

is truly one that belongs to her, the woman who shepherded those brave young men and women through those extremely difficult days forty years ago. My prayers go out to the family and the many friends of Daisy Bates. I know that God is throwing open the gates of heaven today for Daisy, a woman who helped so many others enter doors that were once barred to them.●

THE DEPARTURE OF A.M. ROSENTHAL FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES

● Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, Please read these remarks! A.M. Rosenthal has just this past Friday concluded fifty-five years as a reporter, editor, and columnist for The New York Times. There has been none such ever. Nor like to be again. Save, of course, that this moment marks a fresh start for the legendary, and although he would demur, beloved Abe.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that A.M. Rosenthal's last column and an editorial from Friday's Times be printed in the RECORD.

The material follows:

[From The New York Times, Nov. 5, 1999]

ON MY MIND

(By A.M. Rosenthal)

On Jan. 6, 1987, when The New York Times printed my first column, the headline I had written was: "Please Read This Column!" It was not just one journalist's message of the day, but every writer's prayer—come know me.

Sometimes I wanted to use it again. But I was smitten by seizures of modesty and decided twice might be a bit showy. Now I have the personal and journalistic excuse to set it down one more time.

This is the last column I will write for The Times and my last working day on the paper. I have no intention of stopping writing, journalistically or otherwise. And I am buoyed by the knowledge that I will be starting over.

Still, who could work his entire journalistic career—so far—for one paper and not leave with sadnesses, particularly when the paper is The Times? Our beloved, proud New York Times—ours, not mine or theirs, or yours, but ours, created by the talents and endeavor of its staff, the faithfulness of the publishing family and, as much as anything else, by the ethics and standards of its readers and their hunger for ever more information, of a range without limit.

Arrive in a foreign capital for the first time, call a government minister and give just your name. Ensues iciness. But add "of The New York Times," and you expect to be invited right over and usually are; nice.

"Our proud New York Times"—sounds arrogant and is a little, why not? But the pride is individual as well as institutional. For members of the staff, news and business, the pride is in being important to the world's best paper—you hear?—and being able to stretch its creative reach. And there is pride knowing that even if we are not always honest enough with ourselves to achieve fairness, that is what we promise the readers, and the standard to which they must hold us.

I used to tell new reporters: The Times is far more flexible in writing styles than you

might think, so don't button up your vest and go all stiff on us. But when it comes to the foundation—fairness—don't fool around with it, or we will come down on you.

Journalists often have to hurt people, just by reporting the facts. But they do not have to cause unnecessary cruelty, to run their rings across anybody's face for the pleasure of it—and that goes for critics, too.

When you finish a story, I would say, read it, substitute your name for the subject's. If you say, well, it would make me miserable, make my wife cry, but it has no innuendo, no unattributed pejorative remarks, no slap in the face for joy of slapping, it is news, not gutter gossip, and as a reporter I know the writer was fair, then give it to the copy desk. If not, try again—we don't want to be your cop.

Sometimes I have a nightmare that on a certain Wednesday—why Wednesday I don't know—The Times disappeared forever. I wake trembling; I know this paper could never be recreated. I will never tremble for the loss of any publication that has no enforced ethic of fairness.

Starting fresh—the idea frightened me. Then I realized I was not going alone. I would take my brain and decades of newspapering with me. And I understood many of us had done that on the paper—moving from one career to another.

First I was a stringer from City College, my most important career move. It got me inside a real paper and paid real money. Twelve dollars a week, at a time when City's free tuition was more than I could afford.

My second career was as a reporter in New York, with a police press pass, which cops were forever telling me to shove in my ear.

I got a two-week assignment at the brand-new United Nations, and stayed eight years, until I got what I lusted for—a foreign post.

I served The Times in Communist Poland, for the first time encountering the suffocating intellectual blanket that is Communism's great weapon. In due time I was thrown out.

But mostly it was Asia. The four years in India excited me then and forever. Rosenthal, King of the Khyber Pass!

After nine years as a foreign correspondent, somebody decided I was too happy in Tokyo and nagged me into going home to be an editor. At first I did not like it, but I came to enjoy editing—once I became the top editor. Rosenthal, King of the Hill!

When I stepped down from that job, I started all over again as a times Op-Ed columnist, paid to express my own opinions. If I had done that as a reporter or editor dealing with the news, I would have broken readers' trust that the news would be written and played straight.

Straight does not mean dull. It means straight. If you don't know what that means, you don't belong on this paper. Clear?

As a columnist, I discovered that there were passions in me I had not been aware of, lying under the smatterings of knowledge about everything that I had to collect as executive editor—including hockey and debentures, for heaven's sake.

Mostly the passions had to do with human rights, violations of—like African women having their genitals mutilated to keep them virgin, and Chinese and Tibetan political prisoners screaming their throats raw.

I wrote with anger at drug legitimizers and rationalizers, helping make criminals and destroying young minds, all the while with nauseating sanctimony.

As a correspondent, it was the Arab states, not Israel, that I wanted to cover. But they

did not welcome resident Jewish correspondents. As a columnist, I felt fear for the whitening away of Israeli strength by the Israelis, and still do.

I wrote about the persecution of Christians in China. When people, in astonishment, asked why, I replied, in astonishment, because it is happening, because the world, including American and European Christians and Jews, pays almost no attention, and that plain disgusts me.

The lassitude about Chinese Communist brutalities is part of the most nasty American reality of this past half-century. Never before have the U.S. government, business and public been willing, eager really, to praise and enrich tyranny, to crawl before it, to endanger our martial technology—and all for the hope (vain) of trade profit.

America is going through plump times. But economic strength is making us weaker in head and soul. We accept back without penalty a president who demeaned himself and us. We rain money on a Politburo that must rule by terror lest it lose its collective head.

I cannot promise to change all that. But I can say that I will keep trying and that I thank God for (a) making me an American citizen, (b) giving me that college-boy job on The Times, and (c) handing me the opportunity to make other columnists kick themselves when they see what I am writing, in this fresh start of my life.

[From The New York Times, Nov. 5, 1999]

A.M. ROSENTHAL OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

The departure of a valued colleague from The New York Times is not, as a rule, occasion for editorial comment. But the appearance today of A. M. Rosenthal's last column on the Op-Ed page requires an exception. Mr. Rosenthal's life and that of this newspaper have been braided together over a remarkable span—from World War II to the turning of the millennium. His talent and passionate ambition carried him on a personal journey from City College correspondent to executive editor, and his equally passionate devotion to quality journalism made him one of the principal architects of the modern New York Times.

Abe Rosenthal began his career at The Times as a 21-year-old cub reporter scratching for space in the metropolitan report, and he ended it as an Op-Ed page columnist noted for his commitment to political and religious freedom. In between he served as a correspondent at the United Nations and was based in three foreign countries, winning a Pulitzer Prize in 1960 for his reporting from Poland. He came home in 1963 to be metropolitan editor. In that role and in higher positions, he became a tireless advocate of opening the paper to the kind of vigorous writing and deep reporting that characterized his work. As managing editor and executive editor, Abe Rosenthal was in charge of The Times's news operations for a total of 17 years.

Of his many contributions as an editor, two immediately come to mind. One was his role in the publication of the Pentagon Papers, the official documents tracing a quarter-century of missteps that entangled America in the Vietnam War. Though hardly alone among Times editors, Mr. Rosenthal was instrumental in mustering the arguments that led to the decision by our then publisher, Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, to publish the archive. That fateful decision helped illustrate the futile duplicity of American policy in Vietnam, strengthened the press's First Amendment guarantees and reinforced

The Times's reputation as a guardian of the public interest.

The second achievement, more institutional in nature, was Mr. Rosenthal's central role in transforming The Times from a two-section to a four-section newspaper with the introduction of a separate business section and new themed sections like SportsMonday, Weekend and Science Times. Though a journalist of the old school, Abe Rosenthal grasped that such features were necessary to broaden the paper's universe of readers. He insisted only that the writing, editing and article selection measure up to The Times's traditional standards.

By his own admission, Abe Rosenthal could be ferocious in his pursuit and enforcement of those standards. Sometimes, indeed, debate about his management style competed for attention with his journalistic achievements. But the scale of this man's editorial accomplishments has come more fully into focus since he left the newsroom in 1986. It is now clear that he seeded the place with talent and helped ensure that future generations of Times writers and editors would hew to the principles of quality journalism.

Born in Canada, Mr. Rosenthal developed a deep love for New York City and a fierce affection for the democratic values and civil liberties of his adopted country. For the last 13 years, his lifelong interest in foreign affairs and his compassion for victims of political, ethnic or religious oppression in Tibet, China, Iran, Africa and Eastern Europe formed the spine of his Op-Ed columns. His strong, individualistic views and his bedrock journalistic convictions have informed his work as reporter, editor and columnist. His voice will continue to be a force on the issues that engage him. And his commitment to journalism as an essential element in a democratic society will abide as part of the living heritage of the newspaper he loved and served for more than 55 years.●

THE MARTEL FAMILY

● Mr. BURNS. Mr. President, I rise today in recognition of the Martel family of Bozeman, Montana.

In 1951, Emil Martel and his family fled communist Russia and eventually settled in Bozeman. In 1960, Emil and his son, Bill, formed Martel Construction and constituted its entire workforce. In the past forty years, however, Martel Construction has grown to employ 200 people and now contracts in six states. Today, Martel Construction maintains its familiar character and is still run as a family business. Martel Construction was recently awarded the United States Small Business Administration's 1999 Entrepreneurial Success Award as well as the 1999 Montana Family Business of the Year award by the College of Business at Montana State University-Bozeman.

Martel Construction and the Martel family represent a modern American success story. I applaud them not only for what they have accomplished for themselves but also for what they have given back to their community. Their hard work serves as inspiration for other small businesses in my state of Montana; their success is proof that the American Dream lives on.●

UNANIMOUS CONSENT REQUEST— H.R. 3196

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now proceed to the consideration of H.R. 3196, the foreign operations appropriations bill. I further ask consent that a substitute amendment, which is at the desk, be agreed to, the bill be read a third time and passed, the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table, and any statement relating to the bill be printed in the RECORD. I further ask consent that the Senate insist on its amendment and request a conference with the House.

Ms. LANDRIEU. I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

10TH ANNIVERSARY OF HISTORIC EVENTS IN CENTRAL AND EAST- ERN EUROPE

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now proceed to the immediate consideration of Calendar No. 380, S. Con. Res. 68.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the concurrent resolution by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 68) expressing the sense of Congress on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of historic events in Central and Eastern Europe, particularly the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia, and reaffirming the bonds of friendship and cooperation between the United States and the Czech and Slovak Republics.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the concurrent resolution.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I rise to congratulate my colleagues for having supported S. Con. Res. 68, a sense-of-the-Senate resolution, which I cosponsored with Senator HELMS, commemorating the tenth anniversary of the so-called Velvet Revolution, whereby the people of Czechoslovakia overthrew the communist dictatorship that had oppressed them for four decades.

Since then, Czechoslovakia decided to effect a "Velvet Divorce." Today both successor states, the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic, are in the process of integrating into the West. The Czech Republic is already a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and Slovakia is emerging as a strong candidate for the next round of enlargement. Both countries are busily preparing to qualify for membership in the European Union.

Both countries have growing pains associated with the difficult transitions from dictatorship to democracy, and from a command economy to the free market. Both have ongoing challenges to guarantee equal rights for minorities. But the overall picture for the Czech Republic and for the Slovak Republic is bright.

I am delighted that the Senate has recognized the accomplishments of the Czechs and the Slovaks and has wished them continued success in the future as partners of the United States.

I thank the Chair.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be agreed to, the preamble be agreed to, the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table, and any statements relating to this resolution be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 68) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

The concurrent resolution, with its preamble, reads as follows:

S. CON. RES. 68

Whereas on September 3, 1918, the United States Government recognized the Czechoslovak National Council as the official Government of Czechoslovakia;

Whereas on October 28, 1918, the peoples of Bohemia, Moravia, and part of Silesia, comprising the present Czech Republic, and peoples of Slovakia, comprising the present Slovak Republic, proclaimed their independence in a common state of the Czechoslovak Republic;

Whereas on November 17, 1939, the Czech institutions of higher learning were closed by the Nazis, many students were taken to concentration camps, and nine representatives of the student movement were executed;

Whereas between 1938 and 1945, the Nazis annexed part of Bohemia, set up a fascist "protectorate" in the rest of Bohemia and in Moravia, and installed a puppet fascist government in Slovakia;

Whereas the Communists seized power from the democratically elected government of Czechoslovakia in March 1948;

Whereas troops from Warsaw Pact countries invaded Czechoslovakia in August 1968, ousted the reformist government of Alexander Dubcek, and restored a hard-line communist regime;

Whereas on November 17, 1989, the brutal break up of a student demonstration commemorating the 50th anniversary of the execution of Czech student leaders and the closure of universities by the Nazis triggered the explosion of mass discontent that launched the Velvet Revolution, which was characterized by reliance on nonviolence and open public discourse;

Whereas the peoples of Czechoslovakia overthrew 40-years of totalitarian communist rule in order to rebuild a democratic society;

Whereas since November 17, 1989, the people of the Czech and Slovak Republics have established a vibrant, pluralistic, democratic political system based upon freedom of speech, a free press, free and fair open elections, the rule of law, and other democratic principles and practices as they were recognized by President Wilson and President Thomas G. Masaryk;

Whereas the Czech Republic joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization on March 12, 1999, the admission of which was approved by the Senate of the United States on April 30, 1998;

Whereas the Czech and Slovak Republics are in the process of preparing for admission to the European Union;