

and imposing de facto military accreditation on participating universities.

Experts inside and outside the government agreed with White.

The Air Force canceled the program after a scathing report by its own experts found the program counterproductive for education and efficiency.

Whistleblowing doesn't come any better than this.

The Merit Systems Protection Board three times ruled in White's favor, each time challenged on technicalities by the Office of Personnel Management.

But the appeals court decided it knew better.

The court concocted a hopelessly unrealistic standard for whistleblowing disclosures to pass muster.

The court said a whistleblower must have had a "reasonable belief" that he was revealing misconduct.

This "reasonable belief" is the prerequisite to be eligible for reprisal protection, the court found.

At first glance, the court's definition of "reasonable belief" is almost boringly innocuous: "could a disinterested observer with knowledge of the essential facts reasonably conclude . . . gross mismanagement?"

But the devil is in the details. The court warmed up by establishing a duty of loyalty to managers.

"Policymakers have every right to expect loyal, professional service from subordinates," the court said.

So much for the Code of Ethics, which is on the wall of every federal agency since unanimous passage in 1980: "Put loyalty to the highest moral principles and to country above loyalty to persons, party or government department."

The court decreed that whistleblowing does not include "policy" disputes.

But that's not what Congress said in 1994 amendments to the whistleblower protection law: "A protected disclosure may . . . concern policy or individual misconduct."

A CRUEL ILLUSION

Most surreal is the court's requirement for MSPB to conduct an independent "review" to see if it was reasonable for the employee to believe he revealed misconduct.

And whistleblowers must overcome the presumption that government agencies act "correctly, fairly, in good faith" and legally unless there is "irrefragable" proof otherwise.

What's "irrefragable"? My dictionary defines it as "[i]ncapable of being overthrown; incontestable, undeniable, incontrovertible."

This means if disagreement is possible, the whistleblower's belief is unreasonable and eligibility for legal protection vanishes.

Not content to render the Whistleblower Protection Act a bad joke, the Court turned it into a Trojan Horse, instructing the board to violate it routinely by searching for evidence that the whistleblower has a conflict of interest as part of its review.

Amendments to the whistleblower law in 1994 outlawed retaliatory investigations—those taken because of protected activity.

These developments are no surprise.

Before Chief Judge Robert Mayer's arrival on the court, he served as deputy special counsel when his office tutored managers and taught courses on how to fire whistleblowers without getting caught.

Mayer's actions helped spark the Whistleblower Protection Act's birth.

Now under his leadership, the Federal Circuit is killing it with a sternly obsessive vengeance.

Under current law, there is no way out in the courts.

Except for unprecedented Supreme Court review, the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals has a monopoly on judicial review of whistleblower decisions by the MSPB. As long as it persists, the Whistleblower Protection Act's promise will be a cruel illusion.

Congress has a clear choice: passively institutionalize its ignorance of executive branch misconduct, or restore its and the public's right to know.

The solution is no mystery:

Pass a legislative definition of "reasonable belief" overturning all the nooks and crannies of this case.

Give federal workers the same access to the court that is a private citizen's right—jury trials and an all-circuits judicial review in appeals courts.

It is unrealistic for the government to expect federal employees with second-class rights to provide first-class service to the public.●

EIGHTH ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE

● Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, in 1991, the Ukrainian people, after decades of difficult and often tragic struggle, won their right to self-determination. They declared their independence, as did other peoples of the former Soviet Union, fulfilling the wishes of generations of Ukrainians.

Eight years have now passed since that dramatic time, and Ukraine and U.S.-Ukrainian relations are stronger than ever. We now have a U.S.-Ukraine Joint Commission, chaired by Vice President GORE and President Kuchma, which seeks to improve bilateral relations on a wide range of issues.

A significant part of this effort is the sister city project to help Ukrainian communities develop more effective local government. I'm proud that the City of Lowell in Massachusetts is a sister city with the Ukrainian city of Bardiensk in this worthwhile project.

I especially commend the members of the Ukrainian-American community for their constant courage and commitment in championing the cause of Ukrainian independence over the years. They never gave up this struggle, even during the darkest days of the Cold War. They can be proud of their achievements. Their efforts in recent years have made Ukraine the third largest annual recipient of U.S. assistance. I'm prouder than ever to support their impressive efforts.

I also commend the Ukrainian-American community for its ongoing work to help American high school students understand that the Great Famine of the 1930s was a man-made terror-famine, used by Stalin to suppress the Ukrainian people. Millions of Ukrainians died in this great crime against humanity.

Sadly, the twentieth century has been filled with too many of these massive crimes. We must never forget the atrocities that have been inflicted on millions of citizens in other lands, in-

cluding the Ukrainian people. We must do all we can to build a better world in the years ahead.●

TRIBUTE FOR MS. LINDA COLEMAN

● Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I would like to recognize the exceptionally distinguished service of Ms. Linda Coleman, who is leaving Federal Service on September 30, 1999, after 30 years. She has been the mainstay within the Office of the Chief of Legislative Liaison, United States Army for the past 20 years. It is a privilege for me to recognize the many outstanding achievements she has provided the Congress, the United States Army and our great Nation.

Linda Coleman has worked for every Member of the Congress as the Secretary of the Army's legislative liaison within the Army's House Liaison Division, Congressional Inquiry Division, and Programs Division. Initiative, caring service, and professionalism are the terms used to describe Linda Coleman. She has been instrumental in providing information and explaining the diverse programs within the United States Army. Ms. Coleman is an expert in coordinating the interface between the Secretary and Chief of Staff of the Army and Members of Congress. She is an expert at cutting through the red tape of the bureaucracy without losing sight of the fact that taking care of the soldier is the ultimate goal. I have never known of an instance in which Ms. Coleman would back away from doing the right thing for the Army, the soldier or family members, or the Congress she served.

Ms. Coleman has earned a reputation on Capitol Hill as someone who could be relied upon to respond to inquiries in a responsive, professional manner. She expanded the Army's understanding of Congress and the Army's role in the legislative process through continuous interaction with Members of Congress and the Army's leadership. Ms. Coleman established procedures to assist in informing and explaining the Army to Congress. Ms. Coleman prepared the Army's senior leaders for all of their meetings with Members of Congress. For each meeting, she prepared the Army senior leader with detailed information on the issues and the interests of the Members of Congress involved in the meetings. Ms. Coleman has been the "go to" person in Army Legislative Liaison. When Members of Congress had a really complex issue, the legislative action officers and assistants would go to her for advice.

Ms. Coleman is able to communicate effectively with both military officials and Congressional staff members and has developed superb working relationships. Her professional abilities have earned her the respect and trust which served her, the Army, and Congress so well.