SUNDRY MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Sundry messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the House by Mr. Sherman Williams, one of his secretaries.

CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 1997, the gentleman from Guam (Mr. UNDERWOOD) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, this year 1998 marks the centennial anniversary of the Spanish-American War. History tells us that it was fought to liberate the Cuban people from the yoke of Spanish colonialism. Historians and scholars are still debating America's true motivation for engaging in a fight between the Spanish empire and its long-held colonial possessions in the Caribbean and in the Pacific. They are still addressing, at least in an academic sense, the long-term effects and the many uncomfortable and the unresolved political issues that are the aftermath of the Spanish-American War. For 100 years now, the American flag has fluttered, both literally and philosophically, over the spoils of what has been termed the splendid little war.

In the months ahead I am sure that students throughout the Nation will be introduced to historical anecdotes which set the stage for the Spanish-American War in 1898. In the wake of the Civil War, the U.S. was cementing its identity not only as a unified Nation of separate States, but also as a rising power rich in natural resources, growing and prospering and spreading the benefits of American democracy from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Against this backdrop the plight of opposed Cubans and the depravity of a crumbling European power became rich fodder for American newspapers. The Cuban uprising, the sinking of the USS *Maine*, Teddy Roosevelt and his Rough Riders and the charge up San Juan Hill, are likely to command the most attention, while the capture of Guam, the Filipino insurrection, General Emilio Aguinaldo and his Freedom Fighters and the Battle of Manila Bay will certainly not get equal attention.

The Pacific theater of the Spanish-American War is as colorful and rich in history as the Caribbean theater, but it is certainly not as well-known. Even here in the hallowed halls of Congress, few understand the 100-year progression between the arrival of an American warship on Guam in 1898 and the presence of a Guam delegate in the U.S. House of Representatives today. It is ironic, Mr. Speaker, that a war fought over Cuba and over issues pertaining to the Caribbean saw its first strike in the Pacific within a month.

The warship that stopped on Guam, the USS *Charleston*, under the command of Captain Henry Glass, was transporting American troops to the Philippines en route from Hawaii. Captain Glass received orders to stop and take the island of Guam. The *Charleston* arrived at Apra Harbor on June 21, 1898, and then, at that time, Guam was part of the Spanish empire, pretty much underfunded and pretty much forgotten within the realm of the Spanish empire.

What then was the U.S. interest in Guam in 1898 that a warship should be detoured from its intended course and ordered to take possession of what was a run-down Spanish garrison and its ill-informed commanders? Well, alas, like the declining Spanish empire, the emerging U.S. empire wanted a foothold on Asia's doorstep. Under American rule, Guam was converted from a reprovisioning port for Spanish galleons to a cooling station for naval ships, American naval ships. And while seemingly undramatic, this conversion reverberates with profound effects to this very day.

The Spanish-American War ended in December 1898 with the signing of a peace treaty in Paris. The Treaty of Paris ceded Guam, Puerto Rico and the Philippines to the United States and charged Congress with determining the civil rights and political status of the innovative inhabitants of these areas. A few days after the signing of the treaty on December 23, President William McKinley placed Guam under the full control of the Navy, ordering the Secretary of the Navy to ''take such steps as may be necessary to establish the authority of the United States and give it the necessary protection and government.'' Once again, Guam, like in the previous 200 years, was given over to military rule.

Like their Spanish predecessors, the American naval officers who were assigned to Guam lamented the lack of adequate funding for support of a naval station, but they managed to build some roads and schools and raise some health and educational standards, and improve the lives of the Chamorro people. After more than 100 years of neglect under Spanish rule, the people of Guam were grateful for the improvement in their lives and hopeful for a bright and prosperous future under American rule. In fact, so eager were they to prove themselves worthy new members of the American household that in the interim, which lasted almost a year, in the interim between the removal from Guam of all Spanish government officials as prisoners of war and the arrival of Guam's first American naval governor, the people of Guam attempted to establish their own civilian government patterned after the American model under the leadership of Joaquin Perez. Guam's first naval governor arrived in August 189 and the naval government of Guam began to take shape in the months that followed. In its efforts to erase every vestige of foreign rule and establish America's presence and influence, the naval government imposed many new rules and regulations. Its orders were unilateral and beyond question. Its rule was strict and often clumsily racist, and still hoping to secure the benefits of American democracy for Guam, a group of island leaders drafted a petition in 1901 asking Congress to establish a permanent civilian government for Guam, one that would enable the people to mold their institutions to American standards and prepare themselves and their children for the rights, obligations and privileges as loyal subjects of the United States, and one which would remove the yoke of military government over Guam. That petition was not adhered to until 49 years later.

Mr. Speaker, 100 years ago the United States acquired Guam from Spain and established a military government of Guam. Now Guam was considered at that time a possession of the United States, and there is still much confusion as to what these small territories are in actual practice. Sometimes the term ''possession'' is used, sometimes the term ''territory,'' sometimes a ''protectorate,'' and as a ''position,'' as if it were a thing to be owned and moved around. But in reality, the actual term and the appropriate legal term, which is also a part of the legacy of the Spanish-American War, is ''unincorporated territory of the United States.''

An unincorporated territory of the United States means that we are owned by the United States, but we are unincorporated. We are not fully a part of the United States. Until we change that status, congressional authority, congressional plenary authority, remains in full effect and the Constitution applies to Guam only to the extent that Congress sees fit to apply it to Guam. That is what happens when something is a territory; the Constitution applies to all American citizens, except in the territories when Congress decides which parts of the Constitution apply.

□ 1600

One of the main elements of great discussion about political theory today and the appropriate relationship between the Federal Government and the local government is the use of the 10th amendment of the Constitution where certain powers are reserved to the States or to the people.

We frequently hear references to the 10th amendment on the floor of the House in order to describe the appropriate relationship between the Federal Government and State governments and individual citizens. The concept of devolution in those cases used, as a core article, obviously draws its faith from the full application of the 10th amendment. However, the 10th amendment is not applied to Guam or any of the small territories as decided by Congress.

It was not until after World War II, and during which Guam suffered an horrific occupation by the Japanese, with the passage of the Organic Act that Guam was called an unincorporated territory. And the Organic Act of Guam is the governing document, is the basic law of Guam, and it simply means the organizing act of Guam.

For 50 years, the Navy was the primary instrument of government over Guam and the commanding officer of the naval station was also the Governor of Guam. The commander of the Marines was the head of the Department of Public Safety. The Navy chaplain was automatically the head of the Department of Education. This was the system of government which existed on Guam for the first 50 years after the Spanish-American war.

Under naval rule, political participation was very limited for island residents. A Guam Congress was authorized, but it was entirely advisory in nature. Certainly unlike any of the citizens of the 50 States, or even the District of Columbia, the citizens of Guam do not enjoy all the full protections of the U.S. Constitution. And by being and remaining an unincorporated territory in its current form, the U.S. has broad powers over the affairs of Guam and ultimately the future of the Chamorro people of Guam.

After the passage of the Organic Act in 1950, Guam had a civilian government under the U.S. flag. And in 1970, Guam was authorized the right to elect its own governor. Here we are 100 years later and we still have not solved the final political status situation for Guam.

It is ironic that in this, the 100th year of the commemoration of the Spanish-American war, there are really two remnants of that war which cry out for attention. Those are Guam and Puerto Rico. So it is a very difficult time for those two areas, and I cannot speak for Puerto Rico, but I can certainly speak for Guam, that it is a very difficult item for us to try to relate to.

How do we seek to commemorate 1898? In 1898, we had a flag raising on Guam. Implicit in that flag raising was the promise of the fulfillment of American democracy. One hundred years later, that promise has yet to be fulfilled.

How Guam commemorates the 100th anniversary of 1898 will be, in many respects, a measure of how Guamanians who are today U.S. citizens, see themselves as a society.

The other areas that were a part of the process of the Spanish-American war, namely Cuba and the Philippines, as political projects are complete. But Puerto Rico and Guam are not complete. Guam remains one of the two last pieces of the puzzle of 100 years that has come from the Spanish-American war. And it is interesting to note that when Spain lost the Spanish-American war, Spain had claims not only to the Philippines but throughout much of the central Pacific; all of the islands in Micronesia, including the Northern Marianas, much of the Caroline Islands, Palau, Yap, Ponape, Chuuk and Kosrae.

And even though America had the opportunity to inherit those claims, it chose not to and it only took one island out of the whole Micronesian region and that island was Guam. The remaining islands were then sold by Spain to Germany. Then, after World War I, those islands became a part of a League of Nations mandate that was given over to Japan. After World War II, those islands were then given as a United Nations trust territory over to the United States.

All of those islands have had their political status resolved by today. Three freely associated governments, the Republic of Palau, the Republic of the Marshalls, and the Federated States of Micronesia and the new Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas all came out of those islands which the United States chose to ignore in 1898. It makes one think that perhaps had Guam been ignored at that time, by this time today we would have our political status fully resolved.

It is ironic that those who have been most associated with the United States in the Pacific are those who have waited the longest to see their political dreams fulfilled.

Because Congress is constitutionally mandated to make all of the decisions regarding the territories, and please bear in mind that we are talking about very small units, it is particularly incumbent upon this body to examine Guam's quest for political status change.

Now, in the year 1998, in the 100th anniversary of the centennial, now is an appropriate time to take a look at the issue of Guam's political status and its quest for commonwealth.

I would also like to focus upon another issue which is directly related to the centennial celebrations. As we celebrate in the United States the centennial of the Spanish-American war, the people of the Philippines will celebrate the centennial of their Declaration of Independence.

The Philippines declared its independence in 1898 but did not actually achieve it until 1945. And although most of us recognize 1898 as the beginning of our long relationship with the Republic of the Philippines, I think it is most unfortunate that I believe a majority of Americans today are unaware of the dynamics and the nature of our initial relationship with the Filipinos.

F.E. Warren Air Force Base in Cheyenne, Wyoming, a former Army post occupied by Army Indian fighters, plays host to historical artifacts that are becoming a concern to more and more Americans and is already a concern to many, many Filipinos. I am referring to a couple of church bells taken from a Catholic church in the Philippines by members of the 11th Infantry in 1901. Known to many as the ''Bells of Balangiga,'' which have become the center of a century-old controversy which have placed the people of the Republic of the Philippines and many of the residents of Cheyenne, Wyoming, at odds.

The people of the Philippines have repeatedly requested the return of the bells, and they would particularly like to have them back for their 100th anniversary celebration of this year of their declaration of independence from Spain. Several residents of Cheyenne, however, have expressed strong opposition to this request.

On November 7, 1997, I introduced H. Res. 312, a resolution urging the President to authorize the transfer of the ownership of one of the two bells currently displayed at F.E. Warren Air Force Base to the people of the Philippines. My purpose here is neither to glorify any of the actions taken nor condemn any of the atrocities committed at the time the bells were taken, but to shed light upon and clarify the issues behind the Bells of Balangiga.

At the onset of the Spanish-American war in 1898, the American fleet under George Dewey was ordered to attack the Spaniards at Manila Bay. Admiral Dewey and E. Spencer Pratt, the American consul in Singapore, convinced Filipino rebel leader, Emilio Aguinaldo, to ally his troops with the Americans, indicating that independence would probably be granted to the Philippines.

After Spain's defeat, however, it became evident that the Americans never intended to recognize the legitimacy of the Philippine republic declared in 1898. Aguinaldo, whose troops lacked the arms and discipline required to directly engage Americans in combat, issued a proclamation calling upon Filipinos to employ guerrilla tactics against Americans. The next few years saw a war which engendered much controversy in this country, but which is not well understood today, in which 4,200 Americans and an estimated 220,000 Filipinos lost their lives. Needless to say, atrocities were committed on both sides.

Mr. Speaker, 4,200 Americans died subduing the Philippines. In the course of the entire Spanish-American war, including the charge up San Juan Hill, only 398 Americans died in battle. But in subduing the Philippines over the next few years, 4,200 Americans died.

One particular example of the tragedy of the so-called Philippine insurrection occurred in the island of Samar. In September 26, 1901, rebels disguised as women smuggled weapons, mostly bolos, past inattentive sentries. While preparing for breakfast, the townspeople simultaneously attacked and killed Members of the Ninth Infantry ''C'' Company. Reinforcements were sent through the 11th Infantry and, in retaliation, Brigadier General Jacob Smith ordered every village on the island of Samar to be burned and every male Filipino over 10 years of age to be killed.

Evidence suggests that the priests at Balangiga rang the town's church bells every time the American troops were about to engage in search and destroy missions. The church bells were most likely confiscated by American troops in an attempt to ensure the secrecy and heighten the efficiency of these missions.

Three of these bells are known to exist. The survivors of the Ninth Infantry ''C'' Company took possession of one bell, which is now in a traveling collection maintained by the Ninth Infantry in Korea. The Eleventh Infantry also took two bells and a 15th-century English cannon with them to the U.S. when the unit was assigned to what was then Fort D.A. Russell in Cheyenne, Wyoming.

In 1949, Fort Russell was converted to the present Air Force base which house the Bells of Balangiga after having been left there by the Eleventh Infantry. There was a time when the officers at F.E. Warren wanted to get rid of the bells. These brass relics have no relevance for F.E. Warren Air Force Base, which is a missile base. Few people seemed to know or care about these bells. That is until the government of the Philippines asked for their return.

The President of the Philippines, the current President, Fidel Ramos, first became interested in the bells as a West Point cadet in the 1950s as he attended the U.S. Military Academy.

In the late 1980s, as defense minister, Fidel Ramos sought the help of his U.S. counterpart, former Wyoming U.S. Congressman Dick Cheney, who was then the Secretary of Defense.

For the 50th anniversary of Philippine's independence from the United States in 1996, the matter was brought to President Clinton's attention. However, these efforts, along with those of many others, including mine, have fallen on deaf ears. It seems that a vast majority of the people involved have made a decision that, instead of being on the right side of this issue, they would certainly rather be on the safe side.

It is true that there has been some vocal opposition against the return of the bells. However, this opposition may not fully understand the events of the past.

Although the insurrection cost the lives of American soldiers, let us not forget that the U.S. sent troops to the Philippines in 1898 in order to subdue a country that wanted to be independent. Let us also not forget that, later on, these very same people and their descendants suffered, fought, and died fighting with our troops for a common cause in the battlefields of Bataan, Corregidor, Korea and Vietnam, making the Philippines the only Asian country that has stood with the United States in every conflict in this century.

For almost 100 years, the Philippines has been our closest friend and ally, and in the name of friendship and cooperation it would only be fitting and proper for the United States to share the Bells of Balangiga with the people of the Philippines for their centennial celebrations.

Still, there are a number of veterans groups in Wyoming vehemently opposing the return of the bells, claiming that by doing so a sacred memorial would be desecrated and dismantled.

□ 1615

I beg to differ. Although Filipinos and the majority of the people with whom I have come into contact feel that both of the bells should be returned, a proposed compromise offered by the Philippine Government calls for the United States and the Republic of the Philippines to share the bells. The bells will be recast and duplicates made. The United States and the Philippines will each keep one original and one duplicate, and the Philippines Government has even offered to absorb all of the costs involved. H. Res. 312 would facilitate this proposal.

I assure everyone that this compromise would not in any way desecrate or dismantle the memorial at Trophy Park. What we presently have at F.E. Warren is a century-old reminder of death, suffering and treachery, brought about by vicious guerrilla warfare in a highly misunderstood conflict. By having the bells and duplicates both in the Philippines and in Wyoming, this solitary memorial will be converted into fitting monuments located on both sides of the world, dedicated to the peace, friendship and cooperation that have since existed between the American and the Filipino people.

The memory of those who perished, both Americans and Filipinos, will then be associated with a compromise of peace and friendship, cemented 100 years after they volunteered to travel halfway around the world to seek and secure this same peace and friendship from the people of Asia and the Far East. We have the world to gain and nothing but silly pride to lose.

My grandfather, from whom I got my name, although I am a native of Guam, James Holland Underwood, was a marine who served during the Spanish-American War prior to being mustered out on Guam. His brother and my namesake, Robert Oscar Underwood, was also a veteran of that war. He served in the Philippines during the time of the Philippine insurrection. I am sure that these men would understand and support the concept of having national symbols such as the Bells of Balangiga unite us and not divide us, those of us who care about independence and democracy and freedom for peoples around the world. Had they been alive today, I am sure that they would applaud my efforts because they will surely realize that the Bells of Balangiga would always mean more to the Filipinos than they could ever mean to us.

Sharing the Bells of Balangiga with the Filipinos is the honorable thing to do. It is the sensible thing to do. It is the right thing to do.

On behalf of a growing number of people who have expressed their support, I urge my colleagues to cosponsor H. Res. 312.

A FURTHER TRIBUTE TO THE HONORABLE RONALD V. DELLUMS

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

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Speaker, this is the last day for one of our most distinguished Members, RONALD DELLUMS, who has represented Oakland, California, for almost 27 years. Yesterday or the day before there have been some tributes to RON DELLUMS. There were so many Members who wanted to step up and speak their piece that some of us simply ran out of time. I did not want to end today, have Mr. DELLUMS retire or for myself for me to go home without saying a few words on his behalf.

I am a freshman on the Committee on National Security on which he has been the former chairman and now the ranking member for the Democratic Party. In the course of my experience with RON DELLUMS on the Committee on National Security, I have been struck by several things. He is a ranking member who has been always careful to make sure that he takes part of his time and allocates it to newer Members. He has forgone questioning witnesses on his own to make sure that new Members have a chance to ask questions themselves. Throughout his management of that committee, throughout his management of the minority, he has been very careful to show respect for others because he cares for others.

Today when he spoke here in the well of the House for the last time, he talked about learning the lessons of patience and the lessons of humility during his 27 years here in the House. He treated us all consistently with respect, and those who heard his remarks today will understand how much he values this House and how much he values its traditions.

I will also cherish some of my private conversations with RON DELLUMS. During one of those conversations, we talked about something that Martin Luther King, Jr. once said. Reverend King once said, the most radical action that anyone can take is to assert the full measure of his citizenship, to assert the full measure of his citizenship. When I go back to Maine and I talk to people in Maine and I want to encourage them to participate in civil society, when I want to encourage them to do everything that they can to participate in this political process, I use that quotation, and I cannot think of anyone who better exemplifies the full participation of his citizenship than RON DELLUMS.

As a freshman Member when I go back to Maine, I am often asked what