step backward. Almost 40 years ago, the Supreme Court ruled that those convicted in a state court could have full review of their Federal constitutional claims in a Federal court by the use of the ancient writ of habeas corpus. Not until then did state court criminal proceedings effectively become governed by the Federal Constitution.

The Rehnquist Court has been chipping away at that ruling and is preparing to wipe it out completely. Last December, the Court ordered lawyers in a case to be argued next month to brief the question whether Federal courts should defer to a state court's determination or make their own independent determination of claims of Federal constitutional violations. Deference to a state court means that Federal constitutional protections are finally determined by state court judges, who because of institutional pressures are often less sensitive to constitutional claims than Federal judges.

Lest it be thought that all this is relevant only to scruffy criminals not entitled to society's sympathy or concern, the 40-year-old decision to which I refer overruled the approach of the *Leo Frank* case decided in 1915. Frank, a young Jewish man operating a factory in Georgia, was tried and convicted of murder by a Georgia court and sentenced to death. Though the trial was a travesty, as recounted in the dissenting opinion of Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, the majority of the Supreme Court deferred to the Georgia courts—the procedure Chief Justice Rehnquist is trying to restore.

Incidentally, about five years ago, the Georgia Legislature acknowledged that Frank was not guilty. That did not help him much. After the Supreme Court sustained the death sentence, the Governor of Georgia, reacting to the unfairness of the trial, commuted the sentence to life imprisonment. A mob then stormed the jail where Frank was incarcerated, seized and lynched him.

Despite the assumption that the Supreme Court has the last word, that is not the case. Most of the backward looking decisions by the Court involve interpretation of statutes, not constitutional determinations. Thus, Congress can overrule Supreme Court decisions, as it did in recent years in the Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1987 and the Civil Rights Act of 1991.

On habeas corpus, the House of Representatives passed a bill that continues existing law, but the Senate bill would go along with President Bush's proposal, which is essentially what Chief Justice Rehnquist seeks to achieve. The main point is that Congress—not the Supreme Court—has the last word. Thus, the people through their representatives can have impact.

If the Supreme Court continues to move backward, it is inviting a steady stream of corrective legislation.

MORTON STAVIS,
President,
Center for Constitutional Rights.
NEW YORK, February 14, 1992.

TRIBUTE TO MARY ANN
PREVRATIL FOR HER 40TH ANNI-
VERSARY WITH OLYMPIC FED-
ERAL SAVINGS ASSOCIATION

HON. WILLIAM O. LIPINSKI

OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 9, 1992

Mr. LIPINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to recognize Ms. Mary Ann Prevratil who celebrated her 40th anniversary with Olympic Federal Savings Association in Berwyn, IL, on February 25, 1992. During her years of service, Ms. Prevratil has held a variety of positions including clerical assistant, loan collector, assistant secretary, supervisor of loan collections, supervisor of mortgage services, and branch loan officer. Today, she serves as a savings counselor in the new accounts department of the Berwyn branch.

Ms. Prevratil's commitment to the community goes beyond the workplace. She is currently the membership chairperson of the West Suburban Business and Professional Women's organization and also acts as second vice president for the Czechoslovakian Savings and Loan League.

Mary Ann Prevratil is a model of service and commitment to Olympia Federal Savings Association. I urge my colleagues to join me in applauding her exemplary record and saluting her dedication to her community. I wish her continued success at Olympia Federal Savings Association and in every endeavor.

CONGRESS GOES TO HEXAGON

HON. JERRY LEWIS

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 9, 1992

Mr. LEWIS of California. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, March 11 at 8 p.m., some very talented Members of Congress and staff will participate in an event rich in tradition, the 38th annual performance of Hexagon.

For the past 37 years, Hexagon has produced an original comedy musical and satirical

revue with proceeds raised going to Washington area charities. Through last year's effort involving over 400 volunteers, Hexagon raised over \$80,000 for Martha's Table, which feeds the area homeless. This year's proceeds will be donated to St. John's Child Development Center.

The lawmaker's comical evening on stage is being called, "Congress Goes to Hexagon." Representatives PAT ROBERTS, JIM MORAN, BEN JONES, CONNIE MORELLA, BILL HEFNER, CLAUDE HARRIS, SCOTT KLUG, and Senators LARRY CRAIG and CONRAD BURNS are expected to perform.

I encourage my colleagues to make time in their busy schedules for a very enjoyable evening supporting a most worthwhile cause.

CELEBRATING HADASSAH'S 80TH
ANNIVERSARY

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 9, 1992

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate Hadassah on its 80th anniversary. With 385,000 members in 1,500 chapters, Hadassah is the largest Jewish women's volunteer group in the Nation.

Eighty years ago, in 1912, 12 members of the Daughters of Zion Study Circle decided, under the leadership of Henrietta Szold, to expand into a national organization devoted to promoting education in America as well as public health and nurse training in Israel—then called Palestine.

Henrietta Szold, in addition to founding Hadassah, was a Jewish scholar, editor, and pioneer Zionist.

Mr. Speaker, Hadassah is best known, of course, for its world-class hospitals and programs for medical training in Israel. The Hadassah Medical School at the Hebrew University on Mt. Scopus in Jerusalem was Israel's first undergraduate medical school. The Hadassah Medical Organization established Israel's first comprehensive center for cancer diagnosis, therapy, treatment, and research. And the Hadassah Hebrew University Hospital at Ein Karem is Israel's pre-eminent bone marrow and heart transplant center.

Mr. Speaker, Hadassah has also been deeply involved in other aspects of Jewish life. It has run a top-flight educational system in Israel for more than 45 years. Its College of Technology in Jerusalem trains students in the fields of education, health, medicine, and hard science.

Since 1934, Hadassah's Youth Allyah program has graduated tens of thousands of children who came to Israel from the Soviet Union, Ethiopia, South America, Syria, Iran and other Middle Eastern nations that didn't want them. Throughout the years, Youth Allyah has provided such recent arrivals with agricultural and vocational training, secondary education, and the promise of university study.

Through the Jewish National Fund, Hadassah has reclaimed thousands of acres of farmland in Israel. Hadassah has aided in the construction of water retention dams, provided

funds to plant millions of trees, and helped establish recreational parks throughout the State of Israel. These efforts have transformed a Middle Eastern desert wilderness into a veritable garden.

Mr. Speaker, it is remarkable how much Hadassah has done in just 80 years. Today I salute its past accomplishments and wish it great continued success in the years to come.

NEED FOR UNINSURED HEALTH
PLAN

HON. JIM BACCHUS

OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 9, 1992

Mr. BACCHUS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to share with you the story of June Messner, who I met in the intensive care unit at Cape Canaveral Hospital in Rockledge, FL, on January 14, 1992. June is experiencing, first hand, the terror, demoralization, and desperation of needing emergency health care services without the financial security of health insurance. Caught in the burdensome bureaucracy of our Nation's health care system, her story should be a lesson for us all.

I believe every American should have the right to quality, affordable health care. I believe it is essential that we create a health care system that is fair, that we can afford, and that makes quality health care available to all Americans. Mr. Speaker, I respectfully submit June's letter to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for my colleagues to read. Until people such as June can live without fear of financial ruin and medical neglect, our work on the national health care issue is far from over.

COCOA BEACH, FL,
January 22, 1992.

Hon. JIM BACCHUS,
Cannon House Office Bldg.,
Washington, DC.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BACCHUS: You may not remember me, but I was the woman in the intensive Care Unit at Cape Canaveral Hospital when you and your entourage dropped in for a visit in an effort to help your Bill for hospitalization for people who are uninsured. You said I was a perfect candidate to interview. How right you were.

The little boy you also interviewed, who was in the same situation, won out, and I'm happy about that, because he will have a better start in life.

First of all Congressman Bacchus, never get deathly ill on a Saturday night at 11 p.m. when your doctor's too tired to come to the hospital, examine you and admit you! I now understand that my doctor was leaving for vacation the morning after I was admitted and he was too tired to come and see me! "Put the woman in the ICU for six days, let the nurses take care of her and when I return I'll see her in my office!!" must have been what he told the nurses. I can only thank the nurses for a job WELL DONE!

Once the hospital discovered that I had no hospitalization, I was taken out of the ICU and put into a room for six days and nights, again being taken care of by nurses and high technology drugs. For a total of nine days, while hospitalized, I saw an assistant doctor for a total of 15 minutes! He would come to my room, look me over and in 12 seconds was gone again. I could have gone home, taken

medications and received help from my family until I got better and not have to worry about paying an enormous hospital bill. I don't have the extra income to afford being ill, but I'll have to find it someplace so that I can pay the hospital.

I work for Courtenay Springs Village (a retirement village) on Merritt Island, Florida. The residents and my supervisors showed me more concern than the doctor, but that's okay. I did get better thanks to the nurses and thanks to you I won't get lost in the shuffle of big business.

I will get stronger and have to work for another five years just to pay off the hospital, and maybe, just maybe I won't get sick again and will be able to rest and relax and enjoy my life after 65 years of hard work.

Folks don't stop to think they'll get sick. They don't stop to think they'll run out of time, they just go on with life.

Thank you Congressman Bacchus for making me feel like a human being, and for understanding the plight of the uninsured and for trying to make a difference. If my situation helps only one person, then it was worth getting sick. I will work hard for another five years to pay my hospital bill, and maybe then I too can retire.

Thank you kindly for your concern Congressman Bacchus.

Sincerely,

J.G.M., Patient,

ICU, Cape Canaveral Hospital.

P.S.: Thought you'd like to know, Congressman Bacchus, after nine days in the hospital, I still haven't seen my doctor, he's still on vacation!

MADELEINE SNEDDEN: AN 80-YEAR-OLD PEORIAN PLAYS A VITAL ROLE IN THE RECORDS DEPARTMENT

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 9, 1992

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of our colleagues the hard work and dedication of Madeleine Snedden. Madeleine Snedden is an 80-year-old chief deputy registrar in the vital records department of the Peoria City/County Health Department.

Madeleine is a processor of death certificates and has been with the department for 27 years. People who know and work with her consider her "as sharp as a tack". She is not about to retire and receives great support from her doctor who tells her to keep going.

At this point I wish to insert into the RECORD an article by Jo Ann Newberg of the Peoria Journal Star, "A Woman for the Record Books."

A WOMAN FOR THE RECORD BOOKS
80-YEAR-OLD PEORIAN PLAYS A VITAL ROLE IN
RECORDS DEPARTMENT
(By Jo Ann Newberg)

Madeleine Snedden, 80, chief deputy registrar in the vital records department of the Peoria City/County Health Department, is not about to retire.

With a twinkle in her eye, this lively processor of death certificates says the only way she will leave her job is when the morticians carry her out.

"I think if I retire, I'll sit down and die, I wouldn't want to get out of bed. My doctor, Fritz Heinzen, says to keep going."

Judy Smith of Wright & Salmon Mortuary, who is in the office to collect death certificates, says Snedden is "as sharp as a tack and just as good as the day I started coming in here 17 years ago."

Snedden has been with the Health Department for 27 years. She recalls that long-ago day when she started her job as being very traumatic. "The first death certificate I signed—we didn't have stamps back then—was for my favorite aunt who lived with my mother. I signed them for my sister, my mother and sisters-in-law."

At one time, Snedden handled both birth and death certificates. Each year, births outnumber deaths in Peoria County by a margin of 2 to 1. Now birth documents are processed by deputy registrar Alice Mills. Robert L. Murray is registrar and head of the Health Department.

When she isn't hard at work, Snedden enjoys listening to music, playing solitaire or watching ballgames on television. Her favorite teams are the Chicago Cubs and the Bears.

She lives with her daughter and son-in-law, Judy and Ed Bruggeman, parents of Bridget and Gretchen. Her other daughter and son-in-law are Mary and Gary Steiner. Their children are Gary Jr., Jennifer, Stefanie and Kathleen.

"Kathleen plays soccer and basketball. She's on an all-city traveling team. She's in eighth grade at St. Bernard's, but plays with a team out at Notre Dame. She's quite a little ball player."

Snedden and her husband, Russell, had two sons and a daughter who died. Russell died at age 60. "He was an electrician. He dropped dead on Christmas Day in 1962. We didn't even know he had heart trouble."

Snedden's 80th birthday was Feb. 15. She and Health Department co-workers celebrated a day early on Valentine's Day. Now a "Happy Birthday" banner hangs on the wall behind her desk, along with scores of cards.

"Cindy Marvin is my boss; she's head of epidemiology," Snedden says. "She couldn't be nicer. I'm not a party person, but they decided to have one. Cindy was afraid I would be offended and called me about it. She was too chicken to come in person. They had food from Trefzger's because they know that's my favorite bakery. I got my favorite flowers, red roses, from (Peoria County Corner) Herb Buzbee. He's like my own kid."

Snedden attributes her longevity to giving up smoking 20 years ago and not drinking alcohol. "My daughter says clean living does it. Now I go to bed fairly early. I can't sit up and watch the news anymore. I get up at 5:45 every morning. I'm slower getting ready, though."

In 80 years, Snedden has seen a lot of changes in Peoria. She's bothered by deteriorating neighborhoods on the East Bluff, where she's always lived, and thinks progress in Peoria has slowed. "Instead of going forward, they're going backwards."

She's interested in national politics and plans to write in the name of Mario Cuomo for president.

"I think George is kinda for the rich man, but I think Barbara is a cute lady, real nice. She tickles me. Of course, George is a nice man. I got a birthday card from him and from Bob Michel. All you have to do is write to Washington, and they send them out. I know George didn't sign it, because George and Barbara had the same signature."

BIOGRAPHY OF COCHISE

HON. ENI F.H. FALEOMAVEAGA

OF AMERICAN SAMOA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 9, 1992

Mr. FALEOMAVEAGA. Mr. Speaker, through Public Law 102-188—Senate Joint Resolution 217, House Joint Resolution 342—Congress and the President designated 1992 as the Year of the American Indian. This law pays tribute to the people who first inhabited the land now known as the continental United States. Although only symbolic, this gesture is important because it shows there is sympathy in the eyes of a majority of both Houses of the Congress for those Indian issues which we as a Congress have been struggling with for over 200 years. In support of the Year of the American Indian, and as part of my ongoing series this year, I am providing for the consideration of my colleagues a short biography of Cochise, a principal chief of the Apache Tribe who is known for his skills as a warrior. This biography was taken from a U.S. Department of the Interior publication entitled "Famous Indians, A Collection of Short Biographies."

COCHISE (APACHE)

The wild Chiricahua Apaches of Arizona territory, although almost constantly battling their traditional enemies, the Mexicans, were not unfriendly to American settlers of the 1850's, and some members of the band even worked for them as woodcutters at the stagecoach station in Apache Pass.

But in 1861, when the child of a settler's family was abducted, Chiricahuas were assumed to be guilty. Six of their chiefs, among them the youthful leader Cochise, were called in for questioning by troops from the 7th Cavalry. A white flag of truce flew over the commander's tent in which they met.

As the Apaches steadfastly denied their guilt and refused to confess to the crime, the commander ordered them seized and arrested. One Chiricahua was killed, and four others were held, but Cochise, cutting through the side of the tent, escaped, three bullets in his body.

Cochise at once began a campaign to avenge his tribesmen, who, following his escape, had been hanged by federal troops. He directed Apache bands in attacks up and down the territory which were so ferocious that the troops were forced to retreat. For a time Arizona was at the mercy of the triumphant Indians. A territorial newspaper, the *Arizonian*, reported in August 1861: "We are hemmed in on all sides by the unrelenting Apache. Within but 6 months, nine-tenths of the whole male population have been killed off, and every ranch, farm, and mine in the country has been abandoned in consequence."

With the recall of troops from Arizona forts for Civil War duty in the East, the Apaches were convinced that they would succeed in preventing Americans from settling in Apacheland. By the end of 1862, Gen. James Carleton and an army of 3,000 California volunteers marched into southeastern Arizona to put down the Apaches and reestablish communications between the Pacific Coast and the East. Cochise, Mangas Coloradas (a leading Apache chief of the Mimbreno band), and their warriors defended Apache Pass against the Californians until forced to give way before the howitzers of white volunteers.

With the death in prison of Mangas Coloradas "while attempting to escape" the red-hot bayonet of a white soldier, Cochise became principal chief of the Apaches. As troops returned to Arizona territory following the Civil War, an all-out drive to exterminate the Apaches got underway.

Driven into the mountains, Cochise, with not more than 200 warriors, was to hold the U.S. Army at bay for over 10 years. The Apache chief and his men were tough, skillful warriors, constantly alert, and able to vanish as if by magic. Although they were forced deeper and deeper into their mountain hideaways, they continued to carry on guerrilla warfare. White settlements, ranches, and mines were reestablished, but no Apache band was ever captured, and the Chiricahuas' raids continued.

In June of 1871, the famed Indian fighter, Gen. George Crook, took command of the Department of Arizona, under orders to restore peace and law to the territory and subdue the Apaches. Despite his military skill, Crook was a fair and just man who did not believe in exterminating the Indians. He recognized the Apaches' just claims, respected their ability as warriors, and dealt honorably with them. He won their respect in return.

Crook determined to fight fire with fire. Since alliances among Apaches as a whole had never been strong, he was able to win over a good many warriors, whom he then used to fight those who remained hostile. Crook's Apache scouts became famous, and within a few months, most of the Indians had been brought onto reservations. Cochise himself surrendered in September, 1871.

The following spring, resisting transfer to the newly established Tularosa Reservation in New Mexico, Cochise and some 200 followers escape. But when the Chiricahua Reservation (later discontinued) was established in Arizona in the summer of 1872, he again gave himself up. There the great Apache leader lived peacefully until his death in the summer of 1874. A few hundred Apache "renegades" were still at large. War against them went on until the end of that year, when Crook could claim—for a time—that peace had been restored to Arizona territory.

MARKING THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE SUPPRESSION OF TIBET BY CHINA—THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE ADMINISTRATION TURN A BLIND EYE

HON. TOM LANTOS

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 9, 1992

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, it seems that the United Nations has decided to celebrate the anniversary of the March 10, 1959, Tibetan uprising against brutal and illegal Chinese rule by turning its back on the people of Tibet. By refusing to place China under special investigation for its repeated abuse of human rights in that illegally occupied country, the U.N. Commission on Human Rights has embarrassed and discredited itself.

Unfortunately, Mr. Speaker, that action was taken with the support of the U.S. administration. The White House continues to follow a double standard on human rights: Other nations must observe human rights—but not China. I am appalled by the administration's

shortsighted and wrong headed policies toward the butchers of Beijing.

In the same vein, the United Nations has apparently taken to heart the accusations of China's representative that the West is trying to boost the Tibetan separatist movement by fabricating human rights issues. How utterly outrageous and disgusting.

The state of affairs in Tibet today is a political, human rights, and cultural nightmare. Indeed, no one need fabricate Chinese human rights abuses in Tibet.

Since China's invasion of Tibet, arbitrary arrest and detention is pronounced for those who peacefully advocate independence. Numerous human rights groups have documented hundreds of cases of torture of peaceful Tibetan demonstrators.

China has settled millions of its own people in Tibet to the point where Chinese now outnumber Tibetans in their own homeland. Chinese immigrants receive special subsidies including higher wages, lengthy vacations, and educational benefits.

Many Tibetans are deprived of education, or are forced to attend schools where all classes are taught in Mandarin Chinese. Given the imposition of this foreign language, Tibetan students are at a distinct disadvantage. The Tibetan language has been suppressed in all sectors of public life. All official forms must be completed in Chinese, forcing Tibetans to seek the assistance of interpreters.

Prior to the Chinese invasion, Buddhist monasteries were the centers of tradition and formal education. Almost all of Tibet's 6,000 monasteries have since been razed, their invaluable collections of religious statuary either melted down or sold. Religious paintings, wall hangings, scrolls, and texts have been destroyed. Traditional religious practice is now forbidden.

While I am shocked by the U.N.'s decision to officially ignore the rape of the Tibetan people, I am not completely surprised. Its decision to coddle the decrepit leadership of China is not unprecedented. One need only look at the Bush administration's misguided and immoral policy toward that outlaw nation.

Why should anyone, including the United Nation stand up for the rights of Tibetans when the official policy of the United States, as forwarded by the administration, systematically refuses to oppose or condemn, in word or deed, the terrible human rights violations committed by Chinese leaders?

The President's policy is strongly opposed by a majority of Congress. These are not merely partisan differences. Foes of the administration's policy cover the entire political spectrum of both parties. Yet in the face of this opposition, the President continues to cling to his realpolitik position on relations with this outlaw nation. Following his enigmatic course of action, last week he again vetoed legislation that would place eminently reasonable conditions on the renewal of most-favored-nation trading status for China.

I say his policy has failed. The consequences of that failure are as real as they are tragic. They can be measured in human suffering and deprivation.

And now, Mr. Speaker, following the lead of the administration, the United Nations has turned a blind eye toward the crimes of China

in Tibet. How sad it is that the United Nations has abdicated its responsibility to protect, defend, and advance the inherent rights of all mankind—including Tibetans.

Mr. Speaker, given the nonchalant response by both the administration and the United Nations to the horror taking place in Tibet it is imperative that the U.S. Congress redouble this effort in fighting for justice for the people of Tibet. I call on my colleagues to join me in expressing outrage against the administration's immoral policies and the United Nation's recent acquiescence to the brutality in Tibet.

A TRIBUTE TO JAMES K. GUTHRIE

HON. JERRY LEWIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 9, 1992

Mr. LEWIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to your attention today the outstanding contributions and fine public service of James K. Guthrie, the 1992 recipient of the Golden Baton Award. He will be honored by the Inland Empire Symphony Orchestra in recognition of his leadership role in fostering music for the cultural benefit of the people of the Inland Empire.

James Guthrie was born in 1914 and developed an interest in music at a very young age. His involvement in the arts has spanned many decades, and began long before his graduation from the University of Redlands. At the age of 15, he became conductor of the Redlands Bowl and founded San Bernardino's first community symphony when he was 16.

Jim's musical accomplishments are many and varied. He is the founder of the San Bernardino Valley Community Concert Association and has served as conductor of the San Jose Symphony Orchestra, the Riverside Symphony, and as musical director and conductor of the Mt. San Jacinto College Symphony Orchestra. In addition, he has appeared as guest conductor of the Los Angeles Philharmonic, the Hollywood Bowl Orchestra, the New York Philharmonic, the Vancouver Symphony, the Pittsburgh Symphony, and as musical director of the Greek Theater in Los Angeles. He has conducted the National Grand Opera Company in New York, as well as on Broadway, and at Carnegie Hall. He has also served as head of the San Bernardino Valley College music department and has taught music at the University of Redlands.

Over the years, Jim has also been active in a number of other professional endeavors and been involved in numerous community service organizations. He worked as writer and editor for the San Bernardino Sun and was the newspaper's publisher for 4 years. He has also served as the chairman of the California Arts Commission, president of the National Orange Show, and as an administrator of the National Endowment for the Arts and Humanities in Washington, DC.

Mr. Speaker, Jim Guthrie has enriched the lives of many people through sharing his wonderful talent and gift of music. He has given to the community, and also to individuals, by teaching other musicians and giving them the opportunity to be heard. On a personal note,

I would like to wish Jim and his wife, Jane, all the best in the years ahead. I ask that you join me and our colleagues as we honor the fine achievements of Jim Guthrie as he is awarded the Golden Baton Award.

MYASTHENIA FOUNDATION HONORS RICHARD E. LEWIS WITH THE LIFETIME ACHIEVEMENT AWARD

HON. MEL LEVINE

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 9, 1992

Mr. LEVINE of California. Mr. Speaker, today I rise in honor of Mr. Richard Lewis and his lifetime commitment to supporting medical care for patients with Myasthenia Gravis, an autoimmune disease which interferes with the ability of muscles to respond to signals from the nerves.

Mr. Lewis, chairman and CEO of the Accountants Overload Group, is a long-term board member and current president of the California chapter of the Myasthenia Gravis Foundation. His years of work with the foundation have helped to enable the California chapter to provide information, education, and referral to patients with the disease. The chapter also sponsors a drug-bank for the necessary and expensive daily medication on which patients rely, that is not covered by most health insurance plans. In 1991, the California chapter distributed \$175,000 for research and patient care to UCLA, USC, Stanford, and other hospitals and universities.

A creative and dynamic entrepreneur, Mr. Lewis pioneered the concept of providing temporary accounting personnel to companies throughout southern California, resulting in the creation of the Accountants Overload Group. Mr. Lewis' other philanthropic activities include serving on the board of Miller Children's Hospital as well as work with the United Way, Starbright Foundation, and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. He also established the FurLuv Foundation which donates stuffed animals to hospitalized children and institutionalized elderly throughout the Nation.

It is an honor to bring to the attention of my colleagues in the House of Representatives the significant achievements of Mr. Richard E. Lewis. I ask that you join me in extending to Mr. Lewis my heartiest congratulations and best wishes for continued success.

TRIBUTE TO GEORGE FURGALA ON HIS 107th BIRTHDAY

HON. WILLIAM O. LIPINSKI

OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 9, 1992

Mr. LIPINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to pay tribute to an extraordinary resident of my congressional district, Mr. George Furgala. On March 12, 1992, Mr. Furgala will turn 107 years old, an accomplishment worthy of special recognition.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

George Furgala was born in Galicia, Poland, in 1885, he served in the Austro-Hungarian Army in the war against Russia in 1905. In 1910, he migrated to the United States settling in Chicago's Bridgeport neighborhood and later moving to Brighton Park. Mr. Furgala worked for R.R. Donnelley & Sons printing plant for 26 years and retired in 1951. Most of all, however, he is known for his knowledge of faith and religion which he has shared with others for over 70 years and which has led him to travel throughout the country and the world. Mr. Furgala has three children, Joseph, Walter, and Rose, and many grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Needless to say, his family is very proud of him.

George Furgala's commitment to his community and family is impressive and deserving of special recognition and honor. I am sure that my colleagues will join me in congratulating George Furgala for his many years of selfless dedication, loyalty, professionalism, and priceless contributions to his community. His son Walter has said that George imitates a popular television commercial—he "keeps on going and going and going." I wish him well on his 107th birthday and hope his life continues to be an adventure full of pleasant memories.

TRIBUTE TO NATALIE COLE

HON. MAXINE WATERS

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 9, 1992

Ms. WATERS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to recognize and pay tribute to the remarkable achievements of Natalie Cole. Natalie accomplished stunning successes at this year's Grammy Awards. She received seven awards for her most recent album, "Unforgettable," in which she sings many of the records that made her father famous. Highlighting the awards were honors for Best Song, Best Record and Best Album of the Year. Among hits such as "Route 66," "Mona Lisa," and "When I Fall in Love," Ms. Cole's stylish finale pays a heartwarming tribute to her father in an electronically produced duet of her and her father in "Unforgettable."

A role model for many aspiring young singers, Natalie Cole has a long track record in the music industry as a hard working singer. Anyone who knows Natalie Cole knows she has earned all of her success. Amazingly, Natalie has accomplished much in a short period of time. From her debut album in which she sang "Inseparable" to her latest "Unforgettable" duet with her father, it is apparent that Ms. Cole will set new standards as a talented artist, role model and loving daughter. I wish her all the best in the future.

A BIRTHDAY SALUTE TO RONNIE LOPEZ

HON. ED PASTOR

OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 9, 1992

Mr. PASTOR. Mr. Speaker, I wish to extend birthday greetings to a dear friend and sup-

March 9, 1992

porter of mine, Mr. Ronnie Lopez of Phoenix, AZ. I ask my colleagues to join me in offering this salute.

Mr. Lopez has distinguished himself in both public service and private enterprise. In the years I have known Ronnie, he has committed himself to making the lives of Arizonans better and the State of Arizona a better place to live.

In 1969 Mr. Lopez was a field representative for the Arizona Civil Rights Commission. The following year Mr. Lopez became the president and chief executive officer for Chicanos Por La Causa, a multitask organization aimed at improving the lives of Hispanics. In 1973 Mr. Lopez became a justice of the peace in Maricopa County. His outstanding service to the people of Arizona continued as Mr. Lopez became executive assistant and then chief of staff for former Arizona Governor Bruce Babbitt. Mr. Lopez has also held important positions in campaigns. He was the national treasurer for the Babbitt for President campaign in 1988, the national deputy campaign manager for Mondale for President in 1984, and the finance chairman for my campaign.

Mr. Lopez also sits on many boards. He is a board member for the Security Pacific Bank, and is chairman of its public affairs committee. He is the chairman of the board of directors of the Arizona Veterans Memorial Coliseum. He is a board member of AELMAC, a student loan organization and chairman of its compensation committee. Ronnie has also served as chairman of the board of Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government Hispanic journal policy.

My colleagues, these are but a few of the many things that Ronnie Lopez has done for his fellow Americans. He has been active in countless other activities and introduced many young individuals to the political process.

Mr. Lopez has long been a close friend of mine. We grew up together in Claypool, AZ and have had a lasting friendship since. Ronnie, congratulations on your birthday and on your many, many unparalleled accomplishments. It is a privilege to call you my friend and I thank you for the help you have given to me and fellow Arizonans for many years.

DR. GORDON GUYER: THE PRIDE OF MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

HON. CARL D. PURSELL

OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 9, 1992

Mr. PURSELL. Mr. Speaker, it is with mixed emotions that I bring to your attention the upcoming retirement of my good friend, Dr. Gordon E. Guyer, vice president of Michigan State University. Gordon's remarkable career at MSU has spanned nearly four decades and included work associated with agriculture, environment, economics, and his favorite, entomology.

Dr. Guyer received his three degrees from Michigan State University, and went on to become an instructor, professor, dean, consultant, and after fulfilling an appointment by Michigan's Governor to be director of natural resources, he returned to his beloved MSU serving as vice president for governmental affairs.

Hundreds of awards and articles of special recognition have been bestowed upon Gordon Guyer, and he has served on local, State, national and international professional association and society boards. The U.S. Department of Agriculture has shared with the State of Michigan in receiving the talented skills of Dr. Guyer. His service has included work in the countries of Australia, China, Brazil, and Africa, to name only a few. Dr. Guyer is also the author of more than 70 scientific papers on aquatic ecology, insect control technology, integrated pest control, public policy, and international agriculture.

Michigan State University will greatly miss the daily presence of Dr. Gordon Guyer. His dedication, enthusiasm, and delight with life has earned the respect and admiration of friends and colleagues alike. We are all hope that Gordon and his lovely wife Norma will find this special time in their life to be filled with good fortune and an abundance of happiness to share with their wonderful family.

Mr. Speaker, although Gordon Guyer is retiring from Michigan State, we can only hope our paths will cross with his many times in the future. His career has been not only colorful and constructive, but gives courage to the rest of us. For that, we can all be thankful.

**TRIBUTE TO IMHOTEP GARY
BYRD: A MASTER COMMUNICATOR**

**HON. EDOLPHUS TOWNS
OF NEW YORK**

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 9, 1992

Mr. TOWNS. Mr. Speaker, today I want to acknowledge a very special individual who has been involved in broadcasting and community endeavors for the past 27 years in the tristate area, Mr. Imhotep Gary Byrd. Mr. Byrd has been a mainstay in the black community. And on March 14, at the world renowned Apollo Theatre in Harlem, NY, his friends, family, and colleagues will pay tribute to him and celebrate his birthday.

Imhotep has been a voice for truth, fairness, and compassion, while performing his labor of love over the airwaves of WWRL and WLIB radio stations in New York. Black radio listeners in the New York area are ardent fans of this dynamic human being who is generally known as the master communicator.

Mr. Byrd's endeavors have not been limited to working exclusively as the executive producer and host of Global Black Experience GBE on WLIB radio, 1190 AM. He is also a poet, recording artist, and writer. However, the hallmark of Imhotep Gary Byrd is his deep sense of pride in his African heritage, and his dedication to making positive contributions to his community. I introduce this gentleman to my colleagues with immense pride and honor, because his vision of using the airwaves as a constructive means to educate and uplift his people has been our good fortune for the past 27 years. On behalf of my fellow New Yorkers, it is a pleasure to acknowledge his contributions and to wish him a very happy birthday.

TRIBUTE TO RALPH A. LIBERATO

**HON. DAVID E. BONIOR
OF MICHIGAN**

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 9, 1992

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to join the UFCW local 876 in honoring an impressive leader in Detroit's labor movement and a deeply committed friend of the working men and women of our community, Ralph Liberato.

In many ways, Mr. Liberato has come to symbolize our dedication to fairness and justice in the work place and society. At a time when our country is struggling to preserve its industrial base, Ralph has been an important figure in the labor movement. His long record of distinguished service has proven him to be a natural and effective leader. His vision and leadership have always impressed those of us who have had the privilege to know and work with him. His contributions will be truly missed.

Mr. Speaker, on this special occasion of his retirement, I ask that my colleagues join me in saluting Ralph Liberato's many years of service and dedication to the labor community in metro Detroit.

**NATURAL LAW AND STATES'
RIGHTS**

**HON. DON EDWARDS
OF CALIFORNIA**

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 9, 1992

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, how the Supreme Court will interpret the 9th and 10th amendments raises further concerns about the fate of our Bill of Rights. The seventh editorial in the series that appeared in the Atlanta Constitution shows us the detrimental impact that recent court rulings will have on the rights of privacy and on States' rights. I hope that you share my concerns.

Article IX: The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Article X: The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

[From the Atlanta Constitution, Dec. 14, 1991]

ON NATURAL LAW AND STATES' RIGHTS

(This is the seventh in a series of editorials leading to the 200th anniversary Sunday of the Bill of Rights.)

At his confirmation hearings last summer, U.S. Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas was repeatedly questioned about his belief in natural law. That's because the Ninth Amendment, reflecting the natural-law faith of the Founders, opens the door for the court to recognize rights not specified in the Constitution.

The trouble with recognizing these unenumerated rights "retained by the people" is that they could be anything. Would-be Justice Robert Bork dismissed the amendment as "a water blot on the Constitution." It might better be seen as a Roschachian ink blot, forming rights according to the eye of the beholder.

The only time the Ninth Amendment has crept into the court's jurisprudence is in the privacy decisions guaranteeing access to contraceptive devices and abortions. And even there, the majority chose to derive a right to privacy from enumerated rights such as the Fourth Amendment's prohibition of unreasonable searches and seizures.

At his hearings, Justice Thomas abjured natural law, at least as a basis for adjudication, and his conservative colleagues show no interest in recognizing new personal rights. Indeed, the court now seems poised to do away entirely with the recognized privacy right to an abortion.

By contrast, a major rehabilitation appears to be in store for the 10th Amendment, which reserves to the states those powers not belonging to the federal government.

Last June, the court went out of its way to use the 10th Amendment to uphold a Missouri law requiring state judges to retire at age 70. (A similar law is now being contested in Georgia.) In the face of clear congressional intent to prevent age discrimination by state government, the court reserved to states the right to exempt state officials from the 1967 Age Discrimination in Employment Act.

It is telling that the court's new interest in states' rights comes in a case denying an individual's anti-discrimination rights in state employment. As it restricts federal control in the name of joint sovereignty, the court hews to its prevailing pro-government philosophy.

**TRIBUTE TO THE WASHINGTON
URBAN LEAGUE**

HON. ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON

OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 9, 1992

Ms. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pleasure that I ask you and my distinguished colleagues to join me in recognizing the continuing contributions of the Washington Urban League in this city. On March 11, 1992, the League's executives, members, and supporters will come together to celebrate the 12th Annual Whitney M. Young, Jr. Dinner, honoring the late civil rights leader, and prompting me to proudly call their exceptional efforts to your attention.

The Urban League's agenda, which includes job training, education, youth services, elderly health care, and vital advocacy programs, is even more critically important to the District during this time of severe economic recession. Under the exceptionally able leadership of its dedicated President, Maudine Cooper, the League continues to carry out its mission "to secure equal rights . . . and to increase the economic and political empowerment of blacks and other minorities in the Washington metropolitan area."

Mr. Speaker, it is with great pride that I salute the Washington Urban League for its tireless efforts on behalf of our city. I know you will want to join with me in wishing them continued success in their future endeavors.

JUDGE JOSEPH SCHNEIDER

HON. SIDNEY R. YATES

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 9, 1992

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, an eminent Chicago jurist and my very good friend, Judge Joseph Schneider, has announced that he is leaving the bench in Chicago to become special master to the U.S. district court.

Judge Schneider has had a most distinguished career, and I want to wish him every success in his important new assignment. His remarkable judicial career spans 28 years, and he is now the presiding judge of the county division of the circuit court of Cook County.

During his years of service, the judge has earned a national reputation for his work in championing the rights of the mentally ill. He has served as vice chairman of the American Bar Association Commission on the Mentally Disabled and was chairman of the ABA Commission project to research legal issues affecting the mentally retarded and developmentally disabled.

During the Carter administration, Judge Schneider served as a member of the President's Commission on Mental Health Task Force. In Illinois he served as chairman of the Governor's Commission to Revise the Mental Health Code, and in 1976 he was honored by the Illinois Association of Mental Health for his outstanding service on behalf of the mentally handicapped. Judge Schneider is also a member of the board of trustees of the Mental Health Law project and was the chairman of the National Center of State Courts Task Force on Guidelines for Involuntary Civil Commitment.

His vast experience, splendid judicial temperament, and dedication will serve him well in his new capacity with the U.S. district court, where he will monitor and guide the fundamental reforms that are required to make the Illinois Department of Children and Family Services meet its responsibilities to the State's poor and disadvantaged.

**STOP THE TRADE IN BLACK BEAR
GALLBLADDERS**

HON. HELEN DELICH BENTLEY

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 9, 1992

Mrs. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, 2 weeks ago, several hundred leading wildlife experts met for 2 days in Montana to discuss ways to halt the export of bear gallbladders into the Asian marketplace. According to testimony delivered at the Ninth International Conference on Bear Research and Management, the price of bear gallbladder often exceeds that of gold in some Asian countries by a factor of 10. And, according to some wildlife investigators, many Asian brokers now offer prospective clients an opportunity to view the gallbladder being removed from a soon-to-be-destroyed bear.

However, an increasing quantity of bear gallbladder used for medicines and aphrodisiacs no longer originates in Asia. Mr.

Speaker, the American people need to understand that a significant portion of the bear gallbladder for sale in South Korea, Japan, or Taiwan is coming from places like the Shenandoah Valley or the Berkshire Mountains in Massachusetts.

Mr. Speaker, this issue is one that has not yet generated the national outcry that it should, primarily due to the fact that collection of hard statistics continues to present certain problems. In a country with tens of millions of acres of national parks and forests, the changes of stumbling across a mutilated bear carcass in the forest remains somewhat slim. However, the number of bear gallbladders that have been collected by undercover law enforcement officers in sting operations over the past 5 years is staggering and obviously, indicative of a larger problem.

I remain convinced that we need to accelerate efforts to prevent the further destruction of our domestic bear population, which is why I plan to introduce legislation later in the week. In addition, three major news articles on this subject have recently appeared in the Washington Post, the Boston Globe, and the Philadelphia Inquirer. I think that they will be of immense value to my colleagues and I insert them into the RECORD.

[From the Boston Globe, Mar. 2, 1992]

**GRISLY TRADE IMPERILS WORLD'S BEARS—
THRIVING ASIAN BLACK MARKET IN PAWS,
GALLBLADDERS NOW TARGETING ANIMALS IN
THE UNITED STATES**

(By Sy Montgomery)

The bizarre reports were considered isolated cases when they first surfaced four or five years ago. Like something from an Edgar Allan Poe horror story, park rangers stumbled across the carcass of an American black bear in Tennessee's Shenandoah National Forest with its paws and gallbladder missing. Then they found a second mutilated bear, and then a third.

The slaughter appeared at first to be ritualistic, but it was not. Investigators soon determined that the animals were being killed for a grisly and fast growing black market trade in Asia: Their gallbladders are sold as medical cure-alls and their paws are served in restaurants as gourmet delicacies.

Only in recent months, however, have law officers come to realize the scope of the trade, a business that in effect is sanctioned in parts of this country: Eight states—Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont among them—permit the sale and export of bear parts.

"It's a major industry," said Adam O'Hara, who heads the US Fish and Wildlife Department's special operations branch. And it's an industry that's driving a global frenzy of bear poaching that wildlife authorities say could decimate bear populations throughout the world.

All five of Asia's bear species are already so rare that captive animals are being farmed for their valued parts and their bile. All but two of the world's eight bear species are in danger of extinction. As Asia's bears disappear, wildlife specialists say, Oriental merchants will increasingly target North American bears.

"The demand for bears' body parts is every bit as severe as that for rhino horn and elephant ivory," said Kurt Johnson, senior program officer for Traffic USA, the wildlife trade monitoring unit of World Wildlife Fund-US. Driven by Asia's economic boom, the price of bear gallbladders is 18 times that

of gold. In South Korea, bear gallbladder is more lucrative, gram of gram, than the trade in top-quality heroin.

"The fate of bears of the world will be decided in the next 10 to 20 years," says biologist Christopher Servheen, co-chairman of the Bear Specialist Group of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and co-author of a report on the World Wildlife Funds' investigation in 11 Asian countries.

Since the report's publication in December, conservationists have been viewing the trade with increasing alarm.

"Unless we find ways to slow the bear trade soon, entire populations of Asian bears will be lost before we even have a chance to document that they were ever there," Judy Mills, senior author of the report, told 400 bear specialists gathered in Missoula, Mont., last week for the Ninth International Conference on Bear Research and Management. "There are less than one million bears of all species on Earth and more than one billion potential bear-parts consumers—you do the math."

Asian officials are so certain of bears' imminent extinction that the government of China has developed "farms" to meet the medical demand for gallbladders. Even though that country banned the serving of bear paws in 1989, the black market is so flagrant that soft-fried black bear was being offered to patrons of the Beijing Zoo in March of 1990, according to a report in the Business Times of Singapore. "This is the place where people come to see animals, so doesn't it make sense that you can also try them?" one zoo restaurant worker was quoted as saying.

In South Korea, Mills found bear paw on menu at the Seoul Hilton—at \$700 a serving. "What's happening in Asia is a blueprint for what will happen to bears in this country," Mills predicts. Because North America has the world's last big bear populations, the market will turn increasingly to the United States and Canada to satisfy the burgeoning demand.

At a motel parking lot in Amesbury four years ago, for instance, a single black marketeer offered 218 bear gallbladders to an undercover agent. That meeting was part of a sting operation, called Operation Berkshire, that was investigating illegal trade in bear parts in Massachusetts, Connecticut and Florida and out-of-season bear poaching in New Hampshire and Maine. The last of the 28 poachers and smugglers nabbed in that operation was convicted Feb. 21.

"Right now the trade in parts of American black bear is not so high," said George Schaller, director for science of Wildlife Conservation International. "But when you see what is happening in China, this can turn around immediately. Within a few years, bear populations can be seriously affected here."

Conservationists and wildlife organizations are attacking the problem on a number of fronts. In Congress, they have found an ally in Rep. Helen Bentley, a Maryland Republican who plans this spring to introduce legislation to outlaw the export of bear body parts. "Unless we help the Fish and Wildlife Service and other government agencies crack down on this outrageous activity, we will be visiting the last of our black bears in zoos," Bentley said in a recent interview.

And over the next two weeks, conservationists will be pushing for tighter international trade regulations in Japan at the annual meeting of the 113 signatory nations to the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora

(CITES). Proposed regulations would require import and export permits for American black bear body parts, a proposal the U.S. government opposes, and provide some protections for Siberian brown bear.

Under the existing CITES treaty, trade is outlawed in all Asian bear species except the brown bear. Polar bears (whose gallbladders and meat are not sought because of their "fishy" taste) and some populations of brown bear may be traded with import and export permits.

International trade in American black bear parts is largely unrestricted, however, because eight states—New York, Virginia, West Virginia, Idaho, Wyoming and the three in northern New England tier—allow their sale and export.

Because it is impossible to tell an American black bear's gallbladder from that of a protected species, conservationists say, traders can claim the organs come from legally hunted animals. "Those eight states are causing the problem," says World Wildlife's Johnson, "both a problem for the states around them, and for bears around the world."

The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service objects to the CITES proposal on grounds that U.S. black bear populations are healthy, that implementing the laws would be too costly and that American black bears would be better protected by interstate cooperation than by international treaty.

At the Fish and Wildlife Service, O'Hara acknowledges that his agency and state agencies "did not see this problem coming."

"But now, everyone who has bears clearly recognizes the problem. This is a major priority and we're working closely with states to bring this under control."

Others say that is not enough. The World Society for the Protection of Animals has gathered more than 250,000 signatures on petitions in support of the CITES proposal, including thousands from Asian countries actively involved in the bear trade. At its Montana meeting, the International Bear Association passed a resolution in support of the stricter laws.

"This is the only way in which the look-alike problem in the gallbladder trade will ever be eliminated," Mills and Serveen wrote.

"We were able to order bear-based medicine over the telephone from New York and have it delivered to our doorstep by the US Postal Service," they reported. In Seattle, Oriental suppliers place newspaper ads picturing bears and their gallbladders. In Alaska, guides accept gallbladders as tips from hunters instead of money.

American black bears are found in 32 US states and in Canada, but their numbers are difficult to estimate because bears are solitary and forest-dwelling. They are considered one of only two species of bear—the other is the polar—not presently threatened with extinction. Over much of the United States, the populations are thought to be stable or growing. Massachusetts, for instance, harbors about 750 black bears, the result of a steady population increase that began about 20 years ago.

But some US populations have already felt the impact of the bear parts market. Black bears in Louisiana are so depleted that the US Fish and Wildlife Service in January added them to the list of threatened species. Black bear numbers are also believed to be declining in Tennessee; university researchers there have lost study animals to the bear parts trade.

These are areas, notes O'Hara, where bear hunting (in and out of season) has long been

popular; traditionally, hunters often treed the bears with their dogs but did not shoot them. Now that the body parts market is so lucrative, he says, "these guys have an incentive to kill those bears rather than let them go."

According to Fish and Wildlife figures, 40,000 American black bears are legally killed each year in this country. Estimates on the illegal kill range from 20,000 to 40,000, and there is no national tally of arrests for illegal trade.

Asia's sun bear, sloth bear, panda and black bears are all endangered, and some populations will be extinct within the decade, the World Wildlife report warns.

Mills and Serveen found that some dealers ask poachers to provide a videotape documenting the removal of the gallbladder. They described bear banquets where young bears were slowly lowered into tanks of hot water and drowned while guests watch, assured their meal is fresh. At a rest area along a Connecticut highway where Fish and Wildlife agent Richard Moulton posed as a gallbladder merchant, he watched one Oriental buyer suck on a fresh gallbladder; she said she could determine from the flavor whether it was bear.

Bear body parts have been used in Oriental cuisine and medicine since 3400 BC, Mills and Serveen note. Bear gallbladder, along with rhino horn, is one of the most coveted ingredients in the Chinese pharmacopoeia. Dried gallbladder is used in creams, ointments, capsules, tinctures and suppositories to combat ailments ranging from hemorrhoids to liver cancer; some bear meat, particularly the paw, is said to prevent colds and detoxify the body.

"Bear-eating tours," in which the liver is eaten raw, the meat grilled and the blood drunk, are offered in Bangkok's Chinatown, Mills and Serveen found. So powerful is the belief in bear meat's tonic powers that 30 bears were smuggled out of Thailand to South Korea to fortify Korean athletes for the 1988 Olympic Games, a Bangkok forestry official told the investigators.

Unlike rhino horn, however, the medicinal properties of bear gallbladders appear to be real, for some ailments at least. Mills and Serveen cited two 1990 articles in the medical journals Gastroenterology and Digestive Disease on laboratory tests showing that the active ingredient in bear bile, ursodeoxycholic acid (UDCA), safely dissolves gall stones. One US practitioner of Asian medicine told Mills only surgery is as effective against hemorrhoids as an ointment made from bear gallbladder.

A synthetic form of UDCA has been marketed in Japan under the trade name "Urso" since 1957 as an over-the-counter tonic to ease digestive problems and prevent hangovers. "It is so cheap that people in Korea and Japan do not believe it is as effective," as the real thing, and it does not compete well, an official for Tokyo Tanabe, the maker, told Mills and Serveen.

To satisfy demand for the real thing, China in the late 1980s began establishing bear farms. Housed singly in tiny iron cages, more than 8,000 bears are milked of their bile through surgically implanted taps in a process that observers say is plainly painful to the animals.

Bile from captive animals, although more respected than synthesized UDCA, is also disparaged. Neither substitute is likely to satisfy the demand for gallbladders from wild bears, concluded the World Wildlife investigators, "any more than cubic zirconium will satisfy the demand for diamonds."

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, Mar. 1, 1992]

DEMAND FOR BEAR PARTS HITS HOME IN POCONOS

(By Bill Ordine)

In a place where homicide is exceptionally common, the circumstances in the murder of Haeng Gu Lee in New York City were decidedly uncommon.

Lee was stabbed five times and his throat was slashed in his Brooklyn apartment in October. But it wasn't the manner in which Lee died that made his death unusual, but rather the suspected motive.

Police say the 39-year-old Korean businessman was probably killed for his large cache of black-bear gallbladders, some of which might have come from animals that once roamed the mountains of Pennsylvania.

Some Asians prize bear gallbladders for their medicinal use and as a reputed aphrodisiac. As a result, the demand for bear gallbladders has recently driven the price for the organs to astronomical levels. Though the sale of edible game parts from animals taken in the wild is outlawed in Pennsylvania, the sale of animal organs is legal in New York and Lee had been a supplier in the local Korean community, as well as nationally, for years.

The several dozen bear gallbladders taken from Lee's apartment were worth \$400 to \$600 each on the domestic market, according to law enforcement estimates. Sold in a powdered form in pharmacies in Asia, they could be worth 39 times as much.

"This is obviously a unique and challenging case," said New York Detective Thomas Dades who is investigating the slaying. "We're dealing with a subject that's pretty foreign to us, but we do know that the use of bear gallbladders is surprisingly popular and there's a lot of money involved."

That some of Lee's inventory came from Pennsylvania black bears is a strong possibility. Pennsylvania has the second-largest bear population in the Northeast United States next to Maine, and the Poconos have become a favorite haunt for suppliers to New York City's Asian market.

In January, an 18-month investigation by the Pennsylvania Game Commission bore fruit as officers cited seven people, all of Asian extraction, for either illegally buying or possessing animal parts.

The commission's investigation of illegal trafficking in wildlife parts began in the fall of 1990 when potential buyers began frequenting the check stations where hunters register the bears they have killed during the state's three-day hunting season.

Commission authorities chased the buyers from the check stations, but that did not deter the traffickers, who merely set up shop a mile or so down the road.

According to James Beard, an assistant director with the commission's bureau of law enforcement, the antics of the traffickers bordered on the comic.

"We have videotape of these people all wanting to have their picture taken with a dead bear, holding its head up or holding the paws. They all wanted a turn," Beard said. "They use the pictures as a selling point . . . that the gallbladder they're selling comes from this particular bear."

In January, authorities filed charges against the seven people—including a man and woman from Elkins Park, Montgomery County—after searches of a motel-restaurant in Paradise Township, a grocery store near Stroudsburg and two private homes yielded contraband including bear gallbladders.

The resulting citations were for summary offenses that carry fines and no jail terms.

So far, two people have pleaded guilty and have been fined a total of \$20,838; four cases are pending, and a warrant has been issued for a New Jersey man who cannot be located.

Judy Mills, an investigator for the World Wildlife Fund, finds the penalties relatively meager and certainly not much of a deterrent. In her own 18-month inquiry into the illicit bear-parts market throughout Asia, Mills discovered that a bear gallbladder, freeze-dried and powdered, could be sold overseas for more than \$200 a gram. That works out to a yield of \$15,000 to \$25,000 for a single gallbladder.

"The populations of the Asian black and brown bears have been decimated," Mills said. "In Korea, the handful of bears left are a national monument, and it is illegal to sell anything from an Asian bear. But those countries still permit the importation of North American bears. With prices like that, you can imagine the pressure that will be put on the bear population here."

George Adam O'Hara, a special agent with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, said that bears in parts of the United States where hunting is not as tightly regulated as in Pennsylvania are already being hit hard.

"Pennsylvania does a good job; a big factor is that they don't allow hound hunting. But undercover, I've seen drop points right here in Virginia where 200, 300 bear galls from all over the country changed hands," he said.

The chemical produced by bear gallbladders is ursodeoxycholic acid (UDCA), and bear gallbladders have been used as a popular ingredient in Oriental medicine for 3,000 years to relieve human liver and gallbladder disorders. The Japanese have been able to synthesize UDCA, but traditionalists still crave the real thing.

To meet the demand for UDCA, the Chinese have begun to "farm" bears, keeping them penned in tight, restrictive cages and surgically inserting a tube directly into the animal's gallbladder to "milk" the valuable chemical.

So far, though, the most expedient way for Asian users to obtain bear gallbladders is to import them from North America, where three-quarters of the world's approximately one million bears still prowl.

Last week, bear experts from around the world met at a conference of the International Bear Association (IBA) in Missoula, Mont. At the conference, Mills and her husband, Chris Servheen, a biologist, presented a paper detailing the findings of their investigations.

"Imagine this," Mills said. "There are about one million bears in the world, and there are one billion potential users of bear galls."

The IBA governing body went on to recommend to the Convention on International Trade and Endangered Species of Flora and Fauna (CITES), a conservation group that spawns treaties between governments, that it place the North American black bear on a list that would require origination documentation for imported bear parts. CITES meet this month in Kyoto, Japan.

Proponents of placing the North American black bear in such a category say that it would help slow the killing of Asian bears—whose gallbladder are almost indistinguishable from those of their North American cousins—because merchants can easily pass off Asian bear gallbladders as those of North American bears. The listing, proponents say, would at least discourage poaching in this country.

Still, the recommendation is not universally embraced, even among conservation-

ists. For instance, Pennsylvania Game Commission bear expert Gary Alt is skeptical that the special listing would help much.

Alt is considered the most knowledgeable person in the state when it comes to bears. He knows the personal history of many of them, and his tireless work in conservation management helped triple Pennsylvania's bear population from 2,500 in the late 1970s to 7,500 today.

Alt said he believed the listing "just adds a layer of bureaucracy and much more paperwork to the task of managing wildlife, and it may invite a lot of litigation because there is no evidence that the North American bear population has been reduced. I don't think this helps the animals or the people—unless you happen to be an attorney."

"I've asked the question, 'How many game protectors are finding bears in the forest with the gallbladders removed and their paws cut off?' [Bear paws are an Asian soup delicacy.] It's just not happening very much, and although it's an individual atrocity when it happens, statistically, it's not even measurable."

Commission law enforcement officials agree that there has been little, if any, evidence of outright poaching in the state for the purpose of supplying the Asian market with bear parts. But they are concerned that the arrests in January may have been just the opening shot of an assault on Pennsylvania's bear population.

"Poaching—taking bears out of season, killing them in their dens, setting out bait—has been our concern," said David Overcash, a wildlife conservation officer in Monroe County who was part of the January operation.

"Locals hear about how much money is involved, and you don't know how that will make a difference. If the prices I've seen are right, you could kill 10 bears, hop a plane [to Asia] and make a quick quarter-of-a-million dollars."

Said Beard, "Considering the demand out there for the gallbladders, people are going to [use] every means possible to get bear."

Including, apparently, the murder of Haeng Gu Leo.

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 2, 1992]
SETTING CITES ON GALLBLADDER TRADE—DEMAND FOR BEAR ORGANS IN EASTERN CULTURES SPURS POACHING IN NORTH AMERICA
(By Sean Kelly)

As the eighth biennial meeting of the 112-nation Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES) begins today in Kyoto, Japan, one of the hottest topics under discussion will be bears' gallbladders.

So great is the demand for the organs, which are prized in some Eastern cultures for their presumed medicinal powers, that it has caused a precipitous decline in the number of Asiatic bears, and may be threatening populations in North America.

Traders in South Korea, China, Japan and Taiwan, the largest consumers of bear gallbladders and other bear parts, have been looking for new ways to supplement their dwindling supply of black and brown bears to support extensive demand for the organs.

According to the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, South Korean dealers have been paying poachers in the United States top dollar for North American black bear gallbladders. In Alaska, brown bear trophy hunters often tip their guides in bear gallbladders instead of money.

Recently, Fish and Wildlife Service sources said, numerous bear carcasses from which

only the animals' gallbladders had been extracted have been found in the United States and Canada. There is no way to determine how widespread the practice is.

According to agency reports, the trade in bears and bear parts has become so lucrative that opportunists have succeeded in substituting pig gallbladders for the real thing. As a result, to ensure the validity of their purchases, Asian businessmen have begun requesting videotape evidence of black bear gallbladder extraction.

Black and brown bears are only two of about 150 species that will be discussed at CITES meeting, but they are representative of the extraordinary complexity and multi-billion-dollar scope of world commerce in plants and animals.

CITES was created in 1976 to address the problems. Signatories to the international treaty, which was designed to monitor and control trade in threatened species, subspecies or distinct animal and plant populations, meet every two years to update and revise their policies.

LISTINGS BY SEVERITY OF THREAT

CITES lists animals in one of three categories, depending on how severely a species is thought to be threatened. Wildlife listed in Appendix I is banned from commercial trade by participating nations. When the African elephant was listed on Appendix I in 1989, for example, international trade in ivory dropped dramatically. This year, there is a proposal to change the elephant's listing to Appendix II, the category in which regulated trade is permitted.

Appendix III listings are self-imposed restrictions instituted by individual countries, which may or may not choose to grant export and import permits for listed species. Appendix III listings do not require joint approval by CITES member nations.

At this year's meeting, CITES members will review the biological status and listing category of many species traded on the commercial market, including, exotic birds, tropical fish, marine mammals, reptiles, primates and cats, and plants such as the Venus flytrap, Brazilian rosewood and African teak.

Representatives will also debate various controversial proposals, including one by the Swedish government to ban trade in the Atlantic bluefin tuna, whose numbers have been greatly reduced by commercial fishing.

Also expected to be controversial is Denmark's proposal this year to list the North American black bear in Appendix II. Denmark is making the effort at the request of U.S. conservation groups, who often solicit the aid of CITES member nations when they cannot obtain the cooperation of the federal government.

The U.S. government officially opposes listing the bear, which is not considered endangered in North America, arguing that Canada's listing of the bear in Appendix III provides sufficient trade regulation.

But G. Adam O'Hara, a law enforcement agent with the Fish and Wildlife Service, said the poaching of the North American black bear continues to be a significant problem that is too widespread to combat at current enforcement staff levels.

Listing the bear, however, would not necessarily affect South Korea or Taiwan, two of the major consumers of bear gallbladders: Neither is a member of CITES. In those two countries, as in some other Asian medical traditions, preparations made from bear gallbladders are often used to treat a number of ailments, including fever and chronic illness of the liver, gallbladder, spleen and stomach. Such treatments also are used for

hemorrhoids, jaundice and hepatitis. Some doctors also prescribe them for colic.

Because of the high value and extensive demand for such products, "the whole medicinal trade," which includes such exotic items as rhino horn, deer antler and tiger penis (believed to be aphrodisiacs in some cultures), is "inherently the most difficult wildlife trade area for us now to control," said Ginette Himley, a director of Traffic U.S.A., a branch of the World Wildlife Fund that monitors the trade in wild animals.

No one is sure how profitable the trade is, but there are chilling clues. Last Oct. 22, the New York Times reported that a Korean-American animal trader was stabbed to death in his Brooklyn apartment, where he was robbed of an undetermined number of bear gallbladders, which he kept in three freezers.

DRAINING BILE FROM LIVE BEARS

In addition, there are reports that the animals are placed in "bear farms" and used as living sources for bile. The Associated Press reported from Seoul last July on the outcry that followed a Korean TV expose showing "live bears being cut open to have plastic hoses inserted into their gallbladders to drain out the bile," which was then sold for as much as \$70 a teaspoon.

According to one American researcher, North American bears have been exported to South Korea for that purpose. "I have seen American black bears in South Korean bear farms," said Judy A. Mills, who along with her husband, Christopher Servehen, spent 18 months investigating the Asian trade in bears and bear parts. Their study was sponsored by the World Wildlife Fund.

"There are Koreans who are coming to bear auctions in the United States and buying up bears," Mills said. "In fact, they're doing so to the point where a lot of people in North America can no longer afford to bid against them because they're willing to pay so much money." Her study maintains that bear farming, which ensures renewable stocks of bear bile without killing the animals, is practiced in North Korea, South Korea and China.

Bears farmed for bile, she said, are kept in small cages, where a catheter-like tube is surgically inserted into the animal's gallbladders. The bile then drains into a plastic collection bag. At one farm, Mills said, the liquid was removed and placed in three small plastic bottles, which were immediately packed in ice and sold to buyers for about \$1,700 apiece.

Other countries involved in trade in bears and bear parts, according to Mills's study, include Laos, Malaysia, Nepal, Singapore, Thailand, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Myanmar (formerly Burma), Cambodia, India, Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Vietnam.

SENATE COMMITTEE MEETINGS

Title IV of Senate Resolution 4, agreed to by the Senate on February 4, 1977, calls for establishment of a system for a computerized schedule of all meetings and hearings of Senate committees, subcommittees, joint committees, and committees of conference. This title requires all such committees to notify the Office of the Senate Daily Digest—designated by the Rules Committee—of the time, place, and purpose of the meetings, when scheduled, and any cancellations or changes in the meetings as they occur.

As an additional procedure along with the computerization of this information, the Office of the Senate Daily Digest will prepare this information for printing in the Extensions of Remarks section of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on Monday and Wednesday of each week.

Meetings scheduled for Tuesday, March 10, 1992, may be found in the Daily Digest of today's RECORD.

MEETINGS SCHEDULED

MARCH 11

9:00 a.m.
Labor and Human Resources
 Business meeting, to mark up S. 2062, Equal Remedies Act of 1991, S. 1962, to revise the Civil Rights Act of 1991 to apply the Act to certain workers, S. 600, Child Labor Amendments, S. 2055, Job Training and Basic Skills Act of 1991, and other pending calendar business. SD-430

9:30 a.m.
Armed Services
Defense Industry and Technology Subcommittee
 To hold hearings on ways in which the United States can strengthen its support of manufacturing technology programs being undertaken by the Department of Defense. SR-222

Commerce, Science, and Transportation
Communications Subcommittee
 To hold hearings on S. 1101, to require the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to prescribe standards for AM stereo radio broadcasting, an FCC rulemaking proposal relating to radio ownership rules, and other related issues. SR-253

Governmental Affairs
Oversight of Government Management Subcommittee
 To hold hearings to review the Department of Defense inventory, focusing on the purchasing practices of the Pentagon. SD-342

10:00 a.m.
Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs
 To hold oversight hearings on the Resolution Trust Corporation, focusing on minority and women contracting, Western Storm, and asset disposition. SD-538

Veterans' Affairs
 To hold hearings on proposed legislation to improve the availability of treatment of veterans for post-traumatic stress disorder. SR-418

2:00 p.m.
Foreign Relations
 To hold hearings to examine the situation in the former Soviet Union. SD-419

MARCH 12

9:30 a.m.
Energy and Natural Resources
 Business meeting, to consider pending calendar business. SD-366

Rules and Administration
 To hold hearings on S. 523, to establish the National African-American Memo-

rial Museum within the Smithsonian Institution. SR-301

Small Business
 To hold hearings on the President's proposed budget request for fiscal year 1993 for the Small Business Administration, and on proposed legislation authorizing funds for the fiscal year 1992 supplemental budget request. SR-428A

10:00 a.m.
Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs
 To hold hearings on the impact of the President's proposed budget request for fiscal year 1993 on the banking industry and the Bank Insurance Fund. SD-538

Labor and Human Resources
Education, Arts, and Humanities Subcommittee
 To hold hearings on S. 1275, authorizing funds through fiscal year 1996 for the Office of Educational Research and Improvement. SD-430

10:30 a.m.
Rules and Administration
 To hold hearings on S.J. Res. 259, providing for the appointment of Barber B. Conable, Jr. as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution. SR-301

11:00 a.m.
Rules and Administration
 To hold hearings on proposed legislation authorizing funds for fiscal years 1993 through 1997 for the American Folklife Center of the Library of Congress. SR-301

11:30 a.m.
Judiciary
 Business meeting, to consider pending calendar business. SD-106

2:00 p.m.
Foreign Relations
 To hold hearings on the Basel Convention on the Control of Transboundary Movements of Hazardous Wastes and Their Disposal (Treaty Doc. 102-5). SD-419

To hold hearings on S. 1275, authorizing funds through fiscal year 1996 for the Office of Educational Research and Improvement. SD-430

10:30 a.m.
Rules and Administration
 To hold hearings on S.J. Res. 259, providing for the appointment of Barber B. Conable, Jr. as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution. SR-301

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Foreign Relations
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Select on Intelligence
To resume hearings on S. 2198, to reorganize the United States Intelligence community to provide for the improved management and execution of United States intelligence activities. SD-G50

4:00 p.m.
Foreign Relations
Business meeting, to consider the nominations of Robert C. Frasure, of West Virginia, to be Ambassador to Estonia, Darryl Norman Johnson, of Washington, to be Ambassador to Lithuania, Ints M. Silins, of Virginia, to be Ambassador to Latvia, and Parker W. Borg, of Minnesota, to be Ambassador to the Union of Burma (Myanmar). S-116, Capitol

MARCH 13

10:00 a.m.
Finance
International Trade Subcommittee
To hold hearings to review the Administration's objectives and current progress in the Structural Impediments Initiative. SD-215

MARCH 17

9:00 a.m.
Armed Services
Strategic Forces and Nuclear Deterrence Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed legislation authorizing funds for fiscal year 1993 for the Department of Defense, focusing on command, control, communications, and intelligence matters. SR-222

9:30 a.m.
Commerce, Science, and Transportation
Science, Technology, and Space Subcommittee
To hold hearings to examine an overview of NASA's budget for fiscal year 1993. SR-253

10:00 a.m.
Appropriations
Agriculture and Related Agencies Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1993 for the Department of Agriculture, focusing on the Food and Nutrition Service, and the Human Nutrition Information Service. SD-138

Appropriations
Defense Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1993 for the United States Air Force. SD-192

MARCH 18

9:30 a.m.
Commerce, Science, and Transportation
Science, Technology, and Space Subcommittee
To hold hearings to examine NASA's space station and launch issues. SR-253

Select on Indian Affairs
To resume oversight hearings on the implementation of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA). SH-216

10:00 a.m.
Appropriations
Transportation Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1993 for the Fed-

eral Highway Administration, Department of Transportation. SD-192

Appropriations
Treasury, Postal Service, General Government Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1993 for the Department of the Treasury, and the Executive Office of the President. SD-116

MARCH 19

9:30 a.m.
Appropriations
VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1993 for the National Science Foundation, and the Office of Science Technology Policy. SD-124

Energy and Natural Resources
Public Lands, National Parks and Forests Subcommittee
To hold hearings on S. 684, to strengthen the preservation of the Nation's historic heritage and resources. SD-366

10:00 a.m.
Appropriations
Commerce, Justice, State, and Judiciary Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1993 for the Department of Justice. S-146, Capitol

MARCH 20

10:00 a.m.
Appropriations
Agriculture and Related Agencies Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1993 for the Department of Agriculture, focusing on the Farmers Home Administration, the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation, the Rural Electrification Administration, and the Rural Development Administration. SD-138

Veterans' Affairs
To hold hearings on S. 2322, to increase the rates of compensation for veterans with service-connected disabilities and the rates of dependency and indemnity compensation for the survivors of certain disabled veterans, and S. 2323, to revise title 38, U.S. Code, to revise the rates of dependency and indemnity compensation payable to surviving spouses of certain service-disabled veterans, and to provide supplemental service disabled veterans' insurance for totally disabled veterans. SR-418

MARCH 24

10:00 a.m.
Environment and Public Works
To hold hearings on the President's proposed budget request for fiscal year 1993 for the Environmental Protection Agency. SD-406

MARCH 25

9:30 a.m.
Appropriations
VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1993 for the Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation, and the National Credit Union Administration. SD-116

Select on Indian Affairs
To hold hearings on S. 1752, to provide for the development, enhancement, and recognition of Indian tribal courts. SR-485

10:00 a.m.
Appropriations
Commerce, Justice, State, and Judiciary Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1993 for the Federal Communications Commission, and the Securities and Exchange Commission. S-146, Capitol

Appropriations
Transportation Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1992 for the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, and the Research and Special Programs Administration, both of the Department of Transportation. SD-138

Appropriations
Treasury, Postal Service, General Government Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1993 for the Internal Revenue Service, Department of the Treasury, and the U.S. Postal Service. SD-116

MARCH 26

9:30 a.m.
Appropriations
VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1993 for the Environmental Protection Agency, and the Council on Environmental Quality. SD-G50

Governmental Affairs
Oversight of Government Management Subcommittee
To hold hearings on S. 2279, to provide for the disclosure of lobbying activities to influence the Federal Government. SD-342

MARCH 27

10:00 a.m.
Appropriations
Agriculture and Related Agencies Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1993 for the Department of Agriculture, focusing on the Animal and Plant Inspection Service, the Food Safety and Inspection Service, and the Agricultural Marketing Service. SD-138

MARCH 31

9:30 a.m.
Energy and Natural Resources
To hold oversight hearings on the implementation of the Department of Energy's civilian nuclear waste program

mandated by the Nuclear Waste Policy Act.
SD-366

APRIL 1

9:30 a.m.
Select on Indian Affairs
To hold hearings on proposed legislation to authorize funds for programs of the Indian Health Care Improvement Act.
SR-485

10:00 a.m.
Appropriations
Commerce, Justice, State, and Judiciary Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1993 for the Department of Commerce.
S-146, Capitol

Appropriations
Treasury, Postal Service, General Government Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1993 for the Office of National Drug Control Policy, and the U.S. Secret Service, Department of the Treasury.
SD-116

APRIL 2

9:30 a.m.
Appropriations
VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1993 for the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and the Resolution Trust Corporation.
SD-116

Commerce, Science, and Transportation Consumer Subcommittee
To hold hearings on S. 664, to require that health warnings be included in alcoholic beverage advertisements.
SR-253

10:00 a.m.
Appropriations
Transportation Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1993 for the National Transportation Safety Board.
SD-138

APRIL 3

10:00 a.m.
Appropriations
Agriculture and Related Agencies Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1993 for the Department of Agriculture, focusing on the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, the Foreign Agricultural Service, the General Sales Manager, and the Soil Conservation Service.
SD-138

APRIL 7

10:00 a.m.
Appropriations
Agriculture and Related Agencies Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1993 for the Department of Agriculture, focusing on the Commodity Futures Trading Commission, the Food and Drug Administration, the Farm Credit Administration, and the Farm Credit System Assistance Board.
SD-138

Appropriations
Commerce, Justice, State, and Judiciary Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1993 for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the Drug Enforcement Administration, Department of Justice.
S-146, Capitol

APRIL 8

9:30 a.m.
Veterans' Affairs
To hold joint hearings with the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs to review the legislative recommendations of the AMVETS, American Ex-POWs, Jewish War Veterans, Non-Commissioned Officers Association, National Association for Uniformed Services, and Society of Military Widows.
SD-106

10:00 a.m.
Appropriations
Treasury, Postal Service, General Government Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1993 for the Office of Management and Budget, the Office of Personnel Management, and the Executive Residence.
SD-116

APRIL 9

9:30 a.m.
Appropriations
VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1993 for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.
SD-G50

10:00 a.m.
Appropriations
Commerce, Justice, State, and Judiciary Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1993 for the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, and the Small Business Administration.
S-146, Capitol

Appropriations
Transportation Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1993 for Amtrak, and the Federal Railroad Administration, Department of Transportation.
SD-138

APRIL 29

10:00 a.m.
Appropriations
Commerce, Justice, State, and Judiciary Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1993 for the U.S. Information Agency, and the Board for International Broadcasting.
S-146, Capitol

APRIL 30

9:30 a.m.
Appropriations
VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1993 for the Department of Housing and Urban Development.
SD-G50

10:00 a.m.
Appropriations
Transportation Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1993 for the Federal Transit Agency, and the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority.
SD-138

MAY 7

9:30 a.m.
Appropriations
VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1993 for the Department of Veterans Affairs, and the Court of Veterans Affairs.
SD-124

10:00 a.m.
Appropriations
Transportation Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1993 for the U.S. Coast Guard, Department of Transportation.
SD-138

MAY 14

9:30 a.m.
Appropriations
VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1993 for the Federal Emergency Management Agency.
SD-124

10:00 a.m.
Appropriations
Transportation Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1993 for the Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation.
SD-138

MAY 21

9:30 a.m.
Appropriations
VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1993 for the National Community Service, and the Points of Light Foundation.
SD-116

10:00 a.m.
Appropriations
Transportation Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1993 for the General Accounting Office.
SD-138

MAY 22

9:30 a.m.
Appropriations
VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1993 for the Department of Housing and Urban Development and certain related agencies.
SD-138