

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 3019,
BALANCED BUDGET DOWN PAY-
MENT ACT, II

SPEECH OF

HON. ROBERT K. DORNAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 25, 1996

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. Speaker, we are discussing the fiscal year 1996 omnibus appropriations bill in which an important provision to withhold funding for expanded diplomatic relations with Vietnam until the tyrannical Communist government of Vietnam provides a full accounting of our POW/MIA's was rendered ineffective by compromise language. The original language of the provision, which was co-sponsored by myself and distinguished colleagues, BEN GILMAN, BOB BARR, and JACK KINGSTON, called for the Vietnamese to "fully cooperate" in providing answers to voluminous intelligence reports and analysis in the possession of the United States Department of Defense that is related to more than 400 POW/MIA cases where the service men were last known alive or known to have perished under Vietnamese Government control.

In three hearings before my subcommittee, United States Government analysts repeatedly testified under oath that the United States Government knows that the Vietnamese Government is withholding volumes of records and documents related to missing American heroes in Vietnam and Laos. The words "fully cooperating" was originally accepted by House and Senate appropriations conferees. Tragically this important specific terminology was, at the last minute, watered down to "Elmer Gantryesque" charlatan's rhetoric: "cooperating in full faith." In their needless desperation to cut a deal during the waning hours of negotiations with the White House, congressional negotiators apparently believed that the fate of missing American heroes and the pleas of their families for an honest accounting were an issue to be bartered with the "triple draft-dodger-in-chief."

Mr. Speaker, I am supported by esteemed colleagues and friends such as Senator BOB SMITH and the "Gary Cooper" of this legislative body former POW SAM JOHNSON, in our determination to hold the White House totally culpable. The President must prove, based on United States intelligence analysis in our possession, whether the Vietnamese Government has fully accounted for all POW/MIA cases and returned all remains of fallen heroes in their possession, before any more tax dollars are spent on expanding relations with the brutal and tyrannical Communist dictators in Hanoi.

HONORING THE RICKMAN
VOLUNTEER FIRE DEPARTMENT

HON. BART GORDON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 30, 1996

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, I am taking this opportunity to applaud the invaluable services provided by the Rickman Volunteer Fire Department. These brave, civic minded people give freely of their time so that we may all feel safer at night.

Few realize the depth of training and hard work that goes into being a volunteer firefighter. To quote one of my local volunteers, "These firemen must have an overwhelming desire to do for others while expecting nothing in return."

Preparation includes twice monthly training programs in which they have live drills, study the latest videos featuring the latest in fire fighting tactics, as well as attend seminars where they can obtain the knowledge they need to save lives. Within a year of becoming a volunteer firefighter, most attend the Tennessee Fire Training School in Murfreesboro where they undergo further intensified training.

When the residents of my district go to bed at night, they know that should disaster strike and their home catch fire, well trained and qualified volunteer fire departments are ready and willing to give so graciously and generously of themselves. This peace of mind should not be taken for granted.

By selflessly giving of themselves, they ensure a safer future for us all. We owe these volunteer fire departments a debt of gratitude for their service and sacrifice.

TRIBUTE TO MARYNEZ TORRES

HON. WILLIAM O. LIPINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 30, 1996

Mr. LIPINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I pay tribute today to a brave young woman in my district whose quick thinking saved her family.

Ms. Marynez Torres, 15 was baby-sitting her two younger brothers when a fire broke out in the kitchen of the family's home. Unable to extinguish the fire, Ms. Torres rushed her two brothers out of the house to a safe location and dialed "911".

She was recently honored by both the Hodgkins Village board president and the Pleasantview Fire Protection District for her heroic efforts. As Pleasantview Fire Chief Dan Hermes told Ms. Torres, "You did everything right. We thank you for remembering what to do."

Mr. Speaker, I commend Ms. Torres for her quick thinking that saved the life of her two brothers.

"WE THE PEOPLE * * * THE CITI-
ZEN AND CONSTITUTION" PRO-
GRAM

HON. DAN BURTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 30, 1996

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, on April 27-29, 1996, more than 1,300 students from 50 States and the District of Columbia were in Washington, DC to compete in the national finals of the We the People * * * The Citizen and the Constitution program. I am proud to announce that the class from Lawrence Central High School from Indianapolis, represented the 6th district of the State of Indiana. These young scholars worked diligently to reach the national finals by winning local competitions in their home State.

The distinguished members of the team representing Indiana are: Amber Anderson, Carrie Anderson, Heather Bailey, Alicia Crichton, Nathan Criswell, Finda Fallah, Jeremy Freismuth, Lourie Gilbert, Robert Gordon, Phillip Gray, Amanda Gross, Tim Halligan, Lindsey Hamilton, Brandon Hart, Scott King, Brent Patterson, Mike Petro, Megan Pratt, Jason Roberts, Anthony Roque, C. David Smith, Tony Snider, Tomeka Stansberry, Crystal Sullivan, Sarah Thompson, Gene Wagner, Maurice Williams, and Mike Zabst.

I would also like to recognize their teacher, Drew Horvath, who deserves much of the credit for the success of the team. The district coordinator, Langdon Healy, and the State coordinator, Robert Leming, also contributed a significant amount of time and effort to help the team reach the national finals.

The We the People * * * The Citizen and the Constitution program is the most extensive educational program in the country developed specifically to educate young people about the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. The 3-day national competition simulates a congressional hearing in which students' oral presentations are judged on the basis of their knowledge of constitutional principles and their ability to apply them to historical and contemporary issues.

Administered by the Center for Civic Education, the We the People * * * program, now in its 9th academic year, has reached more than 70,400 teachers, and 22,600,000 students nationwide at the upper elementary, middle, and high school levels. Members of Congress and their staff enhance the program by discussing current constitutional issues with students and teachers.

The We the People * * * program provides an excellent opportunity for students to gain an informed perspective on the significance of the U.S. Constitution and its place in our history and our lives. I am very proud of the achievements of these students from Lawrence Central High School.

• 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.

TRIBUTE TO DALE BROWN

HON. ROB PORTMAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 30, 1996

Mr. PORTMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am extremely pleased to rise today in recognition of Ms. Dale P. Brown, a distinguished citizen of Cincinnati.

On Wednesday, May 1, Ms. Brown will receive the prestigious Human Relations Award from the Cincinnati Chapter of the American Jewish Committee, a much deserved honor for all of the work she has done both professionally and for her community.

Ms. Brown has made quite a mark on Cincinnati. As the president and CEO of the Sive/Young & Rubicam advertising firm, Dale Brown has led her company through a period of rapid growth and deep community involvement.

Dale Brown also helped reengineer the United Way "Shaping the Future" Task Force, is the communications chair for the 1996 United Way campaign, and was named a Career Woman of Achievement by the Cincinnati YWCA. And I have had the pleasure of working with Ms. Brown, in her role as a founding member of the steering committee of the Coalition for a Drug-Free Greater Cincinnati, a grassroots group that I organized to fight the war on drugs at the local level.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that you will join me and the rest of my colleagues in recognizing Dale Brown for all her selfless contributions to her community. Whether leading her business to unprecedented success or volunteering in the fight against teenage drug use, Brown is an inspiration to those around her. Cincinnati is fortunate to have someone of her caliber in our midst.

PRAISING OUR DIPLOMATIC CORPS

HON. BILL RICHARDSON

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 30, 1996

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, as a member of our Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, I have had the unique opportunity to participate in a number of highly sensitive foreign affairs missions. In each of my overseas assignments, I have had the great pleasure of working with exceptional members of our diplomatic corps.

Sadly, the corps is not always appreciated as the State Department has been under siege, even by some Members of this body who seek to undermine the activity of our diplomatic corps to properly represent U.S. interests and citizens overseas.

The work that our diplomats do in representing this country has a profound impact. Their work enables our country to engage in international business, but more importantly, they save our country blood by defusing crises before we need to send our military.

Ambassadors, and indeed our entire diplomatic corps, are our country's first line of defense and are critical to our national security and interest.

Our most able Ambassador to Spain, the Honorable Richard Gardner recently presented

an eloquent case defending and explaining the work of our diplomats. I urge my colleagues to review Ambassador Gardner's March 29, 1996, speech to the American Society of International Law which is excerpted here.

WHO NEEDS AMBASSADORS?

I come to you as a deeply troubled ambassador. I am troubled by the lack of understanding in our country today about our foreign policy priorities and the vital role of our embassies in implementing them. I sometimes think that what our ambassadors and embassies do is one of our country's best kept secrets.

During the Cold War there was also confusion and ignorance, but at least there was bipartisan consensus on the need for American leadership in defending freedom in the world against Soviet aggression and the spread of totalitarian communism.

Much of my work as ambassador to Italy was dominated by this overriding priority. At a time when some Italian leaders were flirting with the compromesso storico—a government alliance between Christian Democrats and an Italian Communist Party still largely oriented toward Moscow—I was able to play a modest role in making sure the Italians understood why the United States opposed the entry of Communist parties into the governments of NATO allies.

When the Soviet Union began threatening Europe by deploying its SS-20 missiles, it was vitally important for NATO to respond by deploying the Pershing 2 and cruise missiles. It soon became clear that the deployment could not occur without a favorable decision by Italy. Our embassy in Rome was able to persuade an Italian Socialist Party with a history of hostility to NATO to do an about-face and vote for the cruise missile deployment in the Italian Parliament along with the Christian Democrats and the small non-communist lay parties.

Some years later Mikhail Gorbachev said it was the NATO decision to deploy the Pershing and cruise missiles—not the Strategic Defense Initiative as some have claimed—that helped bring him to the realization that his country had to move from a policy based on military threats to one of accommodation with the West.

So at the height of the Cold War, it did not take a genius to understand the need for strong U.S. leadership in the world and for effective ambassadors and embassies in support of that leadership.

Today, however, there is no single unifying threat to help justify and define a world role for the United States. As a result, we are witnessing devastating reductions in the State Department budget which covers the cost of our embassies overseas.

Now that there is no longer a Soviet Union and a Communist threat, what is our foreign policy all about? And what is the current need for ambassadors and embassies?

A common refrain heard today is that American foreign policy lacks a single unifying goal and a coherent strategy for achieving it. But precisely because the post Cold War world is so complex, so rapidly evolving, and characterized by so many diverse threats to our interests, it is difficult to encapsulate in one sentence or one paragraph a definition of American foreign policy that has global application.

Perhaps we should start by recalling what our foreign policy was all about before there was a Cold War. It was about trying to create a world in which the American people could be secure and prosperous and see their deeply held values of political and economic freedom increasingly realized in other parts of the world. Well, that is still the purpose of our foreign policy today.

Presidents Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman, with broad bipartisan support from

Republicans like Wendell Willkie and Arthur Vandenberg, sought to implement these high purposes with a policy of practical internationalism, which I define as working with other countries in bilateral, regional and global institutions to advance common interests in peace, welfare and human rights.

Our postwar "founding fathers" in both political parties understood the importance of military power and the need to act alone if necessary in defense of U.S. interests. But they also gave us the United Nations, the Bretton Woods organizations, GATT, the Marshall Plan, NATO and the Point Four program as indispensable instruments for achieving our national purposes in close cooperation with others.

We are working with host governments to restore momentum to the endangered Middle East peace process by mobilizing international action against the Hamas terrorists and their supporters, providing technical assistance and economic aid to the Palestinian authority, encouraging the vital Syrian-Israeli negotiations, and promoting regional Middle East economic development.

We have been consulting with key European governments such as Spain as well as with the EU Commission in Brussels on how to bring a peaceful transition to democracy in Cuba.

On the second priority: confronting the new transnational threat:

Having worked successfully with our host governments for the unconditional and indefinite extension of the Non-Proliferation Treaty—a major diplomatic achievement—we are focusing now on building support for a Comprehensive Test Ban Agreement, on keeping weapons of mass destruction out of the hands of countries like Iran, Iraq and Libya, and on securing needed European financial contributions for the Korean Energy Development Organization, an essential vehicle for terminating North Korea's nuclear weapons program.

We are working to strengthen bilateral and multilateral arrangements to assure the identification, extradition and prosecution of persons engaged in drug trafficking, organized crime, terrorism and alien smuggling, and we are building European support for new institutions to train law enforcement officers in former Communist countries, such as the International Law Enforcement Academy in Budapest.

And we are giving a new priority in our diplomacy to the protection of the global environment, coordinating our negotiating positions and assistance programs on such issues as population, climate change, ozone depletion, desertification, and marine pollution. For we have learned that environmental initiatives can be vitally important to our goals of prosperity and security: negotiations on water resources are central to the Middle East peace process, and a Haiti denuded of its forests will have a hard time supporting a stable democracy and keeping its people from flooding our shores.

On the third priority: promoting open markets and prosperity:

Having worked with our host countries to bring a successful conclusion to the Uruguay Round, we are now busily engaged in discussing left-over questions like market access for audiovisuals, telecommunications, and bio-engineered foods, and new issues like trade and labor standards, trade and environment, and trade and competition policy.

We are also encouraging the enlargement of the European Union to Central and Eastern Europe and we are reporting carefully on the prospects of the European Monetary Union by the target date of 1999 and on the implications of an EMU for U.S. interests.

In carrying out this rich global foreign policy agenda we will be greatly assisted by the

agreement that was reached in Madrid last December between President Clinton, Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez and President Jacques Santer of the European Commission on the "New Transatlantic Agenda" and its accompanying "U.S.-EU Action Plan."

These documents were a major achievement of Spain's EU presidency. They represent an historic breakthrough in U.S. relations with the European Union, moving those relations beyond consultation to common action on almost all of the foreign policy questions I cited earlier and many others I have no time to mention.

A senior-level group from the United States, the European Commission and the EU Presidency country (currently Italy) is responsible for monitoring progress on this large agenda and modifying it as necessary.

The Madrid documents commit the U.S. and the EU to building a new "Transatlantic Marketplace." We have agreed to undertake a study on the reduction or elimination of tariffs and non-tariff barriers between the two sides of the Atlantic. Even as the study proceeds, we will be looking at things that can be done rather promptly, such as eliminating investment restrictions, duplicative testing and certification requirements, and conflicting regulations. This means more work not only in Brussels and Washington but in each of our embassies.

We will also be following closely the EU's Intergovernmental Conference (IGC) that is now opening in Turin. The common foreign and security policy provided for in the Maastricht Treaty is still a work in progress. Although the EU provides substantial economic aid and takes important regional trade initiatives, it has so far proved unable to deal with urgent security crisis like those in the former Yugoslavia and the Aegean.

The IGC offers an opportunity to revise EU institutions and procedures so that a common foreign and security policy can be made to work in an EU whose membership could grow from 15 to 27 in the decade ahead. We hope that opportunity will be seized.

What changes the IGC should make in the Maastricht Treaty is exclusively for the EU countries to decide, but the United States is not indifferent to the outcome. We believe our interests are served by continuing progress toward European political as well as economic unity, which will make Europe a more effective partner for the United States in world affairs.

The question that remains to be answered is whether the American people and the Congress are willing to provide the financial resources to make all this activity possible. The politics of our national budget situation has ominous implications for our foreign policy in general and our international diplomacy in particular.

Let us begin with some very round numbers. We have a Gross Domestic Product of about \$7 trillion and a federal budget of about \$1.6 trillion. Nearly \$1.1 trillion of that \$1.6 trillion goes to mandatory payments—the so-called entitlement programs such as Medicare, Medicaid, and social security and also federal pensions and interest on the national debt. The remaining \$500 billion divides about equally between the defense budget and civilian discretionary spending—which account for some \$250 * * *.

Of the \$250 billion of civilian discretionary spending, about \$20 billion used to be devoted on the average of years to international affairs—the so-called 150 account. This account includes our assessed and voluntary payments to the UN, our bilateral aid and contributions to the international financial institutions, the U.S. Information Agency's broadcasting and educational exchange programs, and the State Department budget.

Congressional spending cuts have now brought the international affairs account

down to about \$17 billion annually—about 1 percent of our total budget. Taking inflation into account, this \$17 billion is nearly a 50 percent reduction in real terms from the level of a decade ago. For Fiscal Year 1997, the Congressional leadership proposes a cut to \$15.7 billion. Its 7-year plan to balance the budget would bring international affairs spending down to \$12.5 billion a year by 2002.

Keep in mind that about \$5 billion of the 150 account, goes to Israel and Egypt—rightly so, in my opinion, because of the priority we accord to Middle East peace. So under the Congressional balanced budget scenario only \$7.5 billion would be left four years from now for all of our other international spending.

These actual and prospective cuts in our international affairs account are devastating. Among other things, they mean:

that we cannot pay our legally owing dues to the United Nations system, thus severely undermining the world organization's work for peace and compromising our efforts for UN reform.

that we cannot pay our fair share of voluntary contributions to UN agencies and international financial institutions to assist the world's poor and promote free markets, economic growth, environmental protection and population stabilization;

that we must drastically cut back the reach of the Voice of America and the size of our Fullbright and International Visitor programs, all of them important vehicles for influencing foreign opinion about the United States;

that we will have insufficient funds to respond to aid requirements in Bosnia, Haiti, the Middle East, the former Communist countries and in any new crisis where our national interests are at * * *.

Why did they do these things?

Because they understood the growing interdependence between conditions in our country and conditions in our global neighborhood.

Because they understood that our best chance to shape the world environment to promote our national security and welfare was to share costs and risks and other nations in international institutions.

And because they understood that our national interest in the long run would best be served by realizing the benefits of reciprocity and stability only achievable through the development of international law.

Listening to much of our public debate, I sometimes think that all this history has been forgotten, that we are suffering from a kind of collective amnesia. I submit that the basic case for American world leadership today is essentially the same as it was before the Cold War began. It is a very different world, of course, but the fact of our interdependence remains. Obviously, in every major respect, it has grown.

What are the specific foreign policy priorities in the Clinton Administration? In a recent speech at Harvard's Kennedy School, Secretary of State Warren Christopher identified three to which we are giving special emphasis—pursuing peace in regions of vital interest, confronting the new transnational security threats, and promoting open markets and prosperity.

The broad lines of American policy in these three priority areas are necessarily hammered out in Washington. But our embassies constitute an essential part of the delivery system through which those policies are implemented in particular regions and countries.

This includes not only such vital multilateral embassies as our missions to the UN in New York, Geneva and Vienna, and to NATO and the European Union in Brussels, but also our embassies in the more than 180 countries with which we maintain diplomatic relations.

Americans have fallen into the habit of thinking that ambassadors and embassies have become irrelevant luxuries, obsolete frills in an age of instant communications. We make the mistake of thinking that if a sound foreign policy decision is approved at the State Department or the White House, it does not much matter how it is carried out in the field.

This is a dangerous illusion indulged in by no other major country. Things don't happen just because we say so. Discussion and persuasion are necessary. Diplomacy by fax simply doesn't work.

Ambassadors today need to perform multiple roles. They should be the "eyes and ears" of the President and Secretary of State; advocates of our country's foreign policy in the upper reaches of the host government.

They need to build personal relationships of mutual trust with key overseas decision-makers in government and the private sector. They should also radiate American values as intellectual, educational and cultural emissaries, communicating what our country stands for to interest groups and intellectual leaders as well as to the public at large.

In a previous age of diplomacy, U.S. ambassadors spent most of their time dealing with bilateral issues between the United States and the host country. Bilateral issues are still important—assuring access to host country military bases, promoting sales of U.S. products, stimulating educational and cultural exchanges are some notable examples. And every embassy has the obligation to report on and analyze political and economic developments in the host country that may impact on U.S. interests.

But most of the work of our ambassadors and embassies today is devoted to regional and global issues—indeed, to acting upon the three key priorities identified by Secretary Christopher in his Kennedy School speech. Let me give you some examples based on my experience in Madrid and with my fellow ambassadors in Europe:

On the first priority: pursuing peace in regions of vital interest:

We are working with our host countries to fashion common policies on the continued transformation of NATO, Partnership for Peace, NATO enlargement, and NATO-Russia relations.

After having secured host country support for the military and diplomatic measures that brought an end to the fighting in Bosnia, we are now working to assure the implementation of the civilian side of the Dayton Agreement, notably economic reconstruction, free elections, the resettlement of refugees, and the prosecution of war crimes.

That we will have fewer and smaller offices to respond to the 2 million requests we receive each year for assistance to Americans overseas and to safeguard our borders through the visa process.

And that we will be unable to maintain a world-class diplomatic establishment as the delivery vehicle for our foreign policy.

A final word on this critical last point. The money which Congress makes available to maintain the State Department and our overseas embassies and consulates is now down to about \$2.5 billion a year. As the international affairs account continues to go down, we face the prospect of further cuts. The budget crunch has been exacerbated by the need to find money to pay for our new embassies in the newly independent countries of the former Soviet Union.

In our major European embassies, we have already reduced State Department positions by 25 percent since Fiscal Year 1995. We have been told to prepare for cuts of 40 percent or more from the 1995 base over the next two or three years.

In our Madrid embassy, to take an example, this will leave us with something like three political and three economic officers besides the ambassador and deputy chief of mission to perform our essential daily diplomatic work of advocacy, representation and reporting in the broad range of vitally important areas I have enumerated. Our other embassies face similarly devastating reductions.

I have to tell you that cuts of this magnitude will gravely undermine our ability to influence foreign governments and will severely diminish our leadership role in world affairs. They will also have detrimental consequences for our intelligence capabilities since embassy reporting is the critical overt component of U.S. intelligence collection. In expressing these concerns I believe I am representing the views of the overwhelming majority of our career and non-career ambassadors.

Under the pressure of Congressional budget cuts, the State Department is eliminating 13 diplomatic posts, including consulates in such important European cities as Stuttgart, Zurich, Bilbao and Bordeaux. The Bordeaux Consulate dated back to the time of George Washington. Try explaining to the French that we cannot afford a consulate there now when we were able to afford one then when we were a nation of 3 million people.

The consulates I have mentioned not only provided important services to American residents and tourists, they were political lookout posts, export promotion platforms, and centers for interaction with regional leaders in a Europe where regions are assuming growing importance. Now they will be all gone.

Closing the 13 posts is estimated to save about \$9 million a year, one quarter of the cost of an F-16 fighter plane. Bilbao, for example, cost \$200,000 a year. A B-2 bomber costs about \$2,000 million. I remind you that \$2 billion pays nearly all the salaries and expenses of running the State Department—including our foreign embassies—for a year.

Let us be clear about what is going on. The commendable desire to balance our national budget, the acute allergy of the American people to tax increases (indeed, their desire for tax reductions), the explosion of entitlement costs with our aging population, and the need to maintain a strong national defense, all combine to force a drastic curtailment of the civilian discretionary spending which is the principal public vehicle for domestic and international investments essential to our country's future.

Having no effective constituency, spending on international affairs is taking a particularly severe hit within the civilian discretionary account and with it the money needed for our diplomatic establishment. The President and the Secretary of State are doing their best to correct this state of affairs, but they will need greater support from the Congress and the general public than has been manifest so far if this problem is to be properly resolved.

I submit that it will not be resolved, until there is a recognition that the international affairs budget is in a very real sense a national security budget—because diplomacy is our first line of national defense. The failure to build solid international relationships and treat the causes of conflict today will surely mean costly military interventions tomorrow.

TRIBUTE TO CALIFORNIA WORKING GROUP

HON. ANNA G. ESHOO

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 30, 1996

Ms. ESHOO. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor the California Working Group, whose TV producers are being honored by the 110 affiliated local unions of the Central Labor Council of San Mateo County, AFL-CIO, and their 65,000 members and families for their production of "We Do the Work."

California Working Group has for 6 years produced "We Do the Work," the only national public television series that addresses contemporary life and issues faced by working people. The weekly series has been broadcast on more than 130 PBS stations across the country, with programs highlighting Americans' concerns about unemployment, child labor, job wages, job migration, health and safety issues, and job training, as well as programming which examines the labor culture, media coverage of work issues, and leadership within the labor movement.

The staff and board of directors of California Working Group have succeeded in their mission by producing programs that bring positive images of working people to television. The distinguished producers and members on the staff are Patrice O'Neill, Rhian Miller, Linda Peckham, Kyung Sun Moon, Debra Chaplan, Valerie Lapin, Craig Berggold, and Steve Diputado and the board of directors are Rome Aloise, Mary Anne Barnett, Danny Beagle, Barbara Byrd, Art Carter, Dave Elsil, John Garcia, Kathy Garmezy, Jeff Greendorfer, Conn Hallinan, Ben Hudnall, Bob Kalaski, Karen Keiser, Shelley Kessler, Ed Logue, Ken Lohre, Jack McNally, Kerry Newkirk, Gladys Perry, Art Pulaski, Erica Rau, Charlie Reiter, Alicia Ribeiro, Steve Roberti, Dan Scharlin, Steve Shriver, Carole Sickler, Dave Sickler, and Michael Straeter. Together they have successfully provided a forum for ordinary Americans to speak their minds and share their stories with the public at large.

California Working Group productions have been awarded Golden and Silver Apple Awards from the National Educational and Film & Video Festival, silver and gold plaques from the Chicago International Film Festival, and the Sidney Hillman Award.

Mr. Speaker, the California Working Group is an exemplary nonprofit organizations that has contributed great depth and diversity to our community and the labor movement. I ask my colleagues to join me in saluting the California Working Group, its staff and board of directors whose dedication and commitment to quality programming has given a voice to working Americans.

HONORING THE ROCK CITY/ROME VOLUNTEER FIRE DEPARTMENT

HON. BART GORDON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 30, 1996

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, I am taking this opportunity to applaud the invaluable services provided by the Rock City/Rome Volunteer

Fire Department. These brave, civic minded people give freely of their time so that we may all feel safer at night.

Few realize the depth of training and hard work that goes into being a volunteer firefighter. To quote one of my local volunteers, "These fireman must have an overwhelming desire to do for others while expecting nothing in return."

Preparation includes twice-monthly training programs in which they have live drills, study the latest videos featuring the latest in firefighting tactics, as well as attend seminars where they can obtain the knowledge they need to save lives. Within a year of becoming a volunteer firefighter, most attend the Tennessee Fire Training School in Murfreesboro where they undergo further, intensified training.

When the residents of my district go to bed at night, they know that should disaster strike and their home catch fire, well-trained and qualified volunteer fire departments are ready and willing to give so graciously and generously of themselves. This peace of mind should not be taken for granted.

By selflessly giving of themselves, they ensure a safer future for us all. We owe these volunteer fire departments a debt of gratitude for their service and sacrifice.

TRIBUTE TO EMIL SCHIEVE POST, AMERICAN LEGION ON ITS 75TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. WILLIAM O. LIPINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 30, 1996

Mr. LIPINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to an outstanding veterans organization in my district, the Emil Schieve Post of the American Legion, in Lyons, IL, as it celebrates its 75th anniversary this year.

The post was founded in 1921 by a group of World War I veterans. Its namesake, Emil Schieve was the first Lyons man killed in World War I. He died in action in France on October 4, 1918.

In its three quarters of a century in, the post has had four homes, moving to its current location at 4112 Joliet Avenue, the village's former library in 1967. In honor of its anniversary, the post is displaying historical photos from its archives that not only highlight its history, but the community's as well.

Mr. Speaker, I commend the members, living and past, of Emil Schieve American Legion Post on its 75th anniversary serving the veterans of their community.

TRIBUTE TO TING LOU

HON. THOMAS J. MANTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 30, 1996

Mr. MANTON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to Ting Lou of Stuyvesant High School in Manhattan who was chosen Monday March 11, 1996, as the second place winner in the prestigious Westinghouse Science Awards.

Mr. Speaker, since 1942, the Westinghouse Science Talent School has identified and encouraged high school seniors nationwide to

pursue careers in science, mathematics, and engineering.

Westinghouse Talent Search alumni have won more than 100 of the world's most coveted science and math awards and honors. Five have gone on to win the Nobel prize, three have been awarded the National Medal of Science, and thirty have been elected to the National Academy of Sciences.

Mr. Speaker, Ting Lou finished second among the 1,869 nationwide entries. She investigated gene expression, a fundamental cellular process, and proposed a mechanism for turning gene expression on and off.

Ting Lou who resides in Woodside, NY attends Stuyvesant High School, a magnet school located in Manhattan which contributed four overall finalists, only one of two schools nationwide to contribute multiple finalists.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to recognize the achievements of Ting Lou and I know my colleagues join me in congratulating her and all the other finalists in the Westinghouse Talent Search.

FUTURE OF U.S. DIPLOMACY

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 30, 1996

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, several weeks ago, Richard Gardner, our distinguished ambassador to Spain, gave a thoughtful speech entitled, "Who Needs Ambassadors? Challenges to American Diplomacy Today." I believe these remarks are very relevant to our ongoing deliberations on H.R. 1561, which would authorize spending levels for the State Department and other foreign policy agencies. Ambassador Gardner points out what happens to American foreign policy when our Ambassadors do not have the resources to conduct our business overseas. He rightly points out that "what our ambassadors and embassies do is one of our country's best kept secrets." I commend his remarks to my colleagues.

WHO NEEDS AMBASSADORS? CHALLENGES TO AMERICAN DIPLOMACY TODAY

EXCERPTS FROM AN ADDRESS BY RICHARD N. GARDNER, U.S. AMBASSADOR TO SPAIN, TO THE ANNUAL BANQUET OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, MARCH 29, 1996

I * * * come to you as a deeply troubled Ambassador. I am troubled by the lack of understanding in our country today about our foreign policy priorities and the vital role of our embassies in implementing them. I sometimes think that what our ambassadors and embassies do is one of our country's best kept secrets.

[A]t the height of the Cold War, it did not take a genius to understand the need for strong U.S. leadership in the world and for effective ambassadors and embassies in support of that leadership.

Today, however, there is no single unifying threat to help justify and define a world role for the United States. As a result, we are witnessing devastating reductions in the State Department budget which covers the cost of our Embassies overseas.

The constructive international engagement we all believe in will continue to be at risk until we all do a better job of explaining

its financial requirements to the American people and the Congress.

[I]t is difficult to encapsulate in one sentence or one paragraph a definition of American foreign policy that has global application.

In his address to Freedom House last October, President Clinton spelled out for Americans why a strong U.S. leadership role in the world is intimately related to the quality of their daily lives:

"The once bright line between domestic and foreign policy is blurring. If I could do anything to change the speech patterns of those of us in public life, I would almost like to stop hearing people talk about foreign policy and domestic policy, and instead start discussing economic policy, security policy, environmental policy—you name it."

Ambassadors today need to perform multiple roles. They should be the "eyes and ears" of the President and Secretary of State; advocates of our country's foreign policy in the upper reaches of the host government; resourceful negotiators in bilateral and multilateral diplomacy. They need to build personal relationships of mutual trust with key overseas decision-makers in government and the private sector. They should also radiate American values as intellectual, educational and cultural emissaries, communicating what our country stands for to interest groups and intellectual leaders as well as to the public at large.

The question that remains to be answered is whether the American people and the Congress are willing to provide the financial resources to make all this activity possible.

Congressional spending cuts have now brought the international affairs account down to about \$17 billion annually—about 1 percent of our total budget. Taking inflation into account, this \$17 billion is nearly a 50 percent reduction in real terms from the level of a decade ago. For Fiscal Year 1997, the Congressional leadership proposes a cut to \$15.7 billion. Its 7-year plan to balance the budget would bring international affairs spending down to \$12.5 billion a year by 2002.

Keep in mind that about \$5 billion of the 150 account goes to Israel and Egypt * * * So under the Congressional balance budget scenario only \$7.5 billion would be left four years from now for all of our other international spending.

These actual and prospective cuts in our international affairs account are devastating. Among other things, they mean:

That we cannot pay our legally owing dues to the United Nations system, thus severely undermining the world organization's work for peace and compromising our efforts for UN reform.

That we cannot pay our fair share of voluntary contributions to UN agencies and international financial institutions to assist the world's poor and promote free markets, economic growth, environmental protection and population stabilization;

That we must drastically cut back the reach of the Voice of America and the size of our Fulbright and International Visitor programs, all of them important vehicles for influencing foreign opinion about the United States;

That we will have insufficient funds to respond to aid requirements in Bosnia, Haiti, the Middle East, the former Communist countries and in any new crises where our national interests are at stake;

That we will have fewer and smaller offices to respond to the 2 million requests we receive each year for assistance to Americans overseas and to safeguard our borders through the visa process.

And that we will be unable to maintain a world class diplomatic establishment as the delivery vehicle for our foreign policy.

The money that congress makes available to maintain the State Department and our overseas embassies and consulates is now down to about \$2.5 billion a year. As the international affairs account continues to go down, we face the prospect of further cuts. The budget crunch has been exacerbated by the need to find money to pay for our new embassies in the newly independent countries of the former Soviet Union.

In our major European embassies, we have already reduced State Department positions by 25 percent since Fiscal Year 1995. We have been told to prepare for cuts of 40 percent or more from the 1995 base over the next two or three years.

I have to tell you that cuts of this magnitude will gravely undermine our ability to influence foreign governments and will severely diminish our leadership role in world affairs. They will also have detrimental consequences for our intelligence capabilities since embassy reporting in the critical overt component of U.S. intelligence collection. In expressing these concerns I believe I am representing the views of the overwhelming majority of our career and non-career ambassadors.

Having no effective constituency, spending on international affairs is taking a particularly severe hit within the civilian discretionary account and with it the money needed for our diplomatic establishment.

The failure to build solid international relationships and treat the causes of conflict today will surely mean costly military interventions tomorrow.

REFLECTIONS OF HOLOCAUST

HON. CHARLES E. SCHUMER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 30, 1996

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to acknowledge a fifth grade student, Samantha Peay, from my district who has written the most beautiful and profound poem on the Holocaust. Her astute analysis of this chilling event reminds us of the horror and pain that so many endured. I congratulate Samantha for her eloquent poem and hope that students in classrooms throughout the world will also explore the history of the Holocaust.

REFLECTIONS OF HOLOCAUST
(By Samantha Peay)

Eyes ablaze in frightened faces
Staring into empty spaces
Arms and hands that bear a stamp
Lonely and scared in a crowded camp
Tortured, beaten, waiting for the kill
Death houses waiting cold and still
Its frightening to look back and think
Trying to make a people extinct
It may have happened long ago
In a place I do not know
I read and talk about this sorrow
But can it happen again tomorrow?
Can some madman filled with hate
Cause a future holocaust date?
Never again must we torture, kill or burn
From the pages of history we must learn
People of the world take a stand

Tell the world throughout the land
Spread the news from door to door
Holocaust, Holocaust never more!

HONORING THE RUTHERFORD
VOLUNTEER FIRE DEPARTMENT

HON. BART GORDON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 30, 1996

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, I am taking this opportunity to applaud the invaluable services provided by the Rutherford Volunteer Fire Department. These brave, civic minded people give freely of their time so that we may all feel safer at night.

Few realize the depth of training and hard work that goes into being a volunteer firefighter. To quote one of my local volunteers, "These fireman must have an overwhelming desire to do for others while expecting nothing in return."

Preparation includes twice monthly training programs in which they have live drills, study the latest videos featuring the latest in fire fighting tactics, as well as attend seminars where they can obtain the knowledge they need to save lives. Within a year of becoming a volunteer firefighter, most attend the Tennessee Fire Training School in Murfreesboro where they undergo further, intensified training.

When the residents of my district go to bed at night, they know that should disaster strike and their home catch fire, well trained and qualified volunteer fire departments are ready and willing to give so graciously and generously of themselves. This peace of mind should not be taken for granted.

By selflessly giving of themselves, they ensure a safer future for us all. We owe these volunteer fire departments a debt of gratitude for their service and sacrifice.

TRIBUTE TO MARCY VACURA
SCHULTZ

HON. ANNA G. ESHOO

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 30, 1996

Ms. ESHOO. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor Marcy Vacura Schultz, a dedicated community leader from California's 14th Congressional District who is being honored by the 110 affiliated local unions of the Central Labor Council of San Mateo County, AFL-CIO, and their 65,000 members and families with the prestigious Unity Award.

Marcy Vacura Schultz is the business manager of the Building and Construction Trades Council of San Mateo County. She is the first woman to be elected to such a position in the United States. As a former flight attendant, she led 2,500 coworkers in a strike against a major airline in 1983. Based on her belief that female-dominated unions should be treated equally with male-dominated unions, she successfully lobbied the California Joint Legislature to pass a resolution in support of flight attendants and convinced then-Congresswoman Barbara Boxer to launch a national boycott of conscience against the airline. She worked

with 12 cities and the board of supervisors to pass resolutions in support of protecting the existing California prevailing wage laws. She is currently working to assist the economic growth and development of the city of East Palo Alto.

Marcy Vacura Schultz has distinguished herself in San Mateo County in the labor movement. Since joining the Building Trades Council as assistant manager in 1987, she has worked with the Private Industry Council, the Advisory Council on Women, the County Economic Development Advisory Council and has been inducted into San Mateo County's Women's Hall of Fame. She was a founding member of the START program, a project designed to train women in nontraditional jobs, and currently serves on the board of directors of Shelter Network of San Mateo County, the County Expo Advisory Board, the Housing Task Force, and the County Leadership Council on the United Way.

Mr. Speaker, Marcy Vacura Schultz is an outstanding citizen of California's 14th Congressional District. I salute her for the commitment she brings to, and the contributions she has made to our community and the labor movement. I ask my colleagues to join me in saluting Ms. Schultz as she is awarded the prestigious Unity Award.

ATOMIC VETERANS

HON. WILLIAM O. LIPINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 30, 1996

Mr. LIPINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of a group of forgotten cold war veterans who, along with their families, are suffering the after-effects of serving in the military during the nuclear age.

I am speaking of atomic veterans and their survivors. These service people were the ones called in to clean up after accidents involving nuclear weapons, apparently with little regard to their safety and long-term health.

While we may never fathom the number and full extent of these accidents, there are two we do know something about, thanks mainly to the diligence of many of the veterans involved in these cleanups who brought the truth to their fellow citizens.

One mishap occurred in Greenland in 1968, when a B-52 bomber carrying four 1.1 megaton bombs crashed, spreading radioactive debris across the frozen tundra. Service people, who were not even issued protective masks, reportedly picked up the deadly pieces with shovels, and in some cases, their bare hands.

In a 1962 incident, Navy personnel on Johnston Atoll in the Pacific were subjected to incredibly high levels of radioactive materials for days when a Thor rocket tipped with a 1.4 megaton warhead blew up on the launch pad during testing. Debris strewn about the atoll, including across the air strip, prevented the flight crews of a Navy air patrol squadron from leaving for days.

Veterans of this squadron suffer from various cancers, teeth and hair loss, sterility, joint disease, eyesight failure and reproductive problems. However, the most insidious manifestation of this problem may not be among these veterans, but in their children, who are also suffering from their parents' exposure.

These children suffer from a variety of ailments, ranging from learning disabilities to congenital deformities, related to genetic damage to their parents who were stationed at these nuclear hot spots.

I believe that these children have suffered because of the negligence of our Government toward their parents, and therefore, am a co-sponsor of H.R. 2401, the Atomic Veterans Survivors Benefits Act. The this much needed legislation was introduced by my good colleagues from Illinois, Mr. HYDE and Mr. FAWELL.

This bill would simply treat the children of atomic veterans suffering from these disabilities like veterans with service-related injuries in regard to compensation. Advocates for those who served at nuclear hot spots such as Johnston Atoll and Greenland include the Veterans Rights Coalition and the Alliance of Atomic Veterans.

Mr. Speaker, I encourage my colleagues to join me in supporting H.R. 2401. It is the least this country can do for those veterans and their children who have ended up as casualties of the cold war long after it ended.

TRIBUTE TO THE CREW OF THE
COAST GUARD CUTTER "BRAMBLE"

HON. DAVID E. BONIOR

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 30, 1996

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, I have the privilege to represent the constituents of the Tenth Congressional District in Michigan. This part of Michigan borders Lake Saint Clair, the Saint Clair River, and Lake Huron, one of the five Great Lakes. It is a beautiful area where our water resources are treasured as a source of recreation and commerce.

The ice that forms on these waters in the winter is always impressive. In the spring, the ice often becomes treacherous for the fans of ice fishing. And, in some years, the ice is a major inconvenience, not only to shipping, but to the residents of places like Harsen's Island.

Ice flows were particularly troublesome this spring. Mother Nature prevented the Harsen's Island ferry from operating, stranding the island's residents. Many freighters have had to wait near Detroit and Port Huron for the United States and Canadian Coast Guard ice cutters to clear a path. This year, the cutters' abilities were seriously challenged.

However, in keeping with the U.S. Coast Guard's vision as "the world's premier maritime service," the crew of the *Bramble* was "Semper Paratus," always ready to perform their duties. In addition to breaking up the ice, the *Bramble* also provided emergency ferry service to the residents of Harsen's Island.

We are truly fortunate to have people committed to serving our nation as members of the Coast Guard. Regardless of conditions, these professionals stand ready to assist people 24 hours a day.

On behalf of the residents of Harsen's Island, and all of us who are grateful for the Coast Guard's devotion to duty, I ask that my colleagues join me in offering a sincere thank you to these "Lifesavers and Guardians of the Sea," especially to the crew members of the *Bramble*.

BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS
REORGANIZATION ACT OF 1996

HON. J.D. HAYWORTH

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 30, 1996

Mr. HAYWORTH. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing the Bureau of Indian Affairs Reorganization Act of 1996. This legislation will address the long-standing problem of an overly bureaucratic BIA which is often irresponsible to the tribal constituencies it is supposed to serve.

Since its establishment in 1824, the BIA has functioned as the lead agency through which the Federal Government carries out its trust responsibilities to native Americans. However, the evidence shows that the BIA largely fails to meet these obligations. Recent reports indicate that the BIA cannot account for billions of dollars it was supposed to hold in trust for native Americans. The Interior Department Inspector General has reported that many BIA school facilities are very poorly maintained and, in some cases, native American children must attend classes in buildings that have been condemned.

Compounding these problems is the lack of tribal input into BIA priorities and operations. There have been several attempts to reorganize and reform the BIA, including, most recently, the Joint Tribal/BIA/DOI Reorganization Task Force. Despite the fact that the Joint Reorganization Task Force submitted its final recommendations in the fall of 1994, shortly thereafter the BIA proposed its own organizational reform plan. Most tribes opposed the BIA proposal, in large part because the BIA plan was not devised with tribal input and because it ignored several key recommendations of the Joint Reorganization Task Force which the tribes supported.

The legislation that I am introducing, the Bureau of Indian Affairs Reorganization Act of 1996, will address these issues by allowing tribes to assume certain functions of the BIA. The bill requires the BIA to enter into negotiations with tribes to reorganize the agency. Tribes in the jurisdiction of each BIA Area Office will be allowed to decide which functions the BIA will continue to provide, and which functions the tribes will take over. These decisions may differ from region to region, as some tribes are more willing and able than others to administer particular services. Tribes which choose to perform certain BIA functions will receive corresponding BIA funds. Before any negotiated reorganization plan for a BIA Area Office is implemented, it must be approved by a majority of tribes in that region.

As you can see, Mr. Speaker, this legislation does not prescribe a certain outcome to reorganization of the BIA, but instead requires the BIA to follow a particular process which respects the sovereignty of tribal governments and our trust responsibilities to native Americans. The Senate Committee on Indian Affairs has already approved legislation, authored by my colleague from Arizona, Senator JOHN McCAIN, similar to the bill I am introducing today. I hope that my colleagues will join me in supporting this effort to reform the BIA.

HONORING THE PORTLAND
VOLUNTEER FIRE DEPARTMENT

HON. BART GORDON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 30, 1996

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, I am taking this opportunity to applaud the invaluable services provided by the Portland Volunteer Fire Department. These brave, civic minded people give freely of their time so that we may all feel safer at night.

Few realize the depth of training and hard work that goes into being a volunteer firefighter. To quote one of my local volunteers, "These firemen must have an overwhelming desire to do for others while expecting nothing in return."

Preparation includes twice monthly training programs in which they have live drills, study the latest videos featuring the latest in fire-fighting tactics, as well as attend seminars where they can obtain the knowledge they need to save lives. Within a year of becoming a volunteer firefighter, most attend the Tennessee Fire Training School in Murfreesboro where they undergo further, intensified training.

When the residents of my district go to bed at night, they know that should disaster strike and their home catch fire, well trained and qualified volunteer fire departments are ready and willing to give so graciously and generously of themselves. This peace of mind should not be taken for granted.

By selflessly giving of themselves, they ensure a safer future for us all. We owe these volunteer fire departments a debt of gratitude for their service and sacrifice.

TRIBUTE TO JOHN F. HENNING

HON. ANNA G. ESHOO

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 30, 1996

Ms. ESHOO. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to Ambassador John F. "Jack" Henning, a distinguished leader who is being honored by the 110 affiliated local unions of the Central Labor Council of San Mateo County, AFL-CIO, and their 65,000 members and families.

John F. Henning has dedicated his life to fight for racial and economic equality for all working women and men in California, the Nation, and internationally. He began his successful career in the labor movement in 1938 while working with the Association of Catholic Unionists in San Francisco. He continued his fight for working people of the Nation while serving in the highest offices of government as the State Labor Federation's research director, director of the State's industrial relations department, Under Secretary of Labor in both the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, and U.S. Ambassador to New Zealand.

John F. Henning has been one of the most eloquent spokespersons in our time for the rights of working people. John F. Henning's leadership has produced some of the great milestones in labor's history, from the passage of landmark proworker legislation in California, to gaining labor rights for farm workers, to

fighting for affirmative action as a regent of the University of California, to leading the successful fight to have the university divest in apartheid South Africa.

Mr. Speaker, John F. Henning is an exceptional man who has graced the stage of our Nation's labor movement. I ask my colleagues to join me in honoring and saluting him for his leadership, his commitment and his dedication to the workers of our Nation.

REMARKS OF AMBASSADOR
MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 30, 1996

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I take great pleasure in bringing to the attention of my colleagues excerpts from a speech recently delivered by our Ambassador to the United Nations, Madeleine K. Albright, at the Thomas Aquinas College in Sparkill, NY, on "Initiatives for World Peace." Ambassador Albright was the guest speaker in The Honorable Benjamin Gilman Lecture Series sponsored by that college. I commend Congressman GILMAN for his leadership in foreign affairs and for inviting Ambassador Albright to speak at this important function. I ask that excerpts of her speech reviewing U.S. foreign policy initiatives and the U.S. role in the United Nations be included in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

REMARKS OF AMBASSADOR MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT, REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Dr. Fitzpatrick, Chairman Gilman, faculty, students and friends, I am delighted to be here. As a former professor, I get a little homesick every time I visit a university campus, especially a beautiful campus such as this, especially in spring.

So I feel very much at home. I am pleased to play a part in your celebration this week of Dr. Fitzpatrick's inauguration. And I am honored to deliver a lecture named for our mutual friend, Representative Ben Gilman.

I have known Ben Gilman for many years. Throughout his career, he has been a thoughtful and principled public servant and a vigorous advocate of American leadership around the world. He has been an especially strong defender of human rights. I hope that those of you who live in this District are as proud of your representative as I am sure he is of you.

This morning, I would like to discuss America's role at the United Nations within the context of our overall foreign policy, and with an eye towards past lessons, present realities and future challenges.

Today's threats include the spread of nuclear and other advanced arms, the rise of international criminal cartels, the poisoning of our environment, the mobility of epidemic disease, the persistence of ethnic conflict and—as we have seen too often in recent weeks—the deadly and cowardly threat of terror.

Despite all this, the trend towards isolationism in America is stronger today than it has been in 70 years. As I know Representative Gilman would agree, this trend must be rejected.

We must, of course, devote primary attention to problems at home. Our position in the world depends on good schools, a healthy economy, safe neighborhoods and the unity of our people.

Today, under President Clinton, we are called upon to develop a new framework—to

protect our citizens both from old and emerging threats and to reinforce principles that will carry us safely into the next century.

That framework begins with our armed services.

As we have seen in recent years in the Persian Gulf, Haiti and the Balkans, the U.S. military is the most potent instrument for international order and law in the world today. And it is keeping America safe.

That is why our armed forces must remain modern, mobile, ready and strong. And as President Clinton has pledged, they will.

America must also maintain vigorous alliances—and we are.

In Europe, the trans-Atlantic alliance is defying those who thought it would fall apart as soon as the Soviet empire disappeared. NATO air strikes played a key role in ending the Balkans War. And for the first time in history, there exists a real possibility of a fully democratic Europe, fully at peace.

In Asia, our core relationships with Japan and South Korea remain strong and our commitments are being met. During the President's visit to the Far East this week, he made it clear to North Korea that there is no future in military adventurism but that the door to multilateral discussion and negotiation is open. And he re-iterated our insistence that the problems between China and Taiwan must be resolved without violence.

This brings us to the third element in our foreign policy framework: creative diplomacy in support of peace. Here, our goal is to build an environment in which threats to our security and that of our allies are diminished, and the likelihood of American forces being sent into combat is reduced.

One way to do that is lower the level of armaments around the world. Last year, we were able to gain a global consensus to extend indefinitely and without conditions the Treaty barring new nations from developing nuclear weapons. That is a gift to the future.

Currently, we are working hard to build a similar consensus achieve the total elimination of anti-personnel landmines—weapons that kill or maim 26,000 people per year around the world, mostly innocent civilians.

This brings us to a fourth essential element in our foreign policy framework, and one of particular interest to me, and that is the United Nations.

The UN performs many indispensable functions, from establishing airplane safety standards to feeding children, but its most conspicuous role—and the primary reason it was established—is to help nations preserve peace.

The Clinton Administration has continued efforts, begun under President Bush, to improve and reform UN peacekeeping. We know that the better able the UN is to contain or end conflict, the less likely it is that we will have to send our own armed forces overseas.

UN peacekeepers have shown that they can separate rivals in strategic parts of the world, such as Cyprus, South Asia and the Persian Gulf.

They can assist democratic transitions as they have done successfully in Namibia, Cambodia, El Salvador, Mozambique and Haiti.

And they can save lives, ease suffering and lower the global tide of refugees, as they have done in Africa and former Yugoslavia.

During the Cold War, most UN peace missions were limited to separating rival forces, with their consent, until permanent peace agreements could be forged. Today's more complex operations include a menu of functions from humanitarian relief to disarming troops to repatriating refugees to laying the groundwork for national reconstruction.

There is a limit, however, to how ambitious these new peacekeeping mandates

should be. The challenge of keeping a peace is far simpler than that of creating a secure environment in the midst of ongoing conflict. In Somalia and Bosnia, the Security Council sent forces equipped for peacekeeping into situations with which they could not cope. We are determined not to make that mistake again.

So, at our insistence, the Council has adopted rigorous guidelines for determining when to begin a peace operation. We are insisting on good answers to questions about cost, size, risk, mandate, and exit strategy before a mission is started or renewed.

We are also working to make the UN more professional.

Five years ago, the UN's peacekeeping office consisted of a handful of people—mostly civilians—working nine to five. Today, a 24 hour situation center links UN headquarters to the field and a host of military officers are on hand. A Mission Planning service helps assure that lessons learned from past missions are incorporated in future plans. And special units focused on training, civilian police, de-mining, logistics and financial management all contribute to an integrated whole.

The goal of these efforts is to design peacekeeping operations that don't go on forever, don't cost too much, don't risk lives unnecessarily and do give peoples wracked by conflict a chance to get back on their feet.

The UN's role in responding to conflicts and other emergencies is especially important now, when we have so many emergencies is especially important now, when we have so many of them. Like other eras of historical transition, ours is beset by political upheaval. The human costs are high. Over the past decade, the number of regional conflicts has quintupled and the population at risk is up sixty percent.

Americans are a generous people, but we could not begin to cope with such a crisis alone. Today, twenty-seven million people are under the care of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. Millions more benefit from the efforts of the UN Development Program, the World Food Program and the UN Children's Fund.

Working with the Red Cross and other non-governmental organizations, UN agencies provide the shelter, food, medicine and protection that help families displaced by violence or disaster to rebuild and resume normal lives. The work is always difficult and often dangerous. It is tempting to ask those who believe the U.S. should get out of the UN what their choice would be. Are they prepared to do this work themselves? Or would they simply let the displaced and impoverished die?

Peacekeeping and emergency response are two UN functions that contribute to our security and wellbeing; another is international economic sanctions.

Since the end of the Persian Gulf war, strict economic and weapons sanctions have been in place against Iraq. Our purpose has been to prevent that country from once again developing weapons of mass destruction or threatening its neighbors with aggression.

We do not wish to hurt the Iraqi people, but Saddam Hussein has still not formally accepted the chance we have offered to sell oil to buy humanitarian supplies. He continues to squander Iraq's money building palaces for his cronies. He continues to demonstrate ruthless brutality towards those who oppose him—even within his own family. And he continues to evade full compliance with the Resolutions of the UN Security Council.

Until last summer, Iraq denied outright the existence of a biological warfare program. Because the UN refused to accept that

lie, Iraq finally confessed to producing more than 500,000 liters on anthrax and botulinum toxin—enough poison to kill everyone on Earth.

Before the Persian Gulf war, the Iraqis had placed much of this material in artillery shells, ready to use. The danger to American forces and to our allies could not have been more real. And that danger will remain real until we have hard evidence that this material and the capacity to produce it have been destroyed.

So the burden of proof is not on us; it is on Iraq. Iraq must demonstrate through actions, not words, that its intentions are now peaceful and that it respects the law of nations. After years of deceit, that proof will not come easy.

Saddam Hussein's complaints about the unfairness of all this remind me of the story about the schoolboy who came home with his face damaged and his clothes torn. When his mother asked him how the fight started, he said: "It started when the other guy hit me back."

From our perspective near millennium's end, we can look back at centuries of arrangements developed to deter aggression and prevent war. Before the UN, there was the League of Nations; before that the Congress of Vienna; before that the Treaty of Westphalia; before that medieval nonaggression pacts; and before that the Peloponnesian League.

No perfect mechanism has been found. We have little reason to believe it ever will. Certainly, the UN is no panacea.

But, the UN does give us military and diplomatic options we would not otherwise have. It helps us to influence events without assuming the full burden of costs and risks. And it lends the weight of law and world opinion to causes and principles we support.

That is why former President Reagan urged us to "rely more on multilateral institutions". It is why former President Bush said recently that we should "pay our debts to the UN." And it is why the Clinton Administration will continue to place a high priority on our leadership there.

Force, strong alliances, active diplomacy and viable international institutions all contribute to American security. But the final element in our foreign policy framework is even more fundamental. To protect American interests in the coming years and into the next century, we must remain true to American principles.

Some suggest that it is softheaded for the United States to take the morality of things into account when conducting foreign policy.

I believe a foreign policy devoid of moral considerations can never fairly represent the American people. It is because we have kept faith with our principles that, in most parts of the world, American leadership remains not only necessary, but welcome. And central to our principles is a commitment to democracy.

The great lesson of this century is that democracy is a parent to peace. Free nations make good neighbors. Compared to dictatorships, they are far less likely to commit acts of aggression, support terrorists, spawn international crime or generate waves of refugees.

Democracy is not an import; it must find its roots internally. But we can help to nourish those roots by opening the doors to economic integration, granting technical assistance, providing election monitors and backing efforts to build democratic institutions.

Not all of these tools work quickly, but none should be discounted. Remember that, for half a century, we refused to recognize the Soviet conquest of the Baltics. For decades, with Representative Ben Gilman in the lead, we pled the cause of emigration for

Syrian and Soviet Jews. And despite the resistance of some, the west ultimately joined the developing world in isolating South Africa's racist regime.

There were times when these efforts seemed almost hopeless. We could not stop the tanks that entered Budapest in 1956 or Prague 12 years later. We could not save the victims of apartheid. But over the past decade, almost two billion people, on five continents, in more than five dozen countries, have moved towards more open economic and political systems.

Today, a global network exists helping new democracies to succeed. America belongs at the head of this movement. For freedom is perhaps the clearest expression of national purpose and policy ever adopted—and it is America's purpose.

My own family came to these shores as refugees. Because of this nation's generosity and commitment, we were granted asylum after the Communist takeover of Czecho-

slovakia. The story of my family has been repeated in millions of variations over two centuries in the lives not only of immigrants, but of those overseas who have been liberated or sheltered by American soldiers, empowered by American assistance or inspired by American ideals.

I will remember all my life the day the PLO-Israeli agreement was signed. I will remember, in particular, something that was said by then-Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres. When the history books are written, he said:

"Nobody will really understand the United States. You have so much force and you didn't conquer anyone's land. You have so much power and you didn't dominate another people. You have problems of your own and you have never turned your back on the problems of others."

Now this generation, our generation, of Americans has a proud legacy to fulfill.

We have been given an opportunity, at the threshold of a new century, to build a world in which totalitarianism and fascism are defeated, in which human liberty is expanded, in which human rights are respected and in which our people are as secure as we can ever expect them to be.

By rejecting the temptations of isolation, and by standing with those who stand against terror and for peace around the world, we will advance our own interests; honor our best traditions; and help to answer a prayer that has been offered over many years in a multitude of tongues, in accordance with diverse customs, in response to a common yearning. We cannot guarantee peace; but we can—and will—do all we can to minimize the risks of peace.

That is our shared task as we prepare for the future.

And if we are together, it is a task in which we will surely succeed.