

SENATE—Tuesday, January 22, 1991

(Legislative day of Thursday, January 3, 1991)

The Senate met at 2:30 p.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the Honorable TERRY SANFORD, a Senator from the State of North Carolina.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Richard C. Halverson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Let us pray:

*For when they shall say, Peace and safety; then sudden destruction cometh upon them * * * —I Thessalonians 5:3.*

Mighty God, perfect in truth and justice and mercy, we raise our voices in gratitude to Thee for the men and women who provide security on Capitol Hill, who devote their lives for our protection. As threats of terrorism increase and elaborate security precautions are made, help us not forget that these faithful men and women stand between us and destruction. For hours, days, weeks, months their duty is monotonous routine. Then, suddenly, some incident, unexpected, occurs and their lives are instantly at great risk. Gracious Father in Heaven, bless these, Your servants, protect them, encourage them, their loved ones, and help us to show our appreciation for their faithful commitment to duty.

In the name of Jesus who is incarnate love. Amen.

APPOINTMENT OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore [Mr. BYRD].

The assistant legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, DC, January 22, 1991.

To the Senate:

Under the provisions of rule I, section 3, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby appoint the Honorable TERRY SANFORD, a Senator from the State of North Carolina, to perform the duties of the Chair.

ROBERT C. BYRD,
President pro tempore.

Mr. SANFORD thereupon assumed the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the standing order, the majority leader is recognized.

SCHEDULE

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, following the time reserved for the two leaders, there will be a period for the transaction of morning business with Senators permitted to speak for up to 10 minutes each.

I intend to recess the Senate at 3 p.m. for Senators to receive a classified briefing on events in the Persian Gulf as well as in the Baltic States.

The Senate will reconvene following that briefing.

GENEVA CONVENTION

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, in 1949, four conventions relevant to the conduct of war were signed in Geneva. The United States and Iraq are parties to the conventions. These are often referred to as the Red Cross Conventions since the International Committee of the Red Cross is involved in implementing the conventions.

I ask unanimous consent that there be placed in the RECORD at this point a summary of the articles of the third Geneva Convention relevant to the treatment of prisoners of war which appeared in this morning's Washington Post.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HIGHLIGHTS OF GENEVA CONVENTIONS

There were four Geneva Conventions, agreed to on Aug. 12, 1949, and eventually signed by 164 nations. The Geneva-based International Committee of the Red Cross oversees the implementation of the Conventions.

The First Geneva Convention deals with wounded and sick in armed forces in the field.

The Second concerns wounded, sick and shipwrecked members of armed forces at sea. The Fourth relates to the protection of civilians in time of war.

The Third Geneva Convention, consisting of 143 articles and several annexes, deals with the treatment of prisoners of war and includes a wide range of additional matters such as food and clothing, hygiene and medical attention, religious, intellectual and physical activities, penal and disciplinary sanctions, and release and repatriation.

Some of the pertinent articles the allied forces have accused Iraq of violating:

Article 13 states, in part, prisoners of war "must at all times be treated humanely" and "must at all times be protected against acts of violence or intimidation and against insults and public curiosity."

Article 14 states, in part, prisoners of war are "entitled in all circumstances to respect for their persons and their honor."

Article 17 states, in part, "Every prisoner of war, when questioned on the subject, is

bound to give only his surname, first names and rank, date of birth, and army, regimental, personal or serial number, or failing this, equivalent information. * * * No physical or mental torture, nor any other form of coercion, may be inflicted on prisoners of war to secure from them information of any kind whatever. Prisoners of war who refuse to answer may not be threatened, insulted, or exposed to any unpleasant or disadvantageous treatment of any kind."

Article 19 states, "Prisoners of war shall be evacuated, as soon as possible after their capture, to camps situated in an area far enough from the combat zone for them to be out of danger."

Article 23 states, in part, "No prisoner of war may at any time be sent to, or detained in, areas where he may be exposed to the fire of the combat zone, nor may his presence be used to render certain posts or areas immune from military operations."

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, in particular article 23 states essentially that prisoners of war shall not be used as human shields.

According to press reports today the International Committee of the Red Cross based in Geneva has supported the United States position that Iraq's abuse of prisoners or threat to use them as human shields would violate the Geneva Convention.

Mr. President, this is a matter of the utmost gravity and concern for all Americans, and I join in what I know is the view of all Senators and Americans in strongly condemning and deploring such action, and urging in the strongest possible terms that it end.

All prisoners of war are entitled to appropriate treatment, humane in nature, without coercion, without physical or mental abuse, and are entitled to be located in camps away from combat zones.

The actions of the Iraqi Government are in contravention of the Geneva Conventions, the so-called Red Cross Conventions, and should and must immediately be ended.

BALTIC INDEPENDENCE

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, 9 days ago, a tragedy occurred in Lithuania. Soviet troops shot dead at least 14 unarmed people standing peacefully for the independence of their land.

The action was unjustified. It was rightly condemned throughout the world.

Two days ago, this tragedy was repeated in Latvia.

The same pattern of events occurred: A National Salvation Committee was announced; additional Soviet troops arrived in the capital; residents took to

the streets in a nonviolent defense against Soviet aggression; and finally, Soviet troops used force, killing innocent proponents of their own independence.

At least four people were killed in Latvia.

The repetition of the action makes it even more outrageous.

The killings cannot intimidate the courageous people of the Baltic States.

Force cannot suppress the desire for independence.

I had hoped that Soviet authorities finally learned this lesson from events in Eastern Europe. Yet apparently they did not.

Their violent actions have only increased the opposition to the conservative tide in Moscow.

It is not just the people of the Baltics, but people throughout the Soviet Union who are protesting the repression.

They are fearful of what the violence means for the future of the Soviet Union.

Conservatives have said that President Gorbachev approved the formation of the National Salvation Committee and the use of force in the Baltic Republics. The reality is that regardless of whether Gorbachev issued specific instructions, he must now take responsibility for what has occurred.

President Gorbachev is at a crossroads in defining the future of the Soviet Union, its internal character and its relations with the United States and the rest of the world.

Many in the Soviet Union hoped it would become a country of political and economic freedom for all.

Given recent events, it is difficult to discern whether President Gorbachev remains committed to such a future. Gorbachev's estrangement—through dismissals and resignations—from those advisors most closely identified with reform and Gorbachev's increasing reliance upon conservative officials is deeply troubling.

Gorbachev appears to have abandoned his commitment to resolve the issue of Baltic independence peacefully.

The United States and other Western nations must take concrete action to demonstrate the condemnation expressed by leaders of these nations.

Particularly from those nations that have placed their hopes in Gorbachev's commitment to democratization, action is now required.

There must be no misunderstanding on the part of President Gorbachev.

The Bush administration now regrets that it did not send a clearer message to Saddam Hussein prior to his August 2 invasion of Kuwait. The administration must now act to prevent miscalculation by Soviet officials in this crisis.

Last week, the U.S. Senate urged President Bush to act. The Senate

called upon the President to review and consider suspending all economic benefits provided by the United States Government to the Soviet Union; to immediately suspend all ongoing technical exchanges; to consider withdrawing United States support for Soviet membership in the IMF, World Bank, or GATT; and to remain from providing MFN trade treatment until Soviet troops no longer threaten the democratic governments of the Baltic States and good faith negotiations on Baltic independence have begun.

I urge President Bush to immediately take such concrete steps. I hope that Secretary Baker's meeting with Lithuanian and Latvian officials have helped convince the President of the urgency of the situation in the Baltic States.

For 50 years, the United States has supported the Baltic States' efforts to regain their independence. We must continue to do so. We must forcefully define our interest in a peaceful resolution of this crisis.

It would be tragedy if our hopes for the future of the Soviet Union were buried in the bloodshed of peaceful advocates of Baltic independence.

It would be inexcusable for the West to fail to do everything possible to prevent this from occurring.

Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of my leader's time.

I yield to the distinguished Republican leader.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Republican leader is recognized.

Mr. DOLE. First let me commend the distinguished majority leader for both statements. I say, in reference to the statement on the Baltics, that we were briefed at our policy luncheon today, and that many of the matters that the majority leader has underscored are now being undertaken by the administration.

At 3 o'clock today the Secretary of State meets with representatives from Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. It may be too late to stop the export credits, because many have been obligated. The administration is looking, in a very broad sense, at a number of areas where we have been offering assistance to the Soviet Union. It goes without saying that this is not a partisan issue. This is one where I believe the feelings are shared on both sides of the aisle in the U.S. Senate. We want independence and freedom for the Baltic States. We understand this poses a great dilemma for Mr. Gorbachev. But we also understand that you cannot have it both ways. You cannot get the Nobel Peace Prize and then start killing people in the streets of Lithuania and Latvia, so far.

I say to the distinguished majority leader that I believe the areas under review by the administration—and the President has talked on two occasions

that I know of in the past 72 hours to Mr. Gorbachev, and both calls were initiated, I understand, by Mr. Gorbachev, expressing the concerns of the American people, and the Congress and the President of the United States.

Mr. MITCHELL. I thank my colleague for his comments. He is most assuredly correct in his assertion that this is not a partisan matter, and that there are strong, and I believe perhaps unanimous, feelings in the Senate on that subject; certainly the overwhelming majority share the views that the distinguished Republican leader and I have expressed here today. It is my hope that the Senate, already having spoken twice on the subject in the past week, will be prepared to do so again in the near future. I look forward to working with the distinguished Republican leader in that regard.

THE PRISONERS OF WAR

Mr. DOLE. With reference to the prisoners of war—and I know the Presiding Officer could speak on this issue as well as the Senator from Kansas—if one watched television yesterday and saw these brave young men paraded before the television, it sort of made you sick to your stomach. If Saddam Hussein thinks he can gain anything in world opinion with that kind of tactic, I think he will find he is sadly mistaken.

Yes, maybe it demonstrates to the people in Iraq that he has captured American and British pilots. But there is no doubt about it—and I listened to my good friend and colleague, the Senator from Arizona, JOHN MCCAIN, who was a prisoner of war himself for many years, speaking on television last night—these men were coerced. They were not voluntary statements.

What I think it really shows is the desperation of Saddam Hussein. Let us face it. We have people in America who have different views on the gulf crisis and our entrance into hostilities in the gulf crisis, but I am willing to bet there is one thing they do not disagree on, and that is mistreatment of prisoners—our, theirs, or any other prisoners who may be held as a result of this conflict. If we were violating the rights of Iraqi prisoners of war, you would have Members on this floor complaining about that. So I say to Saddam Hussein, if you want to unite the American people, you certainly picked the right way to do it. While it may not be much comfort to these young men whose pictures we saw yesterday, they will probably never know how much they have done to get people to focus in the right way on this terrible conflict in the Mideast.

This seems to fit Saddam Hussein's pattern of torture and cruelty, whether it is on the Kurds, people who live in his own country, or whether it is on—at least allegations of it—his own fam-

ily members and officers around him he distrusted. So torture and cruelty are not new to Saddam Hussein. I believe he has had a history of misjudging the American people. He has proven again that he knows very little about the American people, and I think very little about people anywhere, other than Iraq. He has been isolated all his life. He has rarely traveled outside of the boundaries of Iraq; maybe two or three times. He does not know anything about the world or anything about the people. Apparently, he places little value on human life, even his own people's human life.

As the distinguished majority leader said, they are a signatory to the Geneva Convention since 1956 or 1966. I will furnish that for the RECORD. They indicate that they will abide by the Geneva Conventions. At the same time, they indicate that they are going to place these young men and others who become prisoners of war, in strategic areas, and there will be others. Regarding all this talk about the war ending in 5 days or a week, I think that is going to go out the window soon. He is going to place these prisoners in strategic areas. In other words, at some area of strategic importance to Iraq, he will place an American POW, or Italian, or Kuwaiti, or British, or one or more, in that area, so if there is an attack, they will be destroyed in the process.

Saddam Hussein does not play by the rules. If he played by the rules, we would not be in the gulf today. He would not have taken over the country of Kuwait. Maybe it does not make any difference to Saddam Hussein, but if he wants to be tried as a war criminal after this is over, that is good enough for me.

So I say to Saddam Hussein, or others in authority in Iraq who may be checking on what we are saying in the United States Senate, that you have an obligation as a signatory to the Geneva Conventions—there were four of them—to provide humane treatment for prisoners of war. You have an obligation to remove them from areas of danger, areas of combat, if you signed as a signatory, as Iraq did, the Geneva Conventions. You cannot hold prisoners of war up to ridicule and you cannot coerce them. You cannot beat them and torture them.

If some were uncertain about their resolve and our purpose in the gulf, Saddam Hussein will firm up that resolve and firm up that purpose and the American people will remain united for a long, long time.

THE 1ST INFANTRY DIVISION FORT RILEY, KS

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, recently I spoke to the Senate about the thousands of brave men and women of the 1st Infantry Division at Fort Riley, KS,

who are deploying to the war zone in the Persian Gulf as part of Operation Desert Storm. As we watch developments in the region with a sense of awe, we are reminded that these brave soldiers—our neighbors and friends—are real heroes in the true American tradition.

Mr. President, my colleagues are now familiar with the tremendous community support the families of these soldiers are getting back home in Kansas. I outlined the terrific effort being performed in Junction City and the surrounding Geary County area. Today, I would like to address the efforts being undertaken in Fort Riley's other sister city: Manhattan.

The Manhattan Chamber of Commerce sponsored a farewell luncheon for the division's command staff with the Junction City Chamber of Commerce. Approximately 150 attended the event where proclamations of support were read by community leaders, and a giant card signed by K-State students and KSU flag was presented to the division.

Project Manhattan Cares has been a total community effort to provide assistance to the dependents of the Big Red One. The mission statement of Project Manhattan Cares describes the project as "an informal, inclusive group of caring, concerned individuals, organizations, businesses, churches and educational institutions whose purpose is to facilitate a supportive, caring environment for military families in a time of crisis."

Project Manhattan Cares, led by Angie Fryer, who also heads the military wives effort in Manhattan, borrowed its name from Patti Sampleton, whose husband Otis, was sent to the gulf region. Patti had been using the name in an effort which involved sending magazines and other items to the desert.

Projects and programs which have evolved under the Manhattan Cares umbrella include:

The establishment of an information center and a hotline at the Manhattan Town Center that has become an important link for family members. The hotline phone number has been widely publicized and is being used by family members who have questions, needs and concerns. The hotline is staffed by volunteers, as is the information center. The Manhattan Town Center has donated space so visitors can see desert uniforms on mannequins, rations, and other Desert Shield related items. The outside of the Manhattan Town Center has been painted in a desert camouflage.

In addition, other activities that should be noted include a yellow ribbon campaign with yellow ribbon bows being made available to local citizens at cost; supplemental food has been made available through the breadbasket and pantries of local churches

to the families of military personnel who may have short-term needs—Thanksgiving and Christmas baskets were also distributed through the breadbasket; KMAN-KMKF made available for distribution bags filled with personal comfort items; Century Systems, Inc./U.S. Sprint made available free 5-minute phone calls and fax messages to the troops. Also, Red Cross canteens were set up at both Marshall Army Air Field and Forbes Air Force Base in Topeka, and the Manhattan Cares group assisted in getting volunteers to staff the canteens. Counseling has been made available for those in need and the Pawnee Mental Health Center is cooperating in this endeavor.

In addition, a short-term baby sitting program has been established to assist those spouses left alone with children; a lend-a-hand committee has been formed to handle small handyman type projects for spouses unable to tackle certain household chores; a neighbor-to-neighbor effort is underway to encourage residents throughout the community to pay attention to the needs of the members of military families left behind; and paperback books and packages of personal comfort items are being collected to send to members of the Big Red One in the desert.

In addition, a Desert Partners Sponsor-a-Unit effort has been developed by the Manhattan Chamber of Commerce. Chairman Steve Riese, an Army captain on active duty who is enrolled at Kansas State University, is coordinating the assignment of units to business, professional and other groups, including many at K-State, who wish to sponsor a 1st Division Unit. Sponsors will send personal comfort items, signed banners, letters, and will make other contacts with their unit. To date, over 20 units have been adopted.

The Manhattan Chamber of Commerce has organized several other activities as well, including placement of a "Manhattan Cares" banner in the city and a large highway billboard near Fort Riley, also a large number of local businesses, at the chamber's encouragement, have displayed marquee signs wishing success to the Big Red One. In addition, the chamber has provided two large screen television sets for use by the military at the predeployment sites at Marshall Army Air Field. During the holidays, they also provided a Christmas tree and decorations for the family assistance center.

Mr. President, large American flags are flying indefinitely in downtown Manhattan on a 24-hour basis. The people of Manhattan and Riley County are united in their support for the troops at Fort Riley who are serving their country in this time of crisis. I would ask at this time that a copy of a proclamation issued by the Manhattan City Commission be entered into the RECORD. In addition, I would note, although not appearing here, that the

Riley County Commission, chaired by Dick Jepsen, adopted a similar proclamation.

There being no objection, the proclamation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROCLAMATION

Whereas, the men and women of the 1st Infantry Division have been called upon to be a key element in the world's effort to deter aggression, and

Whereas, the Big Red One has become an integral part of the Manhattan community, and

Whereas, the welfare of the soldiers of the First is paramount in the hearts of Manhattan, and

Whereas, the well-being of the military dependents is of deep concern to the members of the Manhattan community: Now hereby be it

Resolved, That, the Manhattan City Commission does declare that *Manhattan Cares*, and urges each and every Manhattan citizen to show in various individual and community actions that concern and care; and

The Manhattan City Commission does hereby sincerely express its hope that the men and women of the Big Red One will return to Fort Riley safely, and that they will return quickly with their mission accomplished.

RICHARD B. HAYTER,
Mayor.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of my time.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Nevada.

WAR CRIMES

Mr. REID. Mr. President, when I spoke last week in support of firm measures against aggression I drew an analogy to events preceding World War II. Today I would like to continue that comparison with a discussion of steps taken by the victorious Allies following the successful conclusion of the war. I refer to the war crimes trials in Nuremberg and Tokyo.

The Nuremberg trials were conducted under a charter drafted by representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France, and the U.S.S.R., and affirmed by 19 other nations.

In 1946, the U.N. General Assembly unanimously adopted Resolution 95, which affirmed the principles of international law, recognized by the Charter of the Nuremberg Tribunal. In 1950, the International Law Commission of the United Nations adopted a statement accepting those principles.

Article 6 of the charter sets forth the crimes under which the principal defendants in the first Nuremberg trial were indicted. It covers three kinds of crimes; those against peace, those against humanity, and war crimes.

Mr. President, as I catalog and discuss those crimes as defined under the charter, I would ask this body to think seriously of their application in the present conflict in which we, and much of the rest of the world, find ourselves embroiled.

Crimes against peace included:

Planning, preparation, initiation or waging of a war of aggression, or a war in violation of international treaties, agreements, or assurances, or participation in a common conspiracy for the accomplishment of any of the foregoing.

War crimes involved violations of the laws and customs of war including but not limited to:

*** murder, ill-treatment, deportment for slave labor or any other purpose of civilian population of or in occupied territory, murder or ill-treatment of prisoners of war or persons on the seas, killing of hostages, plunder of public or private property, wanton destruction of cities, towns or villages, or devastation not justified by military necessity.

Crimes against humanity completed the awful list:

*** murder, extermination, enslavement, and other inhumane acts committed against any civilian population, before or during the war, or persecutions on political, racial or religious grounds in execution of or in connection with any crimes within the jurisdiction of the Tribunal, whether in violation of the domestic law of the country where perpetrated.

The charter made it clear that:

Leaders, organizers, instigators, and accomplices participating in the formulation or execution of a common plan or conspiracy to commit any of the foregoing crimes are responsible for all acts performed by any persons in execution of such plan.

Mr. President, it also became clear at Nuremberg that the commencement of hostilities was not the point at which responsibility for crimes against humanity began, and that crimes against humanity directed at a war criminal's own population were punishable by an international tribunal.

In the first and most famous German trial, the Allies heard voluminous evidence against the chief surviving architects of the Nazi horrors. They included Hitler's Deputy Fuhrer Rudolph Hess, and his Air Marshal Herman Goering. The Allies also tried the commanders of the army and navy, the ministers of justice, economics, interior, production, and of the occupied territories. Certain diplomats and security service personnel were also included.

Each was judged on his merits. Some were acquitted. Many were found guilty of war crimes. Eleven were sentenced to death.

Those tried under the charter, in addition to the chief defendants in the first trial, included doctors and lawyers who perverted the humanitarian codes by which they were required to serve humanity to instead use them as a tool for the suppression and oppression of mankind. They included jurists, police officials, industrialists, financiers, generals, and government ministers. Some were convicted, some acquitted under the evidence presented. Each was given a full and fair trial.

I would also remind this body that, in addition to the international Mil-

tary Tribunal, war crimes were tried by the United States in Military Government Courts. A number occurred, but I have specifically in mind the Russelheim case involving the killing of several American airmen in a populated area by a mob.

Mr. President, I have not set out in such great detail this litany of horrors merely to provide this body with a history of man's inhumanity to man. It has direct application to the present situation in which we and the world find ourselves. Like the analogy between collective action which we are taking on behalf of Kuwait, and which could and should have been taken on behalf of Ethiopia, and China, and Czechoslovakia, and all the oppressed and subjugated peoples of Europe, the trials of war criminals by an international military tribunal seems a fitting precedent for the action we can and must take following the conclusion of our current efforts.

Yesterday, we watched what we knew we would eventually see when we voted to support armed collective action, and what I fear we will continue to see; the parading of prisoners of war before cameras. The pictures of these beaten, injured, and battered aviators will be a picture that will not fade from our minds. It is reprehensible and it is a violation of the laws of war.

What the Iraqis did yesterday is a violation of the Geneva Conventions governing treatment of Prisoners of War. What they propose to do, placing prisoners as hostages at strategic locations is also a violation of law. They are both serious crimes, but they are by no means the first violations of international law committed by Saddam Hussein and the Iraqi Government.

This conflict began in August with the invasion of Kuwait, a sovereign nation at peace with its neighbors. That aggression has already been condemned by the United Nations as a violation of international law. Under the Nuremberg Charter, it is a crime against peace and those in the Iraqi Government responsible for that invasion must be prosecuted.

Mr. President, following that invasion the people of Kuwait were subjected to a regime of looting, murder, torture, rape, and brutalization. Each of those acts by members of the Iraqi military was a war crime. That troops were permitted to perpetrate those brutish horrors, both by their military commanders and as a matter of Iraqi Government policy is a separate and even more serious crime. Each of those criminals must be found, tried, convicted and punished in the most expeditious fashion.

Iraq, however, has not restricted its criminal activities to its tiny neighbor. It has also directly made war on civilian populations both inside and outside

its borders using illegal methods and weapons banned by international law.

In the last week, we have seen the indiscriminant bombardment of civilian populations of a neutral neighbor when Iraq poured Scud fire into Tel Aviv and Haifa. We have seen attempts, fortunately defeated by technological wizardry, to do the same to the civilian populations of Riyadh and other Saudi cities. We have heard threats that the Iraqis intend to use nerve gas against those civilian populations and against our troops in the field. We can take those threats seriously because Iraq has used those weapons on more than one occasion previously.

Investigation has revealed that Iraq has struck not only Iranian troops with gas weapons clearly banned by the Geneva gas protocols, but also its own minority Kurdish population. The use of gas against troops is a war crime. The use of that weapon against civilians, and the indiscriminant bombardment with missiles of civilian populations of cities, is a war crime. It is also a crime against humanity; indeed, it may well be attempted genocide under the Genocide Convention, for the Iraqis to have tried to eliminate the national life and culture of the Kuwaiti people.

Viewed in that light the most recent crimes of Saddam Hussein and the Government and military authorities of Iraq are probably to be expected. They will most likely not be their last misdeeds, although I fully expect that we will put a final end to their ability to engage in further criminal conduct in the not too distant future.

In the meantime, and until that day arrives, Mr. President, I call on the Government of the United States, as a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council, to introduce a resolution creating an international tribunal empowered to investigate and prosecute those crimes committed by the Iraqi leadership, both civilian and military, as well as by those brutes who carried out their orders. It is not a day too soon to put Saddam Hussein, his government, and the armed forces of Iraq on notice that the nations of the world will exact full justice and complete retribution for every misdeed.

Perhaps, Mr. President, such a resolution will be viewed by those who run Iraq with the same scorn as prior U.N. demands. Perhaps they will continue to commit war crimes, and crimes against peace, and crimes against humanity. Perhaps the Iraqi generals and their troops will continue to feel free to loot, and rape, and torture.

But perhaps, Mr. President, as the end draws near, as it most surely must; perhaps as our troops and those of our allies move forward to the victory which justice and humanity and peace among nations requires; perhaps then they will remember this warning.

On a cold November day in 1946, following the conclusion of the Nurem-

berg trials, 10 members of the German Government and high command were led from their cells. They were taken to a courtyard where a master sergeant in the U.S. Army placed a rope around the neck of each man. They paid the highest price for the crimes they committed. Before further crimes are committed in the gulf, Saddam Hussein, his government, his generals and the members of his army in Kuwait would do well to profit by this example.

UNITED SERVICES ORGANIZATION

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, recently, an Iowan serving in Operation Desert Shield with the Navy wrote to me expressing his appreciation for the good work and the sacrifices that volunteers of the United Services Organization [USO] make, in order to serve those in the Armed Forces. I agree. I think it is an appropriate time to take a moment to commend the volunteers of the USO, an organization that serves our military personnel while our military personnel serve our country. There are thousands of heroes in the gulf; those who serve in the USO are among them.

The USO, founded in 1941, is a congressionally chartered, nongovernmental, nonprofit organization that receives no tax funding; therefore, it is heavily reliant on volunteer efforts. The numerous services that the USO provides are possible because of the many sacrifices made by volunteer celebrities, other volunteer workers, the support of the American public, and corporate sponsorship.

When many of us think of the USO, we probably envision the USO of World War II, with young women hosting dances, serving coffee and doughnuts and offering ready empathy to our service members who were departing to fight against the Axis Powers. Or perhaps we are reminded of the many USO celebrity shows presented by persons who volunteer their time and effort to entertain the troops on the front lines.

Although accurate, the USO of today is much more than this. Since its founding in 1941 through today, the USO has evolved in order to meet the changing needs of a military with a changing composition. It now provides extensive human services to a population of over 5 million service personnel and their family members.

These services include airport centers and fleet centers located worldwide that assist military personnel and their families in foreign air and sea ports. Family and community centers have been established to provide support systems and activities for service members. And USO affiliates offer orientation and intercultural programs designed to educate those serving in foreign countries about resources within the civilian community there.

Furthermore, just as USO shows were a vital part of USO services in earlier years, the celebrity entertainment is still a vital dimension of the USO. Whether it is a star-studded USO gala event or merely one celebrity chatting and shaking hands with troops on the front line, USO entertainment is an effective moral booster that helps relieve the emotional fatigue and stress of serving in the military.

Most importantly however, the USO entertainment, along with the many other services that the organization provides, delivers the message to our troops that their country supports them, needs them, cares about them and has not forgotten them.

That message is especially important now, so I am grateful to the USO and its volunteers who, through their many sacrifices, deliver that message to our troops for all of us. They deserve to be commended for these worthwhile efforts.

RECESS UNTIL 4:30 P.M.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, on behalf of the majority leader, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess until 4:30 p.m. today.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 3:01 p.m., recessed until 4:30 p.m.; whereupon, the Senate reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer [Mr. KOHL].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader is recognized.

SCHEDULE

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, the period for morning business, during which Senators will be permitted to speak, will continue. There will be no rollcall votes today.

I have discussed with the distinguished Republican leader and other Senators the proposed schedule for the remainder of the week, and I hope to have an announcement in that regard before the close of business today, giving Senators and members of the public at least an outline of the timing and subject matter of sessions for the remainder of the week.

Seeing that no Senator is now seeking recognition, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BUMPERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

INCREASING ECONOMIC HARDSHIPS

Mr. BUMPERS. Mr. President, I am increasingly getting calls and mail from constituents in my State who

have sons and daughters and husbands and wives in the Persian Gulf, and the calls deal with the increasing economic hardships that they are having as a result of their loved ones being called up in the National Guard or the Reserves. The hardships are because many of these men and women were making good money in civilian jobs when they were called up. Of course, their income is seriously reduced when they go on military pay.

I have heard people talk about difficulty in making their car payments, and their house payments, and other hardships that they are experiencing. While it is very trying to those left behind to fend for themselves, it is also extremely difficult for parents to face their children when their parents are in the Saudi Arabian desert and they are told that even though their parents are over there in what is now becoming a combat zone, according to the Presidential directive, that they are worse off financially. It is a perverse and unacceptable situation.

So, Mr. President, a task force is being put together here to come up with proposals to update all of the existing laws to try to redress these problems. They are almost limitless.

For example, under the old law you could not evict somebody from a rental unit if the rent was \$150 a month or less. That was upgraded from 1940, when I think it was maybe \$80 a month, and in 1960 the figure became \$150. You and I both know there are precious few places in this country that you can find to live with your family for \$150 a month. So that figure ought to be raised to a \$500 to \$1,000 limit to make it more realistic.

Then there are questions of health care. If your husband, for example, had a job at a factory or someplace where he was covered under health care and maybe he is not going to be carried any longer because he does not work there anymore, that could present a terrible dilemma for those left behind. There are some youngsters who are making student loan payments, and they are not going to be able to make those payments because their income is seriously reduced. Certainly those payments ought to be deferred. People who are making house payments and cannot make them because their spouse has been called into combat ought not to be foreclosed on, even if that means a Government no interest loan or whatever. I certainly hope that this task force will address all of these issues, and there are a host of them.

Having said all of that, Mr. President, one of the most important things is to make sure that all families of those serving in the Arabian Peninsula have the best counseling available. I am not talking about just the psychological counseling that is so important, especially to children, I am talking about counseling as to all of the things

that are available to them from a tax standpoint, from an income standpoint, all of these things that I hope we are going to adopt on this floor very shortly to assist these families.

Mr. President, it was said very often during the debate the week before last that everybody supports our troops; no matter whether they felt the attack should have been postponed for some period of time to allow the sanctions to work or diplomatic solutions to work, everybody supports our troops. Congress can do some of the big things, but individual people across the Nation can do some of the small things that are so meaningful to families, to reach out to them and let them know we really care about them. If you want to support the troops and our forces in combat, those unbelievably brave men and women who have already demonstrated their patriotism and their bravery, one of the best ways to do it is to support the families they have left behind.

I thoroughly applaud the President for declaring it a combat zone because it certainly is that. The tax benefits and the deferral of taxes, collecting of interest on tax refunds, are all fine and good as far as they go. I applaud them. Certainly when that comes up on the floor, probably on Thursday, I will wholeheartedly support it.

But I hope this package which we are about to put together will help those people who are so bereaved and so anxious and apprehensive about their loved ones in the Arabian desert. You can assist them and give them some small peace of mind by letting them know they are not going to be evicted from their apartment, or their home is not going to be foreclosed on, or they are going to have health care, or that the payments they are not making on their student loans will not cause defaults, and a whole host of other things. Let them know that a grateful Nation will see to it that these things are not going to happen to them.

Having said that, Mr. President, I should also point out there is another group which should not be forgotten, and that is those who have already fought the wars for this country—our veterans, who were deprived of their cost-of-living increase last fall before we adjourned. Some of us tried desperately to pass a bill to provide them with a cost-of-living increase. As most of us know, it was held up because it contained the agent orange language. It is my understanding that that has been resolved; the House is sending a bill over here that has a cost-of-living increase in it, but it does not have the agent orange provision in it. I would like to see both of them pass.

Mr. President, I think it is conclusively established now that there are two forms of cancer and one terrible skin condition which are definitely caused by exposure to agent orange. There are some people who might still

not want to accept that. Not to accept that agent orange did, in fact, and continues to cause problems for Vietnam veterans if they were exposed to it, to continue to hold out that that is not the case, is to fly right into the face of all the medical evidence we have.

I have had a number of veterans say to me, what kind of gratitude is it to deprive those who have fought the last war a cost-of-living increase when every single person, including Members of Congress, received a cost-of-living increase? It is not easy to answer that.

I am a cosponsor of this bill about which we will talk later. I do not think there will be any debate. I think it is going to pass with 100 votes in the Senate. I certainly hope so. It seems to me it would be almost unthinkable for it not to. But I would like to know that on Thursday afternoon I can start writing to all the veterans who have written to me and say I apologize that it took us so long to do it; it has now been passed and you will receive your cost-of-living increase.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

The Senator from Michigan is recognized.

THE BALTIC STATES

Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. President, I had the occasion this morning to participate in the meeting of the Helsinki Commission, and to hear testimony today from the Vice President and a member of the Parliament from Lithuania and also from Latvia. These two men were here today in Washington to bring to us a firsthand account of the terrorism that is being directed at their democracies by Soviet officials at the present time.

We all know from news accounts, and we have seen and read that violent repressive steps were taken, first in Lithuania, where people were shot and killed by Soviet forces, and then more recently, in the last several days, in Latvia we have seen a repeat of that same situation.

This is deeply distressing to those of us who feel deeply about the need to try to free the captive nations of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, particularly in view of the fact that they have been kept in a captive nation status now for literally half a century.

In a sense, if we were to lose these young democracies that have been established there within the last year or so, I think they will be seen as among the first casualties of the Persian Gulf

War. It will be one of the great historic ironies and tragedies if, while we are attempting to restore a monarchy in Kuwait, we end up losing a democracy in Lithuania or Latvia or Estonia. That, I think, is precisely the risk that we are running at the present time.

So I hope that our Government, in light of these developments, will speak with great force and directness to Mr. Gorbachev about the Soviet central officials' outrageous attempts to intimidate and, presumably, destroy these democracies in the Baltic States.

I think it is very important that our President raise these issues directly with the Soviet leader and that he not just do so in passing conversation in a phone call that might be initiated by Mr. Gorbachev. Rather, President Bush should consider, and then take the step himself, at some point early in time, or initiating his own contact with Mr. Gorbachev on this subject, not on other subjects where this is a collateral matter, but on this subject directly. I think it is very important that our country be heard from directly through our President on this issue, and that the Soviet officials at the top of that system understand clearly the importance that we attach to preserving the integrity of these young democracies in the Baltic States.

Today, in the Helsinki meeting that we had over in the Dirksen Building, we heard from the young Vice President from Latvia. He is a man who, throughout his entire life, has known only the subjugation and the captive nation status in his own homeland. And so now, just in the last year or two, with the movement toward democracy and the opening up of that society and the freely elected parliament having been established, he, for the first time, and his fellow Latvians, are experiencing a measure of freedom and self-determination that we stand for and which they have not known at any other time in their adult lives.

We cannot let that be snuffed out. They are looking to us for help and for a concern about sharing their commitment to values that are our values. I cannot help again but note in passing the fact that we have an enormous wartime armada applied in the cause of restoring a monarchy in Kuwait. Yet, we have over here the very possible loss of democracies—not monarchies, but authentic democracies—in the Baltic States that have been suppressed for literally 50 years.

So I hope that we will find, in our foreign policy objectives, the way and the means by which to assert a very strong message from the very top of our Government.

The legislation that I have drafted and introduced here with cosponsors Senator DECONCINI, Senator WALLOP, Senator KERRY, Senator KASTEN, and Senator SPECTER, would withdraw certain economic benefits to the Soviet

Union that otherwise could go forward, unless we see restraint and the release of this pressure and intimidation, and the brutalizing that we are seeing now of these democratic forces in the Baltic States.

So I hope that our fellow citizens, if you will, citizens of the world in the Baltic countries, understand that we in America are staying with them in terms of their aspirations to seek and maintain the freedom and integrity of their own sovereignty, and that we support their efforts to reestablish and to maintain their nations, reflecting, as they properly should, the character and the history and culture of their own people.

So, it would be my hope that, with the tremendous attention that the gulf war necessarily has to receive, and properly should receive, we should not at the same time allow other events to go on in the world that cut directly against the objectives that we have set forth behind our efforts in the Persian Gulf.

As I say, we have democracies on the line in the Baltic States. Time may be running out. We need to be certain that a very strong stand is taken by our Government. It is very important that the President himself, in this Senator's view, take the initiative at an appropriate point and make that phone call to Mr. Gorbachev so there is no mistaking the importance that this Nation and this President attach to that issue.

I thank the Chair and yield the floor, and I suggest the absence of a quorum. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HEINZ. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. HEINZ. Mr. President, are we in morning business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

The Senator from Pennsylvania is recognized.

Mr. HEINZ. I thank the Chair.

(The remarks of Mr. HEINZ pertaining to the Submission of Senate Resolution 16 are located in today's RECORD under "Submission of Concurrent and Senate Resolutions.")

Mr. HEINZ. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, are we permitted to speak as if in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

THE NEWS MEDIA REPORTING PROCESS ON THE WAR

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, I would like to just take a couple of moments, if I may, to say a few things about something that I perceive as a problem of some concern with respect to the reporting process on the war.

Obviously, there are deep-felt memories in the Pentagon of the Vietnam experience. Many of the senior officers were platoon leaders or otherwise engaged in Vietnam and there was an awful lot of analysis in the post-Vietnam years about the impact of the reporting process of the news media on the war and on the attitude of America towards that war. So, needless to say, as we are now engaged in another war, there is a reflection of that concern and analysis and the approach the Pentagon is taking to the release of news and also to the process by which the news media is permitted to gather that news.

In the first hours of this war, there was not an American—there was not anybody in the world, for that matter—who had access to the live reports who was not riveted by those initial reports, and much has been written about that in the last few days. This Senator recognizes and acknowledges readily the importance of restraint with respect to a lot of aspects about what might be reported. I would be the first to say that I think there was an inadvertent impact by some of the reporting that in fact could permit the Iraqi pinpointing of missiles or targeting and so forth and I think much of that has been corrected. And my sense is that the media would be readily prepared to be cooperative and is cooperative in the efforts to try to guarantee that those sorts of mistakes are not made.

On the other hand, it seems to me there are some important considerations which a country such as ours should not forget and must not forget in the process of prosecuting a war. No member of the press that I have ever talked to would suggest that they have a right somehow to news that would permit a family in this country to learn, almost live, of a casualty. And so, contemporaneous reporting, given new technology, has its obvious drawbacks.

But it seems to me there is a level of predetermined restraint, of censorship, that has been placed on reporting which goes beyond the norms or beyond even what most people would recognize as a permissible balance. And I think it is absolutely vital that we have a permissible balance here. Amer-

icans should not believe that every single bomb fired is a smart bomb or that every single bomb fired somehow finds its way down a chimney, and they should not have a sense that there is an arcade game nature to this war.

Obviously, the pictures of POW's that came out the other day outrage every American, and that certainly destroys any notion of the lightness of this endeavor. But those pictures came from Iraq, released, obviously, by the Iraqis and released for a purpose. It seems to me that we need a balance in our own access to news which maintains the integrity of our own democratic ideals and our approach, as well as maintains the integrity of our capacity to prosecute the military process.

Let me give one example. I know of a newspaper that sought an interview with a nurse in the back areas but because you have to have a military person assigned to you in order to cross the street to approach the nurse to get the interview, and no military person was available, the interview could not take place. The interview was simply a feature story, background material, something that ought to be of interest and something that legitimately, I think, we should want people to be reading about: why people are there, what they care about, what brings them to be part of the service. Indeed, it would build patriotic spirit and I think good will toward this endeavor.

But equally important, it seems to me, is that Americans have a full sense of what happened the day before or in the days preceding, and that not be selected in such a way it represents only what those prosecuting the war think we ought to hear in America. It ought to be what a free press has the right to write about in keeping with the spirit of this country. We will be stronger for that, and Americans will have a better opportunity to make the kinds of judgments which we are called upon to make as we continue this effort.

I hope the Pentagon might review that balance and the administration might review that balance in the interests of trying to guarantee that Americans and our democracy are well served, as well as the war effort being well served by that policy.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, do I have any leader's time remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The leader has 1 minute and 4 seconds remaining.

Mr. DOLE. I ask that I may proceed for 5 minutes as in morning business.

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

YUGOSLAVIA IN CRISIS

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I have made the point over and over since the onset of the crisis in the Persian Gulf that there are other trouble spots in the world besides the gulf—other countries and events that bear close watching.

Clearly, at the top of the list is the Soviet Union; in particular, the crisis in the Baltics. But, of equal concern to those interested in the survival and spread of democracy are events in Yugoslavia.

Last night, at midnight, the clock ran out on a decree issued by the Federal Presidency of Yugoslavia—a decree demanding that so-called irregular units throughout Yugoslavia be disarmed. If these units did not disarm, the Presidency threatened that the Yugoslav Army would step in to ensure that all illegal units surrendered their arms.

Only hours before the deadline did the President of Yugoslavia clearly indicate to Croatian Government officials that the central government considered the Croatian Republic's own police and national guard units to be so-called irregular or illegal units. This confirmed the Croatian Government's worse fears. The democratic Governments of Croatia and Slovenia had been expecting for some time now that the Yugoslav central government would seek to create an excuse for armed intervention in both republics in order to topple the non-Communist regimes elected last year. And, while the deadline has passed and Yugoslav Army has not yet deployed its forces in Croatia and Slovenia, the situation is uncertain and very tense.

In fact I felt compelled to call their ambassador, Ambassador Zimmerman, today and had a conversation with him about the events in Yugoslavia and about how tense they really were and how tense the feelings were and to express my view if force were used I think Congress would react almost unanimously, and it will not be business as usual dealing with the Yugoslav central government.

It is my understanding that the United States Government has communicated with the Yugoslav Federal Government through diplomatic channels in order to state our firm opposition to the use of force against the fledgling democratic Governments of Slovenia and Croatia. But, the central government has not yet given any assurance it will not use force.

It could be that the President of Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav Defense Minister are waiting to see if anyone in the Congress notices this threat—if

anyone in the Congress cares whether or not these fledgling democratic governments are crushed under Yugoslav Army tanks.

Mr. President, I care. And, I know that many of my colleagues care. The Senate has communicated its concern for the 2 million Albanians in Kosova who are suffering under police state conditions imposed by the hardline Communist Government of Serbia. The Senate has also shown its support for the democratic republic governments in Yugoslavia and has recently met with their officials. I think I can say with confidence that my Senate colleagues have been hoping for peaceful change and the spread of democracy in Yugoslavia.

But, Mr. President, the Yugoslav central government in Belgrade is clearly not committed to peaceful change and democratization. Rather, the Belgrade government is committed to the use of force to destabilize the democratic governments and spread police state conditions throughout the country. The model for the central government in Belgrade is the brutal oppression we are seeing in the Baltics at this very moment. There is no doubt that we are on the verge of a serious crisis in Yugoslavia, a crisis like the Baltics, where democracy and human lives are at stake.

The people of Croatia and Slovenia waited 45 years for the opportunity to freely elect democratic governments. Let us not stand silent as the Yugoslav Government and Yugoslav Army prepare to demolish democracy. Let us not watch quietly as Yugoslavia becomes the last refuge of communism in Eastern Europe.

We need to let the Yugoslav central government know that if force is used, if the democratic governments are not allowed to function freely, the Yugoslav Government will pay the price.

Mr. President, I reserve any time remaining and I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. McCathran, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session the Presiding Officer laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations

which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(The nominations received today are printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

EMIGRATION LAWS AND POLICIES OF THE REPUBLIC OF HUNGARY—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT—PM 4

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, together with accompanying papers; which was referred to the Committee on Finance:

To the Congress of the United States:

In July 1990 I determined and reported to the Congress that Hungary continues to meet the emigration, criteria of the Jackson-Vanik amendment to, and section 409 of, the Trade Act of 1974. This determination allowed for Hungary to retain most favored nation (MFN) status without an annual waiver.

As required by law, I am submitting an updated formal report to the Congress concerning emigration laws and policies of the Republic of Hungary. You will find that the report indicates continued Hungarian compliance with U.S. and international standards in the areas of emigration and human rights policy.

GEORGE BUSH.
THE WHITE HOUSE, January 22, 1991.

EMIGRATION LAWS AND POLICIES OF BULGARIA—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT—PM 5

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, together with accompanying papers; which was referred to the Committee on Finance:

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to section 402(c)(2) of the Trade Act of 1974 (the Act) (19 U.S.C. 2432(c)(2)), I have determined that a waiver of the application of subsections (a) and (b) of section 402 with respect to Bulgaria will substantially promote the objectives of section 402. A copy of that determination is enclosed. I have also received assurances with respect to the emigration practices of Bulgaria required by section 402(c)(2)(B) of the Act.

Pursuant to section 402(c)(2), I shall issue an Executive order waiving the application of subsections (a) and (b) of section 402 of the Act with respect to Bulgaria.

GEORGE BUSH.
THE WHITE HOUSE, January 22, 1991.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

The following bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first and second time by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

By Mr. SARBANES (for himself, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. DECONCINI, Mr. BURDICK, Mr. DURENBERGER, Mr. MOYNIHAN, Mr. GORE, Mr. GRAHAM, Mr. AKAKA, Mr. RIEGLE, Mr. METZENBAUM, Mr. WIRTH, Mr. FOWLER, Mr. LIEBERMAN, Mr. BRADLEY, Mr. HEFLIN, Mr. PELL, and Mr. HATCH):

S. 239. A bill to authorize the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity to establish a memorial to Martin Luther King, Jr., in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

By Mrs. KASSEBAUM (for herself, Mr. BOND, Mr. COHEN, Mr. CRANSTON, Mr. DOLE, Mr. HEINZ, Mr. GRASSLEY, Mr. DANFORTH, and Mr. MCCONNELL):

S. 240. A bill to amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 relating to bankruptcy transportation plans; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

By Mr. WARNER:

S. 241. A bill to authorize States to regulate the treatment, disposal, and other disposition of solid waste; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

By Mr. GLENN (for himself, Mr. ROTH, Mr. DODD, Mr. SARBANES, Mr. PRYOR, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. D'AMATO, Mr. AKAKA, Ms. MIKULSKI, Mr. MOYNIHAN, Mr. LUGAR, Mr. MCCAIN, Mr. LIEBERMAN, Mr. FORD, Mr. WARNER, and Mr. ROBB):

S. 242. A bill to amend the Ethics in Government Act of 1978 to modify the rule prohibiting the receipt of honoraria by certain Government employees and for other purposes; to the Committee on Governmental Affairs.

SUBMISSION OF CONCURRENT AND SENATE RESOLUTIONS

The following concurrent resolutions and Senate resolutions were read, and referred (or acted upon), as indicated:

By Mr. D'AMATO:

S. Res. 15. Resolution relating to the prosecution of Saddam Hussein and responsible members of the Iraqi Government for war crimes; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. HEINZ (for himself and Mr. HELMS):

S. Res. 16. Resolution urging the denial of all United States trade credits and economic assistance to the Soviet Union; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. MACK:

S. Con. Res. 3. Concurrent resolution encouraging Americans to fly the flag in support of American troops overseas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

By Mr. SARBANES (for himself, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. DECONCINI, Mr. BURDICK, Mr. DURENBERGER, Mr. MOYNIHAN, Mr. GORE, Mr. GRAHAM, Mr. AKAKA, Mr. RIEGLE, Mr. METZENBAUM, Mr. WIRTH, Mr.

FOWLER, Mr. LIEBERMAN, Mr. BRADLEY, Mr. HEFLIN, Mr. PELL, and Mr. HATCH):

S. 239. A bill to authorize the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity to establish a memorial to Martin Luther King, Jr., in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., MEMORIAL

● Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, I am pleased to again introduce legislation to authorize Alpha Phi Alpha, the oldest black fraternity in the United States, to establish a monument to Martin Luther King, Jr., on Federal land in the District of Columbia. Senators LEVIN, KENNEDY, DECONCINI, BURDICK, DURENBERGER, MOYNIHAN, GORE, GRAHAM, AKAKA, HATCH, RIEGLE, METZENBAUM, WIRTH, FOWLER, LIEBERMAN, BRADLEY, HEFLIN, and PELL are joining me in introducing this measure. An identical bill was reported by the Senate Rules Committee in the 101st Congress, but did not come before the full Senate for consideration prior to adjournment.

It is especially timely to introduce this measure on the day following the national observance of the 62d anniversary of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birth.

The Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, of which Dr. King was a member, will coordinate the design and funding of the monument. The bill provides that the monument be established entirely with private contributions at no cost to the Federal Government. The Department of the Interior, in consultation with the National Capital Park and Planning Commission and the Commission on Fine Arts, shall select the site and approve the design.

Alpha Phi Alpha was founded in 1906 at Cornell University and has hundreds of chapters across the country and many prominent citizens as members, including Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall. Alpha Phi Alpha has endorsed the Martin Luther King, Jr., Memorial project and has committed its considerable human resources to the project's development.

Since 1955, when in Montgomery, AL, Dr. King became a national hero and an acknowledged leader in the civil rights struggle, until his tragic death in Memphis, TN, in 1963, Martin Luther King, Jr., made an extraordinary contribution to the evolving history of our Nation. His courageous stands and unyielding belief in the tenet of non-violence reawakened our Nation to the injustice and discrimination which continued to exist 100 years after the Emancipation Proclamation and the enactment of the guarantees of the 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution.

A memorial to Dr. King erected in the Nation's Capital will provide continuing inspiration to all who visit it, particularly to the thousands of stu-

dents and young people visiting Washington, DC, every year. These young people have no personal memory of the condition of civil rights in America before Dr. King, nor of the struggle in which he was the major figure. They do understand, however, that there is still more to be done.

As Coretta King said:

Young people in particular need nonviolent role models like him. In many ways, the Civil Rights movement was a youth movement. Young people of all races, many of whom were jailed, were involved in the struggle, and some gave their lives for the cause. Yet none of the youth trained by Martin and his associates retaliated in violence, including members of some of the toughest gangs of urban ghettos in cities like Chicago and Birmingham. This was a remarkable achievement. It has never been done before; it has not been duplicated since.

Mr. President, it is my hope that young people who visit the monument will come to understand that it recognizes not only the enormous contribution of this great leader, but also two very basic principles necessary for the healthy functioning of our society. The first is that change, even very fundamental change, is to be achieved through nonviolent means; that this is the path down which we should go as a nation in resolving some of our most difficult problems. The other basic principle is that the reconciliation of the races, the inclusion into the mainstream of American life of all its people, is essential to the fundamental health of this Nation.

Martin Luther King, Jr., dedicated his life to achieving equal treatment and enfranchisement for all Americans through nonviolent means. I urge all of my colleagues to join me in this effort to ensure that the essential principles taught and practiced by Dr. King are not forgotten.●

By Mrs. KASSEBAUM (for herself, Mr. BOND, Mr. COHEN, Mr. CRANSTON, Mr. DOLE, Mr. HEINZ, Mr. GRASSLEY, Mr. DANFORTH, and Mr. MCCONNELL):

S. 240. A bill to amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 relating to bankruptcy transportation plans; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

AIRLINE BANKRUPTCY PASSENGER PROTECTION ACT

Mrs. KASSEBAUM. Mr. President, I rise today on behalf of passengers and ticket holders of financially troubled airlines.

On January 18, Eastern Airlines, having been in bankruptcy proceedings since 1989, ceased all operations. In doing so, Eastern joined a growing list of airlines that have liquidated after initially filing for reorganization. When these airlines shut down the inevitable result is chaos. Passengers are left stranded and thousands of ticket holders are left with worthless tickets.

We can no longer allow this disturbing situation to repeat itself.

In 1989, immediately following the shutdown of Braniff Airways, I introduced a bill to protect air travelers holding airline tickets in the event an airline declares bankruptcy. The bill required the airline industry to develop a plan which would protect travelers holding tickets which are no longer honored because of an airline's insolvency. Unfortunately, the bill did not become law. Today, on the heels of yet another shutdown, I am again introducing this legislation.

The purchase of airline tickets is a significant consumer expense. The airlines, through their early purchase programs, encourage consumers to purchase the tickets far in advance. Consumers are willing to make these advanced purchases, but they need assurance that these licensed carriers will be obligated to fulfill their responsibilities under the license. In the case of Eastern, many commentators have suggested that the airline's inability to attract customers was, at least in part, the result of customer uneasiness over reports that a shutdown was possible. It is ironic that the public's fear of a shutdown actually helped lead to the shutdown.

To restore public confidence in air travel, I believe that some sort of insurance fund should be established by the airline industry to ensure that ticketed passengers will not lose their money. This concept is not unique. In my home State of Kansas, the insurance industry has a private fund which reimburses policyholders of bankrupt insurance companies up to a statutory limit. The fund is financed by a portion of each insurance policy sold in the State and does not use State revenues. Given the turmoil of the airline industry, I think a similar fund would be wise. This fund would ensure the integrity of the licensed carrier to stand behind their obligations to provide public transportation or, at least, hold harmless those consumers who rely on this representation. I also think that the airline industry should be required to devise a reasonable plan to prevent the stranding of passengers.

Currently, a number of major airlines are operating under chapter 11 bankruptcy protection. Other airlines, while not currently in bankruptcy proceedings, are posting record losses and clearly struggling under heavy debt burdens. Given the precarious financial shape of so many airlines, it is reasonable to assume that more airlines will be forced into bankruptcy proceedings. We can no longer sit by and do nothing for the traveling public.

Airlines are a vital part of our national transportation system. The integrity of the airlines is directly related to the integrity and reliability of our public transportation. Airlines are licensed to carry travelers. This license

should carry with it the responsibility that the airline is financially capable of fulfilling this function. To the extent legislation is necessary to maintain integrity and financial responsibility in our public carriers, I believe it should be pursued.

Accordingly, I am introducing today, along with seven cosponsors, the Airline Bankruptcy Passenger Protection Act of 1991. Under this legislation, the airline industry would be required to develop a plan which protects airline ticketholders in the event the airline declares bankruptcy after the purchase date. If a satisfactory plan is not submitted by a specific deadline, the bill requires the Secretary of Transportation to issue regulations requiring all covered air carriers to provide air transportation for such ticketholders. This legislation will help restore the public confidence necessary to maintain the integrity and reliability of such a vital component of our public transportation system.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I am joining my distinguished Kansas colleague, NANCY KASSEBAUM, as an original cosponsor of the Airline Bankruptcy Passenger Protection Act. This much-needed legislation is designed to be a safety net for air travelers who are in the unfortunate position of holding airline tickets at the time an airline declares bankruptcy. I was proud to cosponsor this legislation in the 101st Congress and believe that the remedy this bill provides is long overdue. Many of my Kansas constituents were left holding the bag when Braniff Airlines went bankrupt. The same thing has happened when other air carriers have declared bankruptcy and suspended flights. And now, with the demise of Eastern Airlines, airline passengers are once again the last in line with little or no recourse in this situation.

This bill, which I hope will be swiftly enacted by my colleagues, directs the Secretary of Transportation to issue an order authorizing airlines to develop a contingency plan to provide alternative air transportation for airline ticketholders in the event the airline declares bankruptcy. Should the plan be unacceptable to the Secretary, the Department may issue regulations establishing a suitable plan.

Mr. President, this legislation is a commonsense approach to the problems that have been encountered by thousands of airline travelers who have found themselves stuck and out of luck because a carrier is unable to continue operation. As creditors, airline ticketholders deserve some protection and this legislation will provide it.

By Mr. WARNER:

S. 241. A bill to authorize States to regulate the treatment, disposal, and other disposition of solid waste; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

STATES SOLID WASTE REGULATORY AUTHORITY
ACT

• Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I rise today to reintroduce legislation that I sponsored during the 101st Congress to regulate the interstate transportation of solid waste for purposes of disposal and treatment.

The practice of solid waste disposal has changed little since I first introduced my legislation in October last year. States are committed to placing the burden of waste disposal on the waste-generating State. Their efforts to restrict waste imports however, have repeatedly been enjoined by the courts. For these reasons in my view, this legislation is needed to provide States with the authority to regulate the flow of out-of-State trash and to assure that States develop comprehensive plans to manage wastes generated within their borders.

Mr. President, citizens are waging a tough, uphill battle to protect their neighborhoods from being used as dumping grounds for the more than 12 million tons of solid waste that crossed State lines in 1989 for disposal. In some cases, this waste is being shipped hundreds of miles from distances as far away as New York to New Mexico, Connecticut to Ohio, and New Jersey to Alabama. Virginia alone receives solid wastes from four States—the District of Columbia, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania. The District of Columbia for example, disposes of virtually all of its solid waste—estimated at 700,000 tons per year—at a regional landfill on federally owned land at Lorton, VA.

Waste shipments are occurring and expected to increase in large part because this country is running out of landfill space. Some States, such as New York and New Jersey, are experiencing a temporary shortage of disposal capacity. With the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency [EPA] estimating that 73 percent of our Nation's solid waste is landfilled and further, that half of all landfills existing in 1989 are expected to close by 1994, it quickly becomes clear why citizens are anxious to address this problem.

Mr. President, Americans must begin to shift from relying on landfilling as the principal means of waste management to initiatives to encourage waste reduction and recycling. States have a duty and obligation to their citizens to plan for and manage the capacity of solid wastes generated within their borders. Some States are doing a better job than others of managing their waste through programs such as recycling. Virginia State law requires all localities to recycle 25 percent of its solid waste by 1995. However, this goal may be seriously undermined by the State's inability to control solid waste imports.

Mr. President, States that plan responsibly for the future to provide ade-

quate waste disposal capacity should not bear the burden of treating and disposing of waste generated by States that do not. However, States and local governments that have tried to achieve this goal by banning out-of-State trash have had their efforts frustrated by the courts. In *City of Philadelphia versus New Jersey*, the Supreme Court struck down as unconstitutional under the commerce clause a New Jersey law banning out-of-State waste.¹ The Court found that New Jersey could not discriminate against articles of commerce from outside the State absent some reason to treat them differently.²

This decision and those following it have not discouraged many States and local jurisdictions from regulating interstate waste disposal. According to the National Solid Waste Management Association, 33 States have considered ways to restrict the transportation of out-of-State trash. Because State efforts to regulate waste imports are ongoing, litigation is expected to continue until States are given the authority to refuse out-of-State waste shipments.

For this reason, I believe that Congress has a responsibility to provide States with the necessary incentives to manage their own wastes. To achieve this objective, Congress must grant States the right to ban solid waste imports. Only with this authority will States have the power they need to manage wastes within their borders.

My bill does just that. Initially, it allows States to set higher fees for out-of-State trash and allows them to enter into agreements with one or more States, if they so choose, to collectively manage solid wastes. Moreover, it gives States with approved or effective solid waste management plans the authority to ban waste imports. States will continue to have primary responsibility for providing solid waste treatment and disposal capacity that meets the needs of its citizens.

Specifically, my bill would delegate congressional authority to States to impose progressively higher fees on the disposal and treatment of imported solid wastes beginning in 1991. Enactment of the fee would be left to the discretion of the State. Moreover, States would be authorized to double the fee each year, over a 5-year period, starting with a 50-percent increase over the fee imposed by the State on December 31, 1990, or later, if the State receiving the solid waste determines that a higher baseline amount is more appropriate.

Once 5 years have passed and a State has an approved or effective solid waste management plan, States may refuse solid waste imports or set a different fee structure, as allowed by State legislation. Such legislation may provide

for setting different fees for wastes generated out-of-State. Five years is a reasonable amount of time within which a State could plan, finance and begin construction of new and expanded treatment or disposal facilities, including those intended for recycling and resource recovery and to enter into agreements with other States to plan for regional treatment and disposal facilities.

To further assure that States act to provide adequate waste disposal capacity for its residents, my bill allows States to charge fees equal to that of the transporting State. Conversely, to encourage partnerships between States and the private sector to build and operate recycling and resource recovery facilities, my bill would also allow States to enact legislation providing lower fees for solid wastes intended for these purposes. States would not be discouraged from exporting solid wastes destined for recycling, resource recovery, and waste-to-energy facilities.

While my bill does not specify how the fees should be used, it is my hope that States will use the additional resources to manage their waste programs, in furtherance of waste reduction objectives. These fees will have the added effect of ensuring that all States, particularly those which have traditionally relied on waste exports as a primary means of disposal, to begin planning to provide disposal capacity and waste reduction programs for solid wastes generated in-State.

My bill would also strengthen existing State solid waste management plan requirements of RCRA, which were first mandated in 1976. It requires States to develop a 10-year plan that will ensure adequate treatment and disposal capacity for all solid wastes generated within the State, with an emphasis on reducing waste at the source to mitigate the need for landfills. Under the bill, EPA would be required to review a plan within 6 months of receipt. The plan would automatically become effective if EPA fails to act within that time period.

Based on current trends and information, EPA projects that only 20 to 28 percent of solid waste will be recovered annually by 1995. States must redirect their efforts to develop comprehensive programs that seek to maximize the use of technically feasible waste management alternatives, such as recycling and resource recovery. However, waste-to-energy facilities must not impede the objective of source reduction. Wastes nevertheless requiring disposal may first be treated to minimize any harmful constituents.

The cornerstone of the plan will be the public's acceptance of the need for alternative waste management practices. To this end, I share the view of my friend and colleague from Rhode Island, Senator CHAFFEE of the impor-

¹ 437 U.S. 617 (1978).

² *Id.* at 626-627.

tance of educating the public, including children and students, on the benefits and opportunities of participating in source reduction and recycling programs. Habits are not easy to change, but through the involvement of citizens, businesses, government, and other sectors of the community, States will be able to develop sound waste management plans that address the needs of the State.

Finally, my bill clarifies a State's right to negotiate agreements with one or more States to collectively manage solid wastes by constructing and operating regional waste treatment and disposal facilities, including waste reduction and recycling facilities, if they determine that such an approach is in the best interest of their State. These agreements would be reviewed by the Congress, as required by the compact clause of the Constitution, unless States choose to codify provisions of the agreements into State law. Similarly provisions already exist in the Clean Air Act.

Mr. President, solid waste management is a problem facing all Americans. State and local governments are on the front lines of defense to develop meaningful strategies to take care of their own trash and to protect the health and environment of its residents. My bill will help them in this effort by delegating congressional authority to States to ban or discourage the practice of interstate waste disposal with approved or effective solid waste management plans.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of my bill be printed in full in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the bill was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 241

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "States Solid Waste Regulatory Authority Act".

SEC. 2. AUTHORITY TO REGULATE SOLID WASTE.

Subtitle D of the Solid Waste Disposal Act (42 U.S.C. 6901 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section: "SEC. 4011. REGULATION OF DISPOSAL OF SOLID WASTE.

"(a) AUTHORIZATION.—Subject to limitations described in this section, each State is authorized to enact and enforce laws regulating the treatment, disposal and other disposition of solid waste within such State.

"(b) LAWS REGULATING TREATMENT AND DISPOSAL.—

"(1) FEES.—

"(A) Subject to the limitations described in this paragraph (1), each State is authorized to enact and enforce laws imposing and collecting fees in connection with the treatment, disposal, or other disposition within such State of solid waste generated in another State.

"(B) Beginning in calendar year 1992, any increase in a fee described in subparagraph (A) of this paragraph (1) shall not exceed an amount which is equal to the base amount

multiplied by the applicable percentage for such calendar year.

"(C) The applicable percentage for calendar years, beginning with calendar year 1992, shall be determined in accordance with the following table:

In calendar year:	The applicable percentage is:
"1992	50
"1993	100
"1994	150
"1995	200
"1996 and thereafter	

(Such amount as the receiving State may determine).

"(D) For purposes of this paragraph (1), the term 'base amount' means the fee imposed by the State on December 31, 1991, or if no fee was imposed on December 31, 1991, the fee first imposed by the State after such date.

"(E) In the case of any State that imposes a fee after December 31, 1991, the table in subparagraph (C) shall be applied—

"(i) by substituting the first calendar year beginning after the calendar year in which such fee is imposed for 1992;

"(ii) by substituting the second calendar year beginning after the calendar year in which such fee is imposed for 1993;

"(iii) by substituting the third calendar year beginning after the calendar year in which such fee is imposed for 1994; and

"(iv) by substituting the fourth calendar year beginning after the calendar year in which such fee is imposed for 1995.

"(F) Notwithstanding any other provision of this section, at any time the fee of a State transporting solid waste to a receiving State for the treatment, disposal, or other disposition of such solid waste exceeds that of the receiving State, such receiving State may collect from such transporting State a fee equal to that of the transporting State.

"(2) BANS ON SOLID WASTE IMPORTATION.—Each State is authorized to enact and enforce laws imposing a ban on the importation of solid waste if—

"(A) the 5-year period beginning on the date of enactment of this paragraph has expired; and

"(B) the State has an approved or effective solid waste management plan meeting all of the requirements of section 4003 of the Solid Waste Disposal Act (42 U.S.C. 6943).

"(3) COMPACTS; AGREEMENTS.—Any two or more States are authorized to negotiate an agreement or compact, not in conflict with a Federal law or treaty, for the purpose of providing for the treatment, disposal or other disposition of solid waste, but no such agreement or compact shall take effect until it has been approved by Congress.

"(c) DEFINITION.—As used in this section, the term 'solid waste' shall have the same meaning as that provided in section 1004(27) of this Act, but such term shall not include hazardous waste as referred to under subtitle C."

SEC. 3. STATE SOLID WASTE MANAGEMENT PLANS.

(a) AMENDMENT.—(1) Section 4003(a) of the Solid Waste Disposal Act (42 U.S.C. 6943(a)(6)) is amended by deleting paragraph (6) and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"(6) The plan shall provide that the State, directly or through regional or local planning units as may be established under section 4002(a)(1), shall (A) identify the amount of solid wastes by waste type that are reasonably expected to be generated within the State or accepted from another State during the 10-year period following the date of the enactment of the States Solid Waste Regu-

latory Authority Act, (B) identify the amount of solid waste to be reduced during such 10-year period through source reduction, recycling and resource recovery, and (C) establish a process to assure the availability of solid waste treatment, storage and disposal facilities, including recycling facilities, permitted pursuant to section 4010 of this Act, including resource recovery and recycling facilities with adequate capacity to manage all such solid wastes in an environmentally sound manner.

"(7) When identifying the amount of solid waste management capacity necessary to manage the solid waste identified in paragraph (6), the State shall take into account solid waste management compacts in effect on the date of enactment of the State's Solid Waste Regulatory Authority Act that exist within the State and one or more States.

"(8) The plan shall require laws, regulations, and ordinances for development of new and expanded solid waste management facilities necessary to provide the capacity requirements in paragraph (6), including the establishment of a process for the siting of such facilities and a schedule for the approval and construction of such facilities. To the extent any capacity is provided outside the planning unit, the State shall act to ensure such capacity is available and is identified in the plan. The plan shall reserve to the State authority to take such actions on behalf of a regional or local planning unit, including compacts with other States if appropriate, to assure the availability of such capacity when such planning unit has failed in a timely way to provide adequate capacity for waste volumes identified by a State, regional, or local plan established pursuant to paragraph (6) of this subsection.

"(9) Each such plan shall describe solid waste management practices and programs, based on the State's environmental and economic conditions, that promote source reduction and recycling. Such programs shall include public education campaigns and the plan's description of such programs shall include, but not be limited to, the following areas:

"(A) coordination among State and local officials, including public education officials;

"(B) course curriculum development for primary and secondary schools regarding the benefits of and opportunities to participate in source reduction and recycling programs; and

"(C) projects to inform all members of the public and private sectors, including government agencies, institutions, the industrial and business communities, and consumers, of the benefits of and opportunities to participate in source reduction and recycling programs.

"(10) The plan shall identify existing State and regional markets for recyclable materials and actions that the State will take to promote and develop recycling markets.

"(11) The plan shall provide for a program requiring all solid waste management facilities to register with the State and that only registered facilities may manage solid waste identified in the plan. Such registration shall at a minimum, include the name and address of the owner and operator of the facility; the address of the solid waste management facility; the type of solid waste management used at the facility; and the amounts by waste type and source of waste to be managed at the facility.

"(12) The plan shall provide for technical and financial assistance to local communities to meet the requirement of the plan.

"(13) The plan shall specify the conditions under which the State will authorize a per-

son to accept solid waste from other States, for purposes of solid waste management other than transportation, and ensure that such waste is managed in accordance with the plan and that acceptance of such waste will not impede the ability of the State of final destination to manage solid waste generated within its borders."

(2) Section 4003 of the Solid Waste Disposal Act is amended by deleting subsection (d) and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"(d) WASTE-TO-ENERGY FACILITIES.—It is the intention of this Act and the planning process developed pursuant to this Act that determinations regarding the need for or size of waste-to-energy facilities for solid waste management shall not in any way interfere with the achievement, to the maximum extent possible, of the objectives and policies of this Act.

"(e) ADDITIONAL PLAN PROVISIONS.—Any State plan submitted under this subtitle shall include provisions to carry out each of the following unless the State demonstrates, to the satisfaction of the Administrator, that the inclusion of such a provision is not practicable:

"(1) A policy which would require the State and political subdivisions of the State to procure products made with recyclable materials.

"(2) A program to encourage composting of yard waste, agricultural waste, and other waste streams as appropriate.

"(3) A system for curbside pickup of source-separated materials or separation at recycling facilities, or both.

"(4) A policy requiring—

"(A) that recyclable materials in solid waste from residences, commercial establishments, and office buildings be separated, to the maximum extent economically practicable, prior to treatment or disposal in solid waste management facilities. Recyclable materials to be considered in the State plan shall include but not be limited to corrugated cardboard, office paper and paper products, newspaper, glass, plastic materials and products, ferrous and nonferrous, and metals, yard waste, beverage containers; and

"(B) the imposition of a surcharge on tipping fees for any solid waste from commercial establishments or office buildings that (i) is delivered to a landfill, waste-to-energy facility or waste treatment facility and (ii) is not source-separated."

(b) AMENDMENT.—Section 4006 of the Solid Waste Disposal Act (42 U.S.C. 6946) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"(d) SUBMISSION OF PLANS.—Not later than 6 months after the date of enactment of the States Solid Waste Regulatory Authority Act, each State shall, after consultation with interested parties, and local governments, submit to the Administrator for approval a plan that complies with the requirements of section 4003(a) of this Act.

"(e) FAILURE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR TO ACT ON A STATE PLAN.—If the Administrator fails to approve or disapprove a plan within 6 months after a State plan has been submitted for approval, the State plan as submitted shall become effective at the expiration of 6 months after the date on which such plan was submitted. The plan shall remain in effect as submitted and subject to review by the Administrator and revision in accordance with section 4007(a)."

By Mr. GLENN (for himself, Mr. ROTH, Mr. DODD, Mr. SARBANES, Mr. PRYOR, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. D'AMATO, Mr. AKAKA, Ms. MI-

KULSKI, Mr. MOYNIHAN, Mr. LUGAR, Mr. MCCAIN, Mr. LIEBERMAN, Mr. FORD, Mr. WARNER, and Mr. ROBB):

S. 242. A bill to amend the Ethics in Government Act of 1978 to modify the rule prohibiting the receipt of honoraria by certain Government employees, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Governmental Affairs.

ETHICS IN GOVERNMENT ACT

• Mr. GLENN. Mr. President, today I am introducing a bill, cosponsored by Senators ROTH, LEVIN, DODD, SARBANES, PRYOR, D'AMATO, AKAKA, MIKULSKI, MOYNIHAN, LUGAR, MCCAIN, LIEBERMAN, FORD, WARNER, and ROBB which addresses an important problem created by the Ethics Reform Act of 1989 concerning the prohibition on honoraria for the great majority of career Federal employees who are at the mid and lower levels on the pay scale. This bill is in all important respects identical to legislation Senator ROTH and I introduced at the end of the 101st Congress, which passed the Senate by unanimous consent, but was not acted upon by the House prior to sine die adjournment. The bill I am introducing today will not modify the absolute ban on honoraria for Members of the House of Representatives, top level executive branch officials, or judges, which went into effect on January 1, 1991.

Prior to January 1, employees in all three branches of the Government could receive honoraria for speeches, articles, or appearances that were not related to their official duties or status. The scope of these activities was limited by the conflict of interest laws, Executive order, and regulations. The Ethics Reform Act that was passed in 1989, however, provided that the rule on honoraria beginning January 1, 1991, would be that all House Members and all other Federal officials and employees—with the exception of Senators and Senate staff—are prohibited from accepting any honoraria for any purpose.

Prior to the adjournment of the 101st Congress, and certainly since the failure of the Glenn-Roth legislation to be enacted, my office and many other congressional offices, as well as the Office of Government Ethics, received many phone calls and letters from Government employees and organizations representing them and other interested parties who think that this new rule is unnecessarily restrictive and, therefore, unfair. Letters have been received from the National Treasury Employees Union, American Civil Liberties Union, American Federation of Government Employees, Federal Bar Association, National Academy of Public Administration, American Military Institution, and the Association of American Medical Colleges. For example, many Government workers pursue avocations that have nothing to do with their Government duties. They write newspaper

articles on gardening or antique automobiles, or they lecture on stamp collecting or some other hobby. In addition, there are part-time Federal employees, like the career VA doctors with joint appointments to medical school faculties, for whom writing and lecturing on matters unrelated to their official duties or status is an integral part of their profession. This is also true for full-time career scientists working at Federal agencies like NIH.

These employees get paid for these outside activities. Sometimes it's strictly for pleasure or professional development, and any compensation just pays their expenses; other times, these outside activities supplement the family income. These career Federal workers are concerned and angry that since January 1, they won't be able to accept honoraria for these activities—unrelated to their official duties or status. I agree that this rule is too restrictive and therefore unfair.

Section 1 of this bill will correct the situation. First, senior people in each branch of government—defined as non-career employees whose rate of basic pay is above GS-15—will be subject to an absolute ban on the receipt of honoraria. However, all other Federal employees will be allowed to accept honoraria as long as certain conditions are met: the subject for which the honorarium is offered cannot be related to the individual's official Government duties, and the honorarium cannot be offered because of the individual's status as a Government employee. In addition, the person offering the honorarium cannot have any interests that might be substantially affected by the performance or nonperformance of the recipient's official duties. Finally, the amount of the honorarium may not exceed the usual and customary fee for such services, up to \$2,000, and confidential financial disclosure rules will apply.

I repeat that nothing in this bill affects the current rules applicable to Members of the House of Representatives, Senators, and Senate staff. The original legislation was drafted after consultation with Common Cause and received the approval of the Director of the Office of Government Ethics. In my view, this bill serves the public interest by maximizing the freedom of the rank and file Government employees to pursue outside activities while guarding against potential conflicts of interest.

Section 2 of the bill would also resolve a problem identified by the Secretary of the Senate in a letter to me dated September 10, 1990. The Ethics Reform Act expanded the period before filed financial disclosure forms are to be made available to the public from 15 to 30 days. This is to give filers an opportunity to correct obvious mistakes that may be identified by reviewers in the ethics offices. However, the act also requires the Senate and the House

to send the financial disclosure forms to the States of those Members and individuals who are up for election within 7 days of filing. That means there would be a 23-day gap between the time the form could be made public in the State and the time it could be made public in the Senate or in the House. It was suggested that it would be appropriate to change that 7-day period to 30 days to coincide with the Ethics Reform Act. The bill I introduce today would do that too.

This bill deserves speedy action in committee and the full Senate to mitigate the harshness of the current honoraria ban, and I urge my colleagues to give it their full support.

I ask unanimous consent that a letter dated September 10, 1990, from Mr. Walter J. Stewart, Office of the Secretary, U.S. Senate, to me be included in the RECORD at this point, and the bill be printed in the RECORD following that.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 242

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. AMENDMENT TO THE ETHICS IN GOVERNMENT ACT OF 1978.

Section 501(b) of the Ethics in Government Act of 1978 is amended—

(1) by striking "An individual" and inserting "(1) Except as provided in paragraph (2), an individual", and

(2) by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

"(2)(A) In the case of an officer or employee described in subparagraph (B), paragraph (1) shall not apply to an honorarium paid to such individual for an appearance, a speech, or an article published in a bona fide publication if—

"(i) the subject of the appearance, speech, or article and the reason for which the honorarium is paid is unrelated to that individual's official duties or status as such officer or employee; and

"(ii) the person offering the honorarium has no interests that may be substantially affected by the performance or nonperformance of that individual's official duties.

"(B) The officers and employees to whom subparagraph (A) applies are any officer or employee other than a Member and other than a noncareer officer or employee whose rate of basic pay is equal to or greater than the annual rate of basic pay in effect for grade GS-16 of the General Schedule under section 5332 of title 5, United States Code.

"(C) A report on the acceptance of any honorarium under subparagraph (A) shall be filed in accordance with rules and regulations established by each supervising ethics office under section 107 of this Act.

"(D) The amount of any honorarium accepted under subparagraph (A) shall not exceed the usual and customary fee for the services for which the honorarium is paid, up to a maximum of \$2,000."

SEC. 2. EXTENSION OF FILING PERIOD.

Section 103(i) of the Ethics in Government Act of 1978 is amended by striking "7-day" and inserting "30-day".

U.S. SENATE,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, DC, September 10, 1990.

HON. JOHN GLENN,
Chairman, Committee on Government Affairs,
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: As custodian of records filed under the Ethics in Government Act of 1978, I would like to call your attention to a provision of Public Law 101-280, which made technical corrections to the Ethics Reform Act of 1989, and which may have resulted in some unforeseen difficulties with access to financial disclosure reports filed by Members of the Senate.

By way of background, the Ethics in Government Act of 1978 originally required Members of the Senate and candidates for the Senate to file financial disclosure reports with Secretary of the Senate. Public Law 95-521, §103(b). The Secretary was required to send copies of the reports to the "appropriate State officer(s)" as designated in accordance with the Federal Election Campaign Act, within 7 days of receipt. *Id.* at §103(c), and make the reports available to the public within 15 days of receipt. *Id.* at §104(b).¹

The Ethics Reform Act of 1989 amended these provisions of the 1978 Act in several respects. The 1989 Act required reports to be filed with the Senate Select Committee on Ethics, instead of the Secretary of the Senate. Public Law 101-194, §103(a). The Ethics Committee, in turn, was required to make those reports available to the public within thirty days of receipt. *Id.* at §105(b)(1). The Ethics Committee used that thirty day period to review Members' reports and to seek clarifications and amendments, where necessary.

Public Law 101-280 made a number of technical corrections to the 1989 Act including the replacement of the requirement that the reports be filed with the Ethics Committee with the requirement that the reports be filed with the Secretary of the Senate, the addition of the new requirement that the Secretary must forward the reports to the Ethics Committee within 7 days, and the reinstatement of the requirement that the Secretary send the reports to state officers within seven days. Public Law 101-280, §3(4)(E). As a result of these changes, the gap in time between the provision of the reports to the states and provision of the reports to the public is now twenty three days, as opposed to eight days under the 1978 Act.

This increased gap in the times between when the Secretary makes the reports available to state officers and to the public creates several problems. First, if a state has a report for a long period of time prior to the time when, following review by the Ethics Committee, the Secretary makes a report available to the public, the chances are increased that a state may make the unreviewed version of the report available to the public. Consequently, some members of the public may receive an original report and some may receive an amended version, resulting in confusion over which report is the "correct" one and giving rise to questions about the differences between versions. Second, the technical amendments may create administrative burdens for state governments. And states that do make original reports available may be faced with notifying recipients of the original version of a report that it has been changed and providing any

amendments. These concerns posed potential problems under the original 1978 Act as well, but the now much larger gap between the provision of the report to the states and its availability to the public through the Secretary increases the likelihood that members of the public seeking members' reports may receive different versions.

Our solution would be simply to require the Office of Public Records to mail reports to states no later than the date that reports are made available to the public by that office, thus eliminating the potential for confusion and reducing administrative processing as well.

I call this matter to your attention in the event that you may wish to consider corrective measures. If I can be of assistance, please contact me directly or staff may wish to contact the Assistant Secretary, Jeri Thomson.

Sincerely,

WALTER J. STEWART.●

● Mr. ROTH. Mr. President, today I am pleased to join once again with Chairman GLENN in offering legislation regarding the receipt of honoraria for articles, speeches, or appearances by mid-level and low-level Federal employees. The legislation we have introduced does not affect the honoraria rules that apply to Members of Congress, political appointees, or Federal judges.

On January 1, 1991, a honorarium ban of considerable overbreadth went into effect for Federal employees. The matter is in litigation. It is hoped that this legislation can be processed in an expedited manner to remedy this overbreadth and obviate the need for the protracted litigation.

For an employee to receive the benefit of this legislation, three conditions would have to be met:

First, the subject of the appearance, speech, or article and the reason for which the honorarium is paid must be unrelated to that individual's official duties or status as such officer or employee;

Second, the party offering the honorarium must have no interests that may be substantially affected by the performance or nonperformance of that individual's official duties; and

Third, the individual must be someone other than a Member or noncareer employee whose rate of basic pay is equal to or greater than the annual rate of basic in effect for grade GS-16 of the General Schedule.

Mr. President, the problem of this overbreadth is one that has been brought to my attention by constituents and Federal employees. It is hard to see why an employee cannot write a paid article on his or her hobby or some area of expertise so long as he or she fulfills the above conditions. Part-time VA doctors and full-time CRS lawyers ought to be able to advance their careers as experts without violating the law.

Last October, the Senate passed a similar provision with the strong support of the Office of Government Ethics

¹In practice, the Office of Public Records made the reports available to the state officers and the public at the same time in order to simplify administration of these responsibilities.

and the tacit approval of Common Cause. But the House refused to consider it and the remedy died with the adjournment of the Congress. Apparently, certain House leaders believed that the Senate remedy did not go far enough in relaxing the ban. Consequently, no remedy resulted.

Chairman GLENN and I are willing to try again.

Section 2 of the bill deals with an entirely different subject, a technical problem brought to our attention by the Secretary of the Senate concerning the timing of the public release of financial disclosure forms.

Mr. President, few would defend the current provision with its broad sweep. Belatedly, the problem is gaining recognition, and there is a growing desire for change. I hope that those seeking change do not stumble over the differences in the diverse remedies to be considered. Let us not in 1991 repeat the mistake of 1990 that has allowed the mistake of 1989 to continue in effect.●

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 8

At the request of Mr. DOLE, the names of the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HARKIN], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. BREAUX], the Senator from Delaware [Mr. ROTH], and the Senator from Idaho [Mr. SYMMS] were added as cosponsors of S. 8, a bill to extend the time for performing certain acts under the Internal Revenue laws for individuals performing services as part of the Desert Shield operation.

S. 9

At the request of Mr. DOLE, the name of the Senator from Michigan [Mr. RIEGLE] was added as a cosponsor of S. 9, a bill to amend the foreign aid policy of the United States toward countries in transition from communism to democracy.

S. 14

At the request of Mr. SARBANES, the name of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. HEINZ] was added as a cosponsor of S. 14, a bill to assist in the restoration of the Chesapeake Bay, and for other purposes.

S. 23

At the request of Mr. SIMPSON, the names of the Senator from Washington [Mr. GORTON] and the Senator from Delaware [Mr. ROTH] were added as cosponsors of S. 23, a bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to index rates of veterans' disability compensation and surviving spouses' and children's dependency and indemnity compensation to automatically increase to keep pace with the cost of living.

S. 50

At the request of Mr. SYMMS, the names of the Senator from Alaska [Mr. STEVENS], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SPECTER], the Senator from

Kansas [Mr. DOLE], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. COCHRAN], and the Senator from Arizona [Mr. MCCAIN] were added as cosponsors of S. 50, a bill to ensure that agencies establish the appropriate procedures for assessing whether or not regulation may result in the taking of private property, so as to avoid such where possible.

S. 55

At the request of Mr. METZENBAUM, the name of the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. SASSER] was added as a cosponsor of S. 55, a bill to amend the National Labor Relations Act and the Railway Labor Act to prevent discrimination based on participation in labor disputes.

S. 100

At the request of Mr. SANFORD, the names of the Senator from Maine [Mr. MITCHELL], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. HATFIELD], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. DOMENICI] were added as cosponsors of S. 100, a bill to set forth United States policy toward Central America and to assist the economic recovery and development of that region.

S. 105

At the request of Mr. D'AMATO, the names of the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. SIMPSON], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. PACKWOOD], and the Senator from Indiana [Mr. COATS] were added as cosponsors of S. 105, a bill entitled "The Drug Kingpin Death Penalty Act".

S. 147

At the request of Mr. THURMOND, the name of the Senator from Oregon [Mr. PACKWOOD] was added as a cosponsor of S. 147, a bill to establish constitutional procedures for the imposition of the sentence of death, and for other purposes.

S. 167

At the request of Mr. RIEGLE, the names of the Senator from Vermont [Mr. JEFFORDS] and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. NUNN] were added as cosponsors of S. 167, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to permanently extend qualified mortgage bonds.

S. 173

At the request of Mr. HOLLINGS, the names of the Senator from Delaware [Mr. ROTH] and the Senator from Texas [Mr. BENTSEN] were added as cosponsors of S. 173, a bill to permit the Bell Telephone Companies to conduct research on, design, and manufacture telecommunications equipment, and for other purposes.

S. 194

At the request of Mr. MCCAIN, the names of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. LOTT] and the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. HELMS] were added as cosponsors of S. 194, a bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to eliminate the earnings test for individuals who have attained retirement age.

At the request of Mr. ROTH, his name was withdrawn as a cosponsor of S. 194, supra.

S. 199

At the request of Mr. GLENN, the names of the Senator from Vermont [Mr. LEAHY], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KERRY], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. REID], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. FORD], and the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. HOLLINGS] were added as cosponsors of S. 199, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to exclude from income the compensation received for active service as a member of the Armed Forces of the United States in a dangerous foreign area.

S. 203

At the request of Mr. GLENN, the names of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. NUNN], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. BOREN], the Senator from Vermont [Mr. LEAHY], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KERRY], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. REID], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. FORD], and the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. HOLLINGS] were added as cosponsors of S. 203, a bill to provide for periods of military, naval, or air service in the Persian Gulf region in connection with Operation Desert Shield to be disregarded in determining the time for performing certain acts required by the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.

S. 204

At the request of Mr. GLENN, the names of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. NUNN], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. BOREN], the Senator from Vermont [Mr. LEAHY], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KERRY], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. REID], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. FORD], and the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. HOLLINGS] were added as cosponsors of S. 204, a bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to provide for certain recalled retired members of the Armed Forces to serve in the highest grade previously held while on active duty.

S. 205

At the request of Mr. GLENN, the names of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. NUNN], the Senator from Vermont [Mr. LEAHY], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KERRY], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. REID], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. FORD], and the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. HOLLINGS] were added as cosponsors of S. 205, a bill to amend title 5, United States Code, to equalize the treatment of members of the Armed Forces of the United States and former employee of the Federal Government for purposes of eligibility for payment of unemployment compensation for Federal service.

S. 217

At the request of Mr. HOLLINGS, the name of the Senator from Texas [Mr. BENTSEN] was added as a cosponsor of

S. 217, a bill to clarify the congressional intent concerning, and to codify, certain requirements of the Communications Act of 1934 that ensures that broadcasters afford reasonable opportunity for the discussion of conflicting views on issues of public importance.

S. 221

At the request of Mr. GLENN, the names of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. NUNN], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. BOREN], the Senator from Vermont [Mr. LEAHY], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KERRY], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. REID], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. FORD], and the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. HOLLINGS] were added as cosponsors of S. 221, a bill to require the Secretary of Defense to authorize members of the Armed Forces serving outside the United States under arduous conditions pursuant to an assignment or duty detail as a part of Operation Desert Shield to participate in a savings program for members of the Armed Forces assigned for permanent duty outside the United States.

S. 238

At the request of Mr. DASCHLE, the names of the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. BURDICK], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. LEVIN], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HARKIN], the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. CONRAD], the Senator from Delaware [Mr. BIDEN], the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SHELBY], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. MCCAIN], the Senator from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. FORD], and the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. SIMPSON] were added as cosponsors of S. 238, a bill to provide for the Secretary of Veterans Affairs to obtain independent scientific review of the available scientific evidence regarding associations between diseases and exposure to dioxin and other chemical compounds in herbicides, and for other purposes.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 3

At the request of Mr. KENNEDY, the names of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIXON] and the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SANFORD] were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 3, a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for women and men.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 9

At the request of Mr. THURMOND, the name of the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. SMITH] was added as a cosponsor of Senate Joint Resolution 9, a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution relating to a Federal balanced budget.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 35

At the request of Mr. HOLLINGS, the names of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SPECTER], the Senator from Kansas [Mrs. KASSEBAUM], and the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BRYAN] were

added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 35, a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to contributions and expenditures intended to affect congressional and Presidential elections.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 36

At the request of Mr. PRESSLER, the names of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. FOWLER] and the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. DASCHLE] were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 36, a joint resolution to designate the months of November 1991, and November 1992, as "National Alzheimer's Disease Month."

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 3—URGING AMERICANS TO FLY THE FLAG IN SUPPORT OF AMERICAN TROOPS OVERSEAS

Mr. MACK submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Judiciary:
S. CON. RES. 3

Whereas the people of the United States strongly support the nearly 500,000 United States troops in the Persian Gulf region;

Whereas keeping troop morale high is an indispensable key to victory; and

Whereas the American flag is a patriotic symbol of both the United States and the values of its people: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Congress calls on the people of the United States to display the American flag in show of support for the United States troops stationed in the Persian Gulf region.

• Mr. MACK. Mr. President, as we watch the developments in the Persian Gulf day by day and hour by hour, Americans are struck by the bravery and dedication of our fighting men and women. Our troops represent our Nation's undying commitment to freedom.

Today, therefore, I rise to introduce a resolution which encourages Americans everywhere to proudly fly our Nation's flag in support of those who are risking their lives so far from home. Not only will we demonstrate solidarity with the members of our Armed Forces, but we will provide a constant reminder to ourselves and each other that they are there.

A sea of red, white, and blue will show the world that we on the home front stand behind our troops overseas. •

SENATE RESOLUTION 15—RELATING TO PROSECUTION OF SADDAM HUSSEIN AND MEMBERS OF THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT FOR WAR CRIMES

Mr. D'AMATO submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

S. RES. 15

The Senate finds that:

As ordered by Saddam Hussein, Iraq engaged in unprovoked aggression in its conquest and occupation of Kuwait;

The Iraqi occupation force has treated Kuwait citizens barbarously;

Saddam Hussein used American and European civilians as "human shields" in an attempt to protect strategic facilities throughout Iraq and has now directed that captured American and Allied prisoners of war be used for the same purpose;

Saddam Hussein ordered his military to launch missile attacks against innocent civilians in Israel and Saudi Arabia; and

President Bush has rightly warned Saddam Hussein and Iraqi Government officials that they would be held responsible for any abuses they have caused; Now, therefore, it is

Resolved, That it is the Sense of the Senate to urge the President to request the United Nations to establish a tribunal to charge Saddam Hussein and other responsible Iraqi Government officials for war crime, acts of aggression, and crimes against humanity they have committed.

Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, once again Saddam Hussein has shown the world that he is a butcher; the Butcher of Baghdad has struck again. We have just learned of another unprovoked attack against the State of Israel. Israel, Mr. President, has been besieged by the coalition to show restraint, and she has done exactly that. Repeatedly, she has endured the terror of the thought of those attacks which bring to the minds of its citizens fear, fear for their loved ones, fear that they know not when they may be facing the peril of poisonous gas.

Mr. President, just the idea of poison gas being used against Israel should make the entire world cringe. Saddam shows that not only does he not recognize restraint, but he is going to continue this senseless onslaught.

Yesterday, he showed the entire world what he thinks about the Geneva Convention and about human rights, showing beaten and tortured POW's, and now threatens to use them as human shields. He has launched missiles to terrorize and kill innocent civilians, and now he is going to use POW's at various sights to protect himself. He has even used poisonous gas, the Butcher of Baghdad, on his own citizens. He thinks he is above the international law governing the treatment of POW's.

Mr. President, it is time that we showed him he is wrong. It is time for more than rhetoric.

It is time for more than just the outrage that the whole world justifiably has for him. He should be captured, Mr. President, brought to trial, found guilty, and executed.

Today I have introduced a resolution expressing the sense of the Senate that our President should request immediately that the United Nations establish a tribunal to charge Saddam Hussein and other responsible Iraqi officials for the war crime acts of aggression and crimes against humanity. It is time, Mr. President, to let Saddam

Hussein know that he will pay for the deaths that he has caused.

Mr. President, rhetoric, outrage, and indignation are one thing but action is what the entire world has a right to expect; action is what the families of those POW's have a right to expect; action is what those POW's expect. They are there not only for the people of this country but for all humanity to see that the killing machine that Saddam has set up is dismantled, to give peace an opportunity in that troubled area of the world.

Now, Mr. President, is the time for us to demonstrate our resolve, and act to move to see that a tribunal is set up immediately so the wheels of justice may be heard and may continue.

SENATE RESOLUTION 16—URGING DENIAL OF TRADE CREDITS AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO THE SOVIET UNION

Mr. HEINZ submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

S. RES. 16

Whereas the recent improvement in the Soviet-American relationship was not a spontaneous occurrence but instead predicated on dramatic changes in Soviet behavior; and those changes included an apparent recognition on the part of the Soviet leadership of the rights of self-determination both in Europe and the several republics of the Soviet Union; and

Whereas the central authorities of the Soviet Union have abandoned this constructive course in favor of violence and coercion; and

Whereas Soviet military forces have killed and wounded unarmed civilians in their successful efforts to capture installations and institutions that are the rightful property of the democratically elected governments of the Baltic states; and

Whereas the Soviet republics of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia were once sovereign nations and continue to be recognized as such by the United States; and

Whereas the benefits of economic cooperation with the United States, including trade credits and other forms of assistance, should rightfully only be extended to states that share our values and act in accordance with those values: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the President shall immediately suspend any extension of official trade credits or other forms of economic assistance to the Soviet Union by the government of the United States, and shall direct U.S. executive directors of each of the international financial institutions of which the United States is a member state to vote to bar all assistance from such institutions until such time as the President finds that Soviet military forces have relinquished control of political institutions, communications facilities and other buildings or property of the Baltic States and the President of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has entered into good faith negotiations with the representatives of the democratically elected governments of the Baltic States regarding their future status with regard to the rest of the Soviet Union.

Mr. HEINZ. Mr. President, I am today introducing legislation to end all economic assistance and finance cred-

its to the Soviet Union until and unless the Soviet government ends its military assault on the legitimate governments of the Baltic States.

The President announced his economic assistance package with the Soviet Union in early December. The policy of extending Eximbank financing to the Soviet Union was announced only on December 29. These changes in American policy were premised on Soviet pursuit of the policy of glasnost, or political and economic liberalization, as a basis for improving economic and political relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Since glasnost has now been rejected in favor of Soviet military action in Lithuania and Latvia, United States policy must change to reflect this reversal of direction.

We all know that the democratic experiment taking place in the Baltic States is indeed the very essence of what glasnost was supposed to be about. The political process was supposed to be opened up to permit the legitimate political aspirations of the people within the Soviet Union to be realized. Instead, Mr. President, we have witnessed during these last 10 days in Riga and Tallinn resort to the unprovoked use of force, bloody and deadly, against unarmed and innocent civilians.

Use of military force against duly elected governments and peaceful protesters constitutes a total repudiation of the policy of glasnost and invites our reaction.

The timing of the assault on the Baltic States appears to reflect the hope of the Soviet Government that it could restore Stalinist-style dictatorship while the world is preoccupied with the war to free Kuwait and while the United States would be loath to risk the loss of Soviet support during this Middle East crisis. We cannot allow this effort to succeed because of our present occupation with the gulf.

The United States must let the Soviets know that there are consequences to reversing the policy on which our rapprochement is based. Soviet militarism, if pursued, must result in a total reevaluation of our policy toward the Soviet Union. As a first step, the legislation I am introducing today directs the President to revoke and suspend all economic assistance and Eximbank credits to the Soviet Union until the Soviet Government rejects the use of military force, restores political control to the duly elected governments of the Baltic States, and enters into negotiations regarding their future status in the Soviet Union on the basis of self-determination.

I believe this is the minimum we can do to put the Soviets on notice that the policies of the past—and particularly of the past few weeks—are totally unacceptable. We need and we seek a world order which requires respect for

political and human rights not just by madmen like Saddam Hussein but by the leaders of the world powers as well.

NOTICE OF HEARING

COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, I would like to announce for the public that a hearing has been scheduled before the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

The hearing will take place on February 7, beginning at 9:30 a.m., in room SD-366 of the Senate Dirksen Office Building in Washington, DC.

The purpose of the hearing is to receive administration views on legislation to provide for a referendum on Puerto Rico's political status.

For further information, please contact Allen Stayman, at (202) 224-7865.

COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND FORESTRY

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I would like to announce that the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry will hold a hearing on S. 207, the Futures Trading Practices Act of 1991. The hearing will be held on Thursday, February 7, 1991 at 9 a.m. in SR 332. For further information, please contact Ken Ackerman of the committee staff at 224-2035.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

• Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, on this 22d day of January 1991, we celebrate the 73d anniversary of the proclamation of independence of the Ukrainian Republic. History tells us that the independent Ukrainian Republic lasted less than 5 years, but it is clear that their spirit of freedom has survived to this day.

Today's anniversary takes on new significance in light of recent developments in Ukraine and in the whole of the Soviet Union. The past year has seen events that mirrored those in 1918. The reforms instituted by President Gorbachev more than 5 years ago gave us all cause for hope. In 1990, we saw the growth of a free press and a multiparty system, as well as the revival of a rich national culture. Finally, on July 16, 1990, nearly three quarters of a century after the original proclamation of independence by Ukraine, the Ukrainian people declared their state to be a sovereign nation. Unfortunately, there now seems to be a reversal of the political opening we know as glasnost and perestroika.

The past months in Ukraine have seen the arrest of two prominent political figures: Stepan Khmara and Oles Donij. Stepan Khmara, a member of the Ukrainian Parliament, was arrested on the 17th of November under

very suspicious charges and the date of his trial has been repeatedly delayed. Mr. Khmara has already spent 7 years in jail for his writings that revealed corruption in the Soviet Union, and it seems that his quest for justice is once again being punished by imprisonment. Oles Donij was arrested exactly 2 weeks ago on January 8. As the president of the Ukrainian Student Union, his efforts were crucial in student demonstrations that forced the Communist government to enact significant reforms. He is now in jail for those efforts. There has also been the inevitable military response to the fledgling steps taken by the Ukrainian Republic. Soviet troops in Ukraine, as in the Baltic Republics, now menace the Ukrainian freedom. The Ukrainian fight for liberty has come nearly full circle; a circle we do not wish to see completed.

I urge President Gorbachev to renew his vision of an open society and allow the Ukrainian people to continue their march toward a free society; a society that will give hope to all nations that are struggling for freedom. Today, we celebrate the memory of a brief period of liberty for the Ukrainian people. It is my hope that a year from today, we will join the Ukrainian people in celebrating a living, breathing freedom; a freedom they have waited 73 years to regain.●

ANOTHER SUCCESS FOR CLOSED-CAPTIONED TELEVISION

● Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, during the past Congress we passed the Television Decoder Circuitry Act (Public Law 101-431), requiring new television sets to have built-in decoder circuitry to display closed-captioned television programming. Along with Senator HARKIN, the chief sponsor, I believed that this legislation would benefit more than the 24 million hearing-impaired Americans—that the millions of functionally illiterate Americans and those learning English as a second language would also benefit substantially.

A study recently brought to my attention confirms the possibility of these benefits. The findings indicate that students learning English as a second language can dramatically improve their language skills by viewing closed-captioned television. After a 12-week test, involving 129 Asian and Hispanic background students, those who had watched a science series with closed-captioning were found to be better able to understand word meaning and pronunciation, recognize spellings, and grasp concepts much more quickly. These are significant results, and I hope that educators are taking a close look at how they can use these new educational tools.

We should be grateful to the National Captioning Institute and the Pew Charitable Trusts for undertaking this study. I hope we will soon have addi-

tional positive results showing the effects of closed-captioning on teaching the illiterate to read and the functionally illiterate to improve their reading skills. I call the attention of my colleagues to the following article from "GA-SK Newsletter."

The article follows:
NEW STUDY REVEALS THAT CLOSED-CAPTIONED TV HELPS ASIAN AND HISPANIC-AMERICANS LEARN ENGLISH

Millions of Asians and Hispanic-Americans may soon be learning English with help from a most surprising teacher—closed-captioned television.

A new study commissioned by the National Captioning Institute (NCI), and funded by The Pew Charitable Trusts, Philadelphia, shows that students learning English as a second language (ESL) can "dramatically" improve their language skills by viewing closed-captioned television.

In the 12-week study conducted in Lowell, Massachusetts, 129 seventh and eighth-grade students from Asian and Hispanic language background were randomly assigned to four groups: 1) viewing closed-captioned, 2) viewing television alone, 3) reading and listening to test, and 4) reading alone.

Twice a week, the students either viewed or read segments of "3-2-1 Contact"—a science series produced by the Children's Television Workshop. They were then tested on their ability to recognize and comprehend 90 target vocabulary words such as "respiratory system," "carbohydrates" and "predator."

In all cases, "students watching closed-captioned television scored higher on a number of written tests than any other treatment groups," says Temple University professor, Dr. Susan Newman, chief researcher on the study. "they were better able to understand word meaning and pronunciation, recognize spellings, and grasp onto concept much more quickly than by reading alone."

"For years, it's been believed that captioned television could have tremendous potential as a language teaching tool," says Newman. "Now we have evidence proving that foreign language speakers can improve their English language skills through captioned TV."

Closed captioning is effective as an educational tool because it provides the students with three contexts that support word learning. They simultaneously see the visual image, hear the spoken dialogue or narration, and read the written work in proper sentence form.

The focus of the Pew-funded study was to determine if captioned television is an important source of "comprehensible input"—the process by which people learn language and literacy without formal instruction, using the language they already know and cues from the environment. For example, on one of the science programs, Newman says, children were able to understand the word "suffocate" by seeing a girl covering a fire with dirt.

Although NCI has commissioned short-term studies in the past, this is the first time a long-term study has been conducted on the benefits of captioning as a language teaching tool.

The report findings provide encouraging news for one of the fastest growing segments of the U.S. population.

"Over 35 million of our nation's children come from homes where English is not spoken," says Neuman. "Closed-captioned television helps them learn their new language

faster, which means they'll be better able to keep up in school, compete in the workplace, and assimilate into mainstream American culture."

NCI's decoder purchasers include Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Vietnamese, Mexicans and Cubans. These purchasers range from recently immigrated families whose children learn English while watching "Sesame Street," to foreign students studying abroad and foreign executive of international corporations.

Neuman believes that closed-captioned television will eventually become a mainstay in every ESL classroom.

"Captioning creates a 'shared' learning environment," she says. "Many students, particularly if you have a mix from various ethnic backgrounds, are very resistant to trying to speak in English because of their fear of failure. Once you put a television in the classroom with closed captioning, they immediately open up and respond."

Accompanying the research report is a Curriculum Guide for using captioned television in the teaching of ESL students. The 45-page guide features lessons plans, examples and worksheets.

First Lady Barbara Bush, who has made literacy one of her personal projects, has voiced support for using captioning as an educational tool. Following a demonstration of closed-captioned technology at a recent White House meeting, Mrs. Bush commented, "It is exciting to learn about the research that indicate captioned television can help adults and children improve their reading skills, both at home and in a classroom."

The National Captioning Institute has toll-free numbers for information on the benefits of captioning and the TeleCaption decoder: 1-800-533-9673(V) and 1-800-321-8337(TDD).●

ASAT—BOONDOGGLE THAT WOULD NOT DIE

● Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, last week, I noted with pleasure that after a decade of fighting off congressional attempts to stop this program, the Defense Department had finally agreed to kill its antisatellite weapons program, saving the taxpayers billions in the process.

Unfortunately, to plagiarize Mark Twain, rumors of the Asat's death were greatly exaggerated. Defense News, the same publication which last week published the account of the cancellation of the Asat Program, this week reported that the White House "reversed itself early last week" after seven Republican Senators protested that "the military is paying more attention to what is politically salable to the Democratic majority in Congress rather than the actual threat" posed by the Soviet Union.

According to the Defense News article, this political decision to restore Asat was made essentially at the behest of this small group of pro-Asat legislators—not because of any inherent merit in the program that had been canceled just 2 weeks earlier.

The Asat Program is a relic from the cold war. Its mission is to target Soviet satellites at the start of a strategic nuclear conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union. While we

all are concerned about what is happening in Latvia and Lithuania, it is hard to understand why we need an antisatellite weapon as a result. Is there a secret plan to shoot-down Soviet satellites over the Baltics? I hope not.

The truth is, the United States Asat Program has no application to the current crisis in the Soviet Union, or that in the Persian Gulf. In fact, the program is either designed to shoot down Soviet satellites under circumstances that are exceedingly hard to imagine, or to shoot down Iraqi or other Third World satellites which do not exist.

When we have so many other pressing needs, from our immediate military requirements in the gulf to many deferred domestic demands, the American people deserve at least the peace dividend that would be created by terminating Asat. Unfortunately, the Pentagon and White House once again seem determined to prove that politics will keep this program alive, when policy alone would justify terminating it and saving the taxpayers' money.

I ask that the article, "Soviets Help Fuel Asat Reversal" appearing in the January 14, 1991, issue of Defense News appear in the RECORD at the conclusion of my statement.

The article follows:

SOVIETS HELP FUEL ASAT REVERSAL—WHITE HOUSE INCREASES FUNDS FOR RAILCAR-MX NUCLEAR MISSILE

(By Philip Finnegan)

WASHINGTON.—The White House has reversed its decision to cancel the antisatellite weapons program and has increased research funds for the strategic nuclear railcar-MX missile, following growing concerns about a possible Soviet draft toward Cold War policies.

Soviet troops took over Lithuania's main printing plant and the headquarters of the Lithuanian national guard last Friday, in the latest of a series of Soviet actions arousing administration concern about a possible military crackdown in the three Baltic republics.

Only three days earlier those concerns led White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater to issue an appeal that the Soviet Union "cease attempts at intimidation [of the Baltic republics] and turn back to negotiations."

Before that public appeal, the White House already was working to reverse decisions that would have killed or cut back a number of strategic weapons systems in the proposed 1992 defense budget, which will be submitted to Congress next month.

Although the White House approved the cancellation of its antisatellite weapon program last month, it reversed itself early last week and revived both kinetic and directed energy antisatellite weapons, according to Defense Department sources.

A total of \$65 million will now be split between kinetic and directed energy antisatellite weapons, a funding level that industry sources expect will delay the kinetic energy program by one or two years.

Termination of the final research and development portion of the railcar MX program was also reversed early last week, a source said. The proposed new funding levels, which would enable the completion of re-

search on the program, total \$220 million in 1992 and \$65 million in 1993. This would be in addition to \$352 million committed to the program in 1991.

Despite the addition of funding for railcar MX research, no funding has been added for production of MX missiles so the production line will shut down once the \$655 million of 1991 funds for 12 test missiles is spent.

The budget of the Advanced Warning System, an advanced satellite system that would be able to detect ballistic missile launches, was scheduled to be reconsidered in a meeting last Friday.

Funding for the system had been deleted in the proposed 1993 budget, but an industry source said that an option would be evaluated under which funds might be transferred from the older Defense Support Program satellite system to more aggressively pursue the next generation Advanced Warning System.

Each of those strategic weapon systems had been cited in a Jan. 3 letter to the White House by seven Republican senators, including Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole, R-Kan., and six members of the Armed Services Committee. The senators protested decisions being taken in the preparation of next year's budget as premature in light of growing instability in the Soviet Union.

"Given the relentless and comprehensive nature of Soviet strategic modernization programs, coupled with disturbing signs of possible civil war and the reemergence of hardline traditionalists in Soviet leadership positions, we believe such terminations or scaling back of programs would send the wrong signal to the Soviet Union," said the letter.

Those follow-on talks would focus on reducing the number of multiple warhead missiles such as the 10-warhead MX missile.

The letter reflects a growing concern among congressional Republicans that the military is paying more attention to what is politically saleable to the Democratic majority in Congress rather than the actual threat, according to one Republican staff member.●

VENICE AMERICAN LEGION POST OBSERVES FOUR CHAPLAINS DAY

● Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, I rise today to join with the millions of Americans who will observe Four Chaplains Day this year with special meaning and reverence.

This commemoration honors the spirit of the four Chaplains—Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant—who stood united in prayer as they went down with the S.S. *Dorchester* in World War II.

Mr. President, the message of the Chapel of the Four Chaplains is brief and powerful: "The irreducible minimum for an adequate defense of America is American unity. Not uniformity. All races, faiths and economic degrees, living and working together as Americans all."

That message hits home today, Mr. President, as our dedicated men and women of Operation Desert Storm pursue their mission half-way around the world. This, too, is a time for national unity.

Among the many Americans who will pause in prayer to honor Four Chap-

lains Day are the members of Venice American Legion No-Vel Post No. 159 in Florida, the third largest post in our State.

The members of post 159 will gather on February 3 for a special memorial service, Mr. President, we join in their prayer for national unity and for the safe return of our troops from the Persian Gulf.

God bless America.●

UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

● Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I rise today to commemorate the 73d Anniversary of the Ukrainian Rada's 1918 Proclamation of Independence. With its issuance of the Fourth Universal in Kiev's St. Sophia Square, the word observed the establishment of the Ukrainian National Republic.

The Ukrainian National Republic, established on a democratic, constitutional basis, guaranteed the basic freedoms of speech, religion, assembly, and the press. Indeed, these freedoms model those found in our own Constitution.

With the advent of political and economic reforms in the Soviet Union, President Mikhail Gorbachev has led the world to believe he was willing to allow the Republic of the Soviet Union the opportunity to freely establish their sovereignty and independence. However, the events of the past week, especially the unleashing of Soviet tanks and troops against the Baltic Republics, in addition to Stalinist repression in Moldavia, Georgia, and the Ukraine, have made the world community painfully aware of how tenuous freedom has become for the Soviet people.

The American public is outraged and deeply concerned over the actions of the Soviet President. Mr. Gorbachev needs to know that there can be no improved relations with the United States, no summit, no credits, and no food aid to the Kremlin until it supports the rights of citizens throughout the world to elect their own representative governments.

The ideals of freedom, democracy, and self-determination were primary goals when the Government of the Ukraine reasserted its independence by approving the Declaration of State Sovereignty on July 16, 1990.

Mr. President, our support for these goals is needed now more than ever before. The United States, and indeed the world community, must not allow the crisis in the Persian Gulf to cloud our vision of a peaceful transition of the Ukraine and the other Soviet Republics to full independence.

Now is the time to cast our lot not with those who seek to extinguish the fire of freedom, but with those who are willing to die for it.●

SECESSION OF THE SUCCESSFUL

• Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. President, an important article appeared in the New York Times Sunday magazine on June 20, that I want to bring to the attention of colleagues and other readers of the RECORD.

The author, Mr. Robert Reich, has written an article entitled "Secession of the Successful," which describes disturbing and dangerous economic trendlines that are fragmenting our society.

In order to consider national economic strategies that center on the well being of the whole or our Nation—rather than just some parts—we must first comprehend important new economic trendlines now at work in our society. This article describes some of them.

At a time of major crime problems throughout our country, Mr. Reich notes for example, that within our society there are now more private security guards in the United States than the number of public police officers.

If we can fathom these adverse trendlines at work within our Nation, surely we can develop strategies to deal with them.

Mr. President, I ask that the full text of the article from the New York Times be printed in the RECORD.

The article follows:

[From the New York Times, June 20, 1990]

SECESSION OF THE SUCCESSFUL

(By Robert B. Reich)

The idea of "community" has always held a special attraction for Americans. In a 1984 speech, President Ronald Reagan celebrated America's "bedrock"—"its communities where neighbors help one another, where families bring up kids together, where American values are born." Gov. Mario M. Cuomo of New York, with a very different political leaning, has been almost as lyrical. "Community . . . is the reality of which our national life has been founded," he said in 1987.

There is only one problem with this picture. Most Americans no longer live in traditional communities. They live in suburban subdivisions bordered by highways and sprinkled with shopping malls, or in tiny condominiums and residential clusters, or in ramshackle apartment buildings and housing projects. Most of them commute to work and socialize on some basis other than geographic proximity. And most people pick up and move to a different neighborhood every five years or so.

But Americans generally have one thing in common with their neighbors: they have similar incomes. And that simple fact lies at the heart of the new community. This means that their educational backgrounds are likely to be similar, that they pay roughly the same taxes, and that they indulge in the same consumer impulses. "Tell me someone's ZIP code," the founder of a direct-mail company once bragged, "and I can predict what they eat, drink, drive—even think."

Americans who own their homes usually share one political cause with their neighbors: a near obsessive concern with maintaining or upgrading property values. And this common interest is responsible for much of what has brought neighbors together in recent years. Complete strangers, although

they may live on the same street or in the same condominium complex, suddenly feel intense solidarity when it is rumored that low-income housing will be constructed in their midst or that a poorer school district will be consolidated with their own.

The renewed emphasis on "community" in American life has justified and legitimized these economic enclaves. If generosity and solidarity end at the border of similarly valued properties, then the most fortunate can be virtuous citizens at little cost. Since most people in one neighborhood or town are equally well off, there is no cause for a guilty conscience. If inhabitants of another area are poorer, let them look to one another. Why should we pay for their schools?

So the argument goes, without acknowledging that the critical assumption has already been made: "we" and "they" belong to fundamentally different communities. Through such reasoning, it has become possible to maintain a self-image of generosity toward, and solidarity with, one's "community" without bearing any responsibility to "them"—the other "community."

America's high earners—the fortunate top fifth—thus feel increasingly justified in paying only what is necessary to ensure that everyone in their community is sufficiently well educated and has access to the public services they need to succeed.

Last year, the top fifth of working Americans took home more money than the other four-fifths put together—the highest portion in postwar history. These high earners will relinquish somewhat more of their income to the Federal Government this year than in 1990 as a result of last fall's tax changes, although considerably less than in the late 1970's, when the tax code was more progressive. But the continuing debate over whether the wealthy are paying their fair share of taxes obscures a larger issue, with more profound implications for America: the fortunate fifth is quietly seceding from the rest of the nation.

This is occurring gradually, without much awareness by members of the top group—or, for that matter, by anyone else. And the Government is speeding this process as Washington shifts responsibility for many public services to state and local governments.

The secession is taking several forms. In many cities and towns, the wealthy have in effect withdrawn their dollars from the support of public spaces and institutions shared by all and dedicated the savings to their own private services. As public parks and playgrounds deteriorate, there is a proliferation of private health clubs, golf clubs, tennis clubs, skating clubs and every other type of recreational association in which costs are shared among members. Condominiums and the omnipresent residential communities dun their members to undertake work that financially strapped local governments can no longer afford to do well—maintaining roads, mending sidewalks, pruning trees, repairing street lights, cleaning swimming pools, paying for lifeguards and, notably, hiring security guards to protect life and property. (The number of private security guards in the United States now exceeds the number of public police officers.)

Of course, wealthier Americans have been withdrawing into their own neighborhoods and clubs for generations. But the new secession is more dramatic because the highest earners now inhabit a different economy from other Americans. The new elite is linked by jet, modem, fax, satellite and fiber-optic cable to the great commercial

and recreational centers of the world, but it is not particularly connected to the rest of the nation.

That is because the work this group does is becoming less tied to the activities of other Americans. Most of their jobs consist of analyzing and manipulating symbols—words, numbers or visual images. Among the most prominent of these "symbolic analysts" are management consultants, lawyers, software and design engineers, research scientists, corporate executives, financial advisers, strategic planners, advertising executives, television and movie producers, and other workers whose job titles include terms like "strategy," "planning," "consultant," "policy," "resources" or "engineer."

These workers typically spend long hours in meetings or on the telephone and even longer hours in planes or hotels—advising, making presentations, giving briefings and making deals. Periodically, they issue reports, plans, designs, drafts, briefs, blueprints, analyses, memorandums, layouts, renderings, scripts or projections. In contrast with people whose jobs tend to be tedious and repetitive, symbolic analysts find their work varied and intellectually challenging. In fact, the work is often enjoyable.

These symbolic analysts are in ever greater demand in a world market that places an increasing value on such deals by threatening to move their operations—and jobs—to places around the world with a more congenial tax climate. The paradoxical result has been even less corporate revenue to spend on schools and other community services than before. The executives of General Motors, for example, who have been among the loudest to proclaim the need for better schools, have also been among the most relentless in pursuing local tax abatements and in challenging their tax assessments. G.M.'s successful efforts to reduce its taxes in North Tarrytown, N.Y., where the company has had a factory since 1914, cut local revenues by \$1 million in 1990, part of a larger shortfall that forced the town to lay off scores of teachers.

The secession of the fortunate fifth has been most apparent in how and where they have chosen to work and live. In effect, most of America's large urban centers have splintered into two separate cities. One is composed of those whose symbolic and analytic services are linked to the world economy. The other consists of local service workers—custodians, security guards, taxi drivers, clerical aides, parking attendants, sales people, restaurant employees—whose jobs are dependent on the symbolic analysts. Few blue-collar manufacturing workers remain in American cities. Between 1953 and 1984, for example, New York City lost about 600,000 factory jobs; in the same interval, it added about 700,000 jobs for symbolic analysts and service workers.

The separation of symbolic analysts from local service workers within cities has been reinforced in several ways. Most large cities now possess two school systems—a private one for the children of the top-earning group and a public one for the children of service workers, the remaining blue-collar workers and the unemployed. Symbolic analysts spend considerable time and energy ensuring that their children gain entrance to good private schools, and then small fortunes keeping them there—dollars that under a more progressive tax code might finance better public education.

People with high incomes live, shop and work within areas of cities that, if not beautiful, are at least esthetically tolerable and reasonably safe; precincts not meeting these

minimum standards of charm and security have been left to the less fortunate.

Here again, symbolic analysts have pooled their resources to the exclusive benefit of themselves. Public funds have been spent in earnest on downtown "revitalization" projects, entailing the construction of clusters of post-modern office buildings (complete with fiber-optic cables, private branch exchanges, satellite dishes and other communications equipment linking them to the rest of the world), multilevel parking garages, hotels with glass-enclosed atriums, upscale shopping plazas and galleries, theaters, convention centers and luxury condominiums.

Ideally, these complexes are entirely self-contained, with air-conditioned walkways linking residences, businesses and recreational space. The lucky resident is able to shop, work and attend the theater without risking direct contact with the outside world—that is, the other city.

Carrying the principle a step further, several cities have begun authorizing property owners in certain affluent districts to assess a surtax on local residents and businesses for amenities unavailable to other urban residents, services like extra garbage collections, street cleaning and security. One such New York district, between 38th and 48th Streets and Second and Fifth Avenues, raised \$4.7 million from its residents in 1989, of which \$1 million underwrote a private force of uniformed guards and plainclothes investigators. The new community of people with like incomes and with the power to tax and enforce the law is thus becoming a separate city within the city.

When not living in urban enclaves, symbolic analysts are increasingly congregating in suburbs and exurbs where corporate headquarters have been relocated, research parks have been created, and where bucolic universities have spawned entrepreneurial ventures. Among the most desirable of such locations are Princeton, N.J.; northern Westchester and Putnam Counties in New York; Palo Alto, Calif.; Austin, Tex.; Bethesda, Md., and Raleigh-Durham, N.C.

Engineers and strategists of American auto companies, for example, do not live in Flint or Saginaw, Mich., where the blue-collar workers reside; they cluster in their own towns of Troy, Warren and Auburn Hills. Likewise, the vast majority of the financial specialists, lawyers and executives working for the insurance companies of Hartford would never consider living there; after all, Hartford is the nation's fourth-poorest city. Instead, they flock to Windsor, Middlebury, West Hartford and other towns that are among the wealthiest in the country.

This trend, too, has been growing for decades. But technology has accelerated it. Today's symbolic analysts linked directly to the rest of the globe can choose to live and work in the most pastoral of settings.

The secession has been encouraged by the Federal Government. For the last decade, Washington has in effect shifted responsibility for many public services to local governments. At their peak, Federal grants made up 25 percent of state and local spending in the late 1970's. Today, the Federal share has dwindled to 17 percent. Direct aid to local governments, in the form of programs introduced in the Johnson and Nixon Administrations, has been the hardest hit by budget cuts. In the 1980's, Federal dollars for clean water, job training and transfers, low-income housing, sewage treatment and garbage disposal shrank by some \$50 billion a year, and Washington's share of spending on local

transit declined by 50 percent. (The Bush Administration has proposed that states and localities take on even more of the costs of building and maintaining roads and wants to cut Federal aid for mass transit.) In 1990, New York City received only 9.6 percent of all its revenue from the Federal Government, compared with 16 percent in 1981.

States have quickly transferred many of these new expenses to fiscally strapped cities and towns, with a result that by the start of the 1990's, localities were bearing more than half of the costs of water and sewage, roads, parks, welfare and public schools. In New York State, the local communities' share has risen to about 75 percent of these costs.

Cities and towns with affluent inhabitants can bear these burdens relatively easily. Poorer ones, faced with the twin problems of lower incomes and greater demand for social services, have had far more difficulty. And as the gap between the richest and poorest communities has widened, the shift in responsibility for public services to cities and towns has functioned as another means of relieving wealthier Americans of the cost of aiding less fortunate citizens.

The result has been a growing inequality in basic social and community services. While the city tax rate in Philadelphia, for example, is about triple that of communities around it, the suburbs enjoy far better schools, hospitals, recreation and police protection. Eighty-five percent of the richest families in the greater Philadelphia area live outside the city limits, and 80 percent of the region's poorest live inside. The quality of a city's infrastructure—roads, bridges, sewage, water treatment—is likewise related to the average income of its inhabitants.

The growing inequality in government services has been most apparent in the public schools. The Federal Government's share of the costs of primary and secondary education has dwindled to about 6 percent. The bulk of the cost is divided about equally between the states and local school districts. States with a higher concentration of wealthy residents can afford to spend more on their schools than other states. In 1989, the average public-school teacher in Arkansas, for example, received \$21,700; in Connecticut, \$37,300.

Even among adjoining suburban towns in the same state the differences can be quite large. Consider three Boston-area communities located within minutes of one other. All are predominantly white, and most residents within each town earn about the same as their neighbors. But the disparity of incomes between towns is substantial.

Belmont, northwest of Boston, is inhabited mainly by symbolic analysts and their families. In 1988, the average teacher in its public schools earned \$36,100. Only 3 percent of Belmont's 18-year-olds dropped out of high school, and more than 80 percent of graduating seniors chose to go on to a four-year college.

Just east of Belmont is Somerville, most of whose residents are low-wage service workers. In 1988, the average Somerville teacher earned \$29,400. A third of the town's 18-year-olds did not finish high school, and fewer than a third planned to attend college.

Chelsea, across the Mystic River from Somerville, is the poorest of the three towns. Most of the inhabitants are unskilled, and many are unemployed or only employed part time. The average teacher in Chelsea, facing tougher educational challenges than his or her counterparts in Belmont, earned \$26,200 in 1988, almost a third less than the average teacher in the more affluent town just a few

miles away. More than half of Chelsea's 18-year-olds did not graduate from high school, and only 10 percent planned to attend college.

Similar disparities can be found all over the nation. Students at Highland Park High School in a wealthy suburb of Dallas, for example, enjoy a campus with a planetarium, indoor swimming pool, closed-circuit television studio and state-of-the-art science laboratory. Highland Park spends about \$6,000 a year to educate each student. This is almost twice that spent per pupil by the towns of Wilmer and Hutchins in southern Dallas County. According to Texas education officials, the richest school district in the state spends \$19,300 a year per pupil; its poorest, \$2,100 a year.

The courts have become involved in trying to repair such imbalances, but the issues are not open to easy judicial remedy.

The four-fifths of Americans left in the wake of the secession of the fortunate fifth include many poor blacks, but racial exclusion is neither the primary motive for the separation nor a necessary consequence. Lower-income whites are similarly excluded, and high-income black symbolic analysts are often welcomed. The segregation is economic rather than racial, although economically motivated separation often results in de facto racial segregation. Where courts have found a pattern of racially motivated segregation, it usually has involved lower-income white communities bordering on lower-income black neighborhoods.

In states where courts have ordered equalized state spending in school districts, the vast differences in a town's property values—and thus local tax revenues—continue to result in substantial inequities. Where courts or state governments have tried to impose limits on what affluent communities can pay their teachers, not a few parents in upscale towns have simply removed their children from the public schools and applied the money they might otherwise have willingly paid in higher taxes to private school tuitions instead. And, of course, even if state-wide expenditures were better equalized, poorer states would continue to be at a substantial disadvantage.

In all these ways, the gap between America's symbolic analysts and everyone else is widening into a chasm. Their secession from the rest of the population raises fundamental questions about the future of American society. In the new global economy—in which money, technologies and corporations cross borders effortlessly—a citizen's standard of living depends more and more on skills and insights, and on the infrastructure needed to link these abilities to the rest of the world. But the most skilled and insightful Americans, who are already positioned to thrive in the world market, are now able to slip the bonds of national allegiance, and by so doing disengaged themselves from their less favored fellows. The stark political challenge in the decades ahead will be to reaffirm that, even though America is no longer a separate and distinct economy, it is still a society whose members have abiding obligations to one another. ●

COMMEMORATING UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

● Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, it is an honor to join my colleagues in commemorating the 73d anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of the Ukrainian people.

We celebrate this year's anniversary with a special sense of sadness and poignancy. Just 1 year ago, our hopes were high for all those who have struggled so long for freedom and self-determination.

The Berlin Wall fell almost overnight, and regimes of terror toppled before the unarmed strength of angry citizens who had simply had enough. In the Soviet Union, President Gorbachev's embrace of glasnost seemed to hold promise not only for a new relationship with the democratic West, but also for the dawn of a new relationship among the Republics of the Soviet Union—a more mature relationship that might give expression to the natural yearnings for freedom of those Republics who were brought into the Union through conquest or terror.

I think back today to last year's joyous celebrations across the Ukraine. Hundreds of thousands gathered in Kiev and in towns and villages across the Republic to commemorate the 1918 Declaration of Independence and to celebrate the many nationalities that are the Ukraine of today.

I remember the faith and hope of those Ukrainians who went to the polls last March and elected representatives of the democratic bloc to over 30 percent of the seats in the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R. And I remember the overwhelming 355-4 vote by which that body proudly passed the Ukraine's Declaration of Sovereignty.

But as we stand here today on the Senate floor, those gains of the past year are under attack by a Soviet regime that may be retreating to the traditional policies of military pressure and coercion. Soviet airborne troops have been sent into several Republics, including the Ukraine. The crackdown throughout the Soviet empire is justified by the tired, discredited explanations of old—we need to restore law and order, criminal elements are out of control, these are just temporary measures which are necessary now if we are to have reform later—it's a sad litany that is all too familiar to us, Mr. President.

At this time of severe trial for freedom-loving people in the Ukraine and throughout the Soviet Union, it is especially appropriate that we pause on this anniversary date to pay tribute to their struggle, to convey our deep concern for their welfare, and to reaffirm our commitment to the principles of self-determination.●

SOVIET SUPPRESSION IN THE BALTIC NATIONS

● Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, over the past 10 days our Nation has been understandably focused on the gulf war. Indeed, all of my colleagues here in the Senate have now gone on record supporting the military actions by our allied forces to reverse Iraq's brutal inva-

sion and annexation of Kuwait. We all hope and pray for early successes with minimal casualties.

At the same time, Mr. President, casualties are now mounting in another area of the world that has been subject to forced annexation and occupation by an outside power. I speak specifically of the situation in the Baltic States. While Kuwait has now been occupied for more than 5 months, I remind my colleagues that the Baltics have been under Soviet domination for over five decades.

I would also remind my colleagues that the United States has been consistent during these five decades in not recognizing the Baltics as part of the Soviet Union.

Through the media, we have all witnessed the most recent killing by Soviet black beret commandos of individuals trying to defend the institutions of their democratically elected governments. Mr. President, the use of brutal force against the democratic principle of self-determination is more than deeply troubling to this Senator—it's reprehensible—and it requires a firm response by the United States and its democratic allies throughout the world.

Mr. President, as we begin trying to build a new world order where democracy and independence can flourish, we must learn from the tragic mistakes of the past. History has taught us that we must raise our voices loud and clear against aggression wherever and whenever it occurs if we are to spot it.

When Soviet tanks rolled into Hungary in 1956, our voices were preoccupied with the Suez crisis. Aggression was allowed to stand with the world's attention diverted. As a result, the people of Hungary suffered greatly. The gulf crisis must not allow us to make the same mistake.

By speaking out in this Chamber, we can help focus the world's attention on the unprovoked aggression in the Baltic nations. If we truly want to see communism unravel, we must call attention to Soviet aggression and suppression of individual rights and self-determination.

In this regard, Mr. President, let me also point out that today, January 22, is the 73d anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of the Ukrainian nation. While these people are still under Soviet domination, we hope and pray that the central powers in Moscow will finally recognize that the Ukrainian people, like their counterparts in the Baltic nations, are an independent people who have expressed their right to self-determination.

Mr. President, I urge my colleagues to join with me in speaking out against the Soviet crackdown in these sovereign nations. Their democratically elected leaders are pleading with us, as the leader of the free world, to stand up

for the principles that have guided our own history.

This morning, the Vice Presidents of Lithuania and Latvia came right here to the Senate to make their plea at a congressional hearing. What more do they have to do for the United States to take clear action in response to this Soviet aggression?

How many more people will have to die, Mr. President, before we tell the Soviets, in no uncertain terms, that we will postpone the upcoming summit and impose economic sanctions until they withdraw their troops? How long will the Baltic nations have to wait for the United States to grant them diplomatic recognition? If we don't recognize them as part of the Soviet Union, and rightfully so, then what are they? The answer is they are independent nations with democratically elected governments. At the very least, they deserve diplomatic recognition from the Western World.

Earlier today, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev addressed his nation stating that the Baltic question is an internal matter for the Soviet Union alone to solve, not the outside world, not the West, and not the United Nations. Obviously, Mr. Gorbachev does not realize that this is not an internal matter as far as the Baltic people or the outside world is concerned.

In view of Mr. Gorbachev's statement, I believe it is even more imperative for the outside world and we here in the United States to act now with a firm response against this Soviet aggression. Specifically, we should suspend economic assistance and postpone the summit until his troops are withdrawn. We should also extend diplomatic recognition to the Baltic nations.

Mr. President, if we ignore reality and ignore our responsibility, I fear there will be further bloodshed and there will be no one to blame but ourselves. I repeat—the time to act is now.

Resolutions will shortly be introduced in this body to support, with strong measures, the expressed desire of the Baltic people for democracy and self-determination. I urge my colleagues to support these measures and other measures which have already been introduced and are now pending before this body.●

NATIONAL SCHOOL COUNSELING WEEK

● Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, February 3 to 9 marks National School Counseling Week. During this week, the American School Counselor Association will be honoring the wonderful work and dedication of professional school counselors in the United States. I would like to recognize the tremendous contribution that these tireless counselors make all year long to the

character and development of our school students.

There are more than 73,000 professional school counselors in the United States who work with students in pre-kindergarten through the 12th grade. In addition to the work of curriculum and graduation requirements, the school counselor must assist our youth with their personal, social, and career development.

School counselors are at the forefront in assisting our Nation's students understand themselves, and their interactions with their peers, their family, and their community. Problemsolving and decisionmaking are but two of the tasks which today's professional school counselors must address.

The school counselor is an individual who must be able to understand the constant changes in society which impact on a young person, and they must know how to deal with the problems faced by students of the nineties. Furthermore, school counselors work with parents. In fact, it is the parent-student-counselor relationship that is oftentimes critical to the welfare and success of the student.

Today's school counselors implement comprehensive developmental counseling programs and provide numerous types of assistance to our Nation's youth on topics which include: Understanding themselves, goal setting, career decisions, academic and social concerns.

Finally, let me add that the American School Counselor Association, a division of the American Association for Counseling and Development has been active in setting the professional standards for school counselors, and has been responsible for more than 30 years in providing the most up-to-date information for their members.

Mr. President, I hope that my colleagues will join me in saluting the work of our Nation's school counselors during this the National School Counseling Week. ●

PRO BONO CHAMPION

● Mr. WIRTH. Mr. President, I would like to take this opportunity to recognize an outstanding American—and a very caring Coloradan—Ms. Helen Stone.

Helen recently received the American Bar Association's Pro Bono Publico Award for legal services she has donated to low-income individuals. For more than 15 years, Helen has provided free or minimal cost legal assistance for hundreds of families in Colorado. She helped found the Boulder County Legal Services program—which is a model for pro bono legal service in the country.

Helen Stone is the kind of lawyer who represents the very best traditions of the bar: A commitment to community service, dedication to helping peo-

ple, and compassion for those who are most vulnerable in our society.

Mr. President, I join all Coloradans in thanking Helen Stone for her record of service, and ask to have the following tribute which appeared as a feature story in the Boulder Daily Camera printed in the RECORD:

The article follows:

A MONDAY MORNING ROSE TO: HELEN STONE—
LAWYER GETS LEGAL HELP FOR POOR

(By Bruce Langer)

In an age when lawyers are stereotyped as money-hungry sharks, Helen Stone stands as a reminder of what is best about the practice of law.

For 17 years, Stone has been an irresistible force in Boulder County's legal community for the interests of the less fortunate. Her guidance, and a healthy dose of leading by example, have spurred local lawyers to volunteer their time pro bono—at no cost—to clients who cannot afford legal representation.

On Aug. 5, Stone will be honored with the prestigious American Bar Association Pro Bono Publico Award, one of our recipients this year. Closer to home, she recently received the Colorado Bar Association's Donald W. Hoagland Pro Bono Award.

"Her name is virtually synonymous in Boulder County with private bar involvement in pro bono work," Ann Mygatt, past president of the county bar association, said in a letter nominating Stone for the national award. "I can't think of any individual who is more deserving of this award, or who would more symbolize leadership and dedication to the goals and ideals of legal services to the poor than Helen Stone.

Stone's nomination was accompanied by 21 letters of support from local lawyers, judges and law school professors.

Stone began her legal career in 1973 and immediately volunteered in a bar association legal clinic. She chaired the committee operating the clinic in 1975 and 1976, and helped found the more structured Boulder County Legal Services program.

"Although she was barely making a living, she spent countless hours representing the poor and helping organize delivery systems for legal services to the indigent population of Boulder County," said attorney Claudia Bayliff.

As president of the organization from 1977 to 1988, Stone developed a model program for delivering free or very low cost legal aid to poor clients. Signing up volunteer lawyers and fund-raising were among her most crucial duties.

"I'm sort of a product of the '60s," Stone said. "I never changed my ideals."

It is getting harder and harder to meet the needs of poor clients, because there are more of them and fewer lawyers coming out of law schools with "the social aspirations that I did," Stone said. Sharply higher expenses also make it harder for lawyers to support pro bono clients.

"It's very gratifying that someone noticed," Stone said. "I don't do this to give lawyers a good name, but I think it's unfortunate that we have such a bad reputation. Lots of lawyers do really good work." ●

UNITED STATES AID TO EL SALVADOR

● Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, as most Senators probably know by now, President Bush has determined that he has

grounds to release the \$42.5 million in military aid to El Salvador that was withheld as a result of a provision sponsored by myself and Senator DODD in last year's foreign aid appropriation. The President states that he will not obligate this money for 60 days, however, to give more time to the peace talks between the FMLN rebels and the Government.

The Dodd-Leahy provision was supported by strong majorities in both the Senate and House. It puts real pressure on the Government of El Salvador and the FMLN to find a negotiated settlement of a 10-year civil war neither side can win.

I do not understand President Bush's reasoning in making this decision now, when there has been encouraging progress in the peace talks. It sends the wrong signal and will embolden the hardliners in the Salvadoran Army and Government to resist any serious peace proposals. It will also strengthen those in the FMLN who still think victory on the battlefield is possible, and who are trying to block progress at the negotiating table.

The 60-day delay in obligating the money gains nothing. It makes no sense, and I do not see what the administration thinks it is accomplishing by this muddled action. The President was not required by the Dodd-Leahy law to make a determination now, only to report on the present situation in El Salvador. If he really wants to give the peace negotiations a chance, he should have waited longer before making his determination.

I am very disappointed in how the administration is handling the military aid withhold. It is failing to take advantage of this fragile window of opportunity to settle the war on the basis of a negotiated peace framework. We in Congress have acted in good faith with the administration in the search for peace, and I do not see our good faith being reciprocated in this decision.

After 10 years of effort, billions of American tax dollars wasted, and tens of thousands of senseless deaths, the Congress passed this legislation because we do not believe the American people will support unending war in El Salvador. I am convinced Congress' willingness to finance a futile and unwinnable war in El Salvador is at an end. There are other far more pressing and more just uses for our scarce foreign aid dollars.

Our legislation was intended to give peace a chance, to slow the flow of guns and bullets that have too often caused the deaths of innocent civilians. It is aimed to stop the political assassinations and disappearances, and to strengthen the role of the U.N. Secretary General in mediating the negotiations.

We are convinced that without an active role for the United Nations there is no hope for peace in El Salvador.

Our legislation puts pressure on both sides. We tied the withholding of half the aid to compliance by the FMLN with certain conditions, including that they negotiate in good faith, that they not receive significant shipments of weapons from outside El Salvador and that they not assassinate or abduct civilians.

We also imposed conditions on the Government. Among other things, the law requires that unless the Government conducts a thorough and professional investigation of the murders of the Jesuit priests all the military aid is to be withheld.

Shortly after the legislation was enacted the two sides agreed that the U.N. Secretary General should take a more active role in the negotiations. Then, in December, Mr. Alvaro de Soto, the Secretary General's representative, offered an ambitious set of ideas for the reform of the Salvadoran Armed Forces.

I am told the two sides have responded constructively to Mr. de Soto's suggestions and in subsequent meetings have narrowed their differences. There is reason to hope the core issue of the status and structure of the Salvadoran Armed Forces will be solved soon. That would open the way to rapid resolution of the other negotiating issues.

Despite these positive developments, the President has determined that the FMLN has violated certain conditions in the legislation. But, the President says he will postpone obligating the aid for 60 days.

Mr. President, I hold no brief for the FMLN. Just as the Salvadoran Army, it too has conducted a savage, merciless war in which most of the victims are unarmed civilians. None of us who voted to withhold aid were so naive to believe that the fighting would stop before a political settlement. We recognize that the war will continue until there is a cease-fire, and cease-fire will only come after the two sides agree on the political issues that divide them.

We also knew the conditions in the legislation were subject to interpretation, and that the President would be the one to decide whether they had been violated.

But the law is intended to be balanced in the pressure it exerts on the two sides. We expected the President to apply the law evenhandedly, and in a manner that will advance, rather than thwart, the chances for peace.

The President's action, only 73 days after signing our legislation into law, does neither. It is a one-sided application of the law which will only undermine its effect.

The President's decision ignores the irrefutable failure of the Government of El Salvador to carry out a thorough investigation of the Jesuit murders, and signals to the Salvadoran military that its obstruction of justice in the

Jesuits' case carries no penalty. Unfortunately, it also encourages both sides to stall in the negotiations. This would mean that more innocent people will die in El Salvador.

The President's action is based on two findings. First, that the FMLN has obtained shipments of weapons from abroad since the date the law was enacted on November 4 of last year. The facts in support of this finding are classified, but let me say that I do not find the evidence convincing.

I am not able to independently verify whether the FMLN has violated this condition. However, our law should not be undercut on the basis of suspicion or assumption.

Second, the President has determined that the FMLN has engaged in military actions that have resulted in civilian deaths. Undoubtedly that is true. But the administration apparently would have us believe that only the FMLN's bullets and mortars have caused civilian deaths, not the bombing and shelling of the Salvadoran military.

In that particular condition, our intent was to curb killings of civilians by both sides through assassinations and deliberate targeting of civilians. We well knew we could not prevent civilian deaths which are the inevitable by-products of military actions.

It is significant that the President did not find that the FMLN has assassinated or abducted civilians, which is in fact what the law was designed to prevent.

Mr. President, the truth is that neither the Government of El Salvador nor the FMLN has fully complied with our law.

As proof of that assertion, let us look at the other side of the picture.

According to a report released just last week by Speaker FOLEY's Task Force on the Jesuit murders:

The armed forces wrote the first act of the Jesuits' case by murdering the priests; now, they are writing the final act by controlling the investigation.

Every effort to expand the circle of suspects have been contained by perjury, amnesia, obstructionism or silence on the part of the armed forces.

The report lists dozens questions which are crucial to a thorough investigation. It details how the military has thwarted every attempt to answer them.

I am informed that officials in the State Department do not disagree with the findings in the report, at least privately.

And, also last week, two of the prosecutors in the Jesuit case resigned in protest. They blamed the Salvadoran Attorney General for failing to stand up to pressure by the Salvadoran military to impede the investigation.

Mr. President, under our law when the Government of El Salvador fails to comply with any of the conditions pertaining to its conduct, all aid must be

withheld. I believe at least as strong a case can be made that the Government has violated the law as the FMLN, because of its utter failure, measured against any reasonable standard, to thoroughly investigate the Jesuit murders.

The President has made his decision. In a meeting with Assistant Secretary Aronson, Senator DODD and I told him we firmly believe it is the wrong decision. We tried to persuade Assistant Secretary Aronson to recommend to the President that he make no determination at this time, but to no avail.

I will be talking with Senator DODD, Congressman MOAKLEY and others in the days ahead about what action the Congress should take in response to this regrettable decision. We cannot stand by while the chances for peace are undermined.

Mr. President, a few days ago, the FMLN shot down a United States military helicopter that was flying at low altitude above a conflict zone in El Salvador. Three American servicemen died. According to an autopsy, two of the Americans were shot in the head at point blank range.

Although no complete or independent investigation has been done, from the available evidence there is every reason to believe these Americans were shot by the FMLN, after they were prisoners of war.

This is a violation of the laws of war and I totally and unequivocally condemn it. Mr. President, I immediately wrote the leadership of the FMLN to protest these killings. I ask unanimous consent that my letter to the FMLN, as well as letters I sent to U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar and to President Cristiani be inserted in the RECORD at the end of my statement.

My information is that, after initially claiming the Americans had died of wounds, the FMLN now accepts that two of them were killed while unarmed prisoners of war. The evidence was too specific and unavoidable for the FMLN to evade responsibility. It has arrested two members of the unit involved. The FMLN should understand that justice must be done, and swiftly.

This tragic and senseless incident once again illustrates that both sides in El Salvador are capable of unspeakable brutality, and that they will deny responsibility until the truth is incapable.

Mr. President, I say once again that the patience of Congress with this bottomless pit of American foreign aid in El Salvador is fast coming to an end. I call on President Bush to use the military aid withhold to induce the sides to negotiate a political settlement to the conflict that will at last give the long-suffering Salvadoran people a chance for peace. ●

UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

• Ms. MIKULSKI. Mr. President, I am pleased to offer my congratulations to Ukrainians throughout the world as they celebrate the 73d anniversary of their declaration of independence.

The conflict of World War I, the Russian Revolution, the collapse of the Russian and the Austrian-Hungarian empires, and the early Bolshevik conflict gave the Ukraine the opportunity to declare its independence in November 1917. Although the Ukrainians have experienced enormous pressure from the central Soviet Government, their ideals of freedom have endured and been expressed in today's democratic movement.

In 1918 the Ukrainian National Republic established a constitution which guaranteed the basic freedoms of religion, speech, assembly, and the press. It guaranteed the rights of minorities and established separate cabinet posts for these groups. These ideals are identical to those on which our own country was founded. Sadly enough, the Soviet regime has temporarily halted this earnest quest for freedom.

Because of the outbreak of freedom in Eastern Europe during the past year, this anniversary of the Ukraine's 1918 declaration of independence has a special significance for all Ukrainians. And the current fighting in the Baltic States adds an extra poignancy to the celebration. I join them in celebrating this event and extend my most sincere wishes to these wonderful people. •

HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHINA

• Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, I rise today to speak about the ongoing human rights abuses in the People's Republic of China. Since the massacre at Tiananmen Square, frankly, things have only gotten worse for the democracy movement.

Not so many years ago, many of us had high hopes for a bright future for China. Its economic liberalization seemed the harbinger of welcome political openness. Today, 19 months after the Tiananmen massacre, that bright prospect has been severely dimmed. The recent trials and convictions of leaders of the Tiananmen protest demonstrate again that the Government is unwilling to pursue a more enlightened policy.

Mr. President, these protestors deserve to be honored, not jailed, and certainly not tried in secret. They touched the hearts of the world, and raised hopes for democratic change in China. The popularity of the demonstrations in Beijing, Shanghai, Chengdu, and elsewhere in the spring of 1989, and the sympathy shown the protestors by members of the Chinese establishment, including former Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang, make clear that the demonstrations represent a mass popular movement.

To prosecute the demonstrators now would be shortsighted. I am confident that these courageous men and women will be the next generation of Chinese leaders, while the old guard will be gone and discredited. I call on Premier Li Peng and Party Secretary Jiang Zemin to reconsider their course. Do not convict and jail some of the best men and women of China's future.

If moral suasion does not work on the leaders of China, I would like to add a more pragmatic warning. The continued prosecution of the Tiananmen protesters will further set back Sino-American relations and will threaten all the progress we have made in recent years. The threat is not merely to the political relationship. China's goal is to quadruple its economic production by the year 2000. I fear that ambitious goal is unattainable without increased trade with and investment from the nations of the West and the emerging economic powerhouses of East Asia. That will require the cooperation of the United States and others, and I submit that cooperation will not be forthcoming without an improvement in China's treatment of its dissidents.

Mr. President, I would like to see strong and healthy ties between China and the United States. Our countries have enormous potential, working together, to build a better world and to improve the lives of our peoples. The full potential of that relationship cannot be realized, however, until China's leaders alter their current course of intolerance and lack of respect for the rights of its people. •

CONDEMNING BRUTAL TREATMENT OF ALLIED PRISONERS OF WAR

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I wish to add my voice to the chorus of voices throughout the world who have condemned Saddam Hussein's brutal treatment of allied prisoners of war and his blatant disregard for the Geneva conventions governing treatment of prisoners of war. This latest outrage, like his aggression against Kuwait, will not stand. The judgment day is fast approaching for Saddam. His crimes will be punished. But before I discuss the certainty of swift justice any further, I wish to say a few things about the brave men of Operation Desert Shield who are now held prisoner in Iraq.

Let no one believe for even a moment, that these good men have not conducted themselves in captivity honorably, dutifully, and in accordance with the code of conduct which they are honor bound to obey. I have no doubt, whatsoever, that these men stayed faithful to the letter and spirit of that code. That these men were under great physical and mental duress is apparent to anyone who watched their forced statements on the video-

tape received from Iraq. Moreover, with the stilted, halting manner in which they delivered their statements they made it clear to the world that these statements were coerced from them under circumstances that nearly surpass the imagination. From the marks on their faces, it was clear that they had resisted to the best of their ability.

These men are heroes, and I pray that their captivity will soon be ended. I say again, Mr. President, these men are heroes, and I hope that I may some day have the great honor of meeting them.

Mr. President, amidst the brutality of war it may seem naive to expect that prisoners of war be treated humanely and with respect for the rights accorded them under the relevant Geneva conventions. It may seem doubly naive to expect a tyrant like Saddam Hussein to treat prisoners of war lawfully either out of a sensitivity to the decent opinions of mankind or even in acknowledgment of his country's obligations as a signatory to the Geneva Convention.

Men like Saddam seldom exhibit such sensitivities. He has inflicted violence and suffering on his own people that violate the norms of every civilized nation on Earth. He has earned his reputation as a butcher, and Americans have few illusions that he can be trusted to safeguard the welfare of American prisoners of war in Iraq.

Mr. President, America does not expect Saddam to change the habits of a lifetime and become responsive to world opinion. But, perhaps, we can expect Saddam to make certain decisions based on his own instinct for self-preservation. Unfortunately, that instinct has not been evident in Saddam's recent behavior as he led his country recklessly into war.

Nevertheless, Mr. President, it is incumbent on the governments of the allied countries participating in Operation Desert Shield, and, indeed, on the entire international community, to make clear to Saddam the unavoidable consequences of his actions. We must make clear, not just to Saddam Hussein, but to the rest of the Iraqi political and military leadership that if they mistreat allied prisoners, they do so at their own grave peril.

Mr. President, let us be clear about one fact that I fear Saddam does not yet appreciate. This war will not be another Vietnam. The United States and its allies will win this war. We will win it conclusively and in less time than Saddam ever expected. Therefore, the President of the United States can say with confidence, as he has, that those responsible for mistreating American prisoners of war will be held accountable. They will pay a severe price for their brutality. They will be made to regret their contempt for international law and human life. Saddam, in the

words of President Bush, "can count on it."

CONDEMNING THE UNPROVOKED ATTACKS ON ISRAEL

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of a concurrent resolution that will be submitted tomorrow on behalf of myself, the Republican leader, and others be printed in the RECORD at this point for the information of all Senators.

There being no objection, the concurrent resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. CON. RES. —

Whereas Israel is a major ally and close friend of the United States.

Whereas Iraq, without provocation, has launched several Scud surface-to-surface missile attacks on civilian targets in Israel.

Whereas some experts believe that Iraq may have the capability to arm its Scud missiles with chemical warheads, dramatically increasing the potential that such missiles could do serious damage to Israel.

Whereas Iraq has threatened to "burn half of Israel" with chemical weapons.

Whereas every country has the right to defend itself.

Whereas Israel has exhibited exceptional restraint in the face of Iraq's repeated threats and Scud attacks, has absorbed Iraqi Scud attacks and, to date, has refrained from military retaliation against Iraq, and continues to support implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 678 through the unprecedented international coalition of forces in the Persian Gulf.

Whereas the United States has provided Patriot anti-missile missiles to Israel, to help defend against further Iraqi Scud missile attacks.

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Congress:

1. Condemns the unprovoked attacks by Iraq on Israel;
2. Expresses profound sympathy for the loss of life, casualties and destruction caused by the Iraqi attacks;
3. Recognizes Israel's right to defend itself;
4. Commends the Government of Israel for its restraint;
5. Commends the people of Israel for their brave and composed perseverance in the face of the Iraqi attacks;
6. Commends the administration for its decision to provide Patriot missiles to Israel; and
7. Reaffirms America's continued commitment to providing Israel with the means to maintain its security and freedom.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, the concurrent resolution we have printed in the RECORD will be submitted tomorrow by Senator MITCHELL and myself. I anticipate we will have a large number of cosponsors. I know that Senators METZENBAUM, MACK, JOHNSTON, and NICKLES will be original cosponsors.

I will have a longer statement tomorrow, but I did want to make three basic points.

First, the purposeful Scud attacks by Saddam Hussein on civilian targets in Israel is terror, pure and simple. Tragically, in war, civilians often fall in harm's way. But subjecting innocent

civilians in a nonbelligerent country to missile attacks is not even warfare, but high technology terrorism. Today's attack, in which many were apparently seriously wounded, carries this terrorism to yet another terrible stage.

Second, the United States stands together with the people of Israel in this terrible hour. We admire the courage and calm of the Israeli people, and the enormous restraint shown by the Israeli Government. We have provided Patriot missiles, and we will continue to do all we can to help Israel defend itself.

Finally, we recognize Israel's right to defend itself. But we do hope that, as Israeli Deputy Foreign Minister Nathanyahu said today, that great nation will continue to respond not only with its heart, but its head. In the long run, I continue to believe that by a policy of restraint Israel can best serve its own national interest, and the common interest we all have in seeing Saddam Hussein's aggression repulsed, and seeing him punished for his aggression and terror.

Mr. President, I know that many other Senators will speak tomorrow on this resolution, and I am confident it will be adopted by a unanimous vote.

TERRY ANDERSON

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, I rise to inform my colleagues that today marks the 2,138th day that Terry Anderson has been held captive in Lebanon.

ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE

Mr. MOYNIHAN. On January 22, 1918, the people of the Ukraine declared their independence. Today, 73 years later, they are still struggling to achieve self-determination. It is now over 6 months since the state government in the Ukraine adopted the Declaration of State Sovereignty of the Ukraine.

Many peoples suffered under Stalinism, but few if any suffered like the Ukrainians. During the great famine of 1932-33 more than 7 million Ukrainians died of starvation as a result of deliberate Soviet policies. That famine—one of the greatest tragedies of a century marked by tragedy—was only the most extreme manifestation of a Soviet policy intended to suppress the unique ethnic and national identity of the Ukrainians.

I have written for many years that the Marxist totalitarian effort to crush the unique identity of the Ukraine and the other Soviet republics would fail. In 1979 I wrote as part of a Newsweek symposium on what would happen during the 1980's that the determination of the Ukrainians, the Georgians, the people of the Baltic Republics and others to retain their unique identities would

tear the misnamed Soviet "Union" apart:

Now the nationality strains begin. Whatever Marxism may have meant to intellectuals, it is ethnic identity that has stirred the masses of the twentieth century, and they are stirring near the Russian borders. John Paul II at the United Nations spoke to both these Soviet realities: that Soviet man is not free; that the Soviet peoples are enslaved. Since 1920 the Communists have * * * ruthlessly suppress[ed] ethnic politics. It won't work.

Mr. President, I salute the tenacity of the Ukrainian people. For 73 years they have clung to their unique and colorful heritage. Despite the horrors of Stalinism—starvation and labor camps—they have preserved the ways of their fathers and grandfathers. I celebrate this anniversary with confidence that the Ukrainian people, having survived all this, will inevitably achieve the freedom they so richly deserve.

ORDER FOR STAR PRINT

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that S. 53 be star printed to reflect the following changes which I send to the desk.

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

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I have no further business at this time. I understand that Senator GORTON wishes to be recognized, and Senator HELMS.

With the consent of the Republican leader, I am going to propose that they be recognized in that order to speak for such time as they wish, and that on the conclusion of Senator HELMS' remarks, the Senate will be in recess, under the previous order, until noon tomorrow.

If there is no objection then, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Senator GORTON be recognized to speak, and that following the conclusion of his remarks, Senator HELMS be recognized to speak, and that at the conclusion of Senator HELMS' remarks, the Senate stand in recess, as under the previous order, until 12 noon Wednesday, January 23.

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

The Senator from Washington.

PROUD TO BE AN AMERICAN

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, never have I been more proud to be an American than I have been since last Thursday. For the first time in our history, we have entered an armed conflict thoughtfully and rationally and after a prolonged national debate on first principles and on America's role in the world. As we move forward with our campaign in the desert, we are certain

to face diversions, setbacks, and tragedy, so it is well now, at the outset, to express those principles, our resolve, and our pride.

I am proud, Mr. President, of our willingness to risk so much for a set of intangible principles: the creation and maintenance of order in a new world, the punishment of brutal aggression, the reversal of an assault on the vital interests of the international community, and the eclipse of a ruthless tyrant together with the power he has amassed to threaten his peaceful neighbors.

Our principles are rooted so deeply in our history that they define us: Freedom, justice, and peace—and the knowledge that without the first two, the latter is an illusion. For more than 200 years, since our forefathers saw these principles to be so vital as to be worth the hazard of their own lives, Americans have been uniquely willing to sacrifice in their defense.

We must never forget that in order to win our right to freedom, justice, and peace, a long and bloody war was required.

Later, during a civil war and two world wars, Americans fought and sacrificed and died for those goals, on each occasion advancing the cause of justice and freedom and bringing closer the dream of peace.

To those ends, we dedicated countless treasure for almost half a century, and thousands of American lives in Korea and Vietnam. In the end, the cold war terminated in a victory for our principles and for America's dedication to them.

Now we face our first post-cold-war challenge, a challenge from a dangerous antagonist, armed to the teeth and committed to goals destructive of our principles. Reflecting on the lessons of the 1930's we are convinced that the ambitions of a ruthless dictator are dealt with best and at the lowest cost in lives early and at a distance.

It is this response to Saddam Hussein that leads me to say that I have never been more proud to be an American.

Between the two world wars, we learned that without teeth, united international action has a meaning. Diplomacy, should be our first, and nearly always our only method of problem solving, but we do not stop there, always as we did with the useless economic sanctions against Mussolini in 1935. Today's united action of the United Nations has real meaning—meaning even a Saddam Hussein is coming to understand.

Second, again from World War II, we learned that acting sooner rather than later saves lives. Embolden Saddam Hussein, sacrifice Kuwait, and we would simply empower him to destroy more lives and wreak more destruction later.

Third, a lesson from Vietnam: Debate our course of action openly, accept dis-

sent as patriotic, but once a course is chosen, act decisively.

This lesson led us to the fullest debate over a proposed conflict in American history. It has led us to all out rather than limited effort. And it will, I am overwhelmingly convinced, save American lives.

In this time of pride and dedication one individual and several special groups of Americans and others are especially deserving of our admiration and our prayers.

I am proud of our President. George Bush has shown the moral courage to act, to risk his Presidency, when others could not or would not. Not only has the President acted, he has acted wisely. He has revived an almost dormant United Nations which, if it is successful in this conflict, may yet live up to the dreams and promises of its founders almost half a century ago. Now, while the result is not certain, is the time to praise our President for so noble and consequential a goal.

I am proud, Mr. President, of our American society and of this Congress. Never before has this Nation gone to war after so long and so thoughtful a debate over principles. Never have all sides had such an opportunity to be heard. Rarely have so deep a set of divisions been so rapidly repaired. This Congress reflected and expressed those divisions. It now both expresses and articulates our unity.

But above all, Mr. President, I am proud of our men and women in uniform on the Arabian desert. Many are professional military personnel whose strength and dedication have kept this country free through a long and often dangerous cold war. Others, also regulars, enlisted for other reasons, for adventure, for an education, for comradeship, many without ever dreaming that they would be required to use their new skills in combat. Still others, by the thousands, are reserves uprooted from careers, communities, and families for risks and duties hardly imagined in the camaraderie of reserve meetings and encampments at home.

Some are cocky, others quietly resolved, others justifiably frightened, but all are dedicated to the triumph of their just cause. All deserve our voices, our prayers, and our support.

I am proud, Mr. President, of our American ingenuity and our technology. After years of uninterrupted criticism of high technology systems, we seem to have discovered that the majority of our defense contractors and workers have given value for what they have received. Thousands of American lives will be preserved as a consequence of their genius.

I am proud of our allies, Mr. President, and especially of the United Kingdom and Egypt, both of which have risked greatly to stand with us with such resolve.

I am proud of the State of Israel, our true friend, which has shown such patience and courage under unprovoked attack. We are reminded once again of how easy it has been to advise Israel, from a distance of 5,000 miles, to turn the other cheek to enemies resolved to obliterate it, and how difficult and dangerous it is to do so on the spot.

As an aside, Mr. President, we can have no pride in Germany or Japan, nations we were recently told were to be our successors as superpowers. Their free-ride mentality, their indifference to the cause of justice and freedom for others are a disgrace. But that is a subject for a different set of remarks.

During the last decade, Mr. President, our armed services, our industries, our firmness and dedication, our regained national confidence have ended victoriously a long cold war. They have removed almost entirely our fear of a nuclear holocaust. They have given us a military capable of moving around half a world to meet the fourth largest army in the world on overwhelmingly favorable terms. We have spent more than \$1 trillion, Mr. President, and we have been given our money's worth.

I am, especially proud, Mr. President, of the families of the men and women at risk. They, here at home, carry with quiet courage the massive burden of simply waiting. They must bear daily the criticism of the task their loved ones have been sent to perform. They provide the moral support, the strength those dear to them require in a time of danger. They need every tribute and all the support we who are also here at home can provide.

Mr. President, we have launched a war for a set of principles, of ideals. A successful result and a better world are certain if we continue to show the courage to match our principles. The cost is unknown, but the greater our resolve, the more rapid our triumph will be. We fight, Mr. President, for justice, freedom, and peace. No cause could be more worthy.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. HELMS. I thank the Chair for recognizing me.

Before my distinguished friend from Washington leaves the floor, I commend him on his eloquent comments, to which I fully subscribe. I may have some comments in which he will be interested which are directly related to the subject he discussed.

MISSILE ATTACK ON ISRAEL

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, this evening Middle East time an Iraqi missile struck the city of Tel Aviv in Israel, reportedly resulting in 60 casualties. We do not know at this time whether people were killed or not. But clearly there were extensive casualties.

Mr. President, this is a picture of the type of missile which struck Tel Aviv this afternoon. This picture was taken by Mr. Kenneth Timmerman at the Baghdad Arms Show in May 1989. The Iraqis call this missile "Al Abbas." But it is in fact a modified version of the Soviet SS-1, known by its NATO designation as the Scud B. You will note the transporter-erector in the picture is called a "Scania." It was made by a Swedish company, Saab.

I do not need to remind any Senators that Saab sells a lot of cars and trucks in the U.S. market. I will get to that in just a minute.

Mr. President, in addition, I have an official German Government document, dated August 21, 1990, and translated for me by the Congressional Research Service, which identifies five German companies as having participated "in the Iraqi project to modernize or increase the range of Russian Scud missiles."

Mr. President, the meaning of all this is that German companies gave the Soviet missiles the extra range to reach Israel, and Saab, the Swedish company, gave the missiles mobility so that United States pilots and pilots of our allies cannot find these missiles.

But the point is this: it is precisely these mobile missiles that our young men and those of Great Britain and Saudi Arabia, and Egypt, Kuwait, France, Italy have risked their lives to seek, find, and destroy. Now we find that some of them have become prisoners of the regime of Saddam Hussein.

So let me raise this question, and I will not take long in doing it, Mr. President: Are we going to continue to listen to the excuses of foreign governments whenever their firms are caught, undeniably, helping some tyrant in the Third World develop ballistic missiles?

Many times I have come to this floor and raised this question. Many times I have raised it in my capacity as ranking member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. For 3 years, Mr. President, 3 years, the Senate has worked very hard trying to craft legislation imposing penalties on companies which assist the production of chemical weaponry, biological weaponry, and ballistic missiles in and for the Third World.

As a matter of highest priority, this Congress needs to complete that work with no further delay. If the Swedes should discover that they can no longer sell any more trucks in the United States because they have provided and increased the capacity of Iraq for weapons of mass destruction, maybe the Swedes would be a lot more careful about the deals they make with dictators overseas.

That is it, Mr. President. I have raised the question, and implicit in that question is my pledge to do the best I can to have this Congress act on it.

In conclusion, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the report of the German Government dated August 21, 1990, as translated by the Library of Congress for me be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[Congressional Research Service]

BONN, GERMANY,
August 21, 1990.

ADMINISTRATION REPORT ON PARTICIPATION BY GERMAN COMPANIES IN ARMS SUPPLY AND THE EXPORT OF TECHNOLOGIES PERTAINING TO ARMAMENTS TO IRAQ

I.

Before I took office, I was occupied with mastering the legal ramifications of the Rabta crisis. Even before the Imhausen case was brought to light, there had been other, equally disturbing, cases of irresponsible or even intentional exports of lethal technologies. They are catching up with us now as we learn more and more about them, and once again it is a poor reflection on German foreign trade. As early as 1983 equipment for the manufacture of poison gas was being illegally exported to Iraq. The proof of this has been available since last week. In the early 1980s participation by German companies on the military project called "Saad 16" began and later in the industrial arms complex called "Taji." I shall come back to these and other areas in more detail later. At the present time, we know of criminal investigations of 25 companies in connection with Iraq alone. In most cases, the Federal Government instituted these proceedings itself. Also, the number of party foreign trade audits has been sharply increased.

That companies from numerous other countries have also participated in arms projects in Iraq is absolutely no excuse; rather, it shows the urgent necessity of an international agreement to prevent proliferation of lethal technologies. We must expect that even these days, during the embargo, perhaps even right now, Iraq will be trying to complete its arsenal through crafty purchasing operations in the industrialized countries, even here, in Germany.

I am responsible for the overall legal framework for exports, as well as legal judgments as to the admissibility of individual exports. In addition, the Federal Government is responsible for preventing as far as possible any export proceedings that illegally circumvent the licensing authorities in Frankfurt by not even contacting these authorities in the first place or by exporting items with other characteristics than those on the export license. Investigate or criminal proceedings were or are still in progress, from the poison gas factory to the missile plant and the arms manufacturers to the nuclear area because there was, or is, suspicion of illegal exporting.

As important as it is for deterrence, I cannot rest content with just criminal prosecution or sentencing, because as a rule, the results, which were actually what was to be prevented, will have already occurred. The dangerous proliferation has already taken place. Our country's international reputation, on which we are so dependent, has already been damaged.

A very large part of the reform package for strengthening foreign trade controls has already gone into effect, and I do not have to list these items here separately. The personnel in the Federal Office, for instance, was

more than doubled in the area of control and will be further expanded this year. We have also had to tread some unfamiliar paths, even as concerns payment, in order to get ahead on the Frankfurt labor market, which has been swept clean. During the licensing procedure itself, all suspicious circumstances are available to the processors on line at last. But we need still more:

First of all, we urgently need the much more comprehensive and rigorous deterrent framework provided by the Arms Control Bill, which also pertains to all activities abroad. I appeal to all of you on the parliamentary investigating committee to pass the proposed legislation quickly.

Secondly, we have need of the legal underpinnings, also still in committee, to enable us to construct an oversight system whereby all data are shared by the various authorities.

Thirdly, as unusual and as costly as it might seem, when the general embargo has been lifted, we will have to subject Iraq to a special system whereby practically everything, from technological/industrial products up to and including foodstuffs, textiles, and such, will be controlled for their use in a single licensing procedure. We have already begun to build up a system like this by making use of the 9th ordinance to amend the Foreign Trade Regulations to require, unlike other Western nations, licensing of even presses and forges, less sophisticated kinds of mass printing and balancing machines, and even civilian versions of the helicopter.

Also urgently needed, it would seem, is improvement of international agreement on export controls, not only in the nuclear sphere, but in all other arms-relevant areas: Here the Federal Government should take the initiative, also in respect to the EC domestic market. It should make use of its experience with COCOM.

II.

I come now to individual cases and would like request Minister Stavenhagen and Dr. Schmutzer from the Ministry of Finance, which is responsible for customs, to supplement my remarks. As I plan to talk about individual companies and go into interim investigatory results, I would like the committee to establish confidentially (VZ-V).

1. Armaments

The best-known project in the area of armaments is the *Taji Complex*.

This is a large, heavy-industry complex for producing and processing metals especially. It comprises all stages from smelting to finishing the end product. For a long time this complex was considered a civilian industrial complex, before the first suspicious circumstances made their appearance. Famous German companies have taken part in this complex, such as, for example, Ferrostaal AG, Klockner Industrieanlagen GmbH, Thyssen-Rhein Stahl Technik, Schloemann SIEMAG, Hasenclever Maschinenfabrik GmbH, Buderus/Wetzlar, or Hoch-Tief AG, the construction company. If I name these names, it does not mean that they all came in conflict with the Foreign Trade Bill. It is just to demonstrate the great extent of German involvement in this complex.

Late last November the Ministry of Economics initiated an audit of the foreign trade dealings of the associate chiefs of a smelting plant in the complex, the Ferrostaal AG company. This inspection resulted in an investigation by the public prosecutor, which is being carried out on-the-spot by the prosecutor's office in Bochum. A great deal of evidence was produced during

the investigation of Ferrostaal which is still far from being fully evaluated. At the present time, about 20 German companies have been drawn into the investigation. The Federal Government is not sure right now, which individual companies are among the accused and which are witnesses.

In 1988 the Ferrostaal Company requested and received from the Federal Office of Foreign Trade four clearances for a universal smelting plant for Taji. The plant is valued at about 130 million marks and is at present nearly complete. The evidence gathered shows a wealth of indications that confirm suspicions that the Ferrostaal Company knew from the start that this was no civilian smelting plant; it was intended for the manufacture of gun barrels. The clearances which were granted have since been revoked. The withdrawal of other clearances granted to other companies in connection with the Taji complex is being worked out in close coordination with the prosecuting attorney's office and the Bureau of Foreign Trade and the Ministry of Economics. Because of the recently enacted embargo against trade with Iraq, time is extremely short; we are trying to avoid damage suits against the Federal Republic due to unwarranted withdrawal of clearances.

A consequence of the Taji information has been that the Federal Republic has since required licensing for the export, to Iraq, of a number of smelting plant components, which previously were not subject to this, so that even after the embargo is lifted, in the future such goods may not simply be exported to Iraq.

2. The "Big Gun" Project

Project Big Gun should be differentiated from the Taji complex. Primary here was preventing through-shipment of goods from other European countries, in particular Great Britain, from the Frankfurt Airport. Late last April, acting on information received from the British Government, German customs officials seized those shipments. Since the Federal Trade Regulations do not require a license for through-shipment of other goods, the Government passed a prohibition on through-shipments to this project on June 21, 1990. In addition to this the export list was expanded to a not previously included item: hydraulic bolt tighteners, etc. It was thus possible to prevent shipments of goods to this project via the Federal Republic of Germany.

In addition, there is evidence which indicates that German companies have participated in the production of parts for Big Gun. A total of six German companies have been named in this connection. There is no further information at present, especially concerning how and to what extent German companies could have participated.

Missile Technology

3. The Saad 16 Project

For this project, we are dealing with a laboratory complex in which, according to our most recent information, militarily usable missiles, aircraft and other armaments are said to be developed, but in which, probably only smaller-sized missiles can be produced. The German company Gildemeister was/is its general contractor. Its biggest subcontractor was the MBB Company.

From 1985 until 1987, the Federal Trade and Industry Bureau granted licenses for the export of so-called "dual-use goods" to the Saad 16 Project. The Bureau was acting on the basis of a presumptive research project at the University of Mossul, as this was how the company listed the project on the appli-

cation for an export license. Export and/or re-export licenses were granted by the U.S. Government as well for this project up until spring of 1987.

After the first indications appeared as to the military nature of this project, a stop was put on all licensing in 1987 and as of 1988 all previously accumulated applications on behalf of this project were rejected definitively. In May of 1989 all previously granted export licenses were revoked in order to prevent employing German staff on the spot with technology-pertinent work.

In early 1989 the Government initiated a review of foreign trade at Gildemeister MBB which ended in their being investigated by the Bielefeld public prosecutor. These investigations are still underway. The prosecutor's office has already indicated, however, that it looks as if not enough material will be left over to bring a charge.

4. Modernization of Russian Saad Missiles

In the course of 1989 indications appeared that some German companies were participating in the Iraqi project to modernize or increase the range of Russian Saad missiles. These were middle-class German companies such as Havart Handelsgesellschaft mbH, Inwako, Müller, Gräser, GmbH, or Martel. The Government had carried out audits of these companies' foreign trade arrangements. Shipments from the other companies to the project were seized by customs officials during customs inspections. Some of the exports did not require a license, and in some cases the question as to whether a license should be required is still under consideration. The Bureau of Trade and Industry probably. Abbreviation is illegible—Trans., the Customs Crime Institute, and German intelligence services are working closely on this. With the exception of Inwako, none of the foregoing inspections has led to an investigation by the prosecutor's office. In contrast to the Saad 16 Project, there is no German general contractor here. These were isolated shipments carried out at Iraqi request.

5. The Nuclear Area

In various publications, especially in the press, the impression has been given that German companies have also been crucially involved in the Iraqi nuclear arms program.

The information at present available to the Government gives no direct evidence of any involvement in the Iraqi nuclear program. But there are increasing indications that Iraq, although a signatory of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, has been making efforts, some successful, to obtain gas ultracentrifuge technology from various countries and is making preparations for mass production of a part of the necessary components. The gas ultracentrifuge is usually used to produce low grade enriched uranium fuel, but can also be used to produce highly enriched uranium for nuclear explosives. For this reason, in the Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain, and the Netherlands, which all use this technology for industrial purposes, it is subject to strict export controls and secrecy regulations.

As far as the Government knows, German companies and German engineers are being brought into contact with Iraqi procurement efforts as follows:

Engineering: Components and partially also system parts of the Iraqi gas ultracentrifuge show the engineering characteristics of various types of German gas ultracentrifuge. The assumption is being made that an important role in this was played by two former employees of the MAN

Technologien GmbH Company in Munich. One of them had access during his period of employment there to the engineering specifications of various types of centrifuge. After they left the company, both of them were in Iraq for extended periods in 1988 and 1989. They also attempted, without success, to obtain other centrifuge experts for Iraq. The investigations carried out by the Federal Bureau of Criminal Investigation at the behest of the Attorney General's Office—they had originally to do with the activities of secret agents—yielded no evidence to confirm suspicions of illegal technology transfer.

The H.u.H. Metalform Company, 50% Iraqi-owned, shipped three hydraulic presses requiring an export license to Iraq in 1987 and 1988. The Bureau of Trade and Industry had granted the required licenses because they had been told they were for civilian use. When suspicions later arose concerning the Iraqi purchaser, the company was subjected to an audit of its foreign trade, which, however, gave no evidence of violations of the Foreign Trade Bill. As the company, according to the latest information, is supposed also to be involved with further technology procurement for Iraq, the Government has requested an explanation of the facts of the case.

Although in the COCOM hydraulic presses were stricken from the list in July of this year, the Federal Republic maintained the licensing requirement nation-wide and lowered the technical parameters even more drastically for Iraq.

Two other companies that might be involved in the Iraqi nuclear procurement program are the Inwako Company and the Export Union Düsseldorf GmbH Company. Inwako is suspected of having arranged to supply Iraq with a shipment of ring magnets from Great Britain via an unapproved through-shipment deal. The Export Union Düsseldorf GmbH Company dealt in certain steel alloys for which the company applied for and received a clearance from the Bureau of Trade and Industry, whereby at the present time investigations are being carried out to determine whether the company obtained its clearance on the basis of incomplete information. The prosecutor's office is investigating in both cases.

6. The Poison Gas Complex in Samarra

Since 1987, the Darmstadt prosecutor's office has been conducting an investigation of the people responsible at the following companies: Karl Kolb, Pilot Plant, WET/Hamburg, Preussag AG, and others. They are suspected of illegally exporting technologies, facilities, and construction components for building a chemical weapons plant and bottling installation in Samarra/Iraq. Comprehensive documentation of this deal has been secured. Because of contradictory evaluations, the prosecutor's office contracted an expert (in Switzerland) to address the question as to whether the plant shipped to Iraq by the accused was specially build for the manufacture of chemical weapons.

The plant was exported for the most part in 1983 and early 1984, but other illegal shipments kept being made until 1987. Until 1984 only "specially constructed" installations required the export license. But in August 1984, because of these shipments, the Government extended the licensing requirement to include plants suitable for the manufacture of poisonous materials. Our partners here in the West, especially within the so-called "Australian Initiative," have not yet followed us in taking this step.

The expert contracted by the Darmstadt prosecutor's office came to the conclusion in late July that this was indeed a specially

built installation. The arrest reported in the press concerned three responsible persons at the Karl Kolb GMBH & Co. as well as four responsible people at the WET Hamburg Co. and Pruessag AG, among whom was Kaser Al Khadi, identified in *Der Spiegel*.

The Administration has repeatedly reported on this project in the Bundestag and before the Economics Committee.

III.

The courts must now pronounce on this series of cases I have mentioned. I cannot make any pre-judgements. But I do regret that the penal provisions in the Foreign Trade Bill at the time of these deeds—and these provisions are the ones that must be applied—do not admit of a suitable sentence in case of a verdict of guilty. We have corrected this situation in the meantime with a sentence of 3 to 10 years in prison.

There have already been demands for additional tightening of the Foreign Trade Bill. If, in spite of the comprehensive amendments passed in 1989 which Parliament passed jointly—right up to the weapons control bill—there still exists some need for treatment, we will take up any reasonable future suggestion immediately.

(Translated by David Skelly, CRS-Language Services, October 4, 1990.)

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I thank the Chair, and I yield the floor.

APPOINTMENTS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair, on behalf of the Vice President, pursuant to title 22, United States Code, section 276, as amended, appoints the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SANFORD] as chairman of the Senate delegation to the Interparliamentary Union during the 102d Congress.

The Chair, on behalf of the Vice President, pursuant to title 22, United States Code, sections 276h-276k, as amended, appoints the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD] as chairman of the Senate delegation to the Mexico-United States Interparliamentary Group during the 102d Congress.

ORDERS FOR TOMORROW

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in recess until 12 noon on Wednesday, January 23; that following the time for the two leaders, there be a period for morning business, with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 10 minutes each.

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

SCHEDULE

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I have been consulting with the distinguished Republican leader and with several Senate committee chairmen regarding the schedule for the remainder of the week.

For the information of Senators and for the staffs of those Senators who are

not present, which will enable them to plan their schedules, it is my hope that we will be able to take action on several measures during this week. The possibilities include a bill providing tax benefits for American troops in the Persian Gulf; a bill providing for a veterans compensation COLA; a bill dealing with the problem of agent orange for Vietnam veterans; and three resolutions dealing with the subjects of prisoners of war, the situation in the Baltics, and Israel.

It is my hope that we can on tomorrow reach agreement to take up as many of these as possible and to have such rollcall votes as are necessary to occur on Thursday between noon and 3 p.m., so that Senators can be aware that it is at least my intention to schedule votes during the period between noon and 3 p.m. on Thursday, if we can get agreement in that regard.

Obviously, if we cannot get agreement, then votes may occur at other times during the week. But I believe it is more convenient for Senators and more orderly if we can schedule the business in a way that enables us to complete action on as many of these measures as is possible in the manner I have just suggested.

I will be pleased now to yield to the distinguished Republican leader.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, in my view, this will help. We will check with Members who are absent on official business. Most of our Members are here. I guess there could be as many as six rollcall votes; probably not. There probably will be a minimum of two; maybe more. Somewhere between two and six votes, would be my guess, will occur between 12 noon and 3 p.m. on Thursday.

We will be in touch with Members on this side and hope to be able to inform the majority leader, if not tonight, then early in the morning. So if it is possible to get some agreement during the day tomorrow, Members can debate any or all—or at least discuss any or all—of the resolutions or bills that may be coming this way.

RECESS UNTIL TOMORROW

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will stand in recess until 12 noon tomorrow.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 6:01 p.m., recessed until tomorrow, Wednesday, January 23, 1991, at 12 noon.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate January 22, 1991:

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

ANDREW LAMAR ALEXANDER, JR., OF TENNESSEE, TO BE SECRETARY OF EDUCATION.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

LYNN MARTIN, OF ILLINOIS, TO BE SECRETARY OF LABOR.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

BOB MARTINEZ, OF FLORIDA, TO BE DIRECTOR OF NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL POLICY, VICE WILLIAM J. BENNETT, RESIGNED.

IN THE COAST GUARD

THE FOLLOWING OFFICERS OF THE U.S. COAST GUARD FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE OF REAR ADMIRAL:

ARTHUR E. HENN
JOHN N. FAIGLE
PETER A. BUNCH

DAVID E. CIANCAGLINI
WILLIAM J. ECKER

THE FOLLOWING OFFICERS OF THE U.S. COAST GUARD FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE OF REAR ADMIRAL (LOWER HALF):

JOHN L. LINNOR, JR.
RUDY K. PESCHEL

GERALD F. WOOLEVER
RICHARD D. HERR

IN THE ARMY

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE REGULAR ARMY (DENTAL CORPS) OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE GRADE OF BRIGADIER GENERAL UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 611(A) AND 624:

To be brigadier general

COL. JOHN J. CUDDY, ~~xxx-xx-x~~, U.S. ARMY

IN THE NAVY

THE FOLLOWING NAMED NAVAL RESERVE OFFICERS TRAINING CORPS CANDIDATES TO BE APPOINTED PERMANENT ENSIGN IN THE LINE OF STAFF CORPS OF THE U.S. NAVY, PURSUANT TO TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 581:

NAVAL RESERVE OFFICERS TRAINING CORPS, USN

To be ensign, permanent

ACFALLE KENNETH S	BAKER STEVEN L
ADAIR THOMAS B	BAKER TODD R
ADAMS DANIEL H	BALDWIN ERIC A
ADAMS KECIA A	BALLARD THEODORE A
ADKINS WILLIAM M	BALLINGER DAVID M
ADONA JEREMIAS S	BANKS ROBERT
ADSIDE RICKIE V	BARBER DANIEL J
AGUILA HARRY J	BARBER DAVID R
AGUINALDO MICHELLE L	BARGE HEZEKIAH
ALANI TAREK R	BARKER JOHN E
ALBRITTON JAMES T	BARKHIMER ERIK R
ALCORN WILLIAM L JR	BARNES JOHN M
ALEXANDER TRACEY B	BARNETT OLIN L
ALLEN ERIC N	BARTA CHRISTINE A
ALLENA JOSEPH T	BARTHOLOMEW DANIEL P
ALLICK SUSANNE M	BARTLING CHARLES A
ALLTMONT RENE C	BARTOSH BRADY J
ALOISE MICHAEL E	BASS ANDREW A
AMBROSE JOHN Z	BASSO MARK J
AMICK BOBBY D	BATES ROBERT A
AMODIO PAUL A	BAUER ANTHONY J
ANASTASIO ONOFRIO A	BAUMGARTEN JEFFREY A
ANDERSON ANGUS E	BAUREGGER FRANK N
ANDERSON DAVID A	BAXTER ROBERT L
ANDERSON HOBIE E	BAYONA FERDINAND B
ANDERSON JAMES C	BEAL CLAYTON R
ANDERSON JEFFREY B	BEALS STEVEN A
ANDERSON JONATHAN D	BEAN CLIFFORD W III
ANDERSON THOMAS J	BEARD TIMOTHY J
ANDING DARREN E	BEARDEN JAMES D IV
ANDREW JAMES W	BEAUDOIN JASON A
ANDREWS ERIN I	BEAUREGARD DEVIN L
ANDRUS ROSALIND Y	BEAVER DOUGLAS J
ANGELOPOULOS MICHAEL J	BECKER BRIAN C
ANGERHOFER TODD E	BECKER SEAN M
ARAGON DONALD J	BECKLES MIGUEL A
ARCHER DAVID E	BEDFORD DANIEL W
ARCHIBALD BRYAN D	BEEBE ADAM L
ARIS ROBERT M	BELIVEAU JOHN B
ARMES MICHAEL W	BELLIS ROBERT H
ARMSTRONG ERRIN P	BELYEU GRADY A
ARMSTRONG STEPHEN E	BENFIELD CHARLES T
ARNDT CHRISTOPHER D	BENFIELD DARREL C
ARNETT ROBERT C	BENNETT JOHN F
ARNOLDI SHELLY M	BENNETT JOHN L
ARNOW MONICA L	BENNETT LYNNE M
ARRIOLA STEPHEN E	BENTLEY WILLIAM K
ARTER AARON M	BENTON DANIEL A
ASNER GREGORY P	BERENSON STEVEN J
ATCHESON MICHAEL J	BERG CHARLES L
ATKINS DOUGLAS G	BERG LAWRENCE J
AUBUT MICHAEL P	BERGAD DANIEL N
AUGENSTEIN RICHARD B	BERGER ROBERT D JR
AUSTIN JOHN G III	BERGIN FRANCIS T III
AUSTIN THOMAS F III	BERGIN THOMAS P
AUTENRIETH DOUGLAS J	BERGMANN LEON G
AVENA OSCAR F	BERLANGA GERARD A
AVERY MARK A	BERRIOS JOSEPH S
AYERS MICHAEL T	BETTIS ROBERT M
BAAS WILLIAM A	BEWLEY SCOTT A
BAASEN CHAD M	BICE JEFFREY H
BAENZIGER MARK M	BICKNELL CRAIG A
BAGG SARAH M	BIENKOWSKI STEVEN A
BAGWELL SARAVOOT P	BIGGERS CLARK H
BAILEY ANASTASIA R	BILLINGSLEY BRIAN T
BAILEY JERRY J	BILLS JOHN V
BAILEY SEAN R	BIORN MICHAEL D
BAIR WARREN P	BITTLE BARDFORD P
BAKER ALBERT R	BLACKBURN DANIEL S

BLAKLEY MATTHEW K
BLANTYNN WINN S
BLATNY SHELLY A
BLATTER SCOTT W
BLAU ERIC C
BLIER ERIC F II
BLOOD MICHAEL J
BLUMENSCHEN DANIEL L
BOARDMAN RAYMOND C
BOGDANOWICZ EDWIN F
BOHANAN LESLIE K
BOHN STEPHEN J
BOHN WILLIAM B
BOISVERT PRESCOTT M
BOIT SAMUEL H
BOLDT JONATHAN H
BOLTON BRETT A
BONACCI DAVID E
BOOTH ERIC S
BOOTH GREGORY L
BORDONARO RICHARD J
BORK CHRISTOPHER J
BOROUGH HOWARD J
BOST MICHAEL D
BOSWELL ANGELA I
BOUCHER MICHELE L
BOULOS MATTHEW H.
BOURGEAU DAVID C
BOWDEN CRAIG T
BOWERS THOMAS S
BOWLES BRIAN E
BOYER TIMOTHY E
BOYLES ROBERT C
BOYT MARY K
BRABEC CRAIG R
BRACE DAVID L
BRACKNELL ROBERT G
BRADLEY KEVIN T
BRADY MICHAEL G
BRANDON HOWARD S
BRANTLEY RICHARD W
BRANUM IAN D
BRASWELL JEFFREY E
BRAWER ANDREW J
BRAZA BILL
BRECKENRIDGE MATTHEW L
BREES SCOTT E
BREITINGER JEFFREY G
BRIAN HAROLD D
BRICK STEVEN A
BRIGEL JOHN R
BRIGGLER CLEMENS V
BRISCOE DANIEL F
BROOKS ROBERT A JR
BROSSEAU SEAN P
BROWN CRAIG T
BROWN EDWARD S
BROWN ERIC I
BROWN GLENN A JR
BROWN GREGORY A
BROWN JOHN J
BROWN LARRY D
BROWN LARS T
BROWN MICHAEL T
BROWN TRACY M
BROWN WILLIAM
BROWNING MATTHEW J
BRUEN LIAM M
BRUMFIELD CORY E
BRYAN KYLE A
BRYER SUSAN M
BUCHANAN HOWARD C
BUCHHEIT PATRICIA L
BUCK MARK A
BUCKLEY EDWARD M
BUCKLEY JUANITO R
BUCKON DANIEL K
BUELL RICHARD C
BUNNELL PAUL
BURN JAMES
BURDETTE PHILIP A
BURGESS BRANT T
BURGESS CHRISTOPHER J
BURGOS MANUEL JR
BURKE ERIC J
BURKE PAUL M
BURKEMPER RAYMOND R
BURSON PATRICK A
BUSHEE DAVID A
BUSHEY JOHN F
BUSHMAN MICHAEL J
BUSHNER JOSEPH A
BUTTS EDWARD L
BUTZIRUS EDWARD T
BUWALDA AMY L
BYFORD GEORGE J
BYRNE KEVIN M
CAIN MAX W
CALLAHAN MATTHEW J
CAMP CHRISTOPHER J
CAMPBELL HANNELORE
CAMPION DAVID A
CANEDO GUILLERMO A
CANETE KENNETH B
CANELLA CAROLYN M
CAPEZZONE DAVID L
CAREY WILLIAM J
CARL ERIC S
CARLSON WILLIAM V
CAROZZA JOHN L
CARPENTER CARLIN D

CARR KATHLEEN
CARREIRO BETH A
CARROLL THOMAS W
CARTER GREG H
CARTER MICHAEL P
CARTER STUART J
CARTWRIGHT CURTIS J
CARTWRIGHT LISA M
CARVER PATRICIA A
CASEY BRANDT C
CASEY PAUL J
CASSONI RICHARD
CASTLE FREDERICK S
CASTLE MICHAEL N
CATARJOA REX J
CAULK JEFFREY V
CAVANAGH PATRICK J
CERVENY STEVEN E
CERWONKA CHRISTOPHER J
CHAMBERLAIN MICHAEL J
CHAMBERLIN GEORGE E
CHAN ALFONSO G
CHAN PAUL A
CHANG DENNIS C
CHARLES ERIK W
CHASE MICHAEL D.
CHATHAM DAVID J
CHATTERTON GEOFFREY W
CHEN ALAN C
CHERNUSKY JOSEPH F
CHESTNA PETER J
CHIEN STANFIELD L
CHINLOY JOANNE G
CHOW LYNN T
CHRISTENSEN JAMES P
CHRISTENSEN JOHN A
CHRISTIAN WILLIAM A
CHRISTMAN DEREK L
CHRISTMAN STEVEN R
CHUNG TAE H
CLARK DALE
CLARK DOUGLAS K
CLARK GARY M
CLARK JAMIE A
CLARK VINCENT T
CLARKE TRISHA L
CLARKSON GAVIN S
CLEMETS WILLIAM J
CLIMBER JASON A
CLYDE KEVIN P
COBB WILLIAM E
COCHRAN ALTON L JR
COCHRAN PATRICK B
COCKING DAVID N
COE ADAM C
COHEN ELIZABETH A
COHEN ERIC L
COLLINS DANIEL I
COLLINS HERBERT M II
COLLINS ROBERT K IV
COLON EDWIN R JR
COLWELL CHRISTOPHER P
COLWELL WILLIAM J
COMEY'S CARL R
COMEY MICHAEL J
CONKLIN NORMAN J
CONLEY NORMAN B III
CONNOLLY SCOTT
CONWAY ROSANNE Y
CONWAY WILLIAM T
COOGAN JAMES J V
COOK KENNETH B
COOLEY ROBERT W
COONEY MARK E
CORCORAN PATRICK C
CORDERO DANIEL K
COREY JAMES M
CORNER SCOTT T
CORRADI DAVID T
CORY CHRISTOPHER B
COSTELLO TERENCE W IV
COTTER LYNDY T
COULTER SHANNON E
COVEY JEFFREY G
COWAN JOSEPH M
COX CHARLES B
COX JILL A
COXKENDALL WILLIAM E
CRAM MICHAEL W
CRAMP GREGORY B
CRAUGH LINDA E
CRAWFORD MATTHEW
CREGER LEO C
CREWS JOHN E
CREWS TIMOTHY S
CRISS MICHAEL L
CRISMAN SHERRY D
CRIST PETER L
CROSBY DAVID L
CROSS GORDON A
CROWLEY PAUL R
CROWLISH KEVIN G
CRUZ CHRISTOPHER A
CURA ENRIQUE T
CURFMAN WALTER R
CURRAN MICHAEL T
CURRY TODD A
CURTIS DARIN C
CURTIS JENNIFER L
CURTIS MICHAEL R
CUSHING DAVID B

CYLC BERNARD J
DAHM SCOTT E
DAINS RONALD R
DALTON JOE W
DALY WALTER F
DANIELS TOMOTHY L
DANNENFELDT JOSEPH A
DAU BRIAN T
DAVENPORT ALICE C
DAVIES PAUL H JR
DAVIS CRAIG M
DAVIS GAVIN H
DAVIS JACK D
DAVIS LEORA L
DAVIS LEONARD O
DAVIS PAUL G II
DAVISON CHRISTOPHER M
DAY MARK E
DAYS TEDDY L
DEAZEVEDO DAVID K
DEDRICK KYLE R
DEGREORY CHRISTOPHER J
DEGRUCCIO JAMES G
DEQUIRE FRANK C JR
DEICHERT MARTIN K
DELANY PATRICK T
DELAROSA CHRISTIAN N
DELGADO RAYMOND R III
DEMBICKY ROBERT A
DEMERS JAMES R
DENBERGAARD PETER E
DEROSA FRED A
DESAGUN ROBERTO D
DESOPO ROBERT A
DEUTERMAN DANIEL T
DEUTERMAN DAVID W
DEUTSCH PAUL T
DEVILIN DAVID L
DEWILDE CHRISTOPHER R
DEWITT ERIC T
DIAMOND JAMES L
DICKINSON MICHAEL W
DIEBOLD PETER J
DIEHL WILLIAM J
DIEKEMPER JOSEPH
DIETSCH ALLAN J
DILL ANTHONY R
DILLON PETER J
DINETTE JAMES M
DIXON MATHW A P
DOLAN THOMAS P
DOMBROW JENNIFER N
DOMINGUE RONALD A
DOMINICK PETER B
DOMINICK RANDALL W
DOMKE TODD C
DONAHUE TIMOTHY F
DORMAN BENJAMIN R
DORNAK DAVID B
DORNBIRER WAYNE M
DORR MATTHEW M
DOUCETTE RODNEY J
DOUGLAS CHRISTINA A
DOWLING CHARLES
DOYLE JOSEPH M
DRENNAN DARRELL D
DROPIK CHRISTOPHER M
DUFFY WILLIAM M
DUNBAR BRADUN
DUNCAN JOSEPH A IV
DUNHAN DARIN T
DUNICAN PETER B
DUNN DAVID L
DUNNE TIMOTHY J
DUNNIGAN JEROME A
DUNTON EDWARD S
DURBIN PHILLIP E
DVORAK JAMES A
DWONCH YVETTE A
DWEYER MATTHEW D
EASLEY MONA E
EAST CHRISTOPHER M
EDWARDS CHARLES V
EDWARDS DAVID B
EDWARDS JAMIE L
EGAN GREGORY T
EHLERS GEORGE E
EIGENHEER TRACY L
EISNER EDWARD T
EISON DAVID L
EKINCI KRIS F
ELBERT MICHAEL J
ELDERS JEFFREY S
ELK BARRY L
ELKINS KIMBERLY M
ELLIOTT DOUGLAS J
ELLIOTT KELLY J
ELLIS CHARLES H
ELROD GERALD L
ELWOOD DAVID D
ELY DAVID M
EMMERT JOHN T
ENDERS THEODORE P
ENDRIES MICHAEL F
ENSGIN SEAN H
ENSMINGER DANIEL J
ERVIN MILES T
ESCHMIN MICHAEL T
ESPESETH CRAIG D
ESTELA ERNEST
ETTINGER JOHN R

EVANS CHRISTOPHER J
EVANS DAVID E JR
EVANS DAVID K
EVANS JOHN W JR
EVERLETH KREG R
EVERSON PAUL J
EYMAN RICK C
FAILLA CHRISTOPHER P
FALLAVOLITTA GREGG
FAMBRO DILLARD H
FANSEUF PAUL R
FARLEY WILLIAM S
FARNAN PAUL W
FARRY GREGORY S
FECHTER GEORGE L
FEE BRIAN W
FEE DANIEL J
FEOLEY KEVIN D
FELICIAN PAUL L
FENNESSEY STEVEN C
FERNANDEZ CHRISTOPHER J
FEUILLE SCOTT A
FEILITZ ROBERT A
FILLETT STEVEN D
PINCH MARY C
PINN JOSEPH P
FISH SHANNON M
FISHER THOMAS M
FISKE PAUL A
FITZPATRICK BRIAN G
FITZPATRICK TIMOTHY F
FLANAGAN SEAN P
FLENIKEN JAMES G
FLINTER EDWARD P
FLOR JOHN
FLOYD JOHN E
FLOYD REUBEN M
FLYNN MICHAEL W
FOLTA GREGORY D
FORCE CHRISTOPHER J
FOREMAN RICHARD L
FOSCATO MATTHEW W
FOSTER JAMES W
FOSTER MARK E
FOUTS MIGUEL L
FRANCIS THOMAS R
FRANCISCO ALFRED T
FRANK JOSEPH A
FRANK STEVEN J
FRANKS JAMES R
FRANSSON LARRY L
FRASER GREGORY S
FRAZIER ANDREW
FREDERICK WILLIAM G
FREEMAN CHRIS J
FREEMAN MARK T
FREIER CHRISTOPHER R
FREIVALD JACOB D
FRETTER MICHELLE J
FREUDENTHAL MICHAEL J
FREY CHRISTOPHER J
FRUTSCHE MICHAEL S
FRY DEREK H
FRYE EDWARD L
FUEENTES RANDALL
FUJISAKA JEFFREY W
FULFORD THOMAS S
FULLER CHARLES E JR
FULLER SCOTT K
FUTCHER FRANK W
FYALL DARRYL J
GAILEY JOHN B
GALANTE JULIE A
GALLAHER JENNIFER M
GALLI MICHAEL F
GALLINARO JOHN T
GANDT PHILLIP B
GARCIA JONATHAN G
GARCIA RICHARD A
GARCIAINIGUEZ RAFAEL H
GARD DAVID L
GAREFFA ANTHONY J
GARZECHE ALEXANDER C
GARZTKE JEAN M
GARVIN JULIA N
GASKILL MARK E
GEBREEGZIABHER DEMOZ
GEER MICHAEL T
GEIS DAVID S
GENORAS SCOTT R
GEORGE ANDREW J
GEORGULIS CHRISTOPHER P
GERMANN MATTHEW I
GERONIMO MARK T
GETSCHMAN TEDMAN E
GETTINS EDWARD S
GIARD LYNN T
GIBERSON PAUL G
GIBSON MICHAEL
GIBSONS CHRISTOPHER D
GILBERT DAVID E
GILBRETH TIMOTHY L
GILL FRANK T
GILMORE BRIAN J
GILMORE CHARLES A
GILTINAN BRIAN D
GINDER JAMES B
GINORAS OMER M
GIROUX RAYMOND G
GIVENS RONALDO D

GLICK LANCE E
GLOSTER DEXTER K
GLOVER KING S JR
GODBEE FRED O
GODFREY STEFANNIE L
GOEBEL JEFFREY G
GOLDEN GREGORY G
GOMINIAX JOHN P
GONCALVES ANTONIO M
GONZALES ROBERT H
GONZALEZ ANGELA
GONZALEZ RAMIRO
GOODHART CHRISTOPHER A
GOODMAN RUSSELL G
GOODPASTURE MIGUEL C
GOODRICH MARK R
GOOLSBY JERRY D
GORDON JEFFREY D
GORDON THOMAS J IV
GORGAS DAVID P
GORMAN MICHAEL F
GOUTINK EDWARD N
GOVER STEPHEN D
GRABAN MICHAEL C
GRAEBNER THOMAS E
GRAFF MARK L
GRAFF TAMARA G
GRALER BRUCE G
GRANT KATHLEEN H
GRANVILLE MALCOLM F
GRAY BRIN S
GRAY MARK A
GRAY PAUL H
HACHADOORIAN LEE H
HACKETT DAVID G
HAEN JASON R
HAGEN CHRISTOPHER J
HAGGERTY MICHAEL E
HAHM JIMMY L
HALDEMAN DAVID J
HALL LYLE D
HALL SIDNEY E
HALL TODD I
HAMEL PAUL A
HAMILTON ERIC E
HAMILTON JENNIFER M
HAMILTON JOHN G
HAMILTON JOHN G III
HAMILTON MARK D
HAMMOND ANDREW W
HAMMOND ANDREW P IV
HANCOCK BRADLEY S
HANOLIN JOHN P
HANNAPORT SHANE E
HANNIFAN PATRICK J
HANRAHAN JOSEPH A
HANSEN CAM R
HANSEN KEITH A
HANSEN MAIA A
HANSEN ROBERT A
HANSON CRAIG M
HANSON ELIN D
HANSON SCOTT A
HARLEY SEAN M
HARMAN MICHAEL J
HARRIGAN NICHOLAS P
HARRILL THOMAS V
HARRINGTON MARK R
HARRIS JAMES M
HARRIS JASON E
HARRIS KEITH S
HARRIS SAMUEL W
HARRIS SHANE G
HART THOMAS A JR
HARTENSTEIN JOHN P
HARTSHORN CHRISTIAN J
HARTZELL FREDERICK B
HARVEY JAMES D
HARVILL RICHARD L
HARWELL THOMAS W JR
HATCHER JAMES C
HAUNTY JOHN H
HAWKINS JAMES D
HAWKINS TED J
HAYES JOHN R
HAYES PERVIS D
HAYNES PHILIP H
HAYNES WILLIAM D
HEALEY RICHARD A JR
HEALY MICHAEL J
HEASLET WILLIAM C
HECHT SABRINA J
HECKEL MARK E
HECKER JONATHAN D
HEDDING MATTHEW E
HEDGES WILLIAM K
HEFFERN THOMAS V
HEFFERNAN CHRISTOPHER M
HEFFNER JOHN R
HELFIN EDWARD L
HEIDRICK LISA M
HEINE JEFFREY J
HEINZE MARTIN J
HELSEL BRADLEY A
HEMELSTRAND SCOTT W
HENDERSON ANTHONY N
HENDERSON EDWARD E
HENDRICK GEOFFREY M
HERALD ASA J
HERBERT ERIC W
HERBERT WAYNE M
HERNANDEZ GILBERT
HERNANDEZ RAYMOND M
HERNON JAMES A
HERRING MARC A
HESS MICHAEL K
HESSER ROBERT W
HEYM BRIAN L
HICKS GEOFFREY T
HICKS JOHN D
HILDEBRAND MARK D
HILL DAVID W
HIMSTREET THOMAS G
HINSON EDWARD D
HLADON JOHN D
HOBBS THOMAS K
HOBBS THOMAS V
HOBBS WILLIAM H
HOEFT TERENCE A
HOEGEMEYER TIMOTHY J
HOFFMAN RAYMOND JR
HOFFMANN RONALD E
HOKANSON LAANS R
HOKOM MICHAEL S
HOLDEN ROBERT T
HOLLAND JOHN R
HOLLAND WILLIAM B
HOLLES JOSEPH H
HOLLINGER PAUL J
HOLLINGSHEAD THOMAS P
HOLMES WILLIAM H
HOLT CREIGHTON D
HOLTAN DOUGLAS L
HOLWEG ERIC J
HOMAN MICHAEL K
HOMAN RUSSELL J
HOMER WILLIAM J
HOMMEL MICHAEL P
HOOMMAN GARY
HORNOR ERIK R
HORTON SHELLA R
HOSTETTER DANNIE J
HOUSE DAVID A
HOUSLET REUBEN P
HOUSTON PAUL R
HOWELL HEATH M
HOWELL SCOTT B
HRYCYSZYN GERALD
HUBBELL JAMES M
HUFFMAN EDWARD G
HUGHES JAMES M
HUGHES KEVIN L
HULSE ANDREW J
HUMISTON KARL F
HUMPHREY CHRISTOPHER E
HURST CHARLES E JR
HUSMANN GREGORY A
HUTCHINSON DAVID K
HUTCHINSON WILLIAM A
HYNK JEFFREY F
IANNUCCI JAMES P
ISAACS WILLIAM O II
ISERNHAGEN JONATHAN G
ISHAM SUZANNE C
IVARSEN RODNEY W
JACKSON ELIZABETH L
JACKSON LARA M
JACKSON MATTHEW J
JACOBS DAVID E
JACOBS JOHN C
JAKUC PETER A
JAMES DAVID A
JANCZEWSKI JULIE A
JAROMIN CHRISTOPHER J
JAUREGUI THERESA M

JENKINS TODD M
JENNINGS TIMOTHY P
JIBAJA GILBERT R
JOHANSSON JOHN W
JOHNSON BRETT T
JOHNSON BRIAN E
JOHNSON ERIC D
JOHNSON ERIC S
JOHNSON ERIK L
JOHNSON JACK J
JOHNSON KRISTI A
JOHNSON MARVIN R
JOHNSON PAUL H III
JOHNSON SCOTT E
JOHNSON STEVEN C
JOHNSON TODD A
JOHNSTON JAMES M
JOHNSTON LANNY G
JOHNSTON PATRICK T
JOHNSTON ROBERT D
JONES BOBBY S
JONES BRANDON L
JONES CHARLES D
JONES CRAIG A
JONES JAMES L
JONES JASON K
JONES KRISTEN M
JONES LEWIS J
JONES MICHAEL L
JONES NIGEL W
JONES RANDAL T
JONES TERRELL
JONES TIMOTHY F
JORDAN ANDREW H
JORDAN CHARLES L
JORDAN DOUGLAS A
JORDAN KIMBERLY A
JOSEPH DANIEL S
JUDICI ROBERT P
JULIAN FRANKLIN D
KAHL STEVEN J
KAHM HENRY D
KAHRL MARK T
KAHRL PHILLIP A
KAISER CHRISTOPHER T
KANE DAVID M
KANG SOO B
KANZ MARCUS E
KAPPLER JOHN A II
KARASEVICH DAVID M
KARNEY THOMAS C
KASPER LEWIS P JR
KAUFFMAN DANIEL C
KEELE DAVID A
KEELING ROBERT R
KEENAN JOSEPH M
KEHOE TROY D
KELLER CHARLES E
KELLEY JAMES J
KELLY BRIAN P
KELLY PATRICK W
KEMP DAVID S
KENDALL JAMES R
KENEFICK CHRISTOPHER K
KENNICK ANTHONY P
KESSELRING MARK D
KESSLER WILLIAM C
KESTER MARK C
KEY JOSEPH F
KHAN IQBAL M
KIM JOHANN S
KIMBALL PETER J
KINDLEY DAVID D
KING BRIAN D
KING BRIAN J
KING BRIAN S
KING CHRISTOPHER C
KING PATRICK E
KING SUEANN
KIRBY JAMES E
KIRCHNER JEFFREY S
KIRK JEFFREY J
KIRKPATRICK JEFFREY T
KIRKPATRICK ROY F
KISALA ERIC J
KITTELSON NEIL D
KLEINHENZ MARK W
KNIGHT STEVEN P
KNIPPENBERG BRENT A
KNOWLED CHARLEY A
KNUTSON JASON R
KOHN KENNETH L
KOLODZIEJ KELLY M
KONOPKA PAUL A
KONST MARK E
KOPPLIN PAUL A
KORADE BRETT J
KORTEKAMP TODD
KRAINE EDWARD M
KRAKOW RICHARD J
KRAKOWSKI JOHN A
KREPPEN JOHN F III
KRESHO JOHN P
KRIMINS ETHAN M
KRUGGEL PAUL L
KRUSSOW MATT D
KRUSZKA STEPHEN J
KUCHLER MICHAEL R
KUHNS RUSSEL R JR
KURGAN CHRISTOPHER M
KWON SAMUEL
LADWIG BRADLEY T

LAPORTEZA LEONARD D
LAMASTUS GREGORY S
LANDAU FREDERICK W
LANDRY FRANCIS E
LANGFORD GEORGE M
LANGLOIS JAMES M
LAROWE THOMAS H
LARSON DONALD P
LAUBE PAUL A
LAUDERBAUGH DAVID P
LAVAN DEREK M
LAWRENCE RALPH T
LAWSON JAMES A
LAWSON STEPHEN A
LAZARUS PETER E
LECLAIR THEODORE P
LEDBETTER EZRA J
LEE CHARLES C
LEE FRANKLIN P
LEE PETER J
LEE THOMAS H
LEGEAR RUSSELL E
LEHMAN FREDERICK J
LEITNER MICHAEL A
LELAND FERDINAND A
LENTS PAUL M
LEONARDI MARY L
LESSLIE RANDALL S
LEWIS JAMES S
LEWIS MARK C
LEWIS OLIVER T
LIERNI PETER C
LIMBERG ALBERT R
LINCE MATTHEW K
LINCH DAVID M
LIND WILLIAM A
LINK DONALD A
LINTIAK JEFFREY K
LITTLE ROBERT O
LIU DEREK S
LIU LEE W
LOCKWOOD MICHAEL R
LOMBARDO VICK A
LONG MATTHEW M
LONG WILLIAM H III
LONGO MARY P
LONZA DAVID G
LOO WAYNE
LOOMIS MONICA L
LOVEZ BRYAN S
LORENZ WILLIAM A
LOVEJOY JONATHAN C
LOWIE VERNON L
LOWZER DAVID D
LUBY CORD H
LUCAS JAMES J
LUCAS KEVIN P
LUCSINGER JOHN A JR
LUCIA JOSEPH A III
LUDWIG JOHN R
LUEDERS KEVIN E
LUNDS JASON C
LUMALCURI VINCENT J
LUTZ DAVID W
LWIN MARK R
LYLE ROBERT M
LYNCH MICHELLE L
LYONS DANIEL B
MACARANAS JAMES R
MACCLARY RICHARD A
MACDONALD SCOTT D
MACKIN WILLIAM C
MACKY ROBERT C III
MACNER GERALD J JR
MADPHERSON SCOTT M
MADDOX TODD D
MADDOX GARY L
MAGALLANO ROBERTO Q
MAGEDMAN DOUGLAS M
MAGRISI GREG T
MAHER CHARLES H III
MAHONEY PHILIP J
MALACHI RONALD L
MALESENKA WILLIAM J
MANACO DENNIS A
MANDEVILLE BRIAN W JR
MANGAN JULIE C
MANGOLD DAVID G
MANNING JOHN J
MANNING MARK J
MANOR THOMAS A
MANTZOURIS MICHAEL N
MARANO STEPHEN C
MARBLESTONE ALAN M
MARBURGER KEITH A
MARCHWINSKI MICHAEL J
MARCUCCI MICHAEL J JR
MAREK JAMES E
MARINO MARK G
MARION ERLE
MARXHAM MICHAEL S
MARQUEZ RODNEY R
MARQUIS NATALIE R
MARQUIS PAUL W
MARR PAUL J
MARRERO MICHAEL A
MARRO ANTHONY M
MARSHALL ALFRED D
MARSHALL ROBERT C
MARTIN CHRISTOPHER J
MARTIN SHERYL G
MARTINEZDE JOAQUIN J

MARULLO RONALD N
MATEO NIELS F
MATHERNE KEITH P
MATLIN WILLIAM M
MATTHEWS ANDREW M
MATTHEWS RODNEY O
MATUSZAK THOMAS
MATUSZEK CHRISTOPHER J
MAY TIMOTHY M
MAYER CONRAD J
MAYO TROY C
MAYVILLE DANIEL P
MCARTHUR TARA M
MCAULIFFE ROBERT J JR
MCCALLUM KRISTY D
MCCARRON GEORGE J
MCCARTHY GREGORY C
MCCARTHY THOMAS J
MCCARTHY CHRISTOPHER E
MCCARTY PRICE R
MCCLAREN GAVIN T
MCCLENTIC MICHAEL D
MCCOLLOUGH KEVIN D
MCCOLLOUGH WILLIAM E
MCCOMB EDWARD P
MCOOD CHRISTOPHER R
MCOORMACK TIMOTHY P
MCOORMICK DANIEL J
MCOORMICK PETER W
MCCOWN GREGORY T
MCCURLEY JOE A
MCCUTCHEN DOUGLAS E
MCDONALD CRAIG A
MCDONALD MICHAEL J
MCDONALD TIMOTHY D
MCDONOUGH MARK D
MCGHEE FRED L
MCGINTY TIMOTHY B
MCGRATH RICHARD G JR
MCGREW GEORGE A
MCGUIRE ANDREW E
MCKAY CHRISTOPHER T
MCKERROW GARY R
MCKIBBINS PHILLIP G
MCLAUGHLIN MATTHEW P
MCLAUGHLIN TIMOTHY J
MCLEAN CHARLES A II
MCLEOD IAN G
MCMAHON BERNARD F
MCMANIGAL CHRISTOPHER A
MCNEAL WILLIAM B
MCPHERSON MICHAEL B
MCSORLEY WILLIAM D
MEADE JERRY E
MEADOWS RICHARD J
MEAGHER MAURICE F
MEDEARIS LYNDALL C
MEFFERT BRUCE A
MEGARLE SHARON P
MEIER MICHAEL J
MEINTZER EDWARD P
MELENDEZ MAX E
MENDEZ PIERRE
MENGE DANIEL J
MENONI JOHN V
MENTZ JOHN W
MERCAN MELANIE A
MERCER WILLIAM N
MERLENE ROBERT E
MERRILL JEFFREY A
MERRY NICHOLAS L
MERWIN CHRISTOPHER A
MESERVE DONALD E
MESSERLY JEFFREY S
METHERD BRUCE C
METOYER EDWARD R
METTIN KYLE D
METZGER MICHAEL G
MEUSER CARL W
MICOU PAUL D
MIDDLETON PATRICK M
MILBY BRIAN W
MILUS MARK E
MILLER DAVID E
MILLER DAVID J
MILLER JEFFREY M
MILLER MARK W
MILLER MATTHEW C
MILLER PHILIP
MILLER SCOTT E
MILLS CHRISTOPHER M
MILLS JAMES H
MIN ALEXANDER B
MIN DONALD D
MINER MARK S
MINOR DANIEL A
MIRANDA MELODEE A
OAKES KEVIN C
OATES DAVID B
OBERMEYER KURT D
OBERWEISER ROGER L
OBRIGER EUGENE L
OBRINGER MICHAEL C
OBRIST MICHAEL G
OCHSBERG ABIGAIL K
OCLOO SETH L JR
OCONELL KEVIN J
OCONOR KEVIN J
OCONOR PATRICK J
ODM DAVID L

MIRIANI DENNIS G
MISKE CHRISTINA M
MITCHELL MELISSA A
MITCHELL MICHAEL V
MITTS WILLIAM R
MODINGER EDWARD C
MONENTER DAVID S
MOHR DEREK C
MOHR DEREK D
MOLISKI WILLIAM J
MOLL JAMES S
MOLNAR STEPHEN M
MONAGLE MICHAEL F
MONDON DANIEL F
MONDRAGON THOMAS A
MONISMITH CRAIG D
MONTANA MATHEW J
MONTGOMERY DANIEL W
MONTILLA JONATHAN G
MOORE JONATHAN E
MOORE LAURA C
MOORE MARK L
MOORE RICHARD G
MOORE ROSEMARY L
MOQUIN LYMAN R
MORALES ANGELA
MORDHORST SEAN D
MORAN WILLIAM E
MORGAN BRECKENRIDGE S
MORGAN DEVIN L
MORGAN TYNA M
MORIN CHRISTOPHER A
MORIN DAVID N
MORRISON CHRISTOPHER L
MORRISSEY PATRICK F
MORROW THOMAS M
MORSE MICHELLE D
MORTON JEFFERSON S
MOSER CHARLES S
MOSLENER CARL P II
MOSS ROBERT B
MOTSKO WILLIAM A JR
MOTZ SUZAN M
MRAK DOUGLAS J
MUR KEVIN J
MURPHY FRANCIS S
MULHAIR KEVIN R
MUNSON JEFF S
MULLIS TODD A
MULTALA HENRY M
MUMMA MITCHELL D
MUNSON TODD R
MURPHY BILL F
MURPHY GERALD D
MURPHY JOHN E
MURPHYSWETT PHILIP A
MURRAY JOHN R
MUSSELWHITE ALBERT M
MUSSON STEPHEN E
MYERS FRANKLIN P
MYERS JAMES R
NAFRADA KENNETH E
NAGGIARD EDOARDO R
NAJARIAN HOLLY L
NANCE MICHAEL C
NAMOVSKI GEORGE
NEAL JEFFREY H
NEIDHART CURTIS J
NEIDIGH MICHAEL T
NEILL THOMAS M
NELLES JAMES R
NELSON CRAIG T
NELSON DAYTON C
NELSON SCOTT E
NEMETH EUGENE J
NEMETH WILLIAM J
NENNINGER GARET G
NESS STEVEN R
NICCOLIA MARINO A
NICHOLS DAVID A
NICKERSON ERIC J
NIEDERMAIR JOSEPH C
NIKOLICH ANITA
NINO TROFLO C JR
NIZIALEK JASON C
NOBLE MICHAEL E
NOEL MICHAEL P
NOLAN ELIZABETH C
NOLAN FRANK G
NOONAN TIMOTHY F
NOORDYK JEFFERY S
NORBY ERIC S
NORMAN KEVIN K
NORTH JENNIFER L
NORTROP HEIDI L
NORTON JAMES E
NORTZ RICHARD J
NUNNALLY DAVID L
OESTEREICHER MICHAEL P
OGLESBY KENT S
OHANLON TIMOTHY J
OKON JOHN A
OLBARY MICHAEL S
OLIVE JACK P
OLSEN DANIEL S
OLSON MATTHEW F
ONEAL CHARLES
OOSTBURG ROBERT J
OSRMOND ANDREW J
OSER ROGER J
OSHIRO REID H

OSORNO ANDRES J
OSTER STEPHEN B
OSTOIN STEVEN D
OSTROWSKI SHAUGHEN A
OVERRAY JONATHAN A
OVERTON BRIAN R
OZMELEK BENJAMIN R
PACCHETTI JOHN M
PADILLA DUANE Z
PAGE GREGORY J
PAGE RANDOLPH T
PAINCHAUD ANTOINETTE
PAK HUI K
PALACIOS FRANCISCOJR F
PALMERINO BRADY R
PAMPO PIDENCIO S
PANICO MICHAEL A
PARKER ALLEN B
PARKER CHRISTOPHER D
PARKER JEFFREY F
PARMARTER SAMUEL N
PARNELL GREGORY J
PARRAN GREGORY A
PARRISH DOUGLAS K
PARRY EDWIN H JR
PARSONS DOUGLAS E
PAREKA KELLY J
PASTINO PHILIP M
PATTERER WILLIAM J
PATTERSON DOUGLAS R
PATULSKI DOUGLAS M
PAULY ROBERT E
PAYNE DENNIS M
PAYNE HAROLD A
PAYNE JOHN C JR
PEARL RAYMOND C
PEARL THOMAS M
PEARSON SCOTT W
PEEDERS HANS C
PENASTARAL URSULA
PENDERGRAST ANDREW E
PERKINS DANA W
PERRY ERFREM
PERSKY DAVID M
PETERS DAVID M
PETERSEN RONALD L
PETERSON DENNIS C
PETERSON SIGURD T III
PETKEVICIUS PAUL A
PETKO SCOTT A
PETTY GEORGE E
PFEIFFER FRITZ W
PFEIFLE WILLIAM D
PFLEPSEN GERRY C
PHILLIPS JASON F
PHILLIPS MARK D
PHILLIPS RODNEY
PHILLIPS WILLIAM B
PICKERILL JOHN T
PITNER RUSSELL T
PITTS KENNETH W
PITTS MICHAEL M
PLATT CHRISTOPHER R
PLEXICO ALVIN A JR
PLUMMER DONALD M
PLUMMER RITA M
POELLNITZ JOSEPH M
POLACEK KRISTINE L
PONTIER SAMUEL D
PONTON STEPHEN M
PORTER LAURIE M
POULIN JOHN P
POWANDA DOI
POWELL DAVID J
POWELL JONATHAN
POWELL RAYMOND T
POWERS WILLIAM E
PRATT THOMAS M
PRATTY LEWIS L
PRESTON CRAIG A JR
PRESTON RICHARD J
PROUTY MARSHALL R
PRUITT BETH L
PUCKETT JAMES E II
PULLEN JOHN T
PYLE WESLEY K
QUIGLEY RODNEY G
QUIN BRIAN J
QUINCY KEITH E
QUINN MATTHEW P
QURESHI NAVED A
RABANAL PAUL P
RAHL GARY M
RAHMER DAVID S
RAMIEH MOSE T III
RAMIREZ JAMES V
RAMIERZ TONY J
RANDALL MARTIN M
RANKEL MATHEW
RANKINGOSHIE MICHAEL J
RAPHAEL ROY A
RASCOLL ROBERT J
RATH JUSTIN L
RAUP PETER A
RAY PAUL W JR
REC JOHN D
RECKER VINCENT P
REDIFER STEPHEN E
REDMAN JAMESON L
REED ALVIN E
RESE JAMIE K
RESE MATTHEW G

REGAN ANDREW M
REILLY MICHAEL T
RENARD ALAN D
RENARD ROBERT A
RENTALA SHASI
RESTIVO RICK A
REUER CHARLES R
REVELS JEFFREY
REYES MEDARDO O
RHODES FORREST T JR
RICE CARYLL G
RICHARDS CHAD M
RICHARDS DAVID E
RICHARDS JAMES F
RICHWINE DONALD B
RIEKEN DANNY M
RIELAGE DALE C
RIELY MONICA N
RIGDON JENNIFER C
RILEY BRIAN J
RILEY MICHAEL B
RITCHEY JOHN W
RIVERA FELIX F
ROBB SAMUEL J
ROBBINS THOMAS M
ROBERTS CHRISTOPHER T
ROBERTS ROBERT T
ROBERTS ROBERT G
ROBERTSON SCOTT F
ROBINSON ERIC L
ROBINSON PAUL
RODENFELS WILLIAM J
RODGERS STEPHEN M
RODRIGUEZ ADOLFO R
RODRIGUEZ CARLOS J
ROEDER ROLAND C
ROESING MEREDITH L
ROGERS WALTER E II
ROHLAN PATRICK T
ROHLS MICHAEL P JR
ROMMTI TERESA M
ROOSILD TARMO PL
ROSE DOUGLAS J
ROSE MATTHEW J
ROSENBLUM MATTHEW D
ROSEN BRIAN K
ROSHAVEN BRIAN M
ROSS JEFFREY M
ROTH JOSEPH
ROTHWELL WILLIAM B
ROUSSELL ANDREW P
RUCK CHRISTIAN W
RUIZ CHRISTOPHER S
RUMRILL MARTIN R
RUPERT PAUL N
RUPPEL DAVID T
RUSCHINSKI STEPHEN J
RUSNAK MARK E
RUSSELL CRAIG H
RUTTER JAY A
RYAN JAMES B
RYAN JEROME J
RYAN MICHAEL A
RYERSON GORDON L III
RYSEBORTH TROY T
SAGLINE FRANK J
SALTER ALAN H
SALYER ROBERT E
SAMPSON MICHAEL B
SAMS RICHARD W
SAMUELS MICHAEL T
SANABRIA MERY A
SANDERS SCOTT T
SANFORD RICHARD D JR
SANTILLA MARTIN A
SANTOS DAVID D
SANTO THOMAS J
SARAN DALE F
SATTERWHITE STUART C
SAUER PAUL A
SAUVAN VERONICA M
SAVAGEAUX MICHAEL K
SAVIN PETER J
SAWDYBOWES PAULA F
SAWIN MICHAEL B
SCALES THOMAS R
SCARFF STEPHEN C JR
SCARFF MICHAEL P
SCHAAL MATTHEW P
SCHAEFER CHRISTOPHER J
SCHAEFER ERIC W
SCHAEFFER MARK E
SCHAEFFER ROBERT J
SCHANG STEVEN J
SCHIEDT JEFFREY S
SCHERZER DALE R
SCHGALLIS RICHARD J
SCHMIDT ERICH B
SCHMIDT JEFFREY A
SCHMIDT RAYMOND W
SCHMINKY MIGNON M
SCHMITZ JEFFERY L
SCHNABEL CHRISTOPHER B
SCHNEBEL PAUL R
SCHNEIDER ERIC R
SCHNEIDER JACK H
SCHNEIDER JAMES S
SCHNEIDER STEVEN A
SCHOCH ERIC J
SCHUSSLER DONALD A
SCHULTZ ELIZABETH A
SCHUMAKER ROBERT G

SCHUMANN CHARLES E
SCHUMANN MICHAEL A
SCHWARTZBECK JOHN R
SCHWARZ JOHN P
SCISLOWICZ JAN K
SCOTT CATHERINE S
SCUDI JOHN P
SEAY SHANNON E
SEBRING JEFFREY L
SEGAL STEVEN D
SEGELHORST ROBERT J
SEGO EDWARD B
SELLE SHON M
SELLAND RICHARD D
SEMBROT JAMES T
SENESKY DANIEL J
SENER JASPER W
SERENYI NICHOLAS J
SEVERN STEPHEN E
SHANNON MICHAEL T
SHARDY ELISABETH A
SHAW HOWARD W III
SHAW ROBERT L
SHEA KEVIN A
SHELDEN STEVEN W
SHELDON GERALD E
SHELTON DELARUE S
SHELTON FRANK T
SHEPARD KIP M
SHEPHERD MARK A
SHERMAN DARREN C
SHERMAN MICHAEL D
SHEWELT STEVEN D
SHIMON EDWARD J
SHIRING STEVEN P
SHOEMAKER CHRISTOPHER J
SHOENFELT TANYA L
SHORTER JOHN D
SHOUP MICHAEL A
SHRADDER RODNEY A
SHULTS MICHAEL B
SHUSTER MARK A
SICKLER JOHN C
SIEBER MATTHEW M
SIEDL KATHERINE P
SIEROTA DAVID M
SIKORSKI ROBERT J III
SILVER TODD R
SILSDORF SCOTT D
SILVERNAIL DAVID M
SILVEY DANA L
SIMANEK FRED A
SIMINGTON CHRISTINA L
SIMMONS PAUL J
SIMMONS TORRENCE P
SIMONS DANIEL J
SINGLETON JONATHAN D
SISK ERIC D
SITKOFF LLOYD A
SIWIK CHRISTOPHER D
SKALICKEY ANGELIQUE C
SLIBECK JASON B
SLOAN THOMAS A
SLOAN KEITH A
SMALLEY TODD C
SMALLWOOD MACEO L
SMITH CHRISTINE T
SMITH CHRISTOPHER E
SMITH, DAVID E.
SMITH, DAVID J.
SMITH, EDWARD R.
SMITH, JAMES R.
SMITH, JAMES R.
SMITH, LESLIE B., III
SMITH, MATTHEW L.
SMITH, MICHAEL P.
SMITH, PATRICK N.
SMITH, STEPHEN J.
SMITH, STEVEN E.
SMITH, THOMAS D.
SMITH, TRAVIS R.
SMITHERMAN, JEFFREY C.
SMRKOVSKY MICHELLE R.
SNIDER, BRANDON G.
SNYDER, MIKE D.
SODANO, MICHAEL A.
SOESBEE, RONALD E.
SOHA, GREGG E.
SOHLBERG, BENNETT J.
SOLDON, ROBERT S.
SOPP, WALTER C., JR.
SORCI, JOSEPH M.
SOTO, ELENA P.
SPARKS, BARRY V.
SPARLING, JAMES T.
SPENCER, HITE M.
SPICER, MATTHEW A.
SPINELLI, JOSEPH J.
SPITZER, ERIK A.
SPOUSE, MATTHEW C.
SPUNAR, CHRISTOPHER M.
SQUIER, RENEE J.
SQUILLACOTE, PAUL R.
STADTHER, MARK T.
STAINBROOK, MARK G.
STALZER, CHARLES A.
STANAVE, FRANK J.
STANNERT, LAUREN L.
STARCHER, WILLIAM R.
STARKEY, SCOTT B.
STAS, JASON N.

STCLAIR, JAMES A.
STEARNS, RANDY C.
STEENMAN, DARYL G.
STEFANEK, PATRICK A.
STEIMLE, MARTIN C.
STEINER, RON A.
STEINWINDER, JAN S.
STELTER, PETER T.
STEPHENS, LESLIE N.
STEVENSON, MATTHEW P.
STEWART, BRYAN J.
STEWART, CHARLES S.
STEYN, CHRISTOPHER
ST. JOHN, ANDREW B.
STOLZE, CHERYL R.
STOVER, MICHAEL D.
STRATTON, JASON, G.
STRATTON, STEVEN D.
STREETER, CRAIG H.
STREICHER, JAMES E., JR.
STREIFEL, THOMAS M.
STUART, JEFFREY A.
STUHLFIRE, JOHN F.
SUH, JUNG Y.
SULLIVAN, BETH A.
SULLIVAN, JUDITH T.
SULLIVAN, MARK C.
SULLIVAN, PAUL G.
SUTTON, TRAVIS L.
SWADENER, WILLIAM E.
SWAN, JOHN R.
SWANSON, WILLIAM J.
SWAYNE, TIMOTHY B.
SWEDENBORG, MARK C.
SZATKOWSKI, JOHN J.
SZYPULA, JOHN
TALLANT, DAVID S.
TAMBLING, DAVID, H.
TAMBONE, MICHAEL A.
TANKEL, JASON E.
TARR, STACEY A.
TATIAN, HENRY K.
TAYLOR, ANDREW A.
TAYLOR, BENJAMIN N.
TAYLOR, JOHN E.
TAYLOR, RICHARD M.
TEDFORD, STEPHEN R.
TEMPLE, DANIEL W.
TENNY, JAMES R.
TERASHIMA, ERIC K.
TERNELL, STEPHEN M.
THERIAULT, JOHN B.
THIBODEAUX, CHRISTOPHER C.
THOMAS, JACK S.
THOMPSON, JEFFREY J.
THOMPSON JOHN A
THOMPSON MICHAEL J
THOMS JOHN W
THORNE RICHARD L
THORNTON HILARY M
THORNTON LAURENS W
THORSEN SHY L
THORSETT KAREN A
TIBBETTS TRAVIS R
TIBBS JEFFREY M
TIERNAN JAMES E JR
TILDEN ROLAND S
TINGLE MARK E
TITZELL MELISSA J
TOBLER NORMAN M II
TOBON EDWIN
TONOFF BARRY L
TOPPIN DARRYL M
TORGERSEN GREGORY P
TORKELSON KAI O
TORONTO JOHN D
TOUCHTON MARC E
TOWERY KENDALL S
TOYRYLA MICHAEL D
TRAVIS MATTHEW K
TRI DENIS G
TRICARICO MARK A
TROMPETER THOMAS J
TROYER MATTHEW P
TRUBY TODD J
TRUPP TRAVIS J
TRUSSO MICHELLE L
TUCKER CURTIS C
TUCKER THOMAS A
TUGGLE JEFFREY D
TUNSTALL MARC E
TUPAZ JESSE D
TURNER JOHN C JR
TURNER ROBERT R
TURNER ROBERT R
TURRUBIATES RODNEY
TWOREK TROY J
TYNER JOHN S
ULRICH DONALD J
ULRICH JON K
UNREIN LOUIS T
UPRICHARD JOHN D
VAHEY BRIAN P JR
VANBUREN KENNETH R
VANCE DARRELL G
VANDENBERG SCOTT M
VANFLEET SCOTT P
VANMESSEL JOHN A
VANVALZAH STEVEN W
VANWINKLE MARK D
VANWORMER MARK E
VARIAS MICHAEL A

VARNADO RYNOLD O
VECCIA JAMES E
VELASQUEZ SCOTT A
VERRY THOMAS J
VIGIL ANGELO E
VIGUE LIONEL C
VINCENT TRACY A
VLASAK MATHEW S
VLATTAS JOHN
VOELKER BRENT M
VOLKIR SHEARING P
VONLUHRTE SUZZANE H
WADE ROLANDO M
WADE TIMOTHY A
WAGNER BRETT S
WAGNER DAVID E
WAGNER MARK E
WALCH DAVID A
WALDREP CHARLES W
WALFORD DANIEL J
WALKER JEFFREY H
WALKER RICHARD S
WALKER ROBERT G
WALLACE TYE R
WALLEY MATTHEW P
WALTERS ALLAN R
WALTERS SEAN T
WANG KENNY H
WANNAMAKER HOWARD
WARD BRAD L
WARD BRUCE G
WARD MICHAEL H
WARNER MARK R
WARNEK CHRISTOPHER J
WASSON NOEL W
WATKINS JOHN A
WATKINS LARRY D
WATSON BENJAMIN T
WATSON JAMES M
WATSON JONATHAN T
WEBB CLAEFER B
WEBB JOSEPH M
WEBER RICHARD L
WEDAL ALAN C
WEDEL TREV P
WEEKLEY KARIN R
WEEKLY SARAH A
WEGHORN PETER A
WEGNER MATTHEW C
WEIGEL LAURA R
WEIR THOMAS S
WEISGERBER MARK W
WELCH DENNIS D
WELLS DONALD J
WELSS ELKE E
WELTS RONALD D
WENTWORTH STEPHEN F
WERENSKJOLD GEORGE K
WEST OWEN C
WESTON CODY M
WHEELER STEPHEN J
WHELEN CATHERINE A
WHIPPLE STEPHEN J
WHITE BRIAN C
WHITE CAROL E
WHITE DANIEL F II
WHITE EDWARD T
WHITE WILTON D
WHITEFIELD CURT J
WHITFIELD MICHAEL P
WIATROWSKI THOMAS
WICK CRAIG A
WICK ERIC J
WIDDOWSON BRIAN L

WIDEN STEPHEN H
WIENKER STEPHEN R
WILBANKS JAMES R
WILEY WILLIAM J
WILKERSON MICHAEL W
WILKERSON PATRICK D
WILKES LLMON A
WILKINSON PATRICK W
WILLEY JAMES D
WILLIAMS BRIAN H
WILLIAMS BROOKE A
WILLIAMS GLENN D
WILLIAMS JAMES M JR
WILLIAMS MARTY T
WILLIAMS MICHAEL E JR
WILLIAMS ROBERT E
WILLIAMS ROBIN S
WILLIAMS SEAN L
WILLIAMS SHARON L
WILLIAMSON JOHN J
WILSON RAYMOND P
WINNER ROBERT L
WINDFIELD LEROY A
WINER BRADLEY S
WINSTEAD SCOTT T
WISE ERIC S
WITTKOFF EUGENE P
WOLF JAMES K
WOLTER ANDREW J
WOMBLE WENDELL
WONG GREGORY M
WOOD AMY L
WOOD LAWRENCE E
WOOD ROBERT D
WOODFORD DUFFY H
WOODSIDE JULIE A
WORTHY CLAYTON T
WORTHY KENNETH L
WOZNAK KEITH F
WYDAJEWSKI KENNETH J
WYLIE MICHAEL P
YAM ASA
YATES DAVID J
YATES WILLIAM S
YING STEPHEN J
YODOWITZ STEVEN M
YORDY DELBERT G
YOSS KENNETH A
YOUNG BRIAN S
YOUNG CHRISTOPHER B
YOUNG DEAN M
YOUNG JONATHAN D
YOUNGMANN ANNE M
YUM SUNHI K
ZACCHEA JEANNE E
ZACCHEA MICHAEL J
ZACHARIASIEWICZ ROBERT F
ZAMAGNI WILLIAM E
ZAMBRANO MANUEL R
ZAYATZ CHRISTOPHER J
ZEGER KIRBY D
ZELLER HENRY R
ZIAJA MARTIN E
ZIMMER MARK E
ZIMMERMAN JAMES L
ZINK RUSSELL T
ZINNER MARC A
ZOMAR REESE K
ZUCHOWSKI JODI L
ZURCHER MATTHEW S
ZWEERINK DOUGLAS J
ZYCH KIMBERLY A

MARSHALL H. BALLARD
HECTOR BANCHNEGRON
WILLIE BANKS, JR.
DALE R. BARBER
DENNIS C. BARLOW
BRICE H. BARNES
GROVER E. BARNES
CHARLES J. BARR
TIMOTHY C. BARRICK
CHESTER P. BARTON
DAVID A. BARTURFF
ROBERT BARZILOSKI
GEORGE D. BAXTER
WILLIAM A. BAXTER, JR.
MICHAEL J. BAYER
CLARENCE E. BAYLESS
MICHAEL J. BEARD
RICHARD BEARDSLEY
DOUGLAS S. BECKER
LARRY BEDINGFIELD
ROBERTO BENAVIDES
LYLE D. BENDER
KENNETH BERGQUIST
GIRARD BESANCENY
MARVIN H. BESEL
CHARLIE D. BETTS
DAVID W. BEVINS
PARK P. BIERBOWER
ALEXIOUS O. BISHOP
WILLIAM G. BLACK
CLIFF B. BLACKBERRY
RICHARD E. BLAKE
JOHN C. BLANCHARD
ROBERT E. BLANCHARD
JEFFERY L. BOLDOVIN
THOMAS F. BOLAND
JAMES J. BONATO
J. E. BOUCHELL
COTTON W. BOWEN
JOSEPH C. BOWSER
CHARLES H. BRACKEN
RICHARD L. BRADLEY
GERALD N. BRALEY
WILLIAM R. BRANNON
GARY L. BRESS
JOHN A. BROCKLISS
JAMES E. BROWN
JOHNNY D. BROWN
STANLEY D. BROWN
JOHN B. BRUSH
JIMMIE C. BUGG
JOSEPH W. BULLOCK
EDWARD A. BUNKER
MARVIN M. BURCH
HARRY B. BURCHFIELD
CHARLES D. BURDICK
DAVID M. BURGETT
BRADLEY B. BURGRAFF
ROBERT J. BURKE
WILLIAM J. BURKE
REX C. BURNS
STAN A. BURWELL
KENNETH R. BUSTEAD
EDMUND R. BUTCH
JAMES P. CALE
STEVEN J. CALDWELL
WESLEY E. CALHOUN
JOHN R. CALPINI
CHARLES O. CAMPBELL
ROBERTO V. CAMPOS
JOSEPH F. CANEPA
JAMES K. CANTRELL
MICHAEL R. CAPITMAN
STEPHEN W. CAREY
DAVID L. CARL
BYRON CARLISLE, JR.
GEORGE R. CARNEY
JAMES T. CARPER
DANIEL F. CARROLLE
JOHN M. CATALINE
STEPHEN CAUSSEAU
DANIEL K. CEDUSKY
MILES L. CELIO
TOMAS CESPEDESOTO
ROBERT L. CHADA
FRANK D. CHAFFEE
SAMUEL CHAMBERLAIN
RICHARD H. CHANDLER
FRANK H. CHAPMAN
JAMES R. CHAPMAN
JAN CHERVENAK
WILLIAM W. CHILBERT
DANIEL G. CHING
LEWIS A. CHIPOLLA
DENNIS W. CHOWEN
DENNIS V. CHRISTO
JAM CHRISTOPHERSEN
JOSEPH F. CILLUFFO
HOWARD W. CLAYTON
JOSEPH A. CLENDENIN
SAMUEL B. CLINE
WILLIAM E. CLINE
CHARLIE CLOANNING
BERNARD A. COBE
TERRY W. COLE
JOHN W. COLEMAN
RICHARD E. COLEMAN
JAMES M. COLLINS
GEORGE W. CONDON
DAVID J. COOK
PAUL E. CORMIER
GARY O. COUCH

IN THE ARMY

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED OFFICERS FOR PROMOTION IN THE RESERVE OF THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES, UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTIONS 593(A) AND 3370:

ARMY PROMOTION LIST
To be colonel

ROBERT T. ADAMS
DANNY G. AKIN
NORRIS E. ALDERMAN
PASQUALE A. ALESIA
WILLIE A. ALEXANDER
GARY L. ALLEN
GARY R. ALLEN
ANDREW D. AMERSON
JOHN L. ANDERSON
ANTHONY J. ANZALONE
WILLIAM I. APGAR
LANDRY K. APPLEBY
RICHARD R. APPLING
GORDON L. ARABIAN
STEPHEN E. ARNEY
NORM ASCHENBRENNER
DONALD J. ASHWORTH
RICHARD ATTANASIO
ALEXANDER O. ATZBERG
MICHAEL J. AVENTINE
JOHN AVILA, JR.
ROBERT L. AYOTTE
WILLIAM E. BABE
CLARK H. BABL
DORN B. BACKMAN
STANLEY BAGDON
PAUL BAKER
ROGER H. BALDWIN

WESLEY E. CRAIG xxx-xx-x
 GEORGE W. CRAWFORD xxx-xx-x
 VERNON B. CRAWFORD xxx-xx-x
 OLIVER D. CREEKMORE xxx-xx-x
 WILLIAM R. CRIST xxx-xx-x
 GERARDO L. CROCAMO xxx-xx-x
 WILLIAM D. CROSSON xxx-xx-x
 BOBBY S. CROW xxx-xx-x
 RONALD G. CROWDER xxx-xx-x
 JOHN C. CRUMP xxx-xx-x
 WILLIAM S. CRUPE xxx-xx-x
 WILLIAM A. CUGNO xxx-xx-x
 MICKEY CUNNINGHAM xxx-xx-x
 WARREN J. CURD xxx-xx-x
 ALAN R. DAHL xxx-xx-x
 TERRANCE DALRYMPLE xxx-xx-x
 ROBERT E. DALTON xxx-xx-x
 ROBERT A. DALTON xxx-xx-x
 RONALD P. DAMELLA xxx-xx-x
 WILLIAMS J. DAVIES xxx-xx-x
 ALAN V. DAVIS xxx-xx-x
 DOUGLAS C. DAVY xxx-xx-x
 JAMES C. DEGATINA xxx-xx-x
 ROBERT T. DEITZ xxx-xx-x
 HECTO DELIZABARRERA xxx-xx-x
 FRED P. DEMARS xxx-xx-x
 DENNIS E. DEMEYER xxx-xx-x
 DAVID G. DENMAN xxx-xx-x
 CHARLES F. DENMEALD xxx-xx-x
 KERRY G. DENSON xxx-xx-x
 THOMAS K. DERUE xxx-xx-x
 WILLIAM J. DEUPRE, III xxx-xx-x
 JOHN H. DEWING xxx-xx-x
 JUDITH A. DEWING xxx-xx-x
 RICHARD H. DIANICH xxx-xx-x
 NICHOLAS G. DICERRO xxx-xx-x
 WILLIAM DICKINSON xxx-xx-x
 GEORGE G. DICKSON, JR. xxx-xx-x
 BENJAMIN DITULLIO xxx-xx-x
 JOHN B. DIXON xxx-xx-x
 STEVEN C. DODDS xxx-xx-x
 JOHN J. DOGGETT xxx-xx-x
 CHARLES F. DOHERTY xxx-xx-x
 RONALD W. DOLAN xxx-xx-x
 DONALD A. DOLL xxx-xx-x
 JOHN W. DORN xxx-xx-x
 BOBBY R. DOWLESS xxx-xx-x
 RONALD O. DOWNEY xxx-xx-x
 ARTHUR C. DOWNS xxx-xx-x
 EARL L. DOYLE xxx-xx-x
 EDWARD K. DRAPER xxx-xx-x
 MICHAEL J. DUGAN xxx-xx-x
 MARTIN C. DUNBAR xxx-xx-x
 JAMES T. DUNN xxx-xx-x
 THURLOW R. DUNNIST xxx-xx-x
 EDWARD S. DWYER xxx-xx-x
 RICHARD W. DYER xxx-xx-x
 EDWARD R. EAGAN xxx-xx-x
 RICHARD V. EASTERDALE xxx-xx-x
 FRANCIS A. EDENS xxx-xx-x
 ROBERT C. EDWARDS xxx-xx-x
 CARMINE A. EGIDIO xxx-xx-x
 DAVID L. EHRETT xxx-xx-x
 OTIS J. ELAM xxx-xx-x
 ROBERT EMERSON xxx-xx-x
 JAMES E. ENAULT xxx-xx-x
 JOHN L. ENRIGHT xxx-xx-x
 EDWARD C. ERLANDSON xxx-xx-x
 RANDAL A. ERWIN xxx-xx-x
 FRANCISCO ESTRADA xxx-xx-x
 STEPHEN C. EVANS xxx-xx-x
 MARSHALL K. EWARD xxx-xx-x
 JOHN E. EWING xxx-xx-x
 ROBERT S. FAIRCCHILD xxx-xx-x
 ROBERT FAIRFIELD xxx-xx-x
 CHARLES B. FARBER xxx-xx-x
 MICHAEL FERRARA xxx-xx-x
 RICHARD A. FIELDS xxx-xx-x
 GAYLORD L. FINCH xxx-xx-x
 CLAUDE M. FLIGG, JR. xxx-xx-x
 RONALD B. FLYNN xxx-xx-x
 PHILIP J. FOGLE xxx-xx-x
 HARVEY FOLLENDER xxx-xx-x
 MICHAEL J. FORD xxx-xx-x
 HOWARD R. FOULKROD xxx-xx-x
 ROBERT L. FOX, JR. xxx-xx-x
 JIMMY E. FRANCE xxx-xx-x
 ALFRED N. FRANCO xxx-xx-x
 KENNETH M. FRANKS xxx-xx-x
 DAVID C. FRAZIER xxx-xx-x
 MICHAEL FREDERIKSEN xxx-xx-x
 ALBERT W. FREELAND xxx-xx-x
 RICHARD FRIZZELL xxx-xx-x
 GEORGE A. FROMHOLDT xxx-xx-x
 JOHN C. FULLA xxx-xx-x
 ROGER A. FUNK xxx-xx-x
 JAMES A. FUNKHOUSER xxx-xx-x
 JOHN FURGESS, JR. xxx-xx-x
 JAMES O. GAARDEN xxx-xx-x
 FRED W. GAGE xxx-xx-x
 MARIO GALARRAGA xxx-xx-x
 CHARLES GALLAGHER xxx-xx-x
 STEPHEN M. GAMBLE xxx-xx-x
 ANTHONY H. GAMBOA xxx-xx-x
 BRUCE I. GANN xxx-xx-x
 JOHN GANNON xxx-xx-x
 GEORGE A. GARDNER xxx-xx-x
 CAROLYN B. GARNER xxx-xx-x
 JAMES J. GAROPOLC xxx-xx-x
 GEORGE A. GATES xxx-xx-x
 JORDAN B. GAUDRE xxx-xx-x
 WALLACE E. GEIGER xxx-xx-x

DENNIS L. GEORGE xxx-xx-x
 JAMES C. GHORMLEY xxx-xx-x
 DANIEL W. GIFFORD xxx-xx-x
 ALFONSA GILLEY xxx-xx-x
 THEODORE V. GILLERUP xxx-xx-x
 FRANCIS X. GINDHART xxx-xx-x
 LARRY H. GINGRICH xxx-xx-x
 JOHN J. GOFF, JR. xxx-xx-x
 JACK N. GOLDEN xxx-xx-x
 JOHNNIE R. GOOCH xxx-xx-x
 WILLIAM E. GORE xxx-xx-x
 JOHN P. GRABFELDER xxx-xx-x
 RANDALL C. GRAHAM xxx-xx-x
 CARL T. GRASSO xxx-xx-x
 JAMES R. GRAY xxx-xx-x
 VIRGIL S. GRAY xxx-xx-x
 LINWOOD G. GREENE xxx-xx-x
 THOMAS R. GRIBBONS xxx-xx-x
 JAMES M. GRIES xxx-xx-x
 JOHN B. GRIMBALL xxx-xx-x
 FORREST M. GRIMES xxx-xx-x
 PAUL L. GROSS xxx-xx-x
 TRAVIS L. GUTHRIE xxx-xx-x
 RICHARD HABERMANN xxx-xx-x
 JOHN R. HACKBARTH xxx-xx-x
 JOHN W. HAGEMAN xxx-xx-x
 JAMES R. HAGER xxx-xx-x
 DIANA C. HAGLE xxx-xx-x
 STANLEY R. HAJENGA xxx-xx-x
 GARY P. HALE xxx-xx-x
 ARCHIBALD L. HALL, JR. xxx-xx-x
 ROBERT L. HALVERSON xxx-xx-x
 MICHAEL HALVORSON xxx-xx-x
 MERRITT W. HANEY xxx-xx-x
 GEORGE K. HANSEN xxx-xx-x
 MAHLON F. HANSON xxx-xx-x
 JOHN K. HAO xxx-xx-x
 JOHN W. HARDINK xxx-xx-x
 GEORGE L. HARGROVE xxx-xx-x
 DONALD B. HARMON xxx-xx-x
 TRAVIS L. HARPER xxx-xx-x
 CLAUDE HARRIS, JR. xxx-xx-x
 ROBERT E. HARRIS xxx-xx-x
 RANDOLPH HARRISON xxx-xx-x
 DAVID T. HARTLEY xxx-xx-x
 JAMES A. HARTZ xxx-xx-x
 JAMES E. HATCHELL xxx-xx-x
 ROLAND C. HAUN xxx-xx-x
 DAVID S. HAWKINS xxx-xx-x
 DONALD F. HAWKINS xxx-xx-x
 WILLIAM A. HAWKINS xxx-xx-x
 RODERIC L. HAWORTH xxx-xx-x
 JOHN J. HAYES xxx-xx-x
 JAMES R. HAYNE xxx-xx-x
 BERNARD D. HEER xxx-xx-x
 KENNETH A. HEFFNER xxx-xx-x
 GEORGE J. HEID xxx-xx-x
 DENNIS L. HEIKMELT xxx-xx-x
 CRAIG R. HEISE xxx-xx-x
 THEODORE W. HEISE xxx-xx-x
 CHARLES HENNESSY xxx-xx-x
 RICHARD B. HENSLEY xxx-xx-x
 RICHARD F. HERBER xxx-xx-x
 STEPHEN L. HERMANN xxx-xx-x
 MORRIS G. HERNDON xxx-xx-x
 JOHN W. HIGGINS xxx-xx-x
 ROBERT A. HILLYER xxx-xx-x
 DAVID HIMMELSBACH xxx-xx-x
 TIMMY L. HINES xxx-xx-x
 HUBERT T. HODGSON xxx-xx-x
 DAVID W. HOLBROOK xxx-xx-x
 CLARENCE O. HOLLIS xxx-xx-x
 WILLIAM D. HOLMAN xxx-xx-x
 RONALD E. HOOVER xxx-xx-x
 BRUCE L. HOPKINS xxx-xx-x
 THOMAS J. HORAN xxx-xx-x
 DONALD R. HORLACHER xxx-xx-x
 NATHAN N. HORNE xxx-xx-x
 WILLIAM HORVATH xxx-xx-x
 RYLAND L. HOSKINS xxx-xx-x
 HAROLD R. HOSTETLER xxx-xx-x
 CHARLES R. HOUSTON xxx-xx-x
 JON K. HOVDE xxx-xx-x
 EARL L. HOWARD xxx-xx-x
 GUY E. HOWERTON xxx-xx-x
 NICHOLAS W. HUBBELL xxx-xx-x
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 IHOR W. HUSAR xxx-xx-x
 MELVIN G. HUTH xxx-xx-x
 GARY J. IANNANTUONO xxx-xx-x
 JERRY D. ICENHOWER xxx-xx-x
 JACY D. IGOU xxx-xx-x
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 ARNOLD W. JENSEN xxx-xx-x
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 WILLIAM N. KIEFER xxx-xx-x
 STEPHEN C. KIMBRO xxx-xx-x
 ROBERT M. KIMMITT xxx-xx-x
 MICHAEL KISHIYAMA xxx-xx-x
 CHARLES W. KITTS xxx-xx-x
 EUGENE J. KLIMASH xxx-xx-x
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 JAMES H. KRILICH xxx-xx-x
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ERNE RAMOSSANTIAGO xxx-xx-x...
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ELDON W. RAWLINS xxx-xx-x...
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ROBERT O. ROSE xxx-xx-x...
ALFRED T. ROSS xxx-xx-x...
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HOWELL L. SHAY xxx-xx-x...
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SIMON J. SHEFFIELD xxx-xx-x...
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DWIGHT G. UHRICH xxx-xx-x...

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RICHARD UNDERWOOD xxx-xx-x...
JAMES A. VAITKUNAS xxx-xx-x...
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JOHN M. VIEIRA xxx-xx-x...
WILL VONDERSCHMIDT xxx-xx-x...
NOLLIE W. WAGGERS xxx-xx-x...
PHILIP A. WAGGONER xxx-xx-x...
JAMES H. WAKEMAN xxx-xx-x...
GEORGE H. WALKER xxx-xx-x...
ROBERT D. WALKER xxx-xx-x...
JERRY L. WALL xxx-xx-x...
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JERRY B. WARDEN xxx-xx-x...
JERRY W. WARNER xxx-xx-x...
CALVIN B. WARREN xxx-xx-x...
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THOMAS E. WEIFORD xxx-xx-x...
JOHN P. WEISS xxx-xx-x...
JUDITH A. WELKER xxx-xx-x...
MICHAEL A. WERMUTH xxx-xx-x...
ROBER WESTMORELAND xxx-xx-x...
JAMES A. WHITEHEAD xxx-xx-x...
CHRISTOP WHITTAKER xxx-xx-x...
THOMAS C. WHITTEN xxx-xx-x...
RICHARD O. WIGHTMAN xxx-xx-x...
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DAVID R. WILLIAMS xxx-xx-x...
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DANIEL E. WILSON xxx-xx-x...
LAMAR J. WILSON xxx-xx-x...
TED O. WILSON xxx-xx-x...
DAVID E. WINDMILLER xxx-xx-x...
RICHARD D. WINDSOR xxx-xx-x...
BRIAN D. WINTER xxx-xx-x...
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JERRY M. WISE xxx-xx-x...
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GERARD A. WITTRLEN xxx-xx-x...
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WAYSON W. WONG xxx-xx-x...
JACKIE D. WOOD xxx-xx-x...
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EDWIN H. WRIGHT xxx-xx-x...
JOHN D. YACKA xxx-xx-x...
RONALD G. YOUNG xxx-xx-x...

IN THE MARINE CORPS

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICERS OF THE MARINE CORPS FOR PERMANENT APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE OF COLONEL UNDER TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 624:

To be colonel

WILLIAM V. ARBAGAS, JR. xxx...
BILLY T. BABIN, x...
ROBERT E. BALL, x...
RICHARD W. BATES, x...
ERNEST G. BEINHART, III, xx...
JOSEPH A. BEKERIS, III, x...
DOUGLAS M. BLACK, xx...
ROBERT R. BLACKMAN, JR., x...
GEORGE B. BROWN, III, y...
JAMES Q. BUTLER, JR., xx...
KENNETH D. CAMERON, JR., xx...
CRAIG L. CARVER, x...
DAVID L. CHADWICK, x...
JIMMY H. CHURCH, x...
JAMES T. CONWAY, x...
CHRISTOPHE CORTEZ, xxx...
RICHARD A. COTE, JR., xx...
JOHN D. COUNSELMAN, JR., x...
JIMMY R. CRANFORD, xx...
JERRY L. CREED, x...
RONALD J. CRUZ, xx...
RONALD K. CULPE, x...
RICHARD J. DALLAIRE, y...
CHARLES E. DAVIS, JR., xx...
ALPHONSO B. DIGGS, JR., xx...
ANDREW S. DUDLEY, JR., x...
PERRY R. DUNN, x...
ROBERT G. ESSINK, xx...
HAROLD W. EVANS, III, xxx...
MICHAEL O. FALLON, x...
WILLIAM A. FAVOR, JR., xx...
ARNOLD FIELDS, xx...
ORD J. FINK, JR., x...
THOMAS H. FLOWERS, x...
JAMES C. FLYNN, x...
MELVIN W. FORBUSH, x...
ROBERT A. FORRESTER, xxx...
RICHARD B. FRENCH, x...
ROBERT D. GARNER, x...
WILLIAM J. GIBBONS, xx...
BRUCE A. GOMBAR, xx...
GEORGE G. GOODWIN, III, x...
JAMES M. GUERIN, x...
THOMAS E. GUINEY, x...
STEPHEN D. HALEY, xx...
JOHN B. HALL, x...

BARRY L. HANCHETT xx...
 KI L. HARVEY x...
 JAMES M. HAWKINS xx...
 ALLEN T. HEAD, JR. xx...
 WERNER HELLMER xx...
 JOHN P. HERTEL xx...
 FRANK W. HICKS x...
 ROSS J. HIEB xx...
 KENNETH W. HILLMAN, JR. xx...
 DAVID C. HILMERS xx...
 DIANE S. HOEFT x...
 KEITH T. HOLCOMB xx...
 RICHARD F. HOLIHAN xx...
 ROBERT E. HOUSER xx...
 PHILIP H. HUGHES x...
 GARY H. HUGHEY xx...
 JAN C. HULY xx...
 JERRY D. HUMBLE xx...
 THOMAS S. JONES x...
 WILLIAM R. JONES xx...
 JERRY W. KAHLER x...
 KEVIN M. KENNEDY xx...
 MICHAEL J. KENNEDY xx...
 JEFFREY C. KOTORA xx...
 EDWARD R. LANGSTON, JR. xx...
 RONALD L. LARD xx...
 JACK D. LARSON xx...
 VALENTINO L. LENDARO xx...
 KENNETH B. LEVAN x...
 HOWARD LOVINGOOD x...
 MICHAEL E. LOWE xx...
 TERRY L. MARTIN x...

HAROLD MASHBURN, JR. x...
 KEITH L. MAXFIELD xx...
 JERRY C. MCABEE xx...
 ROBERT P. MCALEER xx...
 DWIGHT R. MCGINNIS, JR. xx...
 BILLY D. MCMILLIN xx...
 ROBERT S. MELTON x...
 PETER T. METZGER xx...
 BENJAMEN P. MILLER, III xx...
 JAMES H. NAPIER x...
 JAMES M. NAYLOR x...
 GREGORY S. NEWBOLD xx...
 MIKEN J. NIELSEN x...
 JOHN J. NIEMYER x...
 WARREN W. NORTH x...
 HARVEY R. NORTON xx...
 RAYMOND L. NYMEYER xx...
 DOUGLAS A. OKLAND x...
 PAUL R. OTTINGER xx...
 LARRY D. OUTLAW xx...
 CLARENCE F. PATTER, III xx...
 RALPH E. PEARCY, II xx...
 FREDERICK C. PECK xx...
 KENNETH L. PRIESTLEY xx...
 DAVID A. PROFFITT xx...
 JAMES R. PRUDEN, JR. xx...
 PAUL F. PUGH x...
 JOHN R. QUATTENBAUM x...
 GARRETT V. RANDEL, JR. xx...
 KERRY O. RANDEL xx...
 LOUIS A. REHBERG, III xx...
 JAMES L. REID x...

ROBERT S. ROBICHAUD xx...
 HUMBERTO W. RODRIGUEZ xx...
 JEFFREY E. SCHEFFERMAN xx...
 JOHN W. SCHMIDT xx...
 JAMES R. SCHWENK x...
 DONALD R. SELVAGE x...
 ROBERT M. SHEA x...
 ROBERT I. SICKLER, JR. xx...
 VICTOR A. SIMPSON x...
 JAMES E. SMITH xx...
 RODNEY N. SMITH x...
 JON W. SMYTH x...
 MICHAEL J. SONIAR x...
 CRAIG E. SOOY xx...
 ASHER W. SPITTLER, II xx...
 WAYNE A. STANLEY x...
 JON O. STEINER xx...
 PETER R. STENNER x...
 THORYS J. STENSXUD x...
 DAVID A. STOCKWELL xx...
 ALAN P. SULLIVAN xx...
 DAVID T. SWAN xx...
 GEORGE C. TULLOS xx...
 CRAIG J. TURNER xx...
 DAVID M. WELLS x...
 MICHAEL E. WILLIAMS x...
 NORRIS E. WILLIAMS xx...
 DAVID L. WITTE xx...
 JOHN P. WRIGHT x...
 BRIAN M. YOUNGS x...