

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

THE 1994 ELECTION YEAR MAILING RESTRICTIONS

HON. WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1994

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, with the 1994 elections approaching, the House Commission on Congressional Mailing Standards wishes to remind Members of the House about the franking statutes, rules, and regulations governing mass mailings by candidates prior to elections.

Generally, Members of the House seeking reelection or election to any other office are prohibited from sending franked mass mailings during the 60-day period immediately before the date of any public election—whether primary, general, special, or runoff—in which the Member's name appears on the ballot.

Members should ensure that staff persons responsible for mass mailings are knowledgeable concerning State election laws as they affect mailing privileges during the period prior to primary and general election periods. Members' staff seeking advisory opinions from the Commission must certify that, to the best of their knowledge, the frankability of the proposed mailing is not adversely affected by applicable State election laws.

Mr. Speaker, I cannot emphasize strongly enough the importance of compliance with these regulations. I urge my colleagues to ensure that their staffs are familiar with the statutes, rules of the House, and pertinent regulations and guidelines governing the proper use of the franking privilege.

The Commission staff is ready to assist in every possible way.

A detailed explanation of the mass mailing provisions, along with a listing of cutoff dates for the congressional primaries in the various States, follows:

LIMITATIONS ON THE USE OF THE FRANK BY CANDIDATES FOR PUBLIC OFFICE

Pursuant to Public Law 101-163, the Legislative Branch Appropriations Act for Fiscal Year 1990,

39 U.S.C. 3210(a)(6)(A) provides that, "It is the intent of Congress that a Member of, or Member-elect to, Congress may not mail any mass mailing as franked mail—

(i) if the mass mailing is postmarked fewer than 60 days immediately before the date of any primary election or general election (whether regular, special, or runoff) in which the Member is a candidate for reelection; or (ii) in the case of a Member of, or Member-elect to, the House who is candidate for any other public office, if the mass mailing—

(I) is prepared for delivery within any portion of the jurisdiction of or the area covered by the public office which is outside the area constituting the congressional district from which the Member or Member-elect was elected; or

(II) is postmarked fewer than 60 days immediately before the date of any primary

election or general election (whether regular, special or runoff) in which the Member or Member-elect is a candidate for any other public office.

39 U.S.C. 3210(a)(6)(F) states that for purposes of subparagraphs (A) * * * if mail matter is of a type which is not customarily postmarked, the date on which such matter would have been postmarked if it were of a type customarily postmarked shall apply.

DEFINITIONS

Mass Mailings

Mass mailings are defined by law [39 U.S.C. 3210(a)(6)(E)] as, with respect to a session of Congress, newsletters and other similar mailings (including town meeting notices) of more than 500 pieces in which the content of the matter mailed is substantially identical. Mail matter is deemed to be a mass mailing when the total number of pieces exceeds 500, whether in a single mailing or in cumulative mailings during this session of Congress.

Candidate for Election or Reelection to the House of Representatives

For purposes of the subject statutes and regulations, a Member of or a Member-elect to the House of Representatives is deemed to be a candidate for public office at any election if his or her name appears anywhere on any official ballot to be used in a public election.

Candidate for Any Other Public Office

For the purpose of 39 U.S.C. 3210(a)(6)(A)(ii), "any other public office" means any local, State, or Federal office. (Examples: President, Governor, U.S. Senator, State Supreme Court Justice, States Senator, Assemblyman, etc.) "Candidate" means a Member who has qualified under State or local law for the official ballot in a primary, runoff, special, or general election, or who has been certified for candidacy by an appropriate State or local election official.

EXCEPTIONS

The subject statutes, rules, and regulations provide three exceptions to the mass mail prohibition prior to elections, as follows:

(i) mailings which are in direct response to inquiries or requests from the persons to whom the matter is mailed;

(ii) mailings to colleagues in Congress or to government officials (whether Federal, State, or local); and

(iii) mailings of news releases to the communications media.

The Commission believes the latter two exceptions are self-explanatory.

In application of the first exception, the Commission stresses the phrase "direct response to inquiries or requests". Therefore, response to a signed petition with a form or identical letter individually addressed to each of the signers of the petition is frankable. However, a follow-up letter to the same list of petitioners is not frankable under this section in that it would not be in direct response to an inquiry.

Similarly, follow-up letters to persons who had previously written and had been answered on a particular subject, if such letters by their form and volume constitute a mass mailing, are not frankable during the 60-day

period prior to elections. Also, requests for questionnaire results or other material, when solicited by Members on questionnaire forms or newsletters, are not deemed to be in direct response to any inquiry or request. The above restrictions on mass mailings by candidates do not apply to mass mailings by the chairman of any standing, select, joint or other official committee of the Congress, or subcommittee thereof, and which relate to the normal business of the committee [39 U.S.C. 3210 (a)(6)(B)]. the Commission emphasizes "normal and regular" committee business, i.e., press releases, hearing schedules, or committee documents.

TIME OF MAILING

Processing by a postal facility

Mass mailings as defined under 39 U.S.C. 3210 (a)(6)(E) may not be mailed as franked mail by a Member of or a Member-elect to the House of Representatives when the same is mailed at or delivered to any postal facility less than 60 days immediately before the date of any primary or general election (whether regular, special, or runoff) in which such Member or Member-elect is a candidate for any public office.

Processing by the House Publications

Distribution Service

Such mass mailings, if processed through the House Publications Distribution Service, hereinafter referred to as the House folding room, must be delivered to and received by the House folding room, in enough time to ensure their mailing by the 60-day cutoff date. The Commission urges Members to contact the House folding room with further questions regarding delivery of mass mailings to them for processing.

The House folding room will issue a receipt, which shall specify the date and time of mailing and a brief description of the matter to be processed.

1994 CONGRESSIONAL PRIMARY DATES

(Alphabetical list by State)

State	Primary date	60-Day cutoff
Alabama	June 7	Apr. 9
Run-off	June 28	Apr. 30
Alaska	Aug. 23	June 25
Arizona	Sept. 13	July 16
Arkansas	May 24	Mar. 26
Run-off	June 14	Apr. 16
California	June 7	Apr. 9
Colorado	Aug. 9	June 11
Connecticut	Sept. 13	July 16
Delaware	Sept. 13	July 16
Florida ¹	Sept. 6	July 9
Run-off	Oct. 4	Aug. 6
Georgia	July 19	May 21
Run-off	Aug. 9	June 11
Hawaii	Sept. 17	July 20
Idaho	May 24	Mar. 26
Illinois	Mar. 15	Jan. 15
Indiana	May 3	Mar. 5
Iowa	June 7	Apr. 9
Kansas	Aug. 2	June 4
Kentucky	May 24	Mar. 26
Louisiana	Oct. 1	Aug. 3
Maine	June 14	Apr. 16
Maryland	Sept. 13	July 16
Massachusetts	Sept. 20	July 23
Michigan	Aug. 2	June 4
Minnesota	Sept. 13	July 16
Mississippi	June 7	Apr. 9
Run-off	June 28	Apr. 30
Missouri	Aug. 2	June 4
Montana	June 7	Apr. 9
Nebraska	May 10	Mar. 12

● This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.

1994 CONGRESSIONAL PRIMARY DATES—Continued
(Alphabetical list by State)

State	Primary date	60-Day cutoff
Nevada	Sept. 6	July 9.
New Hampshire	Sept. 13	July 16.
New Jersey	June 7	Apr. 9.
New Mexico	June 7	Apr. 9.
New York ¹	Sept. 13	July 16.
North Carolina	May 3	Mar. 5.
Run-off	May 31	Apr. 2.
North Dakota	June 14	Apr. 16.
Ohio	May 3	Mar. 5.
Oklahoma	Aug. 23	June 25.
Run-off	Sept. 20	July 23.
Oregon	May 17	Mar. 19.
Pennsylvania	May 10	Mar. 12.
Rhode Island	Sept. 13	July 16.
South Carolina	June 14	Apr. 16.
Run-off	June 28	Apr. 30.
South Dakota	June 7	Apr. 9.
Run-off	June 21	Apr. 23.
Tennessee	Aug. 4	June 6.
Texas	Mar. 8	Jan. 8.
Run-off	Apr. 12	Feb. 12.
Utah	June 28	Apr. 30.
Vermont	Sept. 13	July 16.
Virginia	June 14	Apr. 16.
Washington	Sept. 20	July 23.
West Virginia	May 10	Mar. 12.
Wisconsin	Sept. 13	July 16.
Wyoming	Aug. 15	June 18.
American Samoa	Nov. 8	Sept. 10.
Run-off	Nov. 22	Sept. 24.
District of Columbia	Sept. 13	July 16.
Guam	Sept. 3	July 6.
Run-off	Sept. 17	July 20.
Virgin Islands	Sept. 13	July 16.
1994 General Election	Nov. 8	Sept. 10.

¹ Unofficial.

1994 CONGRESSIONAL PRIMARY DATES
(Chronological list by dates)

State	Primary date	60-day cutoff
Texas	Mar. 8	Jan. 8.
Illinois	Mar. 15	Jan. 15.
Texas (run-off)	Apr. 12	Feb. 12.
Indiana	May 3	Mar. 5.
North Carolina	May 3	Mar. 5.
Ohio	May 3	Mar. 5.
Nebraska	May 10	Mar. 12.
Pennsylvania	May 10	Mar. 12.
West Virginia	May 10	Mar. 12.
Oregon	May 17	Mar. 19.
Arkansas	May 24	Mar. 26.
Idaho	May 24	Mar. 26.
Kentucky	May 24	Mar. 26.
North Carolina (run-off)	May 31	Apr. 2.
Alabama	June 7	Apr. 9.
California	June 7	Apr. 9.
Iowa	June 7	Apr. 9.
Mississippi	June 7	Apr. 9.
Montana	June 7	Apr. 9.
New Jersey	June 7	Apr. 9.
New Mexico	June 7	Apr. 9.
South Dakota	June 7	Apr. 9.
Arkansas (run-off)	June 14	Apr. 16.
Maine	June 14	Apr. 16.
North Dakota	June 14	Apr. 16.
South Carolina	June 14	Apr. 16.
Virginia	June 14	Apr. 16.
South Dakota (run-off)	June 21	Apr. 23.
Alabama (run-off)	June 28	Apr. 30.
Mississippi (run-off)	June 28	Apr. 30.
South Carolina (run-off)	June 28	Apr. 30.
Utah	June 28	Apr. 30.
Georgia	July 19	May 21.
Kansas	Aug. 2	June 4.
Michigan	Aug. 2	June 4.
Missouri	Aug. 2	June 4.
Tennessee	Aug. 4	June 6.
Colorado	Aug. 9	June 11.
Georgia (run-off)	Aug. 9	June 11.
Wyoming	Aug. 16	June 18.
Alaska	Aug. 23	June 25.
Oklahoma	Aug. 23	June 25.
Guam	Sept. 3	July 6.
Florida ¹	Sept. 6	July 9.
Nevada	Sept. 6	July 9.
Delaware	Sept. 13	July 15.
Arizona	Sept. 13	July 15.
Connecticut	Sept. 13	July 15.
Maryland	Sept. 13	July 15.
Minnesota	Sept. 13	July 15.
New Hampshire	Sept. 13	July 15.
New York	Sept. 13	July 15.
Rhode Island	Sept. 13	July 15.
Vermont	Sept. 13	July 15.
Wisconsin	Sept. 13	July 15.
District of Columbia	Sept. 13	July 15.
Virgin Islands	Sept. 13	July 15.
Hawaii	Sept. 17	July 20.
Guam (run-off)	Sept. 17	July 20.

1994 CONGRESSIONAL PRIMARY DATES—Continued
(Chronological list by dates)

State	Primary date	60-day cutoff
Massachusetts	Sept. 20	July 23.
Oklahoma (run-off)	Sept. 20	July 23.
Washington	Sept. 20	July 23.
Louisiana	Oct. 1	Aug. 3.
Florida (run-off)	Oct. 4	Aug. 6.
American Samoa	Nov. 8	Sept. 10.
(run-off)	Nov. 22	Sept. 24.
1994 General Election	Nov. 8	Sept. 10.

¹ Unofficial.

TRIBUTE TO PEGGY JOHNSON

HON. DAVID E. BONIOR

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1994

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to a longtime friend, Peggy Johnson, director of government services for the Clinton River Watershed Council. Peggy has held many important positions within the environmental community, however, she has never been one to hide behind a desk. I fondly recall canvassing the Clinton River with Peggy, knee deep in mud, as we organized the fight to prevent the paving of the river. With Peg's leadership we won that battle. On Thursday evening, January 27, Peggy will be honored at a reception held in her honor at Oakland University in Rochester, MI.

Taking an active role in our community is a responsibility we all share, but few fulfill. The Clinton River Watershed and the State of Michigan have a great friend in Peggy Johnson. She has been in the forefront of land and water management issues for over 20 years. Peggy is responsible for much of the Clinton River's recent improvement in water quality. In addition to her work with the Clinton River Watershed Council, Peggy has worked with the Southeast Michigan Council of Governments, the Michigan Department of Natural Resources and numerous organizations to further the goal of responsible land and water use.

To honor Peggy for her leadership and contributions, the Peggy B. Johnson Fund for the Clinton River has been established. A substantial portion of every ticket sold for this event will be placed in the new fund to create a lasting commitment to promote the protection and wise use of the Clinton River Watershed.

I am pleased to pay tribute to Peggy Johnson. I ask that my colleagues join me in recognizing her many years of hard work and dedication.

TRIBUTE TO BRIAN P. DERHAM

HON. JACK REED

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1994

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to salute a distinguished young man from Rhode Island who has attained the rank of Eagle Scout in the Boy Scouts of America. He is Brian P. Derham of Troop 18 in Frenchtown, RI and he is honored this week for his noteworthy achievement.

Not every young American who joins the Boy Scouts earns the prestigious Eagle Scout Award. In fact, only 2.5 percent of all Boy Scouts do. To earn the award, a Boy Scout must fulfill requirements in the areas of leadership, service, and outdoor skills. He must earn 21 merit badges, 11 of which are required from areas such as citizenship in the community, citizenship in the Nation, citizenship in the world, safety, environmental science, and first aid.

As he progresses through the Boy Scout ranks, a Scout must demonstrate participation

TRIBUTE TO TODD S. MUFFOLETTO

HON. JACK REED

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1994

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to salute a distinguished young man from Rhode Island who has attained the rank of Eagle Scout in the Boy Scouts of America. He is Todd S. Muffoletto of Troop 18 in Frenchtown, RI, and he is honored this week for his noteworthy achievement.

Not every young American who joins the Boy Scouts earns the prestigious Eagle Scout Award. In fact only 2.5 percent of all Boy Scouts do. To earn the award, a Boy Scout must fulfill requirements in the areas of leadership, service, and outdoor skills. He must earn 21 merit badges, 11 of which are required from areas such as citizenship in the community, citizenship in the Nation, citizenship in the world, safety, environmental science, and first aid.

As he progresses through the Boy Scout ranks, a Scout must demonstrate participation in increasingly more responsible service projects. He must also demonstrate leadership positions in his patrol and/or troop. This young man has distinguished himself in accordance with these criteria.

For his Eagle Scout project, Todd helped to clean up area parks in East Greenwich by removing debris and painting recreational equipment with paint donated by the local department of recreation.

Mr. Speaker, I ask you and my colleagues to join me in saluting Eagle Scout Todd S. Muffoletto. In turn, we must duly recognize the Boy Scouts of America for establishing the Eagle Scout Award and the strenuous criteria its aspirants must meet. This program has through its 80 years honed and enhanced the leadership skills and commitment to public service of many outstanding Americans, two dozen of whom now serve in the House.

It is my sincere belief that Todd S. Muffoletto will continue his public service, and in so doing will further distinguish himself and consequently better his community. I join friends, colleagues, and family who this week salute him.

in increasingly more responsible service projects. He must also demonstrate leadership skills by holding one or more specific youth leadership positions in his patrol and/or troop. This young man has distinguished himself in accordance with these criteria.

For his Eagle Scout project, Brian refurbished a local playground in East Greenwich by sanding, priming, and painting the much-used jungle gym.

Mr. Speaker, I ask you and my colleagues to join me in saluting Eagle Scout Brian P. Derham. In turn, we must duly recognize the Boy Scouts of America for establishing the Eagle Scout Award and the strenuous criteria its aspirants must meet. This program has through its 80 years honed and enhanced the leadership skills and commitment to public service of many outstanding Americans, two dozen of whom now serve in the House.

It is my sincere belief that Brian P. Derham will continue his public service and in so doing will further distinguish himself and consequently better his community. I join friends, colleagues, and family who this week salute him.

MORALITY BEGINS AT HOME

HON. ROBERT K. DORNAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1994

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. Speaker, I don't want to be an "I told you so," but, well, I told you so. The Los Angeles Times has done the American public a great service by reporting the truth about our President and his various unsatiable appetites. It merely confirms what I have been trying to tell the American people all along, that Bill Clinton may have had the votes to be President, but he doesn't have the moral authority to be. The bully pulpit should be off limits to this two-timing, one-term. Which is why when Bill Clinton talks about a moral renewal for Americans, I would reply that morality begins at home.

Read the Los Angeles Times article and weep.

[From the Los Angeles Times, Dec. 21, 1993]

TROOPERS SAY CLINTON SOUGHT SILENCE ON PERSONAL AFFAIRS

(By William C. Rempel and Douglas Frantz)

LITTLE ROCK.—Four Arkansas state troopers have revived allegations and offered new details about extramarital affairs that caused a crisis in Bill Clinton's campaign for the presidency. Two of the troopers say that Clinton, as President, sought to discourage them from speaking out by offering them federal jobs.

The troopers, who were on Clinton's security detail for several years while he was governor, describe a pattern of deception and indiscretions and say that he required them as state employees to go beyond their duties as bodyguards to help him conduct and hide these activities.

Bruce R. Lindsey, a senior White House official and Clinton confidant, said that "these allegations are ridiculous. Similar charges were made, investigated, and responded to during the campaign. There is nothing that dignifies a further response."

Responding late Sunday night to questions submitted by the Times last Thursday, Lind-

say said the President did call one of the troopers. But "any suggestion that the President offered anyone a job in return for silence is a lie," he said.

Allegations about the personal lives of Presidents are not new. While President, Thomas Jefferson was publicly accused by a disgruntled former supporter of having an intimate relationship with one of his slaves. The marriage of Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt was reportedly all but formally ended by FDR's longtime involvement with Lucy Mercer. And accounts of the sexual conquests of John F. Kennedy have multiplied beyond counting.

For most of this century, propriety generally required that such matters be discussed only after the individual leaders were no longer alive. In recent years, however, those standards have been changing—propelling politicians, the public and the news media into uncertain ground.

Today, the question of what inference should be drawn from a particular example of private conduct remains a matter of intense debate, influenced in part by a widening belief that personal character may be as important to a leader's performance as political party or ideology.

In Clinton's case, the new accusations by troopers who guarded him as governor are of a type not uncommon in the political milieu of his home state. Allegations of personal infidelities and rumors of sexual transgressions are a standard in Arkansas politics, and Clinton has been no stranger to them.

But the breadth and detail of the troopers' statements—including charges that Clinton misled voters in 1992 about these matters—give their allegations special impact.

The troopers are lawmen who knew the then-governor intimately—even, by their own accounts, as confidants. They drove him around the state, answered his phone, and did errands as well as protect him. They shared many private moments with him, joked with him, ate with him, and became his shield from the public.

The troopers also shielded his infidelities, they allege, from his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, as well as the public.

It was that part, the troopers said, that they came to resent, along with what they regarded as an increasingly cavalier way Clinton began to treat them.

The troopers said they were often called upon to act as intermediaries to arrange and conceal his extramarital encounters. They say they frequently picked up and delivered gifts from Clinton to various women, and often drove Clinton in his state limousine to meetings with women.

"We were more than bodyguards. We had to lie, cheat and cover up for that man," said Larry G. Patterson, a 26-year veteran state trooper who spent five years on Clinton's security unit.

Patterson, 49, is one of two troopers who have signed affidavits for the Los Angeles Times to buttress his charges. The other is Roger L. Perry, 44, is a 16-year veteran of the state police and president of the Arkansas State Police Assn., who also served on Clinton's security detail for about four years.

Two other troopers supported their accounts, but have declined to be identified.

In a separate set of interviews, the same troopers also spoke to *The American Spectator*, a magazine specializing in conservative opinion, which published its account of their charges in its current, January issue. CNN aired taped interviews with Patterson and Perry Sunday evening, and ABC and

NBC broadcast stories on the allegations Monday night.

The troopers provided the names of other women they said they believed had been involved in affairs with Clinton while he was governor. Their names will not be published in this story to protect their privacy with the exception of Jennifer Flowers, who publicly claimed in January of 1992 that she had a 12-year affair with Clinton.

In a series of four interviews, one of those women initially denied knowing Clinton. In a later conversation, she denied that she and Clinton had "an improper relationship."

Another woman did not respond to inquiries. Yet another woman flatly denied any romantic involvement with Clinton saying, "It is infuriating to me that someone is obviously being paid a lot of money to tell you a lie."

By speaking out, the troopers will face hard questions about their own motives and credibility.

On Monday, the Associated Press quoted three troopers saying they did not see anything untoward in their duty with Clinton. "I just don't believe it was true," and Bob Walker, a security staffer from 1984-88. However, the troopers who are making the accusations say Clinton compartmentalized the duties of his personal detail, so that some troopers were in the know and others were not.

After Clinton left for Washington, the troopers said they began to contemplate going public with their accounts.

Perry said he had been personally disappointed by Clinton. He said that after the election Clinton had encouraged him to tell him which federal job he might like. Later, Perry said he told Clinton about a law enforcement related position, but he never got a response. On Monday, Lindsay issued a statement saying the President did not remember Perry's request.

Earlier this year, the troopers began discussing the possibility of collaborating on a book about their experiences which might provide some financial security for them if they lost their state jobs.

The troopers sought advice from Little Rock attorneys Lynn Davis, a former director of the Arkansas State Police and former FBI agent, and Cliff Jackson, a former Oxford classmate and noted critic of Clinton who was a key source for stories last year about Clinton's disputed draft record. The attorneys suggested the troopers make their story public without a promise of financial reward, which they say they have done.

Weeks after the troopers began talking to *The Times* late in the summer, Jackson said he tried to line up a man he describes only as a politically conservative financier to grant-ee jobs and legal defense for the troopers if they were fired for speaking out. He says he has not been able to secure a formal commitment from the unnamed financier.

KEY ALLEGATIONS

The Troopers said that Clinton misled voters in 1992.

With his bid for the presidency in jeopardy as a result of allegations by Jennifer Flowers in a tabloid newspaper. Clinton went on national television and categorically denied her claims. While acknowledging causing "pain" in his marriage, Clinton argued that "if people have problems in their marriage or things in their past which they don't want to discuss," they should not be disqualified from public service.

Patterson, Perry and another trooper now say that the President maintained a long relationship with Flowers. They said they han-

dled "hundreds" of telephone calls from Flowers to Clinton when Mrs. Clinton was out of the mansion.

None of the troopers said that they saw Clinton engaged in sexual activity with Flowers. But Patterson and another trooper both said they often drove Clinton to Flowers' apartment in Little Rock and waited outside for him in Clinton's state-owned Lincoln Town Car. Patterson said that Clinton sometimes said he was visiting Maurice Smith, a one-time aide and Clinton political mentor, who also lived in the building.

"But Bill would come back in a half hour or so smelling like perfume," said Patterson.

In addition, Patterson said "I was in the governor's car" in the spring of 1991 when Clinton used a cellular phone to contact William Gaddy, a state official and asked him to help Flowers obtain a state job that had become vacant.

In a latter interview, Clinton denied that he had done anything personally to help Flowers obtain the job. Gaddy, who was appointed director of the state Employment Security Department by Clinton, denied receiving any such call from Clinton about Flowers.

"Anyone who is saying that is a prevaricator," Gaddy said in an interview last month, although he acknowledged giving Flowers a favorable recommendation that helped her get the job.

In an action later criticized as improper by a state grievance panel. Flowers was hired for the job over state employees who should have received preferential treatment according to state policy—and despite ranking ninth out of the 11 outside candidates who took a merit test competing for the job, according to a review of a list of scores.

The troopers contended that Clinton continued to have an affair with a woman other than his wife as late as January of 1993, the month he was inaugurated as President.

The woman, now in her mid-40s, met frequently with Clinton at her condominium and in the governor's mansion, according to Patterson, Perry and a third trooper. In addition, all three former bodyguards said that the woman sometimes picked up Clinton while he was on his morning jog and then dropped him off sometime later along his jogging route.

Perry and the other trooper said that Clinton sometimes returned from these interrupted jogs showing no signs of the physical exertion typical of a runner.

"He'd say he just ran five miles and I'd say, 'Governor, you better see a doctor. There's something wrong with your sweat glands,'" recalled Perry.

He said that Clinton on such occasions used the troopers' bathroom to splash water on his face and shirt to make it look as though he had been sweating.

Patterson said fears developed that Clinton's relationship with the woman might be revealed through records of state telephone calls, particularly those made on cellular phones, which register every number called.

In February of 1990, Little Rock reporters were examining state phone records for evidence of personal calls by troopers. Perry was identified as one who had made such calls and he was required to reimburse the state for more than \$300.

According to Patterson, during that period Raymond L. "Buddy" Young—then a state police captain and chief of Clinton's security detail—told Patterson that Clinton had run up about \$40 in personal phone charges himself and that the governor was going to repay the state. Patterson said he was told by a

Clinton aide to be ready to take the blame for Clinton's \$40 in calls to the woman if reporters inquired.

A review of thousands of pages of state telephone records and other bills show numerous calls by Clinton to the woman. The state records are incomplete and after the spring of 1990 few cellular phone bills were placed in the public file.

The records—which cover only a portion of the telephone calls made on Clinton's car phone and from his hotel rooms between 1989 and 1991—show 59 calls to the woman's home and to her office extension during that period.

On one day alone, July 16, 1989, the records show 11 calls to the woman's home from Clinton's cellular phone.

Two months later, when Clinton was on a state-paid trip to Charlottesville, VA, the bill for his hotel room showed a call placed to the woman's home was made at 1:23 a.m. It lasted 94 minutes, according to Clinton's hotel billing statement. At 7:45 a.m. the same day, according to the hotel record, the same number was called again and lasted 18 minutes.

When asked on Sunday about the telephone calls to the woman, White House counsel Bernard Nussbaum said "this President calls lots of people."

In March of 1990, the governor wrote a personal check to the State of Arkansas for \$40.65. At the bottom of the cancelled check, the line describing the purpose of the expenditure, Clinton had scrawled "phone calls."

A tabulation of the phone calls showed that Clinton's calls to the woman's home and office, both from the cellular phone and from his hotel rooms, resulted in a similar amount of charges—\$44.38.

Despite the apparent fears of public exposure, Clinton continued to see the woman, according to Patterson, Perry and the third trooper who said he delivered gifts to her home on several occasions at Clinton's direction.

It was the third trooper, who will not allow his name to be used, who said that Clinton instructed him to bring the woman to the governor's mansion at least three times in the weeks after his election as President in November of 1992.

The unidentified trooper is the only eyewitness source for this allegation, although Perry confirmed that his fellow trooper had reported one of the woman's mansion visits to him at the time it occurred. Perry said he relieved the trooper less than an hour after the woman left the mansion.

According to the third trooper, he escorted the woman past the Secret Service at the mansion by using her maiden name and saying that she was a member of Clinton's staff. He said the visits occurred in the predawn hours, usually about 5:15 a.m. He said that he stood guard inside the mansion at the door to the basement while Clinton and the woman were downstairs and the governor's wife was asleep upstairs.

Contacted earlier this month, the woman said that she knew the President and said he was "a good man."

"There was no improper relationship," the woman said. "I'm not going to talk to you about it. I don't know what you are doing. If you are indicating that something was improper, that's not the case."

Two of the troopers say Clinton and an aide took steps in recent weeks to try to persuade them to keep their silence.

In September, after hearing that the trooper might be talking to the press, Young, the

former chief of governor's security, called Perry and two other troopers to find out what they were doing. Two months earlier Young had been appointed by Clinton to a \$92,300-a-year job as a regional director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency in Texas.

In an interview this month, Young said he made the calls after Clinton told him he had heard reports that his former bodyguards were talking to the press and possibly negotiating a deal for a tell-all book.

Young said he believed that the book was going to "crucify" the President, but he said he did not know the details of what the troopers were supposedly revealing and he did not say what Clinton suspected.

"He [Clinton] heard several rumors about this and that," said Young. "Like they were going to get \$100,000 for a book. So I primarily called Roger Perry to find out what was going on."

On Monday, Clinton aide Lindsay said that "several months ago a long time member of President Clinton's security detail when he was governor contacted the President with information that the prospects of large sums of money were being dangled before several members of his security detail for stories regardless of whether they were true or not to discredit the President and his family."

"President Clinton expressed disbelief and asked why anyone would do something like this. The trooper with whom he spoke said at least one trooper—Roger Perry—was unhappy since he had written to the President asking for a federal position and had received no response. The President said he did not remember the request."

Perry said that he felt threatened when Young warned him that he and the other troopers would see their reputations "totally destroyed" if they spoke out.

Young denied that he threatened Perry or the other two troopers he contacted. He said the calls were friendly attempts to discover what the troopers were doing and make certain they were aware of the risks involved.

"Roger has a way of twisting things around," said Young. "I told Roger to let his conscience be his guide and to do whatever he thought he had to do. I never told him he was ruining his own reputation. I said he might very possibly come out the loser in a deal like this."

Young said "I think whatever they [the troopers] are telling you is bull — and hearsay." After serving on Clinton's security detail for 10 years, Young said. "I saw nothing on Bill Clinton's behalf that the public is interested in. I don't think anybody else did either."

Young said that he met personally with Clinton in Washington and provided a report to the President on his conversations with the three troopers.

"I told him that I'd talked to those boys about it and that Roger was apparently writing, giving information out or something, but I didn't know what," said Young.

He also said he gave Clinton the name of one of the troopers involved who had told Young he was backing away from any deal to speak out.

Clinton telephoned that trooper, according to the White House.

Perry said the trooper described to him several telephone calls from the President. The trooper who received the calls confirmed the accuracy of what Perry said about the substance of the calls. However, he refused to allow his name to be used in the story because he said he fears retaliation.

Perry's following description is vehemently denied by the White House.

According to Perry, Clinton reportedly asked the trooper what Perry and others were telling the press and how far along their plans were. Perry said the trooper told him that Clinton vowed to come in the back door and shut it down when told that Perry and others were planning to go public.

Perry said that Clinton, according to the trooper, said that he could offer an unspecified federal job to Perry and one of two jobs to the trooper, saying that a job like Young's was open and so was a U.S. marshal's job.

The trooper told Clinton he was not interested in leaving Little Rock or the state police, according to Perry's account.

White House aide Lindsey said "in the past few months, the President has had conversations about the fact that false stories were being spread about him as part of an orchestrated campaign to discredit him. There was nothing improper or inappropriate about any of these conversations," Lindsey said, adding that "any suggestion that the President offered anyone a job in return for silence is a lie."

In an interview, Lindsey said the President specifically recalled a telephone conversation with one of the troopers. "My understanding is that the President did not offer [him] a job," Lindsey said.

When asked if the President also had offered another job to Perry, as alleged by Perry and another trooper, Lindsey said, "No, my understanding is not."

Before the telephone calls by Buddy Young and President Clinton, four of the President's former bodyguards were considering speaking out publicly. Following the calls, only Perry and Patterson would permit the use of their names.

Each trooper described incidents on the night shift at the governor's mansion in which Clinton would come down after midnight and say he was going for a drive, ordering the trooper on duty to call him on the cellular phone if the lights came on in his wife's bedroom.

Perry recalled that one night he "tried to cover for" Clinton once when Hillary Clinton asked about her husband's whereabouts sometime around 2 a.m. At the time Clinton was away, driving Perry's state car. The trooper immediately called Clinton, who rushed home.

"I remember exactly what he said," Perry recalled. "He said, 'God! God! God! God! God!'"

About 10 minutes later Clinton drove through the mansion gates at top speed, screeched to a stop outside the kitchen door and hurried inside without closing the car door, according to Perry. Perry said he went out to close his car door and overheard a loud, angry exchange between the couple.

Later that morning, Perry said, he went in and cleaned up the kitchen where he found a cupboard door broken from its hinges and debris scattered around the floors.

Patterson described an incident which he said occurred in the parking lot of the governor's mansion. He said that Clinton and a clerk from a local department store were in the woman's car, which was parked beneath a security camera. Patterson said in his affidavit and in interviews that he observed on the security monitor Clinton and the woman in a sex act.

On another occasion, Patterson said that he used his state car to block the entrance to a school parking lot late at night while Clinton and the woman met in her car. When a Little Rock police car arrived to investigate possible vandals at the school, Patterson

said that he used his state police identification to persuade them that there was nothing amiss.

Attempts to locate the woman for comment were unsuccessful.

TROOPERS' MOTIVATIONS

The Arkansas troopers first approached a Times reporter last August through their attorney Cliff Jackson who said that the group of former bodyguards was considering writing a book and might be willing to discuss their experience with the newspaper.

During a subsequent series of private meetings with the reporter in Hot Springs and Little Rock, the troopers expressed anger over what they called "the improper things" they had been required to do for the governor. Sometimes, they said, their protection of Clinton put them in awkward conflict with Hillary Rodham Clinton.

The troopers said they had remained silent while Clinton was governor out of concern for their jobs. They said they still fear retribution by friends and political allies of the President.

Patterson, Perry and two other troopers said that after Jennifer Flowers' allegations in early 1992, they were warned by Young, then Clinton's security chief, not to talk to the press "if you know what's good for you."

The troopers said Young's admonishment was one reason they kept quiet during the presidential campaign. All four said another reason was the fear of immediate retaliation by Clinton, who was still governor at the time.

Attorney Jackson said that to date the troopers have not attempted to negotiate a book deal with anyone.

The troopers also have received no payments for telling their stories, either from The Times—which does not pay for interviews—or, they said, from any other publication or individual.

"My clients were not and are not interested in selling their story," Jackson said. "They expressly forbade me to even talk with the tabloids or to agents of Ross Perot or the Republican Party who might have wanted this information for purely political purposes."

Jackson, who formally represents Perry and Patterson, said that in the weeks after the troopers began telling their stories to The Times, he did initiate conversations with an unnamed conservative financier in an attempt to get what Jackson called "a whistle-blower insurance policy."

He said he tried to get a contract that would guarantee the troopers jobs and a legal defense fund if they were forced from their jobs in reprisal for speaking out. Despite obtaining what he called a verbal agreement of such support, Jackson said efforts to enter into a formal contract collapsed last month. He said no so-called whistle-blower insurance has been guaranteed.

"They're completely vulnerable to reprisals," Jackson said. "They've gone forward at great personal risk and with great courage to tell the truth."

This autumn Jackson also introduced his trooper clients to a writer for the conservative magazine American Spectator—David Brock, the author of a recent controversial best-seller "The Real Anita Hill: The Untold Story," which was funded in part by two conservative foundations—the Bradley Foundation and the John M. Olin Foundation.

Jackson said that Brock's book-writing background was one reason he contacted the author. Jackson said that he also turned to the conservative political press because he was not certain that "a liberal paper like

The Times" would publish such a story critical of the President.

Jackson said he had hoped that the Times would publish its account of the troopers' allegations first. As it turned out, the American Spectator was on newsstands Monday.

Each of the troopers said that the only reason they were interested in a book deal was to compensate them for their anticipated lost income if they lost their jobs.

"If we wanted to go out and sell our stories, we could've gone to some big tabloids," Perry said.

"Look, I think we have an important story to tell and I think it's our duty to tell it, but we've all got families to support," Patterson said. "We just need a parachute."

The other two troopers, acknowledging that they had been warned by Young against making public statements declined to sign affidavits. One of the still-unidentified trooper also acknowledged that he had expected to make enough money from a book sale to support his family. Without that kind of financial assistance, he said, he could not risk his job by allowing his name to be used.

Last week, after being informed that Perry was talking about his experiences with Clinton, Arkansas State Police Director Col. Tommy Goodwin transferred Perry from the governor's security detail to a narcotics post.

Goodwin expressed regret that the troopers had spoken publicly. He called it "inappropriate." He also called Perry an honest and reliable law enforcement officer.

"I can't say anything against his credibility," Goodwin said in a recent interview.

Goodwin characterized Patterson as a raconteur, adding: "He likes to be heard. But I have never known him to lie to me or in his official duties."

TRIBUTE TO ERIK ANDERSON

HON. JACK REED

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1994

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to salute a distinguished young man from Rhode Island who has attained the rank of Eagle Scout in the Boy Scouts of America. He is Sean Erik Anderson of Troop 11 in Coventry, RI, and he is honored this week for his noteworthy achievement.

Not every young American who joins the Boy Scouts earns the prestigious Eagle Scout Award. In fact, only 2.5 percent of all Boy Scouts do. To earn the award, a Boy Scout must fulfill requirements in the areas of leadership, service, and outdoor skills. He must earn 21 Merit Badges, 11 of which are required from areas such as Citizenship in the Community, Citizenship in the Nation, Citizenship in the World, Safety, Environmental Science, and First Aid.

As he progresses through the Boy Scout ranks, a Scout must demonstrate participation in increasingly more responsible service projects. He must also demonstrate leadership skills by holding one or more specific youth leadership positions in his patrol and/or troop. This young man has distinguished himself in accordance with these criteria.

For his Eagle Scout project, Sean solicited help from fellow Scouts and students to reorganize the card catalog at the Tiogue Elementary School library.

Mr. Speaker, I ask you and my colleagues to join me in saluting Eagle Scout Sean Erik Anderson. In turn, we must duly recognize the Boy Scouts of America for establishing the Eagle Scout Award and the strenuous criteria its aspirants must meet. This program has through its 80 years honed and enhanced the leadership skills and commitment to public service of many outstanding Americans, two dozen of whom now serve in the House.

It is my sincere belief that Sean Erik Anderson will continue his public service and in so doing will further distinguish himself and consequently better his community. I join friends, colleagues, and family who this week salute him.

A SALUTE TO POLICE AND FIREMEN'S POST 303 OF THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS

HON. WILLIAM J. COYNE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1994

Mr. COYNE. Mr. Speaker, I want to pay tribute today to the Police and Firemen's Post 303 of the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the members of this organization who celebrated their 74th anniversary on December 17, 1993.

The Police and Firemen's Post 303 held this event appropriately in the Hall of Valor of the Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Hall located in Pittsburgh, PA. The members of Post 303 came together to commemorate the history of their group and its charitable work on behalf of children and veterans hospitals. Special note should be given to the fact that this event marked the 10th year that Post 303 has been "Grandfather of the Veterans Administration Medical Centers in western Pennsylvania and the Soldiers and Sailors Homes in Pennsylvania."

Post 303 is known for its generosity to six Veterans Administration medical centers in western Pennsylvania, the National Home in Eaton Rapids, MI, and the Scotland School for Veterans Children. Over the past 10 years, Post 303 has made contributions exceeding \$80,000 to various veterans organizations. In addition, the members of this post have served local veterans institutions by organizing summer picnics, bingo, Christmas parties, and by providing funding for disabled veterans to attend local sporting events or take a river cruise.

The Police and Firemen's Post 303 is also known for its efforts on behalf of local youth activities, such as the Boys Clubs of America, the Boy Scouts of America, Junior Olympics, junior rifle clubs, and the Buddy Poppy Program.

I am proud to salute the Police and Firemen's Post 303 of the Veterans of Foreign Wars for all of their dedicated service to the people of Pittsburgh and western Pennsylvania. Still, it is not surprising that the members of Post 303 should serve their community with such great vigor since these same individuals have already served their nation so bravely in defense of our liberty. Post 303 is one of America's oldest VFW posts and its members have served with honor in every American conflict since the Spanish-American War.

Mr. Speaker, the members of Post 303 have every right to celebrate with pride the 74th anniversary of their local VFW organization, and it is fitting that the House should also join in saluting Post 303 for its continued service to the United States of America.

TRIBUTE TO MICHAEL SCHWENDIMAN

HON. JACK REED

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1994

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to salute a distinguished young man from Rhode Island who has attained the rank of Eagle Scout in the Boy Scouts of America. He is Michael Schwendiman of Troop 50 in Narragansett, RI, and he is honored this week for his noteworthy achievement.

Not every young American who joins the Boy Scouts earns the prestigious Eagle Scout Award. In fact, only 2.5 percent of all Boy Scouts do. To earn the award, a Boy Scout must fulfill requirements in the areas of leadership, service, and outdoor skills. He must earn 21 merit badges, 11 of which are required from areas such as citizenship in the community, citizenship in the Nation, citizenship in the world, safety, environmental science, and first aid.

As he progresses through the Boy Scout ranks, a Scout must demonstrate participation in increasingly more responsible service projects. He must also demonstrate leadership skills by holding one or more specific youth leadership positions in his patrol and/or troop. This young man has distinguished himself in accordance with these criteria.

For his Eagle Scout project, Michael organized a group of scouts and adults to rake leaves, install storm windows, and clean gutters for senior citizens as well as the disabled.

Mr. Speaker, I ask you and my colleagues to join me in saluting Eagle Scout Michael Schwendiman. In turn, we must duly recognize the Boy Scouts of America for establishing the Eagle Scout Award and the strenuous criteria its aspirants must meet. This program has through its 80 years honed and enhanced the leadership skills and commitment to public service of many outstanding Americans, two dozen of whom now serve in the House.

It is my sincere belief that Michael Schwendiman will continue his public service and in so doing will further distinguish himself and consequently better his community. I join friends, colleagues, and family who this week salute him.

TRIBUTE TO FRED ADOLPH

HON. DAVID E. BONIOR

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1994

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to Mr. Fred Adolph, retired professor of political science at St. Clair County Community College. Fred spent over 40 years

teaching students in the Blue Water community; more than 10 years as a junior high teacher and the last 30 at the community college.

Fred's dynamic approach to teaching has made him a favorite among students. Along with political science, Fred taught classes on State and local government and contemporary affairs. His commitment to teaching extends well outside the classroom. He cosponsored 12 European tours in which approximately 300 students have visited 15 countries.

Although he will be missed at the college, Fred has no plans to slow down. He and his wife Diane, also a retired teacher, will be traveling to Khabarovsk, Siberia. Fred has been invited to teach at the Khabarovsk Teacher's Training College, St. Clair County Community College's sister school. Fred's plans to teach a series of seminars there in keeping with his philosophy that "People are people the world over." He will be teaching "grass roots politics, empowering them to govern themselves." Fred firmly believes that people will get along well when they are allowed to represent themselves. I am confident Fred will be as respected and appreciated in Siberia as in St. Clair County.

As the walls between East and West continue to crumble, Fred and Diane Adolph will help construct the bridges that will link us together. I applaud their efforts as former teachers and wish them continued success in retirement. I am pleased to pay tribute to the Adolphs and ask that my colleagues join me in saluting them as they continue to promote education in our community and the world.

TRIBUTE TO CHRISTOPHER HARRISON

HON. JACK REED

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1993

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to salute a distinguished young man from Rhode Island who has attained the rank of Eagle Scout in the Boy Scouts of America. He is Christopher Harrison of Troop 8 in Barrington, RI and he is honored this week for his noteworthy achievement.

Not every young American who joins the Boy Scouts earns the prestigious Eagle Scout Award. In fact, only 2.5 percent of all Boy Scouts do. To earn the award, a Boy Scout must fulfill requirements in the areas of leadership, service, and outdoor skills. He must earn 21 merit badges, 11 of which are required from areas such as citizenship in the community, citizenship in the Nation, citizenship in the world, safety, environmental science, and first aid.

As he progresses through the Boy Scout ranks, a Scout must demonstrate participation in increasingly more responsible service projects. He must also demonstrate leadership skills by holding one or more specific youth leadership positions in his patrol and/or troop. This young man has distinguished himself in accordance with these criteria.

For his Eagle Scout project, Christopher organized Scouts to construct 10 8-foot bridges

for easy access over small waterways on the Johannis Farm Wildlife Preserve.

Mr. Speaker, I ask you and my colleagues to join me in saluting Eagle Scout Christopher Harrison. In turn, we must duly recognize the Boy Scouts of America for establishing the Eagle Scout Award and the strenuous criteria its aspirants must meet. This program has through its 80 years honed and enhanced the leadership skills and commitment to public service of many outstanding Americans, two dozen of whom now serve in the House.

It is my sincere belief that Christopher Harrison will continue his public service and in so doing will further distinguish himself and consequently better his community. I join friends, colleagues, and family who this week salute him.

**MARINE CORPS INTELLIGENCE
ASSOCIATION**

HON. ROBERT K. DORNAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1994

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to pay tribute today to the Marine Corps Intelligence Association which was established on June 5, 1993.

According to the articles of incorporation of the association, November 10, 1993, the 218th birthday of the Marine Corps:

The specific purpose of this corporation is to foster increasing levels of professionalism among the Marine Corps Intelligence Community through collective action by the membership. To foster fraternal relations among active, reserve, retired and former members of the uniformed services and civilian personnel of the United States who have served with Marine Corps Intelligence organizations. To provide useful services for members, their dependents and survivors. To serve the Marine Corps Intelligence Community and the Nation.

As a former U.S. Air Force intelligence officer and current member of the House Intelligence Committee, I welcome the establishment of the Marine Corps Intelligence Association and commend all members for their continuing contributions to the security of this Nation.

**A SALUTE TO FATHER GARRETT
DORSEY, A CHAMPION OF WORK-
ING MEN AND WOMEN**

HON. WILLIAM J. COYNE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1994

Mr. COYNE. Mr. Speaker, I want to pay tribute today to Father Garrett Dorsey for his outstanding service to the people of Pittsburgh and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania as a champion of working men and women. A parish priest for the Catholic Diocese of Pittsburgh for over 30 years, Father Dorsey has set an example of moral leadership and respect for working people which continues to inspire the people of the Pittsburgh area.

On January 12, 1993, the Tri-State Conference on Manufacturing met in Pittsburgh, PA, to honor Father Dorsey for his steadfast commitment to fighting for the improvement of living conditions for working people and the poor. As chairman of the Tri-State Conference on Manufacturing, Father Dorsey has been a tireless spokesperson for dislocated workers, economically depressed mill town communities, and the cause of manufacturing renewal. An active supporter of unionism and community grassroots organizations, he has lent his considerable skills as a compassionate listener and sympathetic supporter to numerous organizations that seek to improve living conditions for working people and the economically disadvantaged.

Born in the Squirrel Hill neighborhood of Pittsburgh on April 15, 1933, of Irish parents, he attended St. Mary's of the Mount High School and received his bachelor of the arts degree at St. Vincent's College in Latrobe, PA. After ordination, he continued his theological education obtaining a Licentiate in Sacred Theology at St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore, MD. He also pursued doctoral studies in Moral Theology and Patristics at Catholic University in Washington, DC. In subsequent years, he served at Annunciation Parish on the north side of Pittsburgh. He has also served as chaplain to the Sisters of St. Joseph in Baden, PA, and has been an instructor in theology at Carlow College in Pittsburgh, PA.

Father Dorsey has followed in the footsteps of Pittsburgh's famous labor priest Msgr. Charles Owen Rice, to whom Father Dorsey served as an assistant at Holy Rosary Church in the Homewood area of Pittsburgh. For the past 20 years, Father Dorsey has been pastor at St. Stephen's Parish in the Hazelwood section of Pittsburgh, an industrial neighborhood in the shadow of LTV's massive Pittsburgh Coke Works. In 1980, he joined the Tri-State Conference on Steel, the forerunner of the Tri-State Conference on Manufacturing, which organized a meeting in Hazelwood protesting the partial shutdown of the J&L mill in the area. From that time, he served as the chairman of the Tri-State Conference and has been an important spokesperson in struggles around Mesta Machine, the Dorothy Six blast furnace in Duquesne, the Union Switch and Signal in Swissvale, the Electric Furnace in Southside, and the City Pride Bakery in Lawrenceville.

Father Dorsey is a member of the Diocese of Pittsburgh Commission on Justice and Peace. He was also instrumental in forming the Diocesan Task Force on Unemployment for then Bishop Bevilacqua. He also serves on the executive committee of the Mon Valley/Tri-State Network and is a board member of MagLev, Inc. Father Dorsey is also a former board member of Just Harvest.

Mr. Speaker, Father Dorsey has been a "pater familias" for the Tri-State Conference on Steel, providing stability for an organization that has provided sharp but constructive criticism of economic trends which displaced many local workers during the past decade. His compassion and dedication and good humor have been a source of inspiration and support to all who have worked with him. Father Garrett Dorsey has made a difference in Pittsburgh.

TRIBUTE TO JOHN E. McMULLEN

HON. JACK REED

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1994

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to salute a distinguished young man from Rhode Island who has attained the rank of Eagle Scout in the Boy Scouts of America. He is John E. McMullen of Troop 9 in Cranston, RI, and he is honored this week for his noteworthy achievement.

Not every young American who joins the Boy Scouts earns the prestigious Eagle Scout Award. In fact, only 2.5 percent of all Boy Scouts do. To earn the award, a Boy Scout must fulfill requirements in the areas of leadership, service, and outdoor skills. He must earn 21 Merit Badges, 11 of which are required from areas such as Citizenship in the Community, Citizenship in the Nation, Citizenship in the World, Safety, Environmental Science, and First Aid.

As he progresses through the Boy Scout ranks, a Scout must demonstrate participation in increasingly more responsible service projects. He must also demonstrate leadership skills by holding one or more specific youth leadership positions in his patrol and/or troop. This young man has distinguished himself in accordance with these criteria.

For his Eagle Scout project, John used a great deal of time and effort to construct both a basketball court and bench swing for the Refocus Home, Inc., a home for mentally disabled adults.

Mr. Speaker, I ask you and my colleagues to join me in saluting Eagle Scout John E. McMullen. In turn, we must duly recognize the Boy Scouts of America for establishing the Eagle Scout Award and the strenuous criteria its aspirants must meet. This program has through its 80 years honed and enhanced the leadership skills and commitment to public service for many outstanding Americans, two dozen of whom now serve in the House.

It is my sincere belief that John E. McMullen will continue his public service and in so doing will further distinguish himself and consequently better his community. I join friends, colleagues, and family who this week salute him.

**THE PRESIDENT'S STATE OF THE
UNION ADDRESS**

HON. JOHN LEWIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1994

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to commend our President, Bill Clinton, for the State of the Union Address he delivered here in this Chamber last night.

This is the third President I have heard deliver the state of our Union since I came to the Congress. This speech, however, was clearly the best—the most inspiring, the most uplifting, the most ambitious.

The President's speech clearly demonstrated that he is a man in touch with our

country, attuned to the problems confronting the people and ready to lead the charge in renewing the spirit and hope of all Americans.

In his address, the President talked of the great economic strides our Nation has made in the past year and yet he said there is still more to be done—and it will be done.

The President discussed his initiatives on crime, and health care and welfare reform—and these issues too we will tackle together in the months ahead.

But most importantly last night, the President talked about values. The revolution that is necessary in our own neighborhoods and our own homes—the need to teach our children right from wrong, by example, by the way we conduct our lives.

The naysayers fear we will not be equal to the challenges of our time, but they misread our history, our heritage, and even today's headlines. They all tell us we can and we will overcome any challenge.

This is what the President said last night. We can and we shall overcome, working together—the President, the Congress and the people.

Congratulations Mr. President, I commend you and look forward to working with you to accomplish these goals.

TRIBUTE TO STEVEN ST. PIERRE

HON. JACK REED

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1994

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to salute a distinguished young man from Rhode Island who has attained the rank of Eagle Scout in the Boy Scouts of America. He is Steven St. Pierre of Troop 11 in Coventry, and he is honored this week for his noteworthy achievement.

Not every young American who joins the Boy Scouts earns the prestigious Eagle Scout Award. In fact, only 2.5 percent of all Boy Scouts do. To earn the award, a Boy Scout must fulfill requirements in the areas of leadership, service, and outdoor skills. He must earn 21 merit badges, 11 of which are required from areas such as citizenship in the community, citizenship in the Nation, citizenship in the world, safety, environmental science, and first aid.

As he progresses through the Boy Scout ranks, a Scout must demonstrate participation in increasingly more responsible service projects. He must also demonstrate leadership skills by holding one or more specific youth leadership positions in his patrol and/or troop. This young man has distinguished himself in accordance with these criteria.

For his Eagle Scout project, Steven completed a much-needed landscaping project of the Coventry town hall/library complex. This extensive project included the leveling of unnecessary barriers and the spreading of truckloads of mulch to improve the look of the complex.

Mr. Speaker, I ask you and my colleagues to join me in saluting Eagle Scout Steven St. Pierre. In turn, we must duly recognize the Boy Scouts of America for establishing the

Eagle Scout Award and the strenuous criteria its aspirants must meet. This program has through its 80 years honed and enhanced the leadership skills and commitment to public service of many outstanding Americans, two dozen of whom now serve in the House.

It is my sincere belief that Steven St. Pierre will continue his public service and in so doing will further distinguish himself and consequently better his community. I join friends, colleagues, and family who this week salute him.

A TRIBUTE TO DR. SAMUEL P. MASSIE, AN OUTSTANDING SCIENTIST AND EDUCATOR

HON. WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1994

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, in December 1993, Dr. Samuel P. Massie, one of this Nation's most outstanding scientists and educators, retired from his position as professor of chemistry at the U.S. Naval Academy. Dr. Massie came to Annapolis 28 years earlier to become the first black professor in the history of the Academy.

This followed an outstanding record of teaching, research, and service at Langston University in Oklahoma, Fisk University in Nashville, TN, Howard University in Washington, DC, and as president of North Carolina College at Durham. He holds a bachelor's degree from A.M.N. College of Arkansas, a master's in chemistry from Fisk University, and the Ph.D. in organic chemistry from Iowa State University.

In every position which he held, Dr. Massie was recognized by his peers and students as a person of high intellect, deep compassion, exemplary character, and outstanding performance.

This native of North Little Rock, AR, has, throughout his life, championed the cause of equal rights and has fought relentlessly to break down social barriers which shackle the minds and spirits of so many of our people. These efforts led him to leadership roles with the American Chemical Society, the United Negro College Fund, the Maryland State Board of Community Colleges, the Governor's Science Advisory Council of Maryland, and the Beta Kappa Chi Scientific Honorary Society, to mention a few.

He has lectured at national and international conferences and institutions and has been cited as one of the six best college chemistry professors in America.

Among his many citations, awards, and honorary degrees are the Laurel Wreath from Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, the White House Initiative Lifetime Achievement Award for contributions to science, technology, and community service, the National Black College Alumni Hall of Fame, membership in Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity, the Faculty Achievement Award of the U.S. Naval Academy, and honorary degrees from the College of Wooster, the University of Arkansas, Lehigh University, Dillard University, and Bowie State University.

In December 1992, the National Naval Officers Association and the U.S. Naval Acad-

emy's African-American Alumni established the Samuel P. Massie Educational Endowment Fund in his honor.

Dr. Massie is married to Gloria Massie, a psychology professor at Bowie State University and social editor for Jet magazine. They have three sons, all of whom completed law school.

Dr. Samuel P. Massie is truly an outstanding American whose contributions shall live on through the countless students and professionals whose lives he touched.

TRIBUTE TO JOHN R. DEGRAIDE

HON. JACK REED

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1994

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to salute a distinguished young man from Rhode Island who has attained the rank of Eagle Scout in the Boy Scouts of America. He is John R. DeGraide of Troop 11 in Coventry, RI, and he is honored this week for his noteworthy achievement.

Not every young American who joins the Boy Scouts earns the prestigious Eagle Scout Award. In fact, only 2.5 percent of all Boy Scouts do. To earn the award, a Boy Scout must fulfill requirements in the areas of leadership, service, and outdoor skills. He must earn 21 Merit Badges, 11 of which are required from areas such as citizenship in the community, citizenship in the nation, citizenship in the world, safety, environmental science, and first aid.

As he progresses through the Boy Scout ranks, a Scout must demonstrate participation in increasingly more responsible service projects. He must also demonstrate leadership skills by holding one or more specific youth leadership positions in his patrol and/or troop. This young man has distinguished himself in accordance with these criteria.

For his Eagle Scout project, John organized a group of 5 fellow Scouts and 8 adult volunteers, who gave over 72 combined hours of service towards the cleaning, repairing and refinishing of 70 wooden folding chairs used by visitors to the Nathanael Greene Homestead in Coventry. The groups dedication made it possible for elderly, school groups and the general public to have an enjoyable place to sit while visiting one of Rhode Island's most important historical landmarks.

Mr. Speaker, I ask you and my colleagues to join me in saluting Eagle Scout John R. DeGraide. In turn, we must duly recognize the Boy Scouts of America for establishing the Eagle Scout Award and the strenuous criteria its aspirants must meet. This program has through its 80 years honed and enhanced the leadership skills and commitment to public service of many outstanding Americans, two dozen of whom now serve in the House.

It is my sincere belief that John R. DeGraide will continue his public service and in so doing will further distinguish himself and consequently better his community. I join friends, colleagues, and family who this week salute him.

LOCAL PROCUREMENT ACT OF 1993

HON. RICHARD H. BAKER

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1994

Mr. BAKER of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, in the coming weeks I will introduce legislation to strengthen procurement opportunities for local businesses, small businesses, economically depressed communities, and America communities nationwide. This legislation makes sure that the economies near Federal contracting agencies, or communities in which a Federal contract is to be performed, are not adversely impacted as a result of Federal acquisition reform and electronic data interchange.

In fiscal year 1992, estimates indicate that the Federal Government spent more than \$200 billion on the purchase of goods and services. There are tens of millions of these transactions, and they range from the major weapon-buying programs to paper clips. As you know, there are many pieces of legislation in the House and Senate which concern Federal procurement reform. I am concerned that much of the other reforms ignore small businesses. My bill seeks to add a new measure to the other pieces of legislation, and protect small, local businesses who want to do business with a Federal contracting agency or authority in or near their community.

Congress and the administration are committed to Federal procurement reform. The Government needs this reform to guide its 142,000 employees dedicated to procurement. Currently, the law allows agencies to make purchases of less than \$25,000 through simplified procedures. The statutory requirements provide that the Department of Defense and the many civilian agencies post contracting opportunities under \$25,000. This guideline ensures that the small business and local business communities are afforded adequate and timely notice of Federal contracting opportunities. Federal acquisition regulations, however, encourage contracting officers to solicit oral offers below the amount of the small business purchase threshold. Unfortunately, many in the small business community believe that the Federal regulation mentioned above has served only to undermine the purpose of the statutory posting requirement.

In the 103d Congress, bills have been introduced to raise the threshold for simplified purchasing procedures from \$25,000 to \$100,000. This expansion will affect over 45,000 new Federal contracting opportunities worth billions of dollars, and put the small business and local business communities at even greater risk of being circumvented in the Federal contracting process.

Add to this the Federal Government's intent to expand to an electronic marketplace, and you have a much more serious problem for small businesses throughout the country. Electronic notification and electronic data interchange [EDI] will soon replace the Commerce Business Daily and the local posting requirements. The Defense Department and the civilian agencies will announce Federal contracts on a nationwide electronic computer system. Eventually, the computer will serve a government-wide commerce system able to notify

businesses of contracts, to make payments, and to engage in document interchange. EDI is intended to provide all businesses, including small businesses, with improved access to information about Federal procurement. Undoubtedly, another result of this technological achievement is that businesses from all over the Nation will be competing with one another for every single Federal contracting opportunity.

I am aware of the possible threat to the small business community if the simplified acquisition threshold was raised prior to full implementation of the planned electronic commerce system. In this regard, my bill seeks to protect small businesses and local businesses from some of the risks of raising the simplified acquisition threshold and implementing electronic commerce. My bill seeks to define local small business concerns, and protect them reasonably from the risks of being left out of the Federal contracting process in the future. This legislation will set an attainable goal for all Federal agencies for each fiscal year by awarding certain percentages of all procurement activities under the applicable simplified acquisition threshold to these local small business concerns. The definition for local small businesses will be based on where the business concern is located, where a particular contract is scheduled for performance, where the contracting authority who is administering the contract is located, and other factors.

Mr. Speaker, I look forward to working with you and my other colleagues in the House in moving Federal procurement reform in general, and this legislation in particular, forward so that we can assist in making our Government more efficient while fostering an environment in which American small businesses can develop and continue to be the engine of economic improvement and job growth in our country.

**DON'T FORGET OUR PRISONERS
OF WAR AND MISSING IN ACTION**

HON. ROBERT K. DORNAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1994

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to enter into the RECORD the following editorial by Al Santoli which calls for immediate action, including public release of Government files, on American POW's and MIA's from Southeast Asia. I highly recommend this article to all of my colleagues and all Americans who are committed to finally getting the truth on these brave American servicemen.

[From the Washington Times, Jan. 24, 1994]

OPEN THE "COLD SPOT" FILES

(By Al Santoli)

In the last battle of the Vietnam War, surviving American families and veterans are fighting to learn the fate of missing servicemen. Similar to victims of secret nuclear tests, they are trying to pry the truth from an entrenched bureaucracy that lacks adequate congressional or administrative oversight.

Many veterans now look to the new chairman of the Joint Chiefs, Gen. John Shalikashvili, to resolve the MIA tragedy with integrity and honor.

In an orchestrated campaign, U.S. civilian and military officials—supported by business consultants and publicists—praise Hanoi for "excellent cooperation" and "not holding anything back." Hundreds of live sightings of American prisoners by Vietnamese, Lao and even a Japanese monk have been trivialized.

Pentagon analysts have debunked Soviet documents independently supported by testimony from unrelated sources. A tepid State Department statement admits that prisoners could have been held back in Laos under control of Hanoi. More poignantly, documents from still-secret Defense and CIA archives point to a multi-agency coverup.

Example: "Cold Spot" was a joint CIA-Air Force program to intercept North Vietnamese and Laotian Communist radio communications from 1971 to 1975. Americans flew electronic spy planes, and indigenous soldiers with CIA advisors conducted land-based operations. Some intercepts describe the movement and detention of U.S. prisoners—long after Operation Homecoming.

An Oct. 8, 1973, communique from the governor of Nghia Lo to the Minister of Defense in Hanoi confirmed the transfer of "112 USA pilots" from Lai Chau [near the Laotian border]. The "USA prisoners" were taken to a prison that previously held "Thai [captured in Laos] and Vietnamese" prisoners. And, "their snapshots were finished and I will send them to Hanoi to register with the Ministry of Defense . . . and names and ages of all will be attached."

On Nov. 11, 1973, the governor of Sontay Province reported to the Minister of Defense in Hanoi: "112 USA prisoners in prison in Sontay Province." He named a doctor who treated 10 prisoners with "pain in their hearts. . . . They are not in a good way. Therefore, I quickly send this cable for you to decide what to do."

There is no record of U.S. officials cross-referencing these and other "Cold Spot" records with in-person interviews of Vietnamese officials, prison commanders and doctors named in the communiqués.

In the past, intelligence analysts have debunked such documents using a Murphy's Law gambit—that because the U.S. government had declared all prisoners returned, any contrary evidence must be false.

This "unprofessional . . . mindset to debunk" was harshly criticized in 1985-86 DIA internal evaluations. However, rather than replace the chastised analysts, the Clinton administration refused to investigate detailed accusations, and the same entrenched bureaucrats have been promoted to wrap up MIA investigations.

In the field, the most experienced U.S. expert, Garnett Bell—who has a near-photographic memory of the Vietnamese prison and military systems—was replaced as chief of the Pentagon's Hanoi office by young infantry officers lacking intelligence backgrounds, historical knowledge or language proficiency. These novices must deal with devious Vietnamese political officers, many of whom had decades of experience playing a shell game with French MIAs.

Media junkies are taken to observe groups of American soldiers digging for crash sites. On the other hand, dissenting intelligence officers state that during the war it was communist policy to scavenge crash sites and warehouse hundreds of U.S. remains that are continuously doled out as political chips.

Former investigators describe the Pentagon's Joint Task Force Full Accounting (JTFFA) as a \$100 million per year "boondoggle manipulated by Vietnamese security

officers" who accompany all JTFFA teams to interview villages.

In 1992, the JTFFA chief, Maj. Gen. Thomas Needham, shredded 20 years worth of original U.S. investigative files in Bangkok. And in a slick political maneuver, Sen. John Kerry had 120 boxes of potentially explosive National Security Agency files reclassified before Senate investigators could study them.

Clinton State Department pointmen Winston Lord and Ken Quinn are classic conflict-of-interest cases. In 1970, Mr. Lord helped to create the coverup of U.S. casualties in Laos. Henry Kissinger claims in "White House Years" (page 455) that Mr. Lord coordinated a National Security Council study that purposely misled President Nixon on U.S. forces lost in Laos.

CIA documents from 1967-68 show U.S. captives by name in specific Laotian prisons. In 1970 at CIA headquarters in Laos, Pat Mahoney, an Air Force expert in special operations, discussed photos of American prisoners and a wall map of prison sites. The CIA station chief said, "The politicians have tied our hands for launching rescues."

The Vietnamese commander of the Ho Chi Minh Trail area of Laos who oversaw the movement and detention of U.S. prisoners there between 1964-72 was Gen. Tran Van Quang (quoted in the infamous Soviet document). Yet, neither Gen. John Vessey nor Winston Lord raised the issue of prisoners in Laos when they met with Gen. Quang.

On Jan. 18, 1993, a delegation from the American Legion met with Pentagon and administration officials and mentioned the "Cold Spot" archives. The officials gave no response. The Legion has filed a Freedom of Information Act request to gain access to the records and to prevent another shredding party by Gen. Needham or his inter-agency peers.

Before the administration rewards Hanoi's duplicity with any more political or economic concessions, Gen. Shalikhvili should make sure that all POW/MIA files—such as "Cold Spot"—are made public. He should meet with Mr. Smith and representatives of the major veterans and family organizations to review charges of malfeasance and coverup.

To conclude the Vietnam War with honor, a new team of experienced investigators of unimpeachable integrity must be appointed.

A SALUTE TO CHAMPIONS

HON. WILLIAM J. COYNE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1994

Mr. COYNE. Mr. Speaker, I want to join with the Champions Association of Pittsburgh, PA in saluting three outstanding sports champions who have excelled as athletes and have given much to their community.

I am proud to recognize and honor Mr. Franco Harris, who is known in the city of Pittsburgh and by football fans across America for his exceptional performance as a Super Bowl champion with the Pittsburgh Steelers. Mr. Harris' skills on the football field have earned him a place in the Professional Football Hall of Fame and his service as a member of the Pittsburgh community have earned him the thanks of many residents of this city.

In addition, I want to recognize and honor Mr. Connie Hawkins for his remarkable sports

career and commitment to the sport of basketball. Mr. Hawkins is to be commended for his dedication to playing this sport as a member of the American Basketball Association, the Harlem Globetrotters, and the National Basketball Association. It should also be noted that Mr. Connie Hawkins has also been inducted into the Professional Basketball Hall of Fame.

Finally, I want to pay tribute to Capt. Ronald Carter, Jr., for his superior sports accomplishments. Captain Carter is a Virginia Military Institute Hall of Famer and All-American who played with the world famous L.A. Lakers in the National Basketball Association. Captain Carter has expanded beyond his reputation as a sports champion by becoming a leading figure in the Los Angeles community in the area of community development and management. His civic efforts have won him recognition both locally and nationally.

Mr. Speaker, these three gentlemen share the distinction of being sports champions. They also have in common their personal commitment to being the best they can possibly be in whatever endeavor they have undertaken on either the football field, the basketball court, or in daily life. It is fitting that Members of the House should pay tribute to these individuals. Champions of their stature offer an inspiration to young Americans who can benefit from witnessing the results of personal commitment and perseverance.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY ENDOWMENT AMENDMENTS OF 1994

HON. WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1994

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, today, I am introducing the Howard University Endowment Amendments of 1994.

This legislation will extend the authorization of the Howard University endowment program through fiscal year 1998.

Although the general authorizing legislation allows for annual endowment funding and the Congress has already approved an appropriation for fiscal year 1994, reauthorizing and extending the Howard University endowment Act is needed because the statute delineates how the Department of Education will administer the endowment fund and provides details regarding matching, withdrawal, and expenditure, and investment requirements.

The legislation specifically requires that the institution match of non-Federal funds to Federal endowment grants be: first, dollar-for-dollar up to \$1 million; second, \$1 for each \$2 Federal grant dollars between \$1 million and \$2 million; and third, \$1 for each \$3 Federal grant dollars above \$2 million. This change to the match formula should provide incentives for increased non-Federal contributions to the Howard University endowment.

The new language proposed in this legislation will help Howard University reduce its dependence on Federal appropriations and also provide an increased incentive for Howard to raise non-Federal funds for endowment.

I urge my colleagues to support this vital measure.

A section-by-section summary of the legislation follows:

HOWARD UNIVERSITY ENDOWMENT AMENDMENTS OF 1994

Section 2. Section 2 of the bill amends section 203(b) of the Howard University Endowment Amendments of 1993 (20 U.S.C. 130aa et seq.; hereafter referred to as the "Endowment Act") to require that the institutional match of non-Federal funds to Federal endowment grants be dollar-for-dollar up to \$1,000,000; one dollar for each two grant dollars between \$1,000,000 and \$2,000,000; and one dollar for each three grant dollars above \$2,000,000.

Section 3. Section 3 of the bill amends section 205(c) of the Endowment Act to conform with the changes to the endowment matching formula made by section 2 of the bill.

Section 4. Section 4 of the bill amends section 207 of the Endowment Act to authorize \$3,441,000 in appropriations for fiscal year 1994, and such sums as may be necessary for each of the succeeding four fiscal years, to carry out the Endowment Act.

Section 5. Section 5 specifies that the bill take effect upon enactment.

CAPITAL FORMATION AND JOBS CREATION ACT OF 1994

HON. BILL ARCHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1994

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, today I am proud to introduce the Capital Formation and Jobs Creation Act of 1994. Speedy enactment of this bill will encourage investment in America, create jobs, reduce the cost of capital and lead to greater short-term and long-term economic growth.

Compared to our major trading partners, Americans invest and save far too little. The Tax Code's poor treatment of savings and investment is a large reason why. We can best help American workers and businesses compete in the international marketplace by sweeping away these counter-productive tax disincentives. My bill does just that.

It contains three important capital gains incentives: First, a 50-percent capital gains deduction; second, indexation of the "basis" of capital assets to eliminate purely inflationary gains; and third, a provision to treat the loss on the sale of a home as a capital loss. The 50 percent capital gains deduction and the home sale capital loss provision would apply to sales after February 1, 1994. The capital gains indexation would apply to inflation—and sales of capital assets—occurring after December 31, 1994. All three of these provisions would make the tax code fairer by removing anti-taxpayer, anti-investment provisions.

The bill would substantially cut—at all income levels—the tax rate on capital gains by allowing taxpayers to deduct one-half of the amount of their net capital gains. Currently, capital gains are taxed at the same rate as ordinary income, subject to a tax rate cap of 28 percent. Thus, there is a modest capital gains differential for the upper tax rate brackets, but only because the 1993 Clinton tax plan raised income tax rates. All taxpayers need a capital gain break, and not just one created by raising

income tax rates. Unlike the 1993 Clinton tax plan, the bill would provide a middle class tax cut by halving the capital gains tax rate for lower- and middle-income taxpayers. The new capital gains tax rates would be 7.5 percent, 14 percent, 15.5 percent, and 19.8 percent for individuals. Corporations would be subject to a top capital gains tax rate of 17.5 percent.

In addition, my bill would end the current practice of taxing individuals and corporations on gains due to inflation. Currently, taxpayers must pay capital gains taxes on the difference between an asset's sales price and its basis—the asset's original purchase price, adjusted for depreciation and other items—even though much if not all of that increase in value may be due to inflation. The bill would increase the basis of capital assets to account for inflation occurring after 1994. Taxpayers would be taxed only on the real—not inflationary—gain.

Finally, the bill would correct a wrong in the Tax Code by treating the loss on the sale of a principal residence as a capital loss. Currently, if a homeowner has to sell his or her home at a loss, that loss is not deductible—even though future sales may be taxable.

This is heads-the-government-wins-tails-the-taxpayer-loses. By treating the loss on the sale of a principal residence as a capital loss, the loss would be deductible—subject to the current capital loss deduction and carryover rules.

America is undergoing a period of economic uncertainty. People are worried about their jobs and the economic prospects of future generations. The Capital Formation and Jobs Creation Act of 1994 sends a clear and unmistakable message that Congress is determined to dismantle barriers that are holding back the American economy.

HOLOCAUST

HON. HENRY A. WAXMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1993

Mr. WAXMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in the hopes of righting a wrong that has denied a victim of the Nazis the ability to put the nightmare of the Holocaust behind him.

Hugo Princz and his family, all American citizens living in Europe when World War II began, were arrested by the Nazis in 1942 and deported to concentration camps where the rest of his family died.

Since the 1950's, when the German Government began to provide reparation payments for the survivors of the Nazi terror, Mr. Princz has been applying for what he is entitled to, but to no avail. Because he was an American citizen and not seen as "stateless" or a "refugee," Mr. Princz did not qualify for reparations.

It is time that this injustice is corrected. Mr. Princz endured the same horrible atrocities as all of the other innocent victims of the Holocaust, and deserves to have his suffering acknowledged by the German Government.

I urge my colleagues to support House Resolution 323, and help Hugo Princz end his 40-year struggle and close the book on this horrible chapter of his life.

PETE PENCOLA STEPS DOWN AS MAYOR OF EAST CONEMAUGH

HON. JOHN P. MURTHA

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1994

Mr. MURTHA. Mr. Speaker, I wanted to note—with a sense of great admiration—that after 20 years as mayor of East Conemaugh Borough, Peter Pencola has stepped down from the office.

Pete is everything a mayor should be—in a small town or a big one. In a community that's had a tough go at it as jobs have been lost and people have moved out, Pete's done everything from spearheading a campaign to bring a doctor to town, to helping the town's residents set up an emergency fuel-supply system.

And, 20 years is a long time to be mayor. But Pete worked 44 years for Bethlehem Steel before becoming mayor—he actually didn't retire from Bethlehem until he'd been mayor for 2 years. He's lived in East Conemaugh for all his life, and he's been totally committed to his town. He's an inspiration and example to those of us who still believe there's a lot of good to be found in small towns all across America.

I'd like to congratulate Pete Pencola for all his work on behalf of East Conemaugh over the past 20 years. And never fear—Pete may have stepped down from the mayor's office, but he's still working for the people of East Conemaugh. He's now a councilman.

PEACE POWERS ACT OF 1994

HON. HENRY J. HYDE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1994

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, with the Clinton administration's active support, the United Nations has undertaken to expand traditional international peacekeeping in new and troubling ways. Under the rubric of "assertive multilateralism"—and with little real consultation with Congress—the Clinton administration and the United Nations took a successful humanitarian operation in Somalia and expanded it into an ill-conceived nation-building experiment that has turned to disaster resulting in the loss of nearly 30 American lives.

Taken alone, this policy failure would be bad enough. But, it is merely one example of a concerted U.S.-supported U.N. effort to stumble into deeply rooted civil conflicts across the globe. Meanwhile, the Clinton administration has made little effort to explain to the American people what U.S. interests are served by our involvement in these ventures. As the United Nations has broadened peacekeeping into peace enforcing and even peace-making, Congress and the American people have been informed only belatedly of questionable decisions to place U.S. Armed Forces under foreign command and to provide large amounts of logistical materiel and substantial funding commitments to the U.N.

In order to address these problems, I am today introducing the Peace Powers Act of

1944 which would amend the United Nations Participation Act of 1945 primarily in the area of peacekeeping and peacemaking authorities. This bill will also be introduced today in the other body by Senator ROBERT DOLE. A summary of the bill follows. I am pleased to be joined in introducing this measure by Congressman BEN GILMAN, the ranking Republican on the House Foreign Affairs Committee; Congressman FLOYD SPENCE, ranking Republican member of the Armed Services Committee; Congressman LARRY COMBEST, ranking Republican member of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence; Congresswoman OLYMPIA SNOWE, ranking Republican member of the International Operations Subcommittee of the Foreign Affairs Committee; and Congressman HAL ROGERS, ranking Republican member of the Commerce, Justice, State and Judiciary Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee.

PAY INEQUITY BASED ON GENDER MUST END

HON. MICHAEL A. ANDREWS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1994

Mr. ANDREWS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, when President John F. Kennedy signed the Equal Pay Act in 1963, working women were earning only 60 percent of what men earned. Now, 30 years and more than twice the number of women in the workforce later, that average has grown by a measly 15 percent. At this rate, women won't reach pay parity until the year 2044.

That certainly wasn't what President Kennedy had in mind when he described the Equal Pay Act as "adding to our laws a structure basic to democracy * * * and to the protection in the workplace for women." Yet this unconscionable practice of paying female employees less than male employees for the same job goes on.

In truth, there is absolutely no legitimate reason for this pay disparity. A recent study by the National Academy of Sciences found that between one-third and one-half of the wage differences between men and women cannot be explained by differences in experience or education.

In some respects, the situation is worse today than it was three decades ago. Today more than 50 percent of women over the age of 16 work. Within 6 years, two out of three women will be working in this country but can expect to lose approximately \$420,000 due to unequal pay practices over their careers.

Our economy depends upon women in the labor force. Their labor and earnings are no small components of what makes our economy run. The image of the well-paid career woman partially masks the reality of women in the workforce. Most women work because they have to: to support their families, afford expensive child care, and help prepare their children for the future. It is extremely important that these women be paid at the level they have earned.

The fact is today's working women bear perhaps the heaviest burden of any group in our

Nation. In most cases, the lower the family income, the higher the probability that the mother must work. Where the mother is the sole support for the family, she often must face the hard choice of either accepting public assistance or taking a pay rate which averages less than two-thirds of the pay rate for men.

Unfortunately, we have consistently ignored this gross inequity. Our negligible progress since the Equal Pay Act of 1963 is made worse by the number of pay equity cases pursued by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission [EEOC] dropping from 79 in 1980 to 2 in 1992. Anecdotal reports have indicated a new frustration among working women who may have a legitimate case for consideration by the EEOC but have been discouraged from pursuing their cases by a perceived indifference to the complaint.

Clearly, we need to do more. Beyond the obvious need for simple fairness, there is the issue of economy. More than half of our workforce is not getting paid what they have earned and deserved.

The Pay Equity Employment Reform Act of 1994 [PEER] that I am introducing today takes a large step to achieving the goal of pay parity between men and women.

My legislation creates a program to help private sector employers develop and implement pay equity programs in their businesses and provides information and technical assistance to eliminate discriminatory wage-setting practices. It also increases the funding for the EEOC by \$500 million over 5 years to pursue cases of unfair compensation. The money will also be dedicated to establishing a campaign to educate employees of their rights to be paid equably, regardless of gender.

Most successes for pay equity have been in the public sector, generally on the State and municipal levels. In fact, more than 22 States have implemented programs to achieve comparable pay for both male and female State employees. Unfortunately, the Federal Government has not been as attentive to this issue. The Federal Government's own job evaluation system hasn't been objectively examined for pay equity issues since 1925. That's probably why a male government economist averages \$10,000 more than a female economist.

For this reason my bill also requires that the Office of Personnel Management, Office of Management and Budget, and the Department of Labor review the Federal evaluation scale and act to remove discriminatory factors. The Office of Personnel Management is required to publish information regarding the wage gap for civil servants and the Government's compliance with antidiscrimination laws. This information is currently collected but not shared with the public.

Currently, the legislative branch has no personnel policy to promote and ensure equal pay among congressional employees. Because Congress should be subject to the same laws it passes for the private sector, this legislation calls for the General Accounting Office to evaluate congressional compensation practices. For the first time a comprehensive plan would apply the principles of the Equal Pay and Civil Rights Acts to Congress.

Too often in our history, the contributions of women—not to mention the inequalities they

have faced—have been overlooked or forgotten. We've no better example of that than the fact that 30 years after identifying gender-based pay inequity, we have nothing to show for it.

Enacting the Pay Equity Employment Reform Act will complete the work that was started by President Kennedy in 1963.

ACTIVITY PROFESSIONALS DAY

HON. RON PACKARD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1994

Mr. PACKARD. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay special tribute to the activity directors of greater San Diego on this special day, January 26, 1994, which has been designated as activity professionals day in San Diego County.

Activity professionals have contributed significantly to improving the lot of our Nation's institutionalized and service dependent senior citizens. They work with healthcare professionals, care providers and regulatory agencies to enhance the lives of those served by nursing homes and convalescent hospitals, senior centers, retirement homes, assisted living facilities, and adult day care programs.

Activity professionals provide programs related to community involvement, mental stimulation, community service and all types of activities related to maintaining normal life pursuits for the elderly. Every activity is designed to meet the needs of the individual. The underlying value is in maintaining a healthier, more active mental outlook and this relates directly to reduced healthcare costs to the county and individuals alike.

Mr. Speaker, I hope you and my colleagues will join me in recognizing the important contribution made by activity professionals and the vital role they play in improving the quality of life for many older Americans.

INTERNATIONAL CUSTOMS DAY

HON. DAN ROSTENKOWSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1994

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, 41 years ago on January 26, 1953, the international customs organization known as the Customs Cooperation Council [CCC] held its first meeting in Brussels, Belgium. In recognition of this occasion, the Council has declared January 26 as International Customs Day. This occasion is also being used to give recognition to customs services around the world in view of the role they play in producing national revenue and in protecting national borders from economically and physically harmful importations.

I am particularly proud of the U.S. Customs Service for its great contributions to the Nation over the past 205 years of the agency's existence. U.S. Customs was once the sole revenue producer for the young United States. While there are additional sources of national revenue today, customs continues to play an

important role: in fiscal 1993, Customs collected a record \$21.6 billion in revenue. In addition, customs has taken on such important responsibilities as interdicting narcotics at our borders, preventing the exportation of critical technology, and enforcing on behalf of over 60 U.S. Government agencies various regulations which protect our environment and the American people.

The U.S. Customs Service represents the United States at the Customs Cooperation Council, a 133-member international organization founded to facilitate international trade and promote cooperation between governments on customs matters. The CCC works to simplify and standardize legal instruments and rules of international customs. The CCC also renders technical assistance in areas such as customs tariffs, valuation, nomenclature, and law enforcement. Its objective is to obtain, in the interest of international trade, the best possible degree of uniformity among the customs systems of member nations. The United States became a member on November 5, 1970. All-America benefits when both exporters and importers operate in an atmosphere of simple, unambiguous customs operations around the world.

I want to take this opportunity to congratulate the Customs Cooperation Council on its past accomplishments and for its ambitious goals of further harmonizing and simplifying those customs rules which affect international commerce. I also congratulate the U.S. Customs Service for its fine work both nationally and internationally.

FEMA AID TO ILLEGAL ALIENS

HON. DANA ROHRBACHER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1994

Mr. ROHRBACHER. Mr. Speaker, last week residents of southern California awoke to the terrifying reality that a major earthquake was shaking their homes apart. When the dust had settled, and while aftershocks continued, Angelinos began to add up the cost of the earthquake. And while my district in nearby Orange County only suffered minor damage, my constituents, and all of our constituents will be helping those damaged in the quake rebuild their lives. The Federal Government, through FEMA and other agencies, has already begun to provide services to those affected by that earthquake.

One group that lined up early for taxpayer funded aid were illegal aliens. I called the disaster field office in Pasadena, and FEMA confirmed in writing that they are prohibited by law from determining the alien status of those who apply for aid.

Mr. Speaker, we must change this law that subsidizes those who come to this country illegally with free money paid for by the hard-working taxpayers. This is one more example of the ways in which we invite illegal aliens to take advantage of programs designed to help American citizens. I am attaching copies of the letter I received from FEMA's disaster field office, and a copy of the law which FEMA interprets to prevent them from stopping this giveaway of taxpayer funds.

Mr. Speaker, I also include an outrageous press release from the Immigration and Naturalization Service that says that they will not do their job of rounding up and deporting illegal aliens.

FEMA, DISASTER FIELD OFFICE,
Pasadena, CA, January 22, 1994.

Hon. DANA ROHRBACHER,
House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. ROHRBACHER: As we discussed by telephone, the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) is prohibited by law from discriminating on the basis of race, color, nationality, sex, age or economic status. I have enclosed a copy of Section 308 of the Robert T. Stafford Disaster Relief and Emergency Assistance Act which provides that FEMA's disaster relief and assistance activities must be carried out in a non-discriminatory fashion.

In keeping with FEMA's statutory mandate, aliens, whether permanent resident, temporary resident or undocumented, may be eligible for disaster assistance including the Individual and Family Grant program, disaster housing assistance programs, crisis counseling and disaster legal services. The only exception to this mandate is the disaster unemployment assistance (DUA) program. This exception arises from Title III of the Social Security Act and the Federal Unemployment Tax Act. Because these laws provide generally that undocumented aliens are not eligible to collect unemployment insurance, these individuals are, by extension, not eligible for DUA. Accordingly, the State Employment Development Department has its own application for the DUA program which requires that information about nationality be collected from each DUA applicant.

FEMA's regulations and policy guidelines are implemented in a manner designed to ensure that individuals receive the disaster assistance for which they are eligible under the Stafford Act.

I hope that this information is helpful. Please contact our Office of Congressional Affairs at (202) 646-4500 if we can provide further assistance.

Sincerely,

JOHN P. CAREY.

P.L. 93-288 AS AMENDED BY P.L. 100-707

(2) to employ experts and consultants in accordance with the provisions of section 3109 of such title, without regard to the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates; and

(3) to incur obligations on behalf of the United States by contract or otherwise for the acquisition, rental, or hire of equipment, services, materials, and supplies for shipping, drayage, travel, and communications, and for the supervision and administration of such activities. Such obligations, including obligations arising out of the temporary employment of additional personnel, may be incurred by an agency in such amount as may be made available to it by the President.

USE OF LOCAL FIRMS AND INDIVIDUALS

Sec. 307. In the expenditure of Federal funds for debris clearance, distribution of supplies, reconstruction, and other major disaster or emergency assistance activities which may be carried out by contract or agreement with private organizations, firms, or individuals, preference shall be given, to the extent feasible and practicable, to those organizations, firms, and individuals residing or doing business primarily in the area

affected by such major disaster or emergency. This section shall not be considered to restrict the use of Department of Defense resources in the provision of major disaster assistance under this Act.

NONDISCRIMINATION IN DISASTER ASSISTANCE

Sec. 308. (a) The President shall issue, and may alter and amend, such regulations as may be necessary for the guidance of personnel carrying out Federal assistance functions at the site of a major disaster or emergency. Such regulations shall include provisions for insuring that the distribution of supplies, the processing of applications, and other relief and assistance activities shall be accomplished in an equitable and impartial manner, without discrimination on the grounds of race, color, religion, nationality, sex, age, or economic status.

(b) As a condition of participation in the distribution of assistance or supplies under this Act or of receiving assistance under this Act, governmental bodies and other organizations shall be required to comply with regulations relating to nondiscrimination promulgated by the President, and such other regulations applicable to activities within an area affected by a major disaster or emergency as he deems necessary for the effective coordination of relief efforts.

USE AND COORDINATION OF RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS

Sec. 309. (a) In providing relief and assistance under this Act, the President may utilize with their consent, the personnel and facilities of the American National Red Cross, the Salvation Army, the Mennonite Disaster Service, and other relief or disaster assistance organizations, in the distribution of medicine, food, supplies, or other items, and in the restoration, rehabilitation, or reconstruction of community services, housing and essential facilities, whenever the President finds that such utilization is necessary.

[INS Press Statement]

IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE,

Los Angeles District Office, January 21, 1994.

Re: INS role during the Northridge earthquake.

INS will not have any role in identifying individuals applying for assistance from Governmental Agencies during this emergency period.

People who need to come forward and apply for any essential emergency services from all local, state, and Federal Agencies providing assistance to quake victims are encouraged to do so.

INS will not request any information from other Governmental Agencies which have requested confidentiality by law.

INAUGURAL PRAYER BREAKFAST
ELECTION SERMON FOR VIRGINIA GOVERNOR GEORGE ALLEN

HON. FRANK R. WOLF

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1994

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, I had the pleasure of witnessing the inauguration of our former colleague George Allen as the Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia on Saturday, January 15. As part of the inaugural activities, I attended the inaugural prayer breakfast and

heard the moving election sermon delivered by David Barton which I commend to the attention of our colleagues. Mr. Barton of Aledo, TX, is president of Speciality Research Associates, an organization which specializes in societal, legal, and historical research.

INAUGURATION OF VIRGINIA GOVERNOR-ELECT
GEORGE ALLEN

As part of the inaugural activities of this new administration, we have gathered here this morning as people of faith—people who believe in one God, the Creator and Governor of the universe, and the God Who has ordained certain standards for conduct by which both man's relationship to man and man's relationship to God should be governed. What God broadly expects from man may be summarized very simply in these words:

"He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"—MICAH 6:8

"The first of all the commandments is . . . The Lord our God is one Lord; and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength: this is the first commandment. And the second is like, namely this, thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. There is no other commandment greater than these."—MARK 12:29-31

Although this is the broad overview of what God expects, He does give us many more specifics. We shall consider a few of these specifics in the same format followed by Governor Allen's ancient predecessors from the founding of the nation up to and even after the time of the Civil War. That format was traditionally termed an "Election Sermon," and Virginia's long tradition of election sermons began 375 years ago, with Virginia's first election sermon being delivered in 1619.

This book¹ from 1809 was written by a foreign visitor to America and describes election sermons and what typically occurred as part of elections here. For example, concerning the election of 1807, it states:

"[In] the state-house . . . the members of the assembly and others awaited the coming of the governor. At about eleven o'clock, his excellency entered the state-house, and shortly after took his place at the head of a procession, which was made to a . . . church. . . . The procession was . . . composed of . . . the governor, together with the lieutenant-governor, assistants, high-sheriffs, members of the . . . house of assembly, and, unless with accidental exceptions, all the clergy of the state. . . . The pulpit . . . was filled by three, if not four clergymen. . . . [O]ne opened the service with a prayer, another delivered a sermon; and third made a concluding prayer, and a fourth pronounced a benediction. . . . The sermon, as will be supposed, touched upon matters of government. When all was finished, the procession returned to the statehouse."²

Let me here interject a description from a similar procession witnessed by Dr. Benjamin Rush, signer of the Declaration. He commented:

"The Clergy formed a very agreeable part of the procession. They manifested by their attendance their sense of the connection between religion and good government. . . . The Rabbi of the Jews locked in the arms of two ministers of the gospel was a most delightful sight. There could not have been a more happy emblem."³

Footnotes at end of article.

Returning to the first description, the procession returned to the statehouse to a special banquet, and then:

"This done, the lieutenant-governor administered the oath to the governor-elect, who, being sworn, proceeded to administer their respective oaths to the lieutenant-governor and the rest; and here terminated the affairs of the election day."⁴

Only relatively recently in our history has this type of election day activities been abandoned. Why did election sermons so long form a part of election activities? Because we were a republic (recall from Article 4, Section 4 of the U.S. Constitution that each state must "maintain a republican form of government"); and in a republic, both the people and their rulers must be co-laborers; a republic will not survive unless both the elected and the electorate live up to their responsibilities. Consequently, election sermons offered instruction from God's word to both groups: to the elected officials and to the electorate.

Under this new administration, what should be expected from both the elected and the electorate? Many famous voices of experience from America's past—as well as the Sacred Scriptures themselves—offer answers to this question.

THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF LEADERS

1. The first responsibility of leaders is that they should rule in the fear of God. An excellent discussion of this responsibility is given by Founding Father Noah Webster. Webster served as a soldier during the American Revolution and as a legislator in two states after the Revolution; he was the first Founding Father to call for a Constitutional Convention; and he was personally responsible for Article 1, Section 8, of the Constitution. As an educator, he helped establish Amherst College, and he became one of the most prolific textbook writers of any of the Founding Fathers. He published his first school text in 1782 and continued authoring them for the next sixty years, including numerous texts on history, civics, and government. This text from 1823⁵ contained the qualifications for elected officials that Webster had often set forth in other works; Webster told students:

"[T]he Scriptures teach . . . that rulers should be men 'who rule in the fear of God, able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness.'"⁶

These qualifications for rulers which Webster set forth were taken directly from Exodus 18:21, but why were these qualifications important? He continued:

"[I]t is to the neglect of this rule . . . that we must ascribe the multiplied frauds, the breaches of trust, peculations and embezzlements of public property, which . . . disgrace a republic government."⁷

As James Madison explained, duty to God was seen as the basis of duty to society:

"Before any man can be considered as a member of civil society, he must be considered as a subject of the Governor of the Universe."⁸

Duty to God was the first duty of a ruler; and even though the Scriptures required it, Abigail Adams, wife of President John Adams, explained from a pragmatic view why it was essential for rulers to fear God. She said:

"[H]e who neglects his duty to his Maker, may well be expected to be deficient and insincere in his duty towards the public."⁹

The first responsibility of a leader is to rule in the fear of God.

2. The second responsibility of leaders is to rule in integrity. An excellent definition of integrity is given by Founding Father Ben-

jamin Rush. Benjamin Rush was one of America's most influential Founding Fathers, not only signing the Declaration of Independence, but also serving in the Presidential administrations of John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison. Furthermore, he was recognized as one of America's top educators, founding five universities, authoring numerous textbooks, and being one of the first Founding Fathers to call for free, national public schools. Of integrity he said:

"I think I have observed that *integrity* in the conduct of both the living and the dead takes a stronger hold of the human heart than any other virtue. . . . By integrity I mean . . . a strict coincidence between thoughts, words, and actions."¹⁰

Integrity is when what one thinks and says does not differ from what one does; integrity, very simply, is the ability to keep one's word—a valuable character trait as noted in Psalms 15:

"Lord, who shall abide in Thy tabernacle? Who shall dwell in Thy holy hill? . . . He that sweareth to his own hurt and changeth not!"—PSALMS 15:1, 4.

"Swearing to one's own hurt and changing not" is merely keeping one's word, no matter what the cost. Our country's history is replete with numerous examples of leaders of integrity—leaders who kept their word at all cost. A mere cursory examination of those fifty-six who placed their hand to the nation's birth certificate—the Declaration of Independence—quickly reveals leaders of integrity—leaders who kept their word at all costs.

One excellent example is Robert Morris, one of only six men who signed both the Declaration and the Constitution. At the time he pledged "his life, his fortune, and his sacred honor" in the Declaration, he was one of America's wealthiest individuals. He was appointed the financier of the American Revolution—and unenviable position, for it was his task to secure financial backing for the Revolution.

Consider: the American Revolution was simply a group of individuals pledging themselves to overthrow the world's greatest military, naval, and economic power. If we were to try to replicate that feat today and get fifty-six here to make such a pledge, what bank in its right mind would make a loan to that group for that purpose? And so it was in the American Revolution; it was not until three years into the Revolution, after our victory at Saratoga, that loans began to come. So how did they finance the Revolution during the first three years?

Much of the finances came from Robert Morris: he personally gave over two million to the cause of the Revolution, and it was not money off the top, it was most of what he had. He gave so much that in his latter years, he did not have enough left to meet his own obligations, thus causing him to even spend time in debtors' prison. Morris was never repaid; still, he had given his word—he had pledged "his life, his fortune, and his sacred honor"; and he kept his word.

This, then, is integrity, and this is a responsibility of a ruler: to guard carefully his word, but when once given, to keep it even if it is to his own hurt.

3. The third responsibility of leaders is to be statesmen rather than politicians. Before going further, it is important to define these two terms. Founding Father John Adams has already done this. In his diary entry for February 9, 1772,¹¹ Adams defined a politician as someone who would compromise his principles in order to advance—whether with his

party, his constituents, or a powerful committee head, etc. However, a statesman would not compromise principles, regardless of what it might cost him. What made the difference between the two?

According to Adams, a statesman embraced the Biblical conviction of the reality of future rewards and punishments. That is, he realized that he must stand before God Almighty and account to Him for his behavior while in office. The awareness of this unescapable truth served as a restraint on personal misbehavior—something especially important for an office-holder; for although termed "public officials," most of their official activities actually occur in private.

So was John Adams a politician or a statesman? Was he willing to compromise principles; or was he willing to stand firm, even if it cost him? Adams was definitely a statesman—he refused to compromise his principles. As he explained:

"Such compliances [compromises] . . . of my honor, my conscience, my friends, my country, my God, as the Scriptures inform us must be punished with nothing less than Hell fire, eternal torment. And this [eternal punishment] is so unequal a price to pay for the honors and emoluments [profits] . . . of a [state] minister or Governor, that I cannot prevail upon myself to think of it [compromise]. The duration of future punishment terrifies me."¹²

Because he understood that he would answer to God, John Adams guarded his private behavior and carefully weighed his public policy decisions. And this is the third responsibility of a leader: to be a statesman, refusing to compromise principles for political expediency.

4. The fourth responsibility of a leader is to recognize the principle of collective accountability to God. As John Adams just pointed out, the belief in individual accountability to God was important—it was so important that it frequently appeared in state constitutions. Notice, for example, the Pennsylvania constitution—authored by Benjamin Rush and James Wilson. Benjamin Rush has already been mentioned, but what of James Wilson? James Wilson was a signer of both the Declaration and the Constitution, and he was the second-most active member of the Constitutional Convention, speaking 168 times on the floor of the Convention. He was appointed by President George Washington as an original Justice on the U.S. Supreme Court, and Wilson—who understood so well what was Constitutional and what not—authored the following provision:

"And each member [of the legislature] before he takes his seat, shall make and subscribe the following declaration, viz.: 'I do believe in one God, the creator and governor of the universe, the rewarder of the good and the punisher of the wicked.'"¹³

The Tennessee constitution, authored by signer of the Constitution William Blount, contained an almost identical provision:

"No person who denies the being of God, or a future state of rewards and punishments, shall hold any office in the civil department of this State."¹⁴

The same requirement was found in numerous other state constitutions authored by our Founding Fathers. They grasped the important consequences on human behavior arising from an understanding of personal accountability to God.

However, they also fully understood the concept of collective accountability to God—that is, a state or a nation being accountable to God; for as surely as God holds individuals

accountable for what they do. He also holds nations and states accountable. However, there is a difference between individual and collective accountability—a difference explained by Virginia's own George Mason—the father of the Bill of Rights—in his speech on August 27, 1787, at the Constitutional Convention. He reminded the delegates the difference between individual and collective accountability:

"As nations cannot be rewarded or punished in the next world, so they must be in this. By an inevitable chain of causes and effects, Providence punishes national sins by national calamities."¹⁵

Collective accountability to God—whether it be His rewards for the right or His punishments for the wrong—is administered to states and nations in the present. Thomas Jefferson understood this truth, and he—in words now inscribed inside his memorial in Washington—explained:

"And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are of the gift of God? That they are not to be violated but with His wrath? Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever."¹⁶

Thomas Jefferson—like most of the Founding Fathers—understood the important role that religion played in the life of a nation and in the function of civil government. Interestingly, Jefferson's words in three of the four panels which adorn the inside of the Jefferson Memorial contain overt and clear acknowledgments of God. Many today mistakenly celebrate his famous Statute on Religious Liberty¹⁷ as though he intended a freedom from religion; he did not. His statute simply disestablished a single denomination from ruling the state and placed all denominations on an equal footing under the law—as had already happened in the states surrounding Virginia.

Convincing evidence of Jefferson's strong belief in the vital connection between religious principles and civil society is supplied not only by his own letters and writings but also by the records of the historical society of Washington, D.C. According to the Columbian Historical Society, Thomas Jefferson—while President—authorized the original plan of education for Washington, D.C.'s public schools, and in that plan he placed the Sacred Scriptures as a primary reading text for Washington, D.C.'s public schools!¹⁸

However, returning to the present, it is an important responsibility for our leaders to understand—as Jefferson so well understood—the truth of collective accountability to God and thus to take stands by which God can honor and bless the entire state. Hereby is the meaning of the Scripture fulfilled which declares:

"When the righteous rule, the people rejoice; when the wicked rule, the people groan."¹⁹—PROVERBS 29:2

So, then, the fourth responsibility of leaders is to recognize—for the sake of the state and its citizens—the ramifications of collective accountability to God.

While these have been some of the responsibilities of leaders in a republic, what are the responsibilities of the citizens?

THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF CITIZENS

1. A citizen's first responsibility is to pray for his or her leaders—a fact made clear by Scriptures in both the Old and New Testaments:

"I exhort therefore, that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for . . . all that are in au-

thority . . . For this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Savior."²⁰—I TIMOTHY 2:1-3

And when the prophet Samuel was discussing civil government with the people, they asked for his prayers. Samuel responded:

"Moreover, as for me, God forbid that I should sin against the Lord in ceasing to pray for you."²¹—I SAMUEL 12:23

For citizens to faithfully pray for their government and its leaders is a clear and succinct directive of God; and in an historical sense, prayer and government have always gone together well in America. For example, in 1774, leaders like Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry (among others)—seeing that separation from the mother country would become necessary—determined to convene a national congress for the purpose of preparing the states to act together collectively as a unified nation rather than as thirteen separate, disjointed states. The Congressional Record shows that the first act of that Congress was to call for prayer, and so profound was that time of prayer—and so numerous and strong were the letters written by many of the delegates after that prayer—that in 1844 a painting was done to recapture that event, and you will see many whom you will recognize. John Adams wrote Abigail a beautiful letter describing that prayer:

"[The Rev. Mr. Duché] . . . read several prayers . . . and read . . . the thirty-fifth Psalm. You must remember, this was the next morning after we heard the horrible rumor of the cannonade of Boston. I never saw a greater effect upon an audience. It seemed as if heaven had ordained that Psalm to be read on that morning. After this, Mr. Duché . . . struck out into an extemporary prayer which filled the bosom of every man present. I must confess, I never heard a better prayer . . . It had an excellent effect upon every body here. I must beg you to read that [the thirty-fifth] Psalm."²²

The Congress next—as remained a regular practice throughout the Revolution—called the people to prayer for their leaders and their government. John Adams explained to Abigail:

"We have appointed a Continental fast. Millions will be upon their knees at once before their great Creator, imploring His forgiveness and blessings; His smiles on American councils and arms."²³

So important were the prayers for the leaders and the country that even Benjamin Franklin—considered one of the least religious of the Founding Fathers—commented on its importance during his famous speech of Thursday, June 28, 1787, which he delivered at the Constitutional Convention. Franklin stated:

"In the beginning of the Contest with Great Britain, when we were sensible of danger we had daily prayer in this room for Divine protection. Our prayers, Sir, were heard, and they were graciously answered. All of us who were engaged in the struggle must have observed frequent instances of a superintending providence in our favor. . . . And have we now forgotten that powerful Friend? or do we imagine we no longer need his assistance? I have lived, Sir, a long time, and the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this truth—that God governs in the affairs of men. And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without his aid? We have been assured, Sir, in the sacred writings, that "except the Lord build the House, they labor in vain that build it." I firmly believe this; and I also believe that

without his concurring aid we shall succeed in this political building no better than the builders of Babel."²⁴

Prayer for our leaders is important. The Scriptures command it, and historically our leaders have sought and cherished it. Our leaders still need what John Adams described:

"Millions . . . upon their knees at once before their great Creator, imploring His forgiveness and blessings; His smiles on American councils and arms."²⁵

The first responsibility of citizens is to pray for their leaders.

2. The second responsibility of citizens is to watch closely their government—to examine it, to be vigilant over it, and to be jealous for it. Benjamin Rush stated it this way:

"[E]very citizen of a republic. . . Must watch for the State as if its liberties depended upon his vigilance alone."²⁶

John Adams, too, challenged us to be active and alert. He explained:

"We electors have an important constitutional power placed in our hands: we have a check upon two branches of the legislature. . . . It becomes necessary to every [citizen] then, to be in some degree a statesman: and to examine and judge for himself . . . the . . . political principles and measures."²⁷

We ourselves must be statesmen. It is wrong to relax, or to go to sleep, now that our election season is over. Founding Father John Dickinson—a signer of the Constitution—warned us why we needed to stay alert. As he explained:

"Political slavery—servitude—is ever preceded by sleep."²⁸

It is the second responsibility of citizens to be statesmen and to be watchful and vigilant over their state government.

3. The third responsibility of citizens is to be involved with their government. This is partly because this is a government of "we the people," but there are other considerations as well. Benjamin Rush presented one such consideration in his 1798 policy paper entitled "On the Mode of Education Proper in a Republic."²⁹ Recall that Benjamin Rush was one of America's top educators and is considered the father of public schools under the Constitution. He saw three primary purposes for public education: first, to teach youth to love God; second, to teach youth to love their country; and third, to teach youth to love their family.

In today's world, this might seem like an unorthodox order: to love God first, country second, and family third. Today, we would probably place family above country, but Benjamin Rush had a strong reason to place country above family. He understood that if we lost our country, we would lose our families—that unless we watched over government and stayed involved in it that government itself could become an enemy of the family. How correct he was; and today, much of that which undermines the family is often supported, subsidized, or paid for by the government itself.

Reverend Matthias Burnet—in his 1803 election sermon delivered before Governor Jonathan Trumbull and the Connecticut legislature—gave an excellent challenge on why citizens should be involved. He said:

"Let not your children have reason to curse you for giving up those rights and prostrating those institutions which your fathers delivered to you."³⁰

For the sake of our children and families, it is the responsibility of citizens to stay actively involved in their government.

4. The final responsibility of a citizen is to be a firm friend to liberty. What does it

mean to "be a friend to liberty"? Founding Father John Witherspoon answered that question. Witherspoon was a signer of the Declaration and served on over 100 different committees in congress. Furthermore, he was the President of Princeton University and is rightly considered the educational father of many Founding Fathers, personally training 87 of them—including James Madison. Witherspoon explained:

"[H]e is the best friend to American liberty who is most sincere and active in promoting true and undefiled religion, and who sets himself with the greatest firmness to bear down profanity and immorality of every kind."²⁸

According to John Witherspoon, if you are a friend to liberty, you will promote religion and bear down on profanity and immorality. Why? Because if a citizen understands our form of government, he knows that if the people are profane and immoral, then the government will be profane and immoral; and history proves that profane and immoral governments do not endure. Founding Father Elias Boudinot, President of the Congress, warned us about the effect of the loss of morality. He explained:

"If the moral character of a people once degenerate, their political character must follow."²⁹

Morality is important: if we lose our morals, we will lose our government; and according to George Washington, morality cannot be maintained apart from religion. In his famous "Farewell Address," of September 17, 1796, he warned:

"and let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds . . . reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle."³⁰

Religion and morality not only are vital foundations for our government, they are the only stable foundations for it. As John Adams explained:

"We have no government armed with power capable of contending with human passions unbridled by morality and religion. . . . Our Constitution was made only for a moral and a religious people. It is wholly inadequate to the government of any other."³¹

The Founders understood that the key to a self-governing nation was self-governing individuals, and they further understood that personal self-government was acquired from the principles of morality and self-control taught by religion. If individuals will not govern themselves, then their government must adopt drastic measures to try to control them. Speaker of the House Robert Winthrop—a contemporary of John Quincy Adams and Daniel Webster—explained this truth in these words:

"Men, in a word, must necessarily be controlled, either by a power within them, or by a power without them; either by the word of God, or by the strong arm of man; either by the Bible, or by the bayonet."³²

Benjamin Rush confirmed this. In his 1791 educational policy paper on the use of the

Bible in public schools, he warned what would happen in America if we ever removed the Scriptures from the classroom. He explained:

"In contemplating the political institutions of the United States, [by removing the Bible from schools] I lament, that we waste so much time and money in punishing crimes, and take so little pains to prevent them."³³

The promotion of religion and morality is the solitary means of attaining the individual self-control necessary for the successful operation of civil society. The fourth responsibility of citizens is to be friends to liberty, that is, to live under and to promote religion and morality.

CONCLUSION

In summary, what, then, can we conclude? That there are God-given, God-established responsibilities both for the elected and for the electorate, many of which center around the simple principle God has set forth in I Samuel 2:30. He declares:

"Them that honor Me I will honor, and they that despise Me shall be lightly esteemed."—I SAMUEL 2:30

Blessings, or cursings, depend upon our response to the principles God has set forth. Abraham Lincoln's 1863 address showed he understood this truth. Lincoln declared:

"[T]he sublime truth, announced in the Holy Scriptures and proven by all history, [is] that those nations *only* are blessed whose God is the Lord."³⁴

Let our final thought in closing be the same warning which was given to the people by President George Washington in his first inaugural address. He reminded us:

"[T]he propitious [favorable] smiles of heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right which Heaven itself has ordained."³⁵

Governor Allen, may God bless you and the members of your new administration; may He surround each of you with wise and competent staff, aides, and counselors; may He make His wisdom available to you in abundance as you face your new expected challenges and the unexpected ones which will arise during your tenure; and above all:

"The Lord bless thee, and keep thee;
The Lord make His face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee;
The Lord lift up His countenance upon thee, and give thee peace."—NUMBERS 6:24-26

God bless you all!

FOOTNOTES

¹ Edward Augustus Kendall, Esq., "Travel Through the Northern Parts of the United States, in the Years 1807 and 1808" (New York: I. Riley, 1809).

² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp 3-5.

³ Benjamin Rush, "Letters of Benjamin Rush," L.H. Butterfield, editor (Princeton: The American Philosophical Society, 1951), Vol. I, p. 474, Letter to Elias Boudinot, July 9, 1788.

⁴ Kendall, Vol. I, p. 6.

⁵ Noah Webster, "Letters To a Young Gentleman Commencing His Education: To Which is Subjoined a Brief History of the United States" (New Haven: S. Converse, 1823).

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ James Madison, "The Papers of James Madison", Robert Rutland, ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), Vol. VIII, p. 299, June 20, 1785.

⁹ Abigail Adams, "Letters of Mrs. Adams, The Wife of John Adams" (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1840), Vol. I, p. 76.

¹⁰ Rush, "Letters," Vol. II, p. 1103, September 4, 1811, to John Adams.

¹¹ John Adams, "The Works of John Adams, Second President of the United States" (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1851), Vol II, p. 293.

¹² *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 294.

¹³ "The Constitutions of the Several Independent States of America," Published by Order of Congress (Boston: Norman & Bowen, 1785), p. 81.

¹⁴ "The Constitutions of the United States of America with the Latest Amendments" (Trenton: Moore & Lake, 1813), p. 342.

¹⁵ James Madison, "The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787", Max Farrand, ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1911), Vol. II, p. 370, August 27, 1787.

¹⁶ Thomas Jefferson, "Notes on the State of Virginia" (Philadelphia: Matthew Carey, 1794), Query XVIII, p. 237.

¹⁷ Thomas Jefferson, "The Writings of Thomas Jefferson," Andrew A. Lipscomb, ed., (Washington, D.C., 1903), Vol. II, pp. 300-303.

¹⁸ J. O. Wilson, "Records of the Columbia Historical Society" (Washington, D.C.: Columbia Historical Society, 1897), Vol. I, pp. 119-170, see especially pp. 122-127 from the article "Eighty Years of Public Schools of Washington—1805 to 1885," delivered before the society on May 4, 1896.

¹⁹ John and Abigail Adams, "Letters of John Adams, Addressed To His Wife," Charles Francis Adams, ed. (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1841), Vol. I, pp. 23-24, September 16, 1774.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 46, June 17, 1775.

²¹ Madison, supra note 13, Vol. I, pp. 450-452, June 28, 1787.

²² John and Abigail Adams, supra note 17, Vol. I, p. 46, June 17, 1775.

²³ Benjamin Rush, "Essays, Literary, Moral & Philosophical" (Philadelphia: Thomas and William Bradford, 1806), pp. 10-11.

²⁴ Adams, "Works," supra note 9, Vol. 3, p. 437, August 29, 1783.

²⁵ John Dickinson, "The Political Writings of John Dickinson" (Wilmington: Bonsal and Niles, 1801), Vol. I, p. 277, quoting from Baron de Montesquieu, "Spirit of the Laws" (Philadelphia: Isaiah Thomas, 1802), Vol. I, p. 272.

²⁶ Rush, "Essays," supra note 21, pp. 6-20.

²⁷ Matthias Burnet, "An Election Sermon, Preached at Hartford, on the Day of the Anniversary Election," May 12, 1803 (Hartford: Hudson & Goodwin, 1803), p. 27.

²⁸ John Witherspoon, "The Works of the Rev. John Witherspoon" (Philadelphia: William W. Woodard, 1802), Vol. III, p. 42.

²⁹ Elias Boudinot, "An Oration, Delivered at Elizabeth-town, New-Jersey . . . on the Fourth of July" (Elizabethtown: Kollock, 1793), pp. 14-15.

³⁰ George Washington, "Address of George Washington, President of the United States, and Late Commander of Chief of the American Army, to the People of the United States, Preparatory to His Declaration" (Baltimore: George and Henry S. Keatinge, 1796), p. 23, September 17, 1796.

³¹ Adams, supra note 9, Vol. IX, p. 229, October 11, 1798.

³² Robert Winthrop, "Addresses and Speeches on Various Occasions" (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1852), p. 172, from his "Either by the Bible or the Bayonet."

³³ Rush, "Essays," supra note 21, p. 112.

³⁴ James D. Richardson, "A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897" (Published by Authority of Congress, 1899), Vol. VI, p. 164, March 30, 1863.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 52-53, April 30, 1789.