

Messrs. BILIRAKIS, GEORGE MILLER of California, and WYNN changed their vote from "no" to "aye."

So the bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### FURTHER MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A further message from the Senate by Mr. Lundegran, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 2454. An act to assure the long-term conservation of mid-continent light geese and the biological diversity of the ecosystem upon which many North American migratory birds depend, by directing the Secretary of the Interior to implement rules to reduce the overabundant population of mid-continent light geese.

#### PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 578, I was unavoidably detained because of a celebration honoring the Little Rock Nine sponsored by the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. THOMPSON). If I had been here, I would have voted "aye" for the substitute Dingell amendment.

#### ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LATOURETTE). Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, the Chair announces that he will postpone further proceedings today on each further motion to suspend the rules on which a recorded vote or the yeas and nays are ordered, or on which the vote is objected to under clause 6 of rule XX.

Any record votes on postponed questions will be taken after debate is concluded on other motions to suspend the rules.

#### SENSE OF CONGRESS REGARDING FREEDOM DAY

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 223) expressing the sense of the Congress regarding Freedom Day.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. CON. RES. 223

Whereas on November 9, 1989, the Berlin Wall was torn down by those whom it had imprisoned;

Whereas the fall of the Berlin Wall has become the preeminent symbol of the end of the Cold War;

Whereas the Cold War, at its essence, was a struggle for human freedom;

Whereas the end of the Cold War was brought about in large measure by the dedication, sacrifice, and discipline of Americans and many other peoples around the world united in their opposition to Soviet Communism;

Whereas freedom's victory in the Cold War against Soviet Communism is the crowning achievement of the free world's long 20th century struggle against totalitarianism; and

Whereas it is highly appropriate to remind Americans, particularly those in their formal educational years, that America paid the price and bore the burden to ensure the survival of liberty on this planet: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that—*

(1) a Freedom Day should be celebrated each year in the United States; and

(2) the United States should join with other nations, specifically including those which liberated themselves to help end the Cold War, to establish a global holiday called Freedom Day.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN).

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

(Mr. GILMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to be associated with this worthy initiative, H. Con. Res. 223 by the gentleman from California (Mr. COX) and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), which recognizes this important 10th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall.

The Berlin landmark was the most infamous symbol of the Cold War in Europe. It ran like a scar across one of Europe's grandest cities that had enjoyed a reputation for openness, for cultural innovation and flair. Tragically, that wall carved Berlin into two separate cities, its western half, a beacon of hope and freedom; its eastern half, a gray manifestation of Communist tyranny.

It is important that we recall the reasons that the regime of East Germany finally felt compelled to erect that wall, not to keep people out of the Communist "paradise," but to keep people in, to prevent them voting with their feet. Tragically, too many people died when they refused to let the wall impede them in their quest for freedom.

Ten years ago today, the Wall fell. The weight of the Communist system became too much for it to sustain. At that moment, the wisdom of President Ronald Reagan, when he appealed two years earlier to Gorbachev to "tear down this wall" and other leaders of the West, that led to the collapse of Communism in Europe was ratified.

It is hoped that our government will enlist all of the nations that benefited from Communism's demise to establish this date as Freedom Day. We owe that to the thousands of men and women in this Nation and in other nations who sacrificed everything to make freedom in Europe a reality.

Accordingly, Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this measure.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California (Mr. COX) be entitled to control the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I might consume.

I want to commend my friend and colleague, the gentleman from the New York (Mr. GILMAN) and my friend and colleague, the gentleman from California (Mr. COX), for bringing this measure before the House. Of course, I rise in strong support of this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, some of us lived through this period from the establishment of the Berlin Wall to its collapse, and these two bookends, in a sense, cover basically the period of the Cold War.

I think it is instructive to begin our discussion of this issue by recognizing that the Berlin Wall is probably the only wall ever built in history not to keep the enemy out, but to see to it that the people behind the wall do not escape. The collapse of the Wall symbolized the collapse of the Soviet empire, and it indicated the end of the Third World War, which the West won without firing a single shot.

What is most remarkable about our victory, Mr. Speaker, is that it was a fully bipartisan victory. It began with the farsighted visionary and pragmatic measures of a Democratic President, Harry Truman; and it concluded during the powerful leadership of President Ronald Reagan who did, in fact, call to have the Wall removed. And from Truman to Reagan, this remarkable era represented one of the most impressive bipartisan periods of foreign policy in the history of the United States.

But it was not only our victory. It was the victory of our allies across Europe who joined together in NATO, the most impressive defensive military alliance the world had ever seen, to resist Soviet and Communist expansion, and it was the victory of the countless heroes behind the Iron Curtain who gave their lives so that others might live in freedom and democracy.

Usually, suspension bills can be easily handled with 40 minutes of discussion and debate. This topic would require 40 hours to begin to pay proper tribute to the countless men and women in this country and abroad who fought for the cause of freedom and whom we honor by establishing a day of freedom, a global holiday on November 9.

Let me just single out a few people who deserve special recognition. I suggest, Mr. Speaker, that the Berlin Wall would still stand, the Soviet Union would still be in existence if it had not been for the farsighted and courageous leadership of Mr. Gorbachev in recognizing that the Soviet Union had lost

the Cold War, that to continue the suppression of tens of millions of people by military force was doomed to defeat and was counterproductive. He deserves full credit along with the others I mentioned and countless others whom we do not have time to discuss this afternoon. But without Mikail Gorbachev's recognition that Russia and the Soviet Union must move along different lines, we would not be here celebrating Freedom Day, November 9.

□ 1730

We need to pay tribute to the freedom fighters in Hungary in 1956, who, against overwhelming odds, demonstrated their commitment to freedom. We are here to pay tribute to the people who led the Prague Spring of 1968, when for the first time there was a determined effort to put an end to Communist dictatorship in the Czechoslovak Republic.

We are here to pay tribute to individual men and women throughout the countries behind the Iron Curtain who, with their dedication and devotion to freedom, have made this day possible. We are here to pay tribute to the dissidents and refuseniks in the Soviet Union who, under unbearably impossible conditions, persevered in their dedication to democratic principles.

From the walled cities of Europe to the Great Wall of China, walls have always kept the enemy out. The Berlin Wall, and we celebrate its collapse 10 years ago today, the Berlin Wall was built to keep people in, to prevent them from escaping.

We have succeeded in making Europe whole, free, democratic, and at peace. While the task is certainly not completed, as the events in Yugoslavia in the last few years so clearly demonstrate, we have come a long way in creating a stable and peaceful Europe, prepared to meet the challenges of the 21st century.

In paying tribute to Republican leaders and Democratic leaders, as well known as presidents and as unknown as ordinary people, who believed that people on both sides of the Iron Curtain were yearning to live in freedom and dignity and peace, we are paying tribute to the finest traditions of western civilization.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS).

Mr. Speaker, it is very important that Congress take time, as we are doing just now, to recognize what is truly important and transcendent and what, on the other hand, is perhaps urgent, perhaps requiring us to devote our time because it is our work-a-day business here, but not nearly so important in the lives of American citizens and citizens around the world as what we are doing here today, remembering, in part, and looking forward, even

more importantly, in greater part. So that by remembering, we will always be free.

It was, as the preceding speakers have pointed out, 10 years ago to the day that the Berlin Wall was taken down. It did not fall, it was taken down by the people imprisoned behind it, with the help of people around the world.

In this Chamber, as I have pointed out on many occasions to visitors to the Capitol from California and elsewhere, we have only two paintings. They have been part of the furnishings of the House Chamber for some time.

One of them is an American, the father of our country, George Washington. The other is a foreigner, a Frenchman, the Marquis de Lafayette, who serves, I believe, as a reminder to us that our democracy would not be here without foreign assistance.

The people of Central Europe and the people of Russia and the former captive nations waged their own struggle against Soviet communism, but they would not be free today without help from others, including, in major part, the people of the United States of America.

We will never know how many people perished behind the Iron Curtain, but estimates are 70 million souls lost their lives to communism. The Berlin Wall, which was a 13-foot high structure of concrete and tangled barbed wire, stretched for 103 miles and symbolized the difference between freedom and totalitarianism, the difference between democracy and free enterprise that we enjoyed on our side of the Berlin Wall, and communism, Soviet-style, East German style, that people were required to live under on the other side.

Mr. Speaker, this 13-foot high 103-mile wall topped with barbed wire symbolized the great abiding differences between the two chief systems of the world, communism and its antonym, freedom. The Berlin Wall was called by Germans "the wall of shame," and indeed, 77 Germans lost their lives trying to get out. They were murdered trying to make their way to the light of freedom in the West.

There are many red letter dates in the history of the Cold War that in victory was symbolized by the fall of the Berlin Wall. In 1948, Harry Truman ordered the Berlin Airlift, ensuring that the people of West Berlin would resist the Stalinist siege. In 1991, 2 years after the collapse of the Berlin Wall, the Soviet Union collapsed.

There is another red letter date in this history. It is the future date when the last Communist tyrants in Beijing, Hanoi, Pyongyang, Belgrade, and Havana are off the world's stage. But that fight remains for us today.

The most memorable date of all that we commemorate now is that date exactly 10 years ago, November 9, 1989, when the Berlin Wall came tumbling down. I was in Berlin 10 years ago and watched this process of physical dismantlement, and what an amazing

metaphor, and actually stepped through a hole in the Berlin Wall.

In 1977, more than a decade earlier, the former Governor of California, later to become the President of the United States, talked to a man who would one day become his national security adviser, and it was Ronald Reagan conversing with Richard Allen.

He told Richard Allen, history records, "My idea of American policy toward the Soviet Union is simple. It is this: We win and they lose." That approach, begun by Harry Truman, carried throughout the rest of the 20th century until the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989, at the conclusion of the Reagan presidency and the beginning of the Bush administration, was a visible, tangible symbol and representation of American resolve to win that fight, and it was a war.

When President Reagan took office, the Soviet Union had already invaded Afghanistan, the communists had declared martial law in Poland, and the United States responded with strength. We imposed sanctions on the regime in Poland, and indeed, on the entire Warsaw Pact and Russia, cutting back on technology, never granting them most-favored-nation trade status.

In 1983, NATO showed its solidarity, showed that it would not be divided by Soviet designs, when, against massive popular protests in the United Kingdom and in Germany, Prime Minister Thatcher and Chancellor Helmut Kohl agreed to accept the deployment of intermediate range missiles on their territory deployed by the United States.

Three years later at Iceland, at Reykjavik, when I was working for President Reagan in the White House, President Reagan told his counterpart, Mr. Gorbachev, that the strategic defense initiative, the right and the obligation of the West to defend itself, would not be set aside. There would not be an arms control agreement that would have the direct consequence of permitting the Soviet military comfort and continued life.

That same year President Reagan agreed to provide shoulder-fired Stinger missiles to the rebels in Afghanistan, fighting the Red Army. It was thought at the time that no one could defeat the Red Army, but just a few years later that is exactly what happened, and another big chunk of the Soviet empire fell apart.

When one recounts the popular movements and the life-threatening risks that were taken in order to defeat Soviet communism, one recalls Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia and the leadership of such men and women as Vaclav Havel. We remember the Solidarity movement in Poland, and the leadership of such extraordinary people as Lech Walesa. We remember people like Vytautas Landsbergis and the Sajudis movement in Lithuania.

It was my opportunity to travel to those countries to meet with those people; to meet, indeed, with a man who eventually would become the President

of Hungary, Arpad Goncz. We have to recall that it was Hungary that accepted the refugees through the Berlin Wall that began to, more than anything, strike at the very foundations of the wall itself and everything that it stood for, ultimately the collapse of the Soviet Union.

We, with this House concurrent resolution, are working with our colleagues in the other body to do more than just speak today on the 10th anniversary so that we in this body will pay due attention to an important milestone in the history of freedom and the advance of freedom around the world. We are also asking our government to work with governments around the world to establish a freedom day that will perennially recognize the victory of the free world over communism in the Cold War, and remind us that freedom requires us to be ever vigilant.

There are a number of Members who wish to speak on this resolution. I wish to recognize Members not in this body who are responsible for advancing this legislation. Specifically, I would like to recognize Ben Wattenburg with the American Enterprise Institute, a veteran of the administrations of Presidents Johnson, Reagan, and Bush, who has written amply on this topic, and I think done as much as any single individual to move us to this action.

I would also like to point out that the Senate majority leader strongly supports this legislation, as does Senator LIEBERMAN, who will be moving the companion in the other body.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I cannot help but comment on the many things that come back to memory, listening to my colleague, the gentleman from California (Mr. COX).

The distinguished Democratic leader, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. GEPHARDT) and I were at the wall as it was destroyed physically, and it was our great pleasure to participate in the physical destruction of the Berlin Wall, which clearly is one of the highlights of my life, and I am sure that of the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. GEPHARDT).

Mr. Speaker, it gives me a great deal of pleasure to yield 4 minutes to my colleague and friend, the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. KIND).

(Mr. KIND asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. KIND. Mr. Speaker, I thank my good friend, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), one of the most preeminent defenders of human rights and freedom in this body, for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise as a proud supporter of this resolution, which commemorates the 10-year anniversary of one of the most astounding historical events of the 20th century, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of

communism throughout Central Europe.

□ 1745

What started out as a trickle, Solidarity's victories in Poland during June of 1989, Hungary opening up its border with Austria later that summer, led to a deluge of East Germans flooding across the Berlin Wall. And a few weeks after that, the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia took place. And no one could predict these events and no one knew how to react to these events.

One of my most cherished possessions that I still keep here in Washington with me on my desk is this chunk of the Berlin Wall. It still has graffiti painted on it. Coincidentally, it is shaped like the State of Wisconsin. But it is a chunk that I personally whacked out of the Berlin Wall on October 3, 1990, during the reunification celebration when I was over there as a student traveling throughout Central Europe.

This came at a crucial time in my life, Mr. Speaker. As a third year law student, I was watching these historical events unfold with rapt attention like the rest of the world was, but I was feeling a little bit disillusioned, and a little bit cynical about our own political process here in this country. So I decided a few months after the revolution had taken place to travel through Central Europe to visit the European capitals, live out of a backpack, survive on cheese and bread during that time and see firsthand these remarkable changes taking place.

I met when I was traveling through there the real heroes in my mind of the revolutions and the changes that took place. They were students such as myself about my age who had literally, on the front lines of the demonstrations, literally looking down the barrel of communist guns and facing Soviet tanks, not knowing whether they were going to succeed or whether this was going to turn into a massacre. They knew their countries' individual histories. 1968, Prague Spring. 1956, Hungary when the communist authorities did in fact crack down. And as history later showed during the Velvet Revolution, the Politburo voted 5 to 4 not to use force to bring down the demonstrations. One vote could have made all the difference in Prague during that fall of 1989.

Mr. Speaker, I asked many of these students what they remembered most about those demonstrations and the events and they said two things: How terribly cold it was as they were maintaining candlelight vigils all night long, and the fear that they felt, again not knowing whether or not the military was going to open fire on them. But perhaps the most important wall that fell in that region to make this all possible was not even visible. It was the wall of fear that fell. And we cannot overestimate the role that fear does play in any totalitarian or authoritarian regime to keep them in power.

But this was made possible because Mikhail Gorbachev, as the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) already indicated, changed the dynamics in the region by denouncing the use of force in order to keep communist governments in power; by pursuing his policies of glasnost and perestroika, the general opening of information and ideas in these regions. It diminished the fear and empowered people to have the courage to demand change.

Perhaps it is the greatest magnificent irony that one of the most oppressive communist regimes in that area, Czechoslovakia, would later be led by former poets and playwrights. Vaclav Havel, the first democratically elected President in Czechoslovakia, was a former playwright himself. The first democratically elected president since Masaryk and Edvard Benes just before the Second World War.

He was the founder of Charter 77, the moral blueprint for change in the area, and also founded the Civic Forum that gave the people in Czechoslovakia the political alternative to the communist regime, but not before he was imprisoned on four separate occasions. In fact, during one of those imprisonments he was on his deathbed, literally. The communist authorities did not want a martyr on their hands, so they went to him and said, "Listen, the people who give out the Obie Award will allow you to direct your own play in New York and get proper medical attention." And he said, "I just have one question. If I go, will you allow me back in?" And they could not give that assurance and so he refused. The rest, as we say, is now history.

But in conclusion, I just want to pay a special tribute and wish a special happy 10-year anniversary to those students who really were on the front lines and showed through their courage that there are causes and ideals greater than one's self that are worth risking everything for. So on this day, my thoughts and my memories go to many of those students who I personally had a chance to meet and who inspired me to get involved in public service when I did return to the United States.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE), chairman of the Committee on Armed Services.

(Mr. SPENCE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, it is entirely proper that we observe this anniversary of the wall coming down in Berlin and the later end of the Cold War. I think it is appropriate too that we reflect on how this came about.

Mr. Speaker, the Cold War took up a large space in our history of this country. We faced many hardships during this war. But the policy that made the end of the Cold War come to an end is something that we should reflect on and learn a lesson from.

We fought communism all over the world. We helped other people to fight

communism. We engaged in something people criticized us for: An arms race. An arms race. The arms race was a big part of the policy that allowed us to win that war.

A strategic defense initiative by President Reagan, something we have been working on ever since that time, played a big part in that policy and the end of that Cold War.

In essence, the communists could not keep up with our free market economy and the freedoms we have in this country. They could not keep up, and so the war came to an end, the Cold War.

But my concern today is that we have not learned from that experience. There are many lessons to be learned from it. We have not learned from it. We have made the same mistakes we made after every conflict we have ever been involved in. We have cut back too much, and the result is that we are not prepared today adequately to defend this country against all of the threats we have today with us.

Mr. Speaker, mark my word, we are living in a very dangerous world today. As a matter of fact, it is more dangerous than during the Cold War because we still have the Cold War threats of nuclear warfare plus now we have threats of weapons of mass destruction. And I might point out that we are unprepared to defend against either. Intercontinental ballistic missiles and nuclear warfare and theater missile defenses against theater missiles and all the weapons of mass destruction.

A new study is out showing that in the future, this country will be subject to attack on American soil and Americans will die in large numbers on American soil. We have had other places to fight in the past, and we face this kind of a future and, Mr. Speaker, if we do not return to the Reagan policy of peace through strength, we will not be able to face this kind of a threat in the future.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. McNULTY), my friend and colleague. He has been an indefatigable fighter on behalf of freedom during his service in this body.

Mr. McNULTY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) for yielding me this time, and I thank both of my friends from California for bringing this resolution to the floor. I strongly support it.

Mr. Speaker, 1989 was a wondrous year to be alive, and the events which we celebrate actually started in Poland. After many years of struggle during which Lech Walesa and his followers spent their time under martial law, house arrest, or actually in jail, democracy prevailed in the great nation of Poland.

And then, as others have said, the movement quickly spread throughout Eastern Europe. I will never forget as long as I live the specter of Erich Honecker, then the leader of East Germany, standing up before the world and

making this pronouncement: "This is where it stops. It shall not happen here," meaning the democracy movement.

Within weeks of his making that statement, he was no longer the leader of East Germany. He was replaced by Egon Krenz, who decided to adopt the "moderate hard line," which roughly translated meant they were going to try to appease the democracy movement but preserve the communist system. He too was quickly dispatched, and we know the rest of the story.

Mr. Speaker, I was at The Berlin Wall when the people were out there with their hammers and chisels tearing it down piece by piece. You can imagine how I felt, this child of the Cold War, brought up in Green Island, New York, population 2,500, taught by the good sisters of St. Joseph who had a monthly drill where we were required to drop to the floor, get under our desks and prepare for the air raids by our totalitarian enemies. And that had an impact on me, Mr. Speaker. One day I would be thinking about my hopes and dreams and aspirations and how I wanted to be like my father and go into public service, and the next day we would have one of these drills and I was scared. It had a tremendous impact on me to think that some world leader somewhere could make a decision which would end humankind as we knew it.

Mr. Speaker, I am grateful that I have lived to see the day when my four daughters and my three grandchildren and young people all over the world can look forward to growing up in a more peaceful world.

As I was standing at the Berlin Wall watching it being torn down, I knew I was present for a great moment in history. I felt like the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. KIND). I wanted some commemoration of that. I noticed as people were chipping away at the wall and the pieces were falling they would catch them and put them in their pockets as little mementos. And I said to myself, I think I would like to do that. Already, capitalism being in evidence, there were vendors out there selling pieces of the Berlin Wall. Ever the skeptic, I said "how do I know that those pieces came off the wall?" So I looked around and capitalism being further in evidence, there was a guy walking back and forth with hammers and chisels renting them out. So I went over with my military escort who spoke German and we made a deal and I paid some money and I grabbed a hammer and chisel and did what the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) did. I chipped away at that wall and helped tear it down and brought back some of those pieces to give them to veterans of our Armed Forces who I knew would cherish them.

I later went through Checkpoint Charlie, or the remnants of it, and talked to people in East Berlin and was just totally amazed by what they were telling me about what was happening. I

came back to the other side. I was to be briefed by our commanding general, and before he could say anything to me I started talking and I could not stop talking about how excited I was at what I had just heard and witnessed. He just said to me: "MIKE, I wish you were with me the first day they opened up free access through Checkpoint Charlie. They had a ceremony and everybody was lined up on our side and as the people came through from East Berlin, they were very polite to the politicians and other diplomats that were in the line. But they saw my uniform and they came to me and one after another, they told me, 'You tell your government, but particularly you tell your soldiers, how grateful we are for their vigilance through the years. Had it not been for their vigilance, we would not be enjoying this new freedom today.'"

Mr. Speaker, at that moment in my life I was never more proud to be an American.

□ 1800

So, to me, Mr. Speaker, it is no coincidence that Freedom Day is so close to Veterans' Day. We should remember what happened after those events, too, namely the breakup of the Soviet Union into individual democratic republics. I was in one of them on their Independence Day: Armenia. What a great thrill it was to be with them the day after their referendum as they danced and sang—(the gentleman from New York spoke in Armenian), long live free and independent Armenia.

Let us remember all that, but especially let us remember the soldiers who are responsible for the freedom that is enjoyed now by hundreds of millions of people around the world who had been denied it all their lives.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire how much time is remaining.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LATOURETTE). The gentleman from California (Mr. COX) has 4 minutes remaining, and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) has 1 minute remaining.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, we have only four speakers remaining. I ask unanimous consent that each side be given 2 additional minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. WICKER).

Mr. WICKER. Mr. Speaker, I regret that there is not more time to discuss a very important and historical day, the 10th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall. Like the gentleman from New York (Mr. McNULTY), I am a member of that baby boom generation who remembers Khrushchev pounding his shoe, fallout shelters, and all of the images of the Cold War. We wondered if Eastern Europe would ever be free and if international Communism would ever be ended.

So I am pleased to take part in this debate today. We have already heard the names of a number of individuals who have participated over time in bringing about the end of European Communism.

The gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) mentioned President Truman and President Reagan. Certainly we should not forget that there were even members of the Reagan administration who, during that time, were worried about President Reagan using terms such as "evil empire" or saying, "Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall." They urged him not to do so, but thank goodness President Reagan was strong and was one of those people who enabled us to be having this celebration today.

I want to take just a moment to honor the name of another anti-Communist hero, Whittaker Chambers. I have just been reading the book, *Witness*, the autobiography of this courageous individual who had the fortitude to come forward, to name names, to risk his family, his finances, his future, and even his freedom to say that there were Communists in our own Federal Government and to play a crucial roll in the fight against international Communist tyranny.

I think, while we are celebrating the 10th anniversary of the falling of the Wall, we should also remember the name of Whittaker Chambers, and I honor his memory today.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. CUNNINGHAM).

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, those two words, Cold War, are chilling to the millions of people that never knew freedom before the Wall fell. Many U.S. citizens have never known a socialist or Communist regime, although many Americans gave their lives and efforts to remove just a small symbol and a barrier to that freedom.

I would like to thank the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) and the gentleman from California (Mr. COX). I want to thank them deeply for the men and the women that they spoke about that fought for this challenge. But I would say to my friends that these same men and women would challenge us to continue the fight for an invisible, but a real wall to freedom of a socialist and Communist ideology that enslaves freedom itself.

The former Soviet Union and China, in my opinion, are bitter enemies of the United States. Does that mean we need not engage them? No. Firm diplomacy, fair trade, not just trade, and even a big stick at times. But peace through strength is a hollow cry for many of those that brought down the Wall. For those that are aware of our military today know that that Wall would not fall under peace through strength with our military.

It is a challenge that all of us in this House, both Republicans and Democrats and Independents, should fight for on a very bipartisan basis.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I ask the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) if he would agree to yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. GUTKNECHT).

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. GUTKNECHT).

Mr. GUTKNECHT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), the ranking member, for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, words have meaning. Ideas matter. Actions have consequences. About the time the solidarity movement began to take root in Poland, the Roman Catholic Cardinals sort of shocked the world, and they elected a Roman Catholic Cardinal from Poland to become the new Pope.

As the solidarity movement gained strength, there was fear that the Soviets would actually send military forces to bring down that movement in Poland. The new Pope sent word to the Soviets that, if the Soviets invaded his native Poland, he would be there to meet them. Words have meaning.

Then later, our President Reagan went to Europe; and against the advice of some of his advisors, he used those very harsh words, he talked about that evil empire; and he talked about the ash heap of history. Words have meaning.

Then later, when President Reagan went to Berlin and he said, "Mr. Gorbachev, if you mean what you say about Glasnost and Perestroika," he said, "Mr. Gorbachev, come to Berlin and tear down this Wall." Now, those words were barely reported here in the Western press, but they thundered across Eastern Europe. Those words alone began to build up the momentum in Eastern Europe.

So we can celebrate today the 10-year anniversary and, in some respects, the anniversary of the real victory of all of those veterans we sent to Europe. But back in World War II, we sent 16½ million people to fight that war. They came back, and it was not really concluded because half of Europe was still enslaved.

This is a great victory for all Americans. It is a great victory for the people of the world. I am delighted we are moving forward with this resolution.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, with the agreement of the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), I ask him to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER).

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER).

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, this is a special occasion today for us to be here on the 10th anniversary of the collapse of the Berlin Wall because it symbolizes a victory in the Cold War which dominated us in this 20th century, for the second half of the 20th century.

Some of the kids are now learning in the history books what so many of us

lived through back in the 1950s and 1960s and 1970s and 1980s.

It is very special to celebrate, but also to say thanks to the millions of Americans and millions around the world that helped fight for freedom and democracy against the Communist evil empire, as President Reagan used to call it.

Unlike victories in World War II and World War I where we had a signing, this was a gradual victory; and it is not totally over because we still have Communist dictators in the world in North Korea and Cuba.

But the thing is we have a victory that we need to celebrate and to say thanks. That is why this today is a special occasion. Those photographs in the paper of President Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev and Helmut Kohl over in Berlin brings back vividly the sacrifice that was made. So thanks to everyone that contributed to this great great victory.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF), a distinguished leader in the Congressional Human Rights Caucus who has for years advanced the cause of freedom, to conclude the debate on this legislation.

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, I saw the Berlin Wall the first time in 1982. It was moving. I am honored to have this opportunity in support of this resolution to have the 10th anniversary but also for Freedom Day.

People say the Berlin Wall fell down. The Berlin Wall did not fall down. The Berlin Wall was pushed down. Ronald Reagan pushed the Berlin Wall down when he gave the evil empire speech. The Pope helped push the Wall down. Lane Kirkland of the AFL-CIO when he gave money to Lech Walesa and solidarity helped push the Wall down. Natan Shiransky, when he got out of gulag 35 and a Russian said walk straight across the bridge, zigzagged back and forth against the bridge in defiance of the Soviet Union. Natan Shiransky helped push the Wall down. Elena Bonner helped push the Wall down. Zacharov helped push the Wall down.

Whittaker Chambers, the gentleman from Mississippi, when Whittaker Chambers wrote in the book *Witness*, he said, "When I left the Communist party, I believed that I was leaving the winning side and joining the losing side, and nothing I saw has made me think that I was wrong." Whittaker Chambers was wrong on this point, and Ronald Reagan was right on this point. In fairness to Members on both sides of the aisle in strong support of anti-Communism was right.

Lastly, in honor of Colonel Nicholson who was the last member of the military. It was a military designated in West Berlin who was killed by the Soviets in East Berlin. We honor him with this resolution.

I want my children to remember. I want my grandchildren to remember. I

want everyone to remember. The Berlin Wall did not fall. These people pushed it down.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) has 1½ minutes remaining.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, in concluding this debate, we need to remind ourselves that, as we rejoice in the 10th anniversary of the collapse of the symbol of tyranny, the Berlin Wall, that the battle is not yet fully won. There are dictators in Tehran. There are dictators in Baghdad. There are dictators in North Korea. There are dictators in Belgrade.

Our job will not be finished until every single man, woman, and child on the face of this planet will be able to practice his religion, speak his mind, be able to travel freely, be able to join associations of his own choosing, political parties or otherwise.

We have come a long way. The Soviet Union is nothing but a bad memory. But dictatorial regimes still exist. Freedom Day, as we will celebrate it, will not be fully a reality until in every single country, from the Taliban-controlled Afghanistan to the Milosevic-controlled Yugoslavia, will be able to live and breathe freely. We hope that this body will then again proclaim freedom and Freedom Day on November 9 for all the inhabitants of this planet.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. WICKER).

(Mr. WICKER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks, and include extraneous material.)

Mr. WICKER. Mr. Speaker, this morning, a very thoughtful editorial on this subject appeared in my hometown newspaper, the Northeast Mississippi Daily Journal.

Mr. Speaker, I insert that editorial for the RECORD as follows:

[From the Daily Journal, Nov. 9, 1999]

A PEACEFUL REVOLUTION THAT OPENED THE  
BERLIN WALL MUST BE SUSTAINED

The fortified portion of it was 26 miles long. It stood up to 15 feet high in spots. It was topped with barbed wire and an assortment of other obstacles.

Anyone brave or foolish enough to try to scale it had to get by electronic alarms, mines, trenches and, of course, armed guards. One hundred seventy people died trying.

The Berlin Wall became the most dramatic symbol of the Cold War, a stark and striking reminder of the tyranny of communism. The government of East Germany had to wall in its own people, so oppressive was the environment on its side of the wall and so compelling were the freedoms enjoyed on the other.

Ten years ago today the wall fell, in a figurative sense. Its fortified passages were opened and traffic allowed to flow freely between East and West Berlin. Within a year East and West Germany were unified. By 1992 the wall was physically dismantled.

Who can forget that amazing period in Eastern Europe as communist governments

one after the other fell, virtually bloodlessly, the victims of a new yearning in their people and an old rottenness in their core. The world drew inspiration from the young protesters defiantly perched on the wall, smashing away pieces of it, mocking its pretense to control over their lives.

The fall of the wall and the unification of East and West Germany were events that virtually no one predicted would occur so rapidly and with so little violence. These and corresponding events in Eastern Europe, beginning with the Solidarity movement in Poland in the early 1980s, exposed the great vulnerability of communism or any oppressive system when strong people unite against it.

Today communism, while not completely dead, is completely discredited. Even China's leadership has been forced to modify its formerly orthodox communist economy in order to survive, though political repression is still a fact of life in that last communist power.

Ten years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, and eight years after the complete disintegration of the Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc, the world is a safer place.

And yet. . . .

Lurking beneath the evolving democratic processes in former communist countries are the forces of reaction, remnants of the old guard or those nostalgic for its return. The transition to democratic governments and free markets in Russia and Eastern Europe has hardly been smooth; one crisis after another has marked the effort by formerly communist countries to make up for decades of failed economic, social and political policies. There are those exploiting the inevitable discontent.

The United States has a vested interest in seeing that those countries who threw off the shackles of communism and brought a thaw to the nearly half-century of Cold War succeed. We have preached the gospel of free markets and free political systems, and we must maintain our determination to assist them in working through the pains of transition that can seem worse to some than the stability of the old system.

The United States probably kept Western Europe from eventually succumbing to communism by rebuilding its cities and economies with the Marshall Plan after World War II. We are not in a position nor is there the need to proceed with a program of that magnitude today.

But aid and assistance, government to government and citizen to citizen, from the U.S. to formerly communist countries, as well as active diplomatic efforts to achieve the stability for freedom to flourish, are vital to our national interests.

Some would say it's time for the United States to withdraw, to give up its role as a leader of the free world, to worry only about internal concerns. That would be to dishonor the sacrifices already made by Americans: remembered Thursday, Veterans Day and the courage of those who fought to overcome tyranny in their own lands.

The Berlin Wall, and all it represented, failed 10 years ago today. What followed must succeed, and we must be willing to help it happen.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I submit for the RECORD an article written by Ben Wattenberg of the American Enterprise Institute, who first proposed the idea of a Freedom Day in December 1991. I am proud that we are finally moving forward with this idea, and I thank him for his commitment to ensuring that future generations recognize the important sacrifices made by those who fought for freedom against the evils of communism.

[From the Washington Times, November 4, 1999]

MOVING FORWARD WITH FREEDOM DAY  
(By Ben Wattenberg)

Ten years ago, on Nov. 9, 1989, the Berlin Wall was battered down by the people it had imprisoned. The event is regarded as the moment the Cold War ended. For Americans without sentient memories of World War II, the end of the Cold War has been the most momentous historical event of their lifetimes, and so it will likely remain.

Long yearned for, the end of the Cold War has more than lived up to expectations: Democracy is on the march globally, defense budgets are proportionately down, market economies are beginning to flourish most everywhere, everyday people are benefiting each and every day.

The end of the Cold War actually was a process, not an event. By early 1989, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev had pulled his troops from Afghanistan, whipped Poles elected a non-communist government; the Soviets did nothing. Hungary, Czechoslovakia, East Germany and later Bulgaria installed non-communist governments. It was called "the velvet revolution," with only Romania the exception; Nicolae Ceausescu and his empress were executed.

For almost two years, the U.S.S.R. remained a one-party communist state, gradually eroding. Hard-liners attempted to resist the slow motion dismemberment. On Aug. 19, 1991, Boris Yeltsin stood on a tank to resist a hard-line coup. The hammer-and-sickle came down; the Russian tricolor went up. Other Soviet republics declared independence, including the big guy on the block, Ukraine.

U.S. diplomats did not "gloat" about it. The sovereign state of Russia would be unstable enough without the United States rubbing it in.

On Dec. 4, 1991, I proposed in a column that a new national holiday be established to commemorate the end the Cold War. I asked readers to participate in a contest to: 1. Name it; 2. pick a date; and 3. propose a method of celebration.

Several hundred submissions came in. Some of the most imaginative entries for a name were: "Defrost Day," "Thaw Day," "Ronald Reagan Day," "Gorbachev Day," "Borscht Day," "Peace Through Strength Day" "E Day" (which would stand for "Evil Empire Ends Day"), "E2D2" ("Evil Empire Death Day"), "Jericho Day" "Pax Americana Day" and "Kerensky Future Freedom Day" (recalling that Mr. Yeltsin was not the first pro-democratic leader of Russia).

Scores of respondents offered "Liberty Day," "Democracy Day," and mostly, "Freedom Day." In June of 1992, I publicly proclaimed "Freedom Day" the winner.

One suggestion for the date of the new holiday was June 5, for Adam Smith's birthday. But the most votes went for Nov. 9, the day the wall fell. So today I proclaim that date Freedom Day.

There were ideas about how to celebrate and commemorate Freedom Day: Build a sibling sculpture to the Statue of Liberty; eat potatoes, the universal food; build a tunnel to Russia across the Bering Strait; thank God for peace; welcome immigrants; meditate; issue a U.N. stamp; build ice sculptures; send money to feed Russians; and do something you can't do in an unfree country—make a public speech, see a dirty movie, celebrate a religion, travel across a border.

I propose that discussion on the matter of how to celebrate be put on hold until we get the holiday established.

How? Because all the major presidential candidates participate in the Cold War, they should endorse the holiday. Legislators

ought to push for it. Anyone who worked in defense industry, or paid federal taxes from 1945 to 1989, ought to support it. President Clinton ought to go to the Reagan Library to endorse it.

I met with Mark Burman of the Reagan Presidential Foundation. He says they are on board for a campaign. The other great presidential libraries—Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford and Carter—should join in.

So should anyone concerned with the teaching of American history. The holiday will remind American children that their recent ancestors preserved freedom. The Cold War generation may not be "the greatest" but they did their job—victory without a major hot war.

Americans can only create an American holiday. But we ought to invite all other countries to join in, Russia first. The citizens of Russia won the Cold War as surely as we did. If I were a Chinese dissident I'd promote the idea; it might give their leaders a clue.

If you like the idea, or have ideas, you may e-mail me at Watmail@aol.com. I'll pass the correspondence along to the appropriate persons, as soon as I figure out who they are.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize the Tenth Anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall. Perhaps no act in the latter half of this century better represents the human quest for freedom and dignity. Perhaps no barrier more aptly symbolized the moral bankruptcy of an entire political movement—a movement that subjected its citizens to forcible detention.

As President Kennedy noted during his famous speech in West Berlin in 1963, the Wall was erected to keep its citizens within. As we all knew, the Wall was fundamentally flawed and had to come down. Its dismantling foreshadowed the collapse of the Soviet Union and communist domination of Eastern Europe. Who would have thought that less than 10 years later three former members of the Warsaw pact would become members of NATO? Who would have predicted that NATO would survive as an engine of security and democracy-building in Europe?

When I was appointed to the Helsinki Commission in 1985, there were serious questions in the United States about the viability of the Helsinki process. Had the process emphasized security at the expense of human rights? Was it perhaps time to reconsider the process in the absence of tangible progress on human rights questions?

Today, we celebrate the freedom yielded by our steadfast commitment to the process and by our demand that the former Soviet bloc countries adhere and implement the human rights standards enshrined by the Accords. The fall of the Berlin Wall transformed the world and demonstrated unreservedly the dignity of man as fundamental to democracy. The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) took a stand—that human dignity, tolerance and mutual respect would be the standards for all the nations of Europe as we entered in 1990s.

Almost immediately, the fall of the Wall ushered in new members to the OSCE—Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Albania. All were freed from the shackles of Soviet domination, and began to express a desire to join the Helsinki process.

Why would they want to join when in effect we had won? Because the Helsinki process could serve as a source of values and act as

an agent of conflict resolution. It provided participating States with a blueprint by which to guide them away from the legacy of the past. But most importantly it reminded members—old and new—of their responsibilities to their own citizens and to each other.

This lesson would be sorely tested in the years following the Wall's fall with the dismemberment of Yugoslavia, the genocide of Bosnia, the economic collapse of Albania and the emergence of new threats to the citizens of Russia. The emphasis on rule of law in the Helsinki process would become even more relevant for all of Europe.

One year after the fall of the Wall, at the OSCE Paris Summit, former political prisoners like Vaclav Havel and Lech Walesa, who had fought for the rights espoused at Helsinki in 1975, led their countries to the table and re-committed themselves and their governments to the principles of human rights, security and economic cooperation that are the foundation of the Final Act. Today, 54 nations of Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia are committed to the Helsinki process as participating States of the OSCE.

Mr. Speaker, as we reflect on this anniversary we understand that the countries and peoples of the region are still in transition and will be for decades to come. Great strides have been made by many former communist countries in building democratic societies and market economies. Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic are our NATO allies and are actively pursuing admission to the European Union. Other central and eastern European countries are taking steps to join NATO and the EU. Yet, progress has been uneven and much remains to be done.

It is critical that the United States remain engaged with the peoples and governments of Europe and the countries which emerged from the former Soviet Union, especially Russia, during this difficult period. I agree with President Clinton when he said that we must "reaffirm our determination to finish the job—to complete a Europe whole, free, democratic, and at peace, for the first time in all of history." It is in our strategic and national interest to do so.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution, H. Con. Res. 223.

The question was taken.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX and the Chair's prior announcement, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed.

#### CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 1554, INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY AND COMMUNICATIONS OMNIBUS REFORM ACT OF 1999

Mr. TAUZIN (during debate on H. Con. Res. 223) submitted the following conference report and statement on the bill (H.R. 1554) to amend the provisions of title 17, United States Code, and the Communications Act of 1934, relating to copyright licensing and carriage of broadcast signals by satellite:

#### CONFERENCE REPORT (H. REPT. 106-464)

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 1554), to amend the provisions of title 17, United States Code, and the Communications Act of 1934, relating to copyright licensing and carriage of broadcast signals by satellite, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment, insert the following:

#### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.

(a) *SHORT TITLE.*—This Act may be cited as the "Intellectual Property and Communications Omnibus Reform Act of 1999".

(b) *TABLE OF CONTENTS.*—The table of contents of this Act is as follows:

Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.

#### TITLE I—SATELLITE HOME VIEWER IMPROVEMENT

Sec. 1001. Short title.

Sec. 1002. Limitations on exclusive rights; secondary transmissions by satellite carriers within local markets.

Sec. 1003. Extension of effect of amendments to section 119 of title 17, United States Code.

Sec. 1004. Computation of royalty fees for satellite carriers.

Sec. 1005. Distant signal eligibility for consumers.

Sec. 1006. Public broadcasting service satellite feed.

Sec. 1007. Application of Federal communications commission regulations.

Sec. 1008. Rules for satellite carriers retransmitting television broadcast signals.

Sec. 1009. Retransmission consent.

Sec. 1010. Severability.

Sec. 1011. Technical amendments.

Sec. 1012. Effective dates.

#### TITLE II—RURAL LOCAL TELEVISION SIGNALS

Sec. 2001. Short title.

Sec. 2002. Loan guarantees.

Sec. 2003. Administration of loan guarantees.

Sec. 2004. Retransmission of local television broadcast stations.

Sec. 2005. Local television service in unserved and underserved markets.

Sec. 2006. Definitions.

#### TITLE III—TRADEMARK CYBERPIRACY PREVENTION

Sec. 3001. Short title; references.

Sec. 3002. Cyberpiracy prevention.

Sec. 3003. Damages and remedies.

Sec. 3004. Limitation on liability.

Sec. 3005. Definitions.

Sec. 3006. Study on abusive domain name registrations involving personal names.

Sec. 3007. Historic preservation.

Sec. 3008. Savings clause.

Sec. 3009. Technical and conforming amendments.

Sec. 3010. Effective date.

#### TITLE IV—INVENTOR PROTECTION

Sec. 4001. Short title.

##### Subtitle A—Inventors' Rights

Sec. 4101. Short title.

Sec. 4102. Integrity in invention promotion services.

Sec. 4103. Effective date.

##### Subtitle B—Patent and Trademark Fee Fairness

Sec. 4201. Short title.

Sec. 4202. Adjustment of patent fees.