

and a country that seeks closer ties to Europe, would deny the ICRC access when there is clearly a need for it. Any armed conflict involves abuses of human rights against civilians, and in Turkey the evidence of such abuses by both sides is overwhelming. In addition, the State Department has reported on the mistreatment and torture of prisoners in Turkish jails for many years.

The ICRC operates confidentially. It does not seek to embarrass governments. It does not discuss its findings with the press, or with the Congress, or anyone else. Its goal is to monitor human rights and provide objective advice to whoever is deemed to be violating them on how to improve respect for human rights.

I am told by administration officials that they have raised this issue with Turkish officials in the past, to no avail. That is discouraging, and it is for that reason that my amendment calls on the President of the United States to raise this himself with the Turkish Prime Minister. I believe this issue is that important. I also believe that Turkey's willingness to do this would be an important sign of its commitment to improve human rights.

It is for this reason that yesterday I offered an amendment, which was adopted, which aims to encourage the Turkish Government to permit unimpeded access to the ICRC, especially in the southeast where its presence is so urgently needed. I think this is the least that a civilized, democratic country should do.

I hope the administration understands the importance of this amendment, and will give it the urgency and serious attention that it deserves.

I also joined Senator PELL in an amendment, which was also adopted, which provides \$5 million for non-governmental organizations to carry out humanitarian and other activities on behalf of Kurds in southeastern Turkey. I think this is very important. It is consistent with United States policy of promoting economic development, cultural and ethnic tolerance, and human rights, and it makes clear that we want to see a portion of our assistance to Turkey used to directly further these goals. I trust the administration will make every effort to encourage the Turkish Government to permit the use of these funds as intended.

FOREIGN OPERATIONS APPROPRIATIONS—AMENDMENT NO. 2743

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, an amendment that was adopted yesterday which I cosponsored with Senator DODD and which was also cosponsored by Senators KERRY and MURRAY, aims to address the travesty that has been going on in Guatemala for as long as most of us can remember.

Guatemala is now the only country in Central America still plagued by civil war. It is winding down, but it

continues to claim innocent lives, and it is an excuse for continuing human rights atrocities by the Guatemalan Armed Forces, as well as the URNG guerrillas.

But it is the Guatemalan Armed Forces, and their armed supporters, that are guilty of the majority of these crimes. Their victims are students, nuns, journalists, human rights lawyers, union organizers—anyone who dares speak out about Government corruption or Government-sponsored violence.

The estimate of the number of killed and disappeared ranges from 40-70,000, over the past three decades. In any given week, the toll is staggering. Death threats, disappearances, and extrajudicial executions are routine in human rights reports on Guatemala.

Let me describe some recent incidents. In May of this year, nearly 100 bodies were found with signs of torture—an increase in extrajudicial executions by 40 percent, with 195 violent deaths reported.

In June, a teacher was abducted, 21 judges were threatened with death, a 17-year-old street youth was shot to death by a member of the National Police, several bodies of disappeared persons were found, a union leader was abducted, beaten, and raped, a former judge was attacked for the third time with a bomb, high school student leaders were harassed by armed men—who reportedly tried to abduct them, a Congressman was attacked, and the remains of hundreds of people in mass graves were exhumed.

On June 14, several religious organizations and human rights advocates signed a letter to President Clinton, asking that an independent human rights expert be appointed to undertake a full investigation into human rights violations in Guatemala. On Father's Day, a march was organized for children of disappeared parents. "The father who took care of us was taken away," said one of the children at a press conference. "He did not come back and we never heard from him again."

For years, the Congress has passed resolutions, written letters, cut off aid. We have tried to get the Guatemalan Army's attention, to no avail. There has been virtually no progress in bringing to justice those responsible for any of the thousands of human rights abuses.

Jennifer Harbury, a U.S. lawyer, lost her husband 3 years ago and has been searching for him ever since. His name is Efrain Bamaca Velasquez. He was murdered after being tortured. There is evidence that a Guatemalan colonel, paid by the CIA, may have been involved in Bamaca's torture and death, as well as the death of American Michael DeVine.

A Guatemalan officer who was convicted in the DeVine case mysteriously escaped from prison the next day, and has not been seen since. Efrain Bamaca's fate remains unknown, and

the Guatemalan army has obstructed justice every step of the way. Despite a court order, they have refused to permit a special prosecutor to excavate where Bamaca's body, and the bodies of many others, are believed to be buried.

Mr. President, I am not going to take the time to repeat the details. I have spoken before about the Harbury case, the DeVine case, about numerous other human rights cases in Guatemala over the years.

Guatemala's President de Leon Carpio is doing his best, and he deserves credit for keeping the peace negotiations moving forward, enabling U.N. human rights monitors to take up residence in Guatemala, supporting democratic elections, and taking some steps to improve human rights. But impunity among the army and civil patrols remains the central problem. There is no justice when a member of the armed forces is involved.

This amendment makes it clear who is the problem. It praises President de Leon Carpio, who deserves our support. But it prohibits any assistance to the armed forces and the URNG, any sales of military equipment, and cuts off visas for any member of the armed forces and URNG who are suspected of involvement in human rights violations, or of covering up such crimes.

These restrictions will end when the President certifies that the Guatemalan armed forces are fully cooperating in solving these crimes, and in carrying out the recommendations of the U.N. monitors.

I am not among those who believes that everyone in the Guatemalan army is corrupt, or guilty of crimes. Far from it. I know some honorable, honest Guatemalan officers who are disgusted by what some of their fellow officers do. I also know that there are honorable members of the URNG who are fighting because for years they were excluded from the political process, but that is changing. This amendment is aimed at the bad apples. It is time for all Guatemalans who believe in respecting human rights, in justice, to stand up for it, and to end the impunity once and for all.

#### A TRIBUTE TO DOUGLASS CATER

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, I rise today to mourn the death of a great friend and great American, S. Douglass Cater, Jr.

A native of Montgomery, AL, Douglass Cater traveled north to school at Exeter and Harvard, interrupting his education to serve as a Russian specialist in the Office of Strategic Services in World War II. After the war ended, he remained in Washington, writing eminent prose on Washington and national affairs for *The Reporter*. His articles, along with his first-rate books "The Fourth Branch of Government" and "Power in Washington" brought him to the attention of Lyndon Johnson. In 1964, he joined the Johnson

White House as the President's education specialist, assisting in the development of programs that established Federal aid to education as the national policy. He also oversaw much of the work that went in to the creation of the Public Broadcasting System.

Always a dedicated educator, Douglass Cater became the President of Washington College after stints at the Aspen Institute and The Observer, the great English newspaper. As president of Washington College, Douglass moved to a new plateau above that of Chester Dana, the title character of his masterful 1970 fiction book, "Dana: The Irrelevant Man." I reviewed that book back when it was first published and wrote the foreword to an upcoming edition. That brilliant novel remains as true today as ever, even though the climate and culture of this city and government have drastically changed.

Douglass Cater gave new meaning to the terms "gentleman" and "scholar." He brought a thoughtfulness and intelligence to all his work, and continually preached the value of civilized discourse over political bickering. His faith in reason was much appreciated by all those who came to know him.

Douglass Cater was, in the words of Edwin Yoder, "one of the best of a fine generation." And so we will remember him, even as we offer our condolences to his beloved wife Libby, and all his children and grandchildren.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the full text of the articles from the New York Times and the Washington Post be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Sept. 16, 1995]

DOUGLASS CATER IS DEAD AT 72; EDUCATOR AND PRESIDENTIAL AIDE

(By Robert McG. Thomas, Jr.)

Douglass Cater, a soft-spoken student and practitioner of government power who began his working life as a journalist and ended it as a college president—after a heady detour through Lyndon B. Johnson's White House—died yesterday at the guest house at Washington College in Chestertown, Md.

He was 72 and had lived in Montgomery, Ala., since his retirement as the president of the college in 1990.

His wife, Libby, said that her husband, who was stricken during a visit to the college six weeks ago, died of pulmonary fibrosis.

By the time he went to the White House in 1964 at age 40, Mr. Cater was already an old Washington hand. An original editor of The Reporter magazine, he had spent 14 years covering Washington and national affairs, with occasional time off to write books or serve as a Government consultant.

Indeed, he began his stint as a special assistant to President Johnson two months after the publication of his third book, "Power in Washington."

It was a measure of Mr. Cater's evenhandedness that five years before his journalist's examination of Government power, he had given his own profession the same treatment in "The Fourth Branch of Government."

Mr. Cater, who had written admiringly of Johnson's use of power as Senate majority

leader, had been asked to join his Vice Presidential staff in 1963, but had demurred.

At the time, Mr. Cater was on a leave from his magazine working as associate director of the Center of Advanced Studies at Wesleyan University in Connecticut and wanted to finish his book.

The second call—this time from the White House—"got his attention," Mrs. Cater recalled yesterday.

Mr. Cater, who was given a vague mandate to "think ahead" and had been told by other Presidential assistants that they "made it up" as they went along, took a while to find his niche.

The breakthrough, his wife said, came when he noticed that Johnson's face lit up whenever he read a memorandum on education. Taking the Presidential visage as his guide, Mr. Cater became the resident education specialist, with far-reaching results, among them the first legislation establishing Federal aid to education as a national norm.

"It was one of his proudest achievements," his wife said, recalling that another was the spadework her husband did in creating the Public Broadcasting System.

Mr. Cater, who left the White House in 1968 to join Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey's Presidential campaign staff, later worked as an executive of The Observer and joined the Aspen Institute, which became his base as a freelance writer and political gadfly before taking the Washington College post in 1982.

A native of Montgomery, Mr. Cater, whose full name was Silas Douglass Cater Jr., came by his interest in government naturally. His father, Silas Cater, was a politically attuned lawyer who served in the Alabama Legislature and later became Montgomery City Clerk.

After attending Exeter, Mr. Cater went on to Harvard, interrupting his education during World War II to serve as a Russian specialist with the Office of Strategic Services in Washington, an experience he found so dull, his wife said, that he vowed never again to work as a specialist but to operate as a generalist.

By most accounts he did that brilliantly, earning a reputation as a civilizing influence who brought thoughtfulness to both his extensive writings and his other work.

Resorting to reason when others might rail, Mr. Cater was forever preaching the value of civilized discourse.

In 1984, for example, he persuaded two former Presidents and six former Secretaries of State to endorse a bipartisan statement urging Presidential candidates to moderate their comments on foreign affairs.

Mr. Cater, who wrote widely, including a number of Op-Ed articles for The New York Times, had less success a campaign to persuade the news media, particularly television, to moderate their voices in reporting on Government.

Although his published works on Government were widely praised, perhaps his greatest achievement as a writer was his lone and daring venture into fiction, his 1970 novel "Dana: The Irrelevant Man."

There have been many excellent factual accounts of Washington, of course, but in his review in The Times, Christopher Lehmann-Haupt suggested that Mr. Cater had pulled off something of a miracle in a well-abused genre, proving "That wise reporters can write fiction after all."

In addition to his wife, Mr. Cater is survived by two sons, Silas 3d, of San Rafael, Calif., and Ben, of Baltimore; two daughters, Sage, of Montgomery and Morrow Scheer, of San Rafael; a brother, William, of Millburn, N.J., and four grandchildren.

[From the Washington Post, September 16, 1995]

S. DOUGLASS CATER DIES AT 72; LBJ AIDE, WRITER, EDUCATOR  
(By Bart Barnes)

S. Douglass Cater, 72, a top aide to President Lyndon B. Johnson, a Washington journalist and author and the former president of Washington College in Chestertown, Md., died Sept. 15 at his quarters on the college campus. He had pulmonary fibrosis.

Mr. Cater served as special assistant to Johnson from 1964 to 1968. In that period, he was a principal draftsman for much of the Great Society legislation, including programs on education, health and medical care, labor and welfare. He also wrote speeches for Johnson and was instrumental in the formation of the Public Broadcasting Corp. and the Teacher Corps.

As a journalist, he was Washington editor and national affairs editor for the Reporter magazine in the 1950s and early 1960s, then in the late 1970s was vice chairman of The Observer in London. He wrote occasional political commentary on the op-ed pages of The Washington Post.

From 1982 until 1990, Mr. Cater was president of Washington College, a small liberal arts institution on Maryland's Eastern Shore. He was said by friends to have had a deep and abiding belief in the value of education, and a conviction that an educated citizenry could be sensible and responsible in matters of public policy. He also was a senior fellow, funding member and trustee of the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies.

He was the author of "Power in Washington," a 1964 book that he described as an attempt "to define what was happening to the political process as America moved toward its bicentennial." In a 1958 book, "The Fourth Branch of Government," Mr. Cater criticized the media, observing that the presence of television cameras at White House press conferences "make unpaid actors of the entire Washington press corps."

He also wrote a political novel, "Dana, the Irrelevant Man," which was published in 1970.

After stepping down as president of Washington College, Mr. Cater returned to his native Montgomery, Ala. He died while on a visit back to the college.

During World War II, Mr. Cater served in the Office of Strategic Services. He graduated from Harvard University and came to Washington in 1950 as Washington editor for the Reporter.

Not until he retired from Washington College did Mr. Cater return to live in the South, but he retained his Southern identity all his life and sometimes came across as the epitome of the cultivated Southerner.

He was inventive—with a seemingly endless stream of ideas—humorous, warm and sometimes crotchety.

"He had an acute sense of history, a gift for clear prose and excellent contacts in the universities, medical schools, foundations and education associations. He helped to draw up and put through most of Johnson's programs for aid to education and better medical care," said Harry C. McPherson Jr., who also served in the Johnson White House, in his book, "A Political Education."

For 13 years, Mr. Cater was Washington editor of the Reporter. He then served two years as national affairs editor before joining the Johnson White House in the spring of 1964. On Election Day 1964, Mr. Cater wrote a one-page memorandum to the president suggesting that Johnson seize the opportunity in what was beginning to look like a major electoral victory to become the "education president." Among the measures stemming from this suggestion were the Elementary

and Secondary Education Act, the Higher Education Act and the International Education Act.

Mr. Cater left the Johnson administration in October 1968 to work as a domestic adviser on the unsuccessful presidential campaign of Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey.

Later, he did writing and consulting and in 1970 became a founding fellow of the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies. He was a principal planner in designing the Institute's Center for Governance at Wye Plantation on the Eastern Shore.

In the late 1970s, he became vice chairman of the Observer, England's oldest weekly newspaper.

He took the job as president of Washington College in 1982, he said, "because I wanted to do something to make my own mark. In the White House, one could feel many heady things, but you were just part of a process. It didn't really matter if it was you or someone else. Although I was a high level staff man, I had never been in a job where the buck stopped with me."

During his years at the college, Mr. Cater raised more than \$43 million to revitalize the academic program and add major new facilities. He also became a national champion of independent liberal arts colleges, waging a running verbal battle on the op ed pages of *The Post* and the *New York Times* with then-Education Secretary William J. Bennett, who had accused private colleges of being too greedy.

Mr. Cater's books also included "Ethics in a Business Society" (1953); "Politics of Health" (1972); and "TV Violence and the Child" (1975).

Survivors include his wife, Libby Anderson Cater of Montgomery; four children, S. Douglas Cater III and Libby Morrow Cater Sheer, both of San Francisco, Rebecca Sage Cater of Montgomery, and Benjamin Winston Cater of Baltimore; a brother, William B. Cater of Milburn, N.J.; and four grandchildren.

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 20, 1995]

DOUGLASS CATER'S RULES OF JOURNALISM  
(By Edwin M. Yoder, Jr.)

Even perceptive newspaper obituaries rarely capture the flavor of a man. The notices of Douglass Cater's death at 72 conveyed only a hint of what made him an original.

I knew of Cater, and had read a good bit of his writing (mainly in the old Reporter magazine), long before our paths crossed in the mid-1980s. By then, he was assailed by excruciating physical debilities, including chronic back pain that he managed by a curious regimen of flexing exercises, rhythmically twisting his torso in a way vaguely suggestive of an exotic dance. But far from complaining, he observed his frailties as a journalist and wrote about them—interestingly.

Meeting him one could see how he had by then accumulated a larger stock of interesting firsthand institutional memory than just about anyone you ever met, beginning with World War II service in the legendary Office of Strategic Services. That was just the beginning. When communists took control of the world student movement, he and others organized the U.S. National Student Association. Later, he was a Washington magazine correspondent and editor, a White House aide to Lyndon Johnson, the editor of a venerable English newspaper (the Observer of London, which with the help of Robert Anderson's philanthropy, he rescued from the brink of oblivion), a writer, philosopher of higher education, godfather to public broadcasting and president of an old liberal arts college on Maryland's eastern shore (Washington, in Chestertown), which he also helped rescue and was visiting when he died.

Cater's old friends knew him as a man of dramatic loyalties, reinforced by a sharp tongue.

After we had seen Cater take someone's hide off at a forum one summer night, an old friend told me a story. It happened when Cater was working for Lyndon Johnson in the White House, at the height of the national quarrel over Vietnam.

His friend had flown to Washington on business and planned to stay with the Caters. Cater picked him up at National Airport. As they drove south on the GW Parkway, Cater asked, in his Alabama drawl: "John, are you one of those goddam academics who're always carping at the president about the war?" His friend admitted that he was. "I'm sorry," Cater announced, "but we will have to stop speaking." Cater withdrew to this study, skipping dinner, and it was years before friendly relations were restored. He took his loyalties seriously.

Douglass Cater's monument, however, apart from many inventive good works, is a small book he wrote in the late 1950s called "The Fourth Branch of Government," one of those seminal books that say all that needs saying about a subject. Cater wrote the book when many journalists were uncomfortably reviewing the press's dubious performance in the rise and fall of the 20th century's most disruptive American demagogue, Sen. Joe McCarthy of Wisconsin.

McCarthy's dark ascendancy was in part an expression of the anxiety generated by the Cold War. Cater's analysis focused, however, on one of its proximate sustaining causes: the cult of reportorial "objectivity." By the rules of objectivity, if an official of note made a sensational charge, even one that seemed patently bizarre, the press's duty was to report it straight, put it out unspun for public consumption. If it proved to be a lie, it would presumably be answered; and the answer would be duly reported.

Cater demonstrated that this rosy theory took inadequate account of McCarthy's unscrupulousness, or of the speed with which a resounding lie tends to outrun humdrum truth. Whether as an original perception or as the articulation of a consensus, Cater's book helped kill the cult of journalistic "objectivity"; and it was good riddance. If, today, a U.S. senator asserts that the sky was blue on Labor Day, a diligent reporter will check the back weather reports. And if it was actually gray, you can bet that fact will be reported early in the story, under the convention that Stephen Hess of the Brookings Institution calls "corrective journalism." And even the excesses of corrective journalism are a vast improvement over the abuses of the rules of "objectivity."

In short, it was Douglass Cater, more than anyone else, who changed the rules of American journalism, and very much for the better. And that was only one of perhaps a dozen distinctions that made him one of the best of a fine generation.

#### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Thomas, one of his secretaries.

#### EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session the Presiding Officer laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

(The nominations received today are printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

#### EXECUTIVE AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS

The following communications were laid before the Senate, together with accompanying papers, reports, and documents, which were referred as indicated:

EC-1461. A communication from the Secretary of Labor, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report on the expenditure and need for worker adjustment assistance training funds for the period July 1 to September 30, 1995; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-1462. A communication from the Assistant Secretary of State for Legislative Affairs, transmitting, pursuant to law, notice of the intention of the President to provide economic support funds to El Salvador; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

EC-1463. A communication from the Senior Deputy Assistant Administrator (Bureau for Legislative and Public Affairs), U.S. Agency for International Development, transmitting, pursuant to law, the Turkey Economic Report for calendar year 1994; the Committee on Foreign Relations.

#### PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The following petitions and memorials were laid before the Senate and were referred or ordered to lie on the table as indicated:

POM-301. A resolution adopted by the Council of the City of North Wildwood, New Jersey relative to the Flood Rate Map; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

POM-302. A joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

#### "SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 12

"Whereas, section 8 housing assistance is made available from the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) through California local government housing agencies to assist in rental payments for persons of lower income; and

"Whereas, section 8 housing assistance has heretofore been made available to assist lower income families and individuals, including senior citizens and the disabled, in helping them pay part of manufactured home and mobilehome park space rent; and

"Whereas, HUD has proposed rule changes to the Section 8 housing assistance payments program for fiscal year 1995 for manufactured home spaces to be established at 30 percent of the applicable Section 8 Rental Certificate program two-bedroom fair market rent; and

"Whereas, the proposed HUD rule changes would establish a formula that would permit space rent in many counties to be not more than \$207 in order for lower income persons to be eligible for the Section 8 assistance; and

"Whereas, in San Diego County alone, the current average mobilehome space rent of mobilehome applicants awaiting Section 8 assistance is more than \$325; and

"Whereas, under the proposed rule changes many lower income senior citizens, families, and disabled persons living in mobilehome parks in a number of California counties will no longer qualify for assistance: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California, jointly, That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully*