

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## A GREAT "UNDELIVERED" SPEECH

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 11, 1994

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, President Clinton was invited to be the featured speaker at UCLA's 75th Anniversary Convocation on May 20 of this year. In the event that the President might have to cancel at the last minute, the planners of the anniversary festivities had invited Harold Shapiro, president of Princeton University, to prepare and be ready to deliver a stand-in address.

President Clinton came to UCLA and gave an inspiring talk that was well received. We are, however, also lucky to have the insightful but "undelivered" remarks of Harold Shapiro. In his speech entitled, "Creating A Future," Shapiro makes us reflect on the universal unwillingness to welcome the messengers of change and embrace their message. He reminds us of the importance of reexamining our goals, and of the need to search for new solutions to old problems. I commend these remarks to all of my colleagues.

## CREATING A FUTURE

"I've got to be moving along . . ." (Woodie Guthrie)

It is with some considerable trepidation that I rise to speak—yet once more—to this distinguished assembly. Although I had some forewarning that I might be asked to speak in President Clinton's stead, you did not! While I am honored to assume this role, I am acutely sensitive to the fact that I'm not really the speaker you were hoping to hear! Moreover, I can hardly disguise that fact that my speaking skills haven't been honed by innumerable campaign stops, electronic town meetings, or even MTV! How can a humble scholar even begin to step into the shoes of his nation's leader? What would President Clinton have said on this occasion? Surely he would have congratulated the faculty and students of UCLA, the Regents of the University of California, and the citizens of the state of California for the many contributions they have made to the world of education and scholarship and to our nation. What, however, would the President have said next? How could I approach this large assignment? It was clear to me that I needed some inspiration from somewhere!

First, I decided that perhaps I could prepare myself for the awesome task of filling the President's shoes by rising at dawn and taking a morning jog, and supplementing my usual "California" breakfast of yogurt and granola with some Egg McMuffins—and fries—and, to get in the swing of things, a Whopper—also with fries. Fulfilling as this gastronomic approach was, I decided I had to look elsewhere for inspiration. I hit upon the perfect academic solution to the problem of how to speak in the place and the voice of a speaker who's much better known. Let me explain.

Recently, I was reading with the students in my Freshman Seminar the *Apology* of Soc-

rates. Now, I'm sure you will all read that the *Apology* (which was Socrates' speech of self-defense before the jurors when he was put on trial in Athens) was in fact not written by Socrates. What has come down to us, instead, is a speech written by Socrates' pupil, Plato. So, it occurred to me that what I'm actually confronted with here today is a kind of Platonic task—to speak in the place of another.

Now I do not confuse myself with Plato or even with Homer—whose epic poetry spoke not for one but for an entire pantheon of heroes. Nevertheless, I decided that I could certainly look to one of them for inspiration. I chose Plato, both because Socrates is one of my heroes and, in some ways, so is President Clinton. In addition, in this great democracy we always think of our leaders—like Socrates—as "on trial"—although we may now be taking this idea rather too literally. Moreover, it is clear that President Clinton and Socrates share other intriguing characteristics.

For example, I thought about the fact that Socrates' marriage—to a woman who was considered extremely outspoken for the time—seems to have been a source of considerable controversy among his fellow citizens. Socrates also had quite a reputation among his friends for enjoying and celebrating life, although these activities seemed to have no discernible impact on his other capacities. Like President Clinton, Socrates was not from an elite background, and he had to tolerate snide comments about how his wonderful mother was "just" from the working class.

Moreover, Socrates—as has President Clinton—took his message directly to the people, where they worked and talked, in the public square of Athens. In addition, Socrates did not have a "classical" Greek build. He is said to have had a notoriously round (probably pink) face. Socrates also spent part of his days in the gym with friends (jogging wasn't in vogue in Athens) and—like President Clinton—he spent part of every day reading and talking with anyone from whom he thought he could learn something. Most important, Socrates viewed Athens—very much as President Clinton views America—with both admiration and a critical eye.

Despite these striking "similarities," there are more important and substantive ways in which Socrates' situation shows correspondences to the situation we face today as a country and President Clinton faces as our leader. Of course, there is the small (and inconvenient) matter that the context of the *Apology* is not one of celebration: it's a court case. And I wish to celebrate not only UCLA's anniversary but also President Clinton's leadership. Let's overlook this difference, though, and focus instead on the fact that Socrates stood accused of the "crime" of "introducing new ideas."

The "Socratic situation," therefore, remains a symbol for all those leaders—like President Clinton—who are trying to move a nation to a new and better place. New ideas—then and now—are both dangerous and essential to our vitality. Too often, however, we allow our leaders to shoulder the full burden of change. If I try to imagine my-

self in President Clinton's place today, I think I might want to make a number of points which are really very much like that speech that Plato put in the mouth of Socrates twenty-four centuries ago—in order to put my case for change before the people of California—and the nation.

First, Plato realized that the first thing that confronted Socrates—and has confronted many outspoken leaders since then—is that some portion, perhaps even a great deal, of the opposition to new ideas derives its energy not only from the need for "those in charge" to defend existing privileges, but also from the echoes and shadows of attitudes inherited a long time ago that too often cause us to leave almost unexamined new paths we are being urged to take or new ideas presented to us.

Perhaps the most important and influential single idea that's come down to us from Plato's *Apology*—and perhaps from the whole corpus of Platonic work—has to do with what gets left unexamined. I mean the famous claim in the *Apology* that "The unexamined life is not worth living." This is a lesson that we in universities take especially seriously and consider to be central to our mission. What does it mean? Well, when Plato advanced it, he made it clear that he meant something pretty radical. He meant that what was most important in life, what was most important for young people to learn, wasn't necessarily how to make the most money or how to gain the most prestige in the society of the day, but instead how to recognize and work toward what he called "the good" or what it was that made life worth living.

This idea—attractive as it sounds—was not tremendously popular among the elite in Athens of the 5th century B.C.E. And I think it would be fair to say that, in America of the 20th century, it is *not* necessarily "and idea whose time has come." Nevertheless, from Socrates' time to the present, there have been those leaders who have continued to bring this ideal before the public.

This role—of reminding citizens of goals that are larger and more transcendent than most of our everyday concerns, are more compelling than our old habits, and ask us to take the concerns of others into account—has never been a very welcome one. To this day, most of us, just as was true in Socrates' time, find it easier and more natural to look to the state of our bank accounts and our individual needs than to the state of our souls and the needs of others in formulating our views or making our individual choices and public policy decisions. Moreover, current arrangements always seem more natural to those enjoying their special benefits and privileges.

In 399 B.C., Socrates was put on trial for having "new ideas" and for "corrupting the young" with them. And his fellow Athenian citizens voted to be rid of this disturbing individual who kept insisting that they should care more about doing good than about doing well. President Clinton has inspired us all with his new initiatives, his rhetoric, and his ideals, but we must all hope that this time we—unlike the Athenians—will be moved to embrace his ideas and to bring America to a better place.

● 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.

I think it's important to notice—if we think about what we might learn from his story—that Socrates himself—like President Clinton—doesn't claim to be perfect, doesn't claim to have the solutions. In fact, his only claim is that it's of the utmost importance to continue to search for answers. This questing, this continually urging his fellow citizens to confront enduring questions of human values and the well-being of society so discomfited them, is so intolerable that—in the end—they cannot tolerate him. Better to get rid of him they think, than to have to—as he insists—examine their own lives and their own responsibilities.

Our own society, sadly, is often not welcoming to those who have had a new dream. We too often react with skepticism, cynicism, and self-satisfaction, to those who would confront us with uncomfortable questions, questions like: Who are my neighbors? (And are they only within my own nation's boundaries?) What are my responsibilities to others? (And do they include concern for the preservation of their health and well being?) What do I owe my fellow citizens? (And is it not only taxes, but "taxing" myself to recognize and protect the human dignity of those who differ from me?)

When questions like these troubled the Athenians, they thought they had a solution, namely: condemn the messenger. Our nation's leaders often face the same response when they ask us to take on new attitudes and new responsibilities.

Luckily, Socrates' message was not at all silenced by the Athenians. In fact, his pupils—like Plato—continued to write it and speak it, so that it has echoed down through the centuries. It is an uncomfortable message, which stresses a lack of complacency—with ourselves and with our nation—and calls us to continual reexamination of our goals.

When Socrates took this path in public life, he knew he was taking risks. The public man or woman today who calls us to high ideals—independent of his or her personal history or characteristics—is also taking risks, some would say is courting "political suicide." It is always easy to find reasons why such individuals are not blameless themselves, or can't claim total knowledge, or don't have all the answers for the future—and so we manage, often, to discount them. And this allows us to remain set in our old ways, to avoid taking on the burdens of change and re-direction and vision.

But I'd like to think that we've actually made some progress since the days of the ancient Athenians. I'd like to think that, rather than condemning those who seek to rouse our democracy today, we might actually be thankful that there are such people—people like President Clinton—who have the courage to try to move us to examine our principles and our policies. Perhaps "free trade agreements" and "tax reform" and "welfare reform" and "health care policy" don't sound quite as grand to us as Socrates' quest for "justice" and "virtue." But they are the concrete examples of our public lives today of adopting new ideas and taking on new responsibilities. Rousing a democratic people to face such challenges has lost none of its importance; it still takes courage, and it deserves—in my opinion—our greatest respect and our gratitude. Answers to such issues may be difficult to find, but they cannot be found at all without leaders who compel us to seek them, not only at the level of public policy but at the level of our individual re-examination of our own actions and commitments.

Well, I certainly can't fill the shoes of the President—any more than Plato could take the place of his teacher, Socrates. There was about Socrates a certain charisma, an ability to affect people deeply, that a mere citizen—faculty or student—could hardly claim. But as President Clinton has often noted, there is a critical role for us, as we are confronted with the kind of leader who challenges, maybe even irritates some among us, but at the very least rouses us to re-examine those aspects of our society that for too long we have accepted without question. Perhaps that role is to accept the challenge, to be willing to listen and reflect—and also willing to act upon our reflections.

For my own part, I'm grateful to President Clinton for being, if you will, an American Socrates—challenging our nation as Socrates challenged Athens, and I wish him well. I also want to thank you here today for your kind reception of my "Apology" that your speaker on this occasion was not exactly what you had in mind.

#### SONDRA SIMONSON DAY

#### HON. JIM RAMSTAD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 11, 1994

Mr. RAMSTAD. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to a very special friend and constituent.

Governor Carlson has proclaimed today, August 11 of 1994, Sondra Simonson Day in Minnesota.

Sondra Simonson has been very active in her community of Bloomington, MN, and has truly served as an inspiration to many for her public service.

She has served as the first woman Chair of the Bloomington Chamber of Commerce, and has been a member of the Metropolitan Council. In those positions, she has been a leader in developing aviation and transportation policies for our region.

Sondra was born and raised on the site of what is now the Minnesota Valley Wildlife Refuge visitors' center. Her commitment to the quality of life in Bloomington and to our region is exemplified in her work with the Metropolitan Parks and Open Space Commission.

I am extremely proud and pleased to join the people of Minnesota on this very special day in saluting an outstanding public servant and visionary leader. Sondra has established a legacy of excellence in helping others and providing future generations with the resources to reach for their dreams.

I applaud her, and thank her for all her service.

#### EARTHVISION: OUR FUTURE IS NOW

#### HON. JAMES A. BARCIA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 11, 1994

Mr. BARCIA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to the EarthVision Program being conducted by the Environmental Protection Agency, in conjunction with Saginaw Valley State University. The objective of

this program is to leverage the investment made in the intellectual and physical resources held by our Federal agencies, to provide further educational opportunities for our Nation's students.

EPA Administrator Carol Browner and I had a chance to see this program in action early in June and meet the 24 students and teachers who participated this year. We were tremendously impressed by their ability to deal with matters that only a few years ago were thought of as dreams for the future. This past year every single high school in Michigan was invited, to participate in the competition for an EarthVision team slot, and over 60 responded to this growing scientific endeavor. In this coming year, the invitation list is expected to be expanded to include every single high school throughout the Great Lakes region.

The EarthVision Program is composed of two elements. During the academic year teams of teachers and students learn specific skills needed to conduct environmental research using computational science. Each of these teams is assisted by a mentor and the Saginaw Valley State University support team. These skills are learned through hands on training at the National Environmental Supercomputing Center in Bay City. Additionally, the student/teacher teams attend Saturday tutorials, during which they are assisted in the preparation of proposals required for admission to the second component of the program, the Summer Research Institute.

During the Summer Research Institute competitively selected teams participate in a 3-week educational program. The centerpiece of this educational program is instruction in conducting an environmental research project of their own design. Through the use of a computer workstation, and a telecommunications link to the National Environmental Supercomputing Center, participants in the Summer Research Institute conduct environmental research activities at their high schools during the following academic year.

Through this computer link the teams analyze data, conduct environmental modeling and use scientific visualization to complete their research. These teams then prepare a paper describing their research and their results.

#### A TRIBUTE TO MARGARET KAJECKAS

#### HON. DALE E. KILDEE

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 11, 1994

Mr. KILDEE. Mr. Speaker, I want to pay tribute to Margaret Kajeckas, who is leaving my subcommittee staff to pursue graduate study at Columbia University.

Margaret began her 8-year career with the House Committee on Education and Labor as a staff member of my Subcommittee on Human Resources and, currently, serves on the staff of my Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education. Throughout her years of service, and in relation to a variety of topics—Head Start, community services, older American volunteer programs, child nutrition, school lunch, and coordination of health and social services with

education—she consistently has carried out her responsibilities with intelligence, dedication, enthusiasm, and a caring concern for the people served by these Federal programs. Additionally, her professionalism is complemented by a personal warmth and kindness that she extends to all. Margaret is well-liked and has earned the respect of everyone with whom she has come in contact.

I have always considered myself to be blessed with excellent staff and, without doubt, Margaret is among the finest I have had in my employ. While I am sorry to see her leave, I am glad that she has the opportunity to continue her education and I know that she will be successful in whatever she chooses to do.

#### TRIBUTE TO BARON VON STEUBEN AND DEDICATED VOLUNTEERS

### HON. SHERWOOD L. BOEHLERT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 11, 1994

Mr. BOEHLERT. Mr. Speaker, more than ever before, the people of the Mohawk Valley region of central New York are rediscovering their local heritage and the amazing contributions their leaders made to secure the freedom we enjoy today.

From the first European settlers to the leaders of the Iroquois tribes, this very land was host to among the greatest battles for independence as well as significant diplomatic achievements in the building of a diverse, multiethnic experiment in democracy.

Indeed, in this area, Indians and Europeans, from differing religious and ethnic backgrounds, struggled together to carve out a life on a difficult frontier.

Baron Frederick von Steuben is such a character from this past. This year marks the 200th anniversary of his death, and the people of the valley are honoring him and recounting his special achievements as the "Drillmaster of the Revolution."

The Baron came to America from Prussia. He volunteered for service in the Continental Army, only asking to be paid if America won the war. He worked his way to the position of George Washington's Chief of Staff. There, during the hardship of battle, during the cold of Valley Forge, despite the fact that he spoke no English; he managed to write new regulations for the Army, by modifying and forging new tactics. In so doing, he won the respect and admiration of his men, and transformed the Continentals from a disorganized unit into a proud, progressive, disciplined, and successful fighting force that won, against all odds, its struggle for independence.

The Baron is only one of many such personalities from the northern frontier region who made an extraordinary contribution to liberty. They are people who came with different beliefs, from different places; but mostly from poverty, seeking opportunity. They relied on hard work, faith, help from friendly Indians, and together built a home in the wilderness. More than a home, it was a multiethnic democracy, and it remains the freest and strongest the world has ever known.

Such stories are worth telling again and again, from generation to generation. It is our

duty to remember and honor these achievements and pass them along in ways that reach people and touch their hearts. These stories are relevant. They're about living and working and surviving under the harshest of conditions. This exercise will educate people and yield inspiration, hope, and a pathway for a better future—a future in which individuals will strive to lead, take charge of their situation the way the Baron did, overcome obstacles and hardships, and promote decency and civility. In this way, the freedom and democracy that our ancestors worked so hard to build may last.

From July 9 through September 30, the Rome Historical Society, under the able direction of Dr. William Forbes, is hosting an exhibit on the Baron and his work, brilliantly prepared by Curator Barbara Schafer. The exhibit features artifacts donated by West Point and the State of New York.

On July 30 and 31, the town of Steuben, NY, hosted an 18th century military encampment in its namesake's honor, and will also host a Steuben Society National Convention in the last weekend of August on the grounds of the Baron's home.

The Steuben Memorial State Historic Site is owned by the State of New York, but has been closed since 1991. Luckily, the area's volunteers have worked together to manage and care for the site. Many dedicated people contribute to this cause, among them: Maynard Anken of Remsen, Chris Anken of Remsen, Ruth Dean of Remsen, Bunny Doolittle of Barneveld, Jimmie Doolittle of Barneveld, Alex Dubinsky of Remsen, Sophie Dubinsky of Remsen, Eva Ebert of Remsen, James Ebert of Remsen, William Gerrard of Holland Patent, Margaret Gerrard of Holland Patent, Lucille Gorres of Remsen, Jane Harris of Remsen, Susan Heuser of Remsen, Ellen Huey of Remsen, Lorena Jersen of Remsen, Maj. Edward Jones of Remsen, Mary Helen Jones of Remsen, Russell Kaufman of Remsen, Richard Kaufman of Remsen, Hobart Kraeger of Holland Patent, Jean Kraeger of Holland Patent, Harry Landman of Remsen, Francis T. Martin, Jr., of Remsen, Jennifer Ann McCune of Holland Patent, Theresa Merritt of Remsen, Kathy Peterson of Remsen, David Peterson of Remsen, Jane Piatkowski of Remsen, Lorraine Post of Frankfort, John Pratt of Hinckley, Howard Prevost of Hinckley, Jeanne Prevost of Hinckley, Jim Roberts of Holland Patent, Lucinda Roberts of Remsen, A. William Roberts of Remsen, Carol Setter of Remsen, Elye Slusarczyk of Prospect, Stanley Slusarczyk of Prospect, Kathy Snell of Utica, Dorothy Squire of Remsen, Nancy Squire of Remsen, Cyril Tatham of Remsen, Alice Thomas of Remsen, James Ure of Barneveld, Norma Ure of Barneveld, Joan Villeneuve of Remsen, Emogene Walter of Remsen, Brian Walter of Remsen, Barbara Ward of Remsen, Faith Williams of Remsen, Leonard Wynne of Remsen, Dorothy Wynne of Remsen, and Rose Marie Zimmer of Westernville.

#### DEDICATION OF HAMPTON SYNAGOGUE

### HON. GEORGE J. HOCHBRUECKNER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 11, 1994

Mr. HOCHBRUECKNER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to the Hampton Synagogue located in Westhampton Beach, NY, which will be celebrating its dedication ceremony on Sunday, August 14, 1994.

As founding Rabbi Marc Schneier said, "It is the synagogue that embodies Jewish continuity and makes that continuity possible; the Hamptons are now linked with that historic continuity." The Hampton Synagogue is the first traditional synagogue built in the Hamptons, and most of its interior is from Israel, including large stones that were shipped in from Jerusalem.

Famed director Steven Spielberg and the Honorable Gad Yaacobi, Israeli Ambassador to the United States, are the two guest speakers who will celebrate the dedication with the congregants. During the ceremony, Mr. Spielberg will also be invited to join Rabbi Schneier in a rededication of the community Torah scroll of Domazlice, Czechoslovakia. This scroll was one of many that was destroyed during the holocaust. It will serve as a permanent memorial to the more than 6 million Jews who were massacred by Hitler's regime.

There is much excitement in the community surrounding the completion of the new synagogue, and an enormous turnout is expected on September 5, when the Jewish New Year, Rosh Hashanah, will be celebrated. I wish them happiness during that celebration and commend each person involved in the foundation of the synagogue for making it possible with their time, effort, and caring attitude.

Mr. Speaker, it is quite evident that the Hampton Synagogue will be a special place. I ask my colleagues to join me in recognizing the historic dedication of the Hampton Synagogue.

#### KEN ARVEDON—A FIGHTER FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

### HON. BARNEY FRANK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 11, 1994

Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, when I began my full-time political work in the late 1960's, one of the people who made a deep, favorable, and long-lasting impression on me was a man named Ken Arvedon. He was then a lobbyist in a New England regional level for the National Council of Senior Citizens, and I learned from him that tough-minded pragmatism and determined idealism were quite far from being inconsistent, as many had told me, but were in fact complimentary—indeed, two essential halves of anyone who would be a whole, integrated, advocate for effective social change.

In Boston politics at the time, and in much of the rest of the country as well, there then

existed an unfortunate view that the political universe was divided between idealists who had no sense of how to accomplish things, and tough-minded pragmatists who were skillful at getting things done but had no particular interest in what those things were. Ken Arvedon was one of the first people I met who showed me how false this dichotomy was. He cared deeply about social justice, as he had for his whole life. From his service in the European theater during World War II, through his work in the American Veteran's Committee and for fair housing policies after the war, through his participation in the march to Selma on behalf of civil rights, to the period when I knew him as a forceful, thoughtful, and effective advocate for the National Council of Senior Citizens, Ken Arvedon showed that he could be as good as the most hard-headed pros at the game of politics while professing the idealistic credo that had always motivated him.

Ken Arvedon scored a number of significant victories in his fights for fair treatment for older people at that time, and he always made sure that the fight for fair treatment for older people was put in the context of fair treatment for all of those in need. I am proud to have learned from him, and worked with him. I was saddened recently to learn of his death but his grandson Abraham of whom he was so proud and others can look back at his life with a deep pride that I hope will alleviate their sense of loss.

TRIBUTE TO REPRESENTATIVE  
BOB MICHEL

HON. ANNA G. ESHOO

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 11, 1994

Ms. ESHOO. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to House minority leader BOB MICHEL who was awarded the highest honor that can be given to an American civilian, the Medal of Freedom. Since arriving in Congress in January 1993, I've grown to admire this gentleman who has given great service to his constituents, this institution, and our nation.

BOB MICHEL has lived the American dream. He was born and raised in Peoria, IL, the son of a French immigrant. During the early years of his life, BOB MICHEL attended public schools and worked in a factory, as well as on a farm. He left his hometown to serve as a combat infantryman during World War II, earning two Bronze Stars, the Purple Heart, and four battle stars as he fought across France, Belgium, and Germany. After being wounded at the Battle of the Bulge, he returned to Peoria to earn a B.S. degree in Business Administration from Bradley University and marry his wife, Corinne.

BOB MICHEL first arrived in Washington, DC to work as an administrative assistant for his predecessor. In 1956, his constituents elected him their representative of Illinois' 18th Congressional District. He has served his constituents and his country with distinction in that position since that time. BOB MICHEL was first elected to a leadership position as chairman of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee in 1972, chosen as Republican

Whip in 1974, and minority leader in 1981, a position he has won seven consecutive times. In addition, he has served as Permanent chairman of the 1984, 1988, and 1992 Republican National Conventions.

During his many years of congressional service, BOB MICHEL has earned a reputation as an outstanding leader on national security, agriculture, and economic issues. The dignity and intellectual prowess he has brought to House debate on these and other matters have allowed him to win the respect and affection of Representatives on both sides of the aisle. Regardless of how partisan Congress has at times become, BOB MICHEL consistently has risen above the fray as a voice of moderation and reason.

Mr. Speaker, BOB MICHEL has been described as "a man of old-fashioned personal decency" by "the Almanac of American Politics," and I agree. From Peoria to Washington the basic American values he has brought to his job will sorely be missed when he retires at the end of the 103d Congress. I ask my colleagues to join me in congratulating BOB MICHEL for earning the Medal of Freedom and thank him for his distinguished service to our Nation and for being an extraordinary role model for all Members of Congress, past, present, and future.

TRIBUTE TO CHARLES "ED"  
OSBORNE, JR.

HON. MICHAEL A. "MAC" COLLINS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 11, 1994

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise to honor the memory of Columbus Police Officer Charles "Ed" Osborne, Jr., who was fatally shot in the line of duty in the early morning of August 7.

A former Columbus Police Officer of the Month, Officer Osborne was a model for others to follow. He was one of the "good" guys, an officer that daily put his life in harm's way for the safety and protection of the people he served. On Sunday, Mr. Speaker, he paid the ultimate price.

What saddens me most is the senselessness of his death. While returning two youths, ages 15 and 13, to their homes after midnight, they ambushed Officer Osborne and shot him in the head. The disregard for human life displayed by the youths points to a greater problem in our society that Officer Osborne was defenseless to prevent.

The real victims of this tragedy will be Charles Osborne's family. He leaves a widow and three children to grow up without their father. He leaves a sister and grandparents to tell his children about their father.

Mr. Speaker, I salute the bravery and the honor with which Officer Osborne carried out his duties. His children must always know that their father's death was in the service of others, and that the people of Columbus will always be grateful for his ultimate sacrifice.

God bless Ed Osborne, and God bless his family who is left to go on without him.

TRIBUTE TO DON PATCH, A  
CAREER CIVIL SERVANT

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 11, 1994

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to bring to the attention of our colleagues and to acknowledge 36 years of distinguished Federal service of Don I. Patch. Mr. Patch retired on July 29, 1994 after 34 years serving the Nation at the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development and its predecessor, the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

Don Patch's career typified all that was right with respect to our country's commitment to housing and community development. Countless individuals and organizations concerned with the Nation's housing needs were cognizant of Mr. Patch's personal commitment, expertise and exemplary contributions. As chairman of the Subcommittee on Housing and Community Development, I deeply appreciate his hard work and dedication to our Nation's communities.

From 1981, until his retirement, Mr. Patch was Director of the Office of Block Grant Assistance, overseeing the \$4 billion Community Development Block Grant [CDBG] Program and the Section 108 Loan Guarantee Program.

In 1966, in the early days of Mr. Patch's service, he designed the delivery systems at HUD to maximize the use of the Department's programs to aid model neighborhoods in 147 Model Cities across the country, including my home city of San Antonio.

In 1972, Mr. Patch designed the policy framework for use of Urban Renewal funds for long-term disaster recovery in six States. He was instrumental in obtaining White House approval of an allocation of \$550 million for this effort. He's been there for every disaster since, like the earthquake in California, the hurricane in Florida and the floods in the Midwest.

Mr. Patch directed the closing out of the Urban Renewal and Neighborhood Development Programs during the 1974-80 transition to the CDBG Program. He directed the staff implementing the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974, establishing the CDBG Program for entitlement communities. In 1982 Mr. Patch directed a successful transfer to 48 State governments the responsibilities for administering \$1 billion in CDBG funds for small cities.

He also has been instrumental in implementing economic stimulus legislation when our communities and our Nation's citizens were in deep economic slumps. The \$1 billion 1983 jobs bill add-on to the CDBG Program was made available to State and local governments within 2 months largely due to the leadership provided by Mr. Patch.

Mr. Patch influenced the evolution of the Section 108 Loan Guarantee Program by providing guidance to congressional staff in reformulating the program in 1977 to make it a viable tool in financing community and economic development projects. In 1986, he devised a compromise to the administration's thrust to terminate the program by persuading decision-

makers to take it off-budget, saving over \$100 million per year in Federal budget outlays. The 1990 legislation, which expanded the Section 108 Program to States and small cities and made loan terms more flexible, was designed with Mr. Patch's guidance. Over 300 communities have borrowed more than \$1.5 billion without default under this program since 1978.

Mr. Patch received his B.A. degree from Oberlin College, Oberlin, OH, in 1948 and his M.A. degree from Mexico City College in 1950. Prior to entering Federal service, Mr. Patch was administrator of the Inter-American Housing and Planning Center in Bogota, Colombia. Earlier he served 2 years in the U.S. Armed Forces.

His Federal civilian career in housing began in 1960 in public housing where I, too, began my career in housing in San Antonio. It began with the old Public Housing Administration at HHFA which became the Department of Housing and Urban Development in 1966. In 1988, Mr. Patch was given a Presidential Rank Award [Meritorious Executive], and in 1991 he received the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials' [NAHRO] highest honor, the M. Justin Herman Memorial Award, an award which I have proudly received.

While several other HUD programs were cut in years past, it is no small tribute to Don Patch's stewardship that the CDBG Program survived and still remains popular today. Although corruption tainted several other aspects of HUD during some very dark years, the national administration of the CDBG Program remained untouched.

Intelligence, integrity, policy timeliness, and common sense were Don Patch's hallmarks. Don Patch has retired, but his legacy for American communities will endure.

#### IRISH-AMERICAN HERITAGE MONTH

### HON. THOMAS J. MANTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 11, 1994

Mr. MANTON. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a resolution to designate the months of March 1995 and March 1996 as "Irish-American Heritage Month." This is the fifth consecutive year I have proudly introduced legislation in celebration of the over 40 million Americans of Irish descent. I hope my colleagues will join me in sponsoring this resolution as they have the past 4 years.

Mr. Speaker, next year will mark the 150th anniversary of the great hunger that devastated Ireland between 1845 and 1851. In 1845, a fungus struck Ireland's primary subsistence crop, the potato. The potato blight quickly spread, destroying the country's main source of food. Within 5 years, the famine reduced a population of 8.1 million by almost half through death and mass emigration of the Irish to the United States, Canada, and England.

In the decade following 1845, more people left Ireland than had emigrated in the previous 250 years. They risked their lives traveling great distances on "coffin ships" rife with ty-

phus. Most emigrated to the United States, arriving in New York City, Boston, and other east coast port cities. By 1851, the end of the famine exodus, 1,712 emigrant ships had sailed up the narrows into New York harbour.

These Irish immigrants of the mid 19th century and those who followed in later years dedicated themselves to helping build this Nation. They took jobs building railroads, canals, and schools. Their legacy continues to be a part of today's American mainstream as the 44 million Americans of Irish ancestry, like their forerunners, continue to enrich all aspects of life in the United States.

Mr. Speaker, it is my honor to introduce this resolution which remembers the millions of Irish who died or were forced to flee Ireland during the great potato famine and pays tribute to their descendants in the United States who continue to contribute to all facets of American culture. I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting this important resolution.

#### IN HONOR OF DR. BRADLEY S. REITZ

### HON. JAMES H. BILBRAY

OF NEVADA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 11, 1994

Mr. BILBRAY. Mr. Speaker, it is with immense pride that I rise today to honor an educator who has continually given both time and effort to the Las Vegas community. The outstanding individual that has earned my utmost respect is Dr. Bradley S. Reitz, current principal of the Bartlett Elementary School.

Dr. Reitz earned his bachelor's degree in special education at Glassboro State College in 1977. He later completed his master's degree and his doctorate in educational administration at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, in 1981 and 1986, respectively. He and his wife, Diane, have a 3-year-old daughter, Alexandra.

The National Distinguished Principals Program reflects the key role that a principal plays in shaping the learning environment within a school. Dr. Reitz has earned this award through his demonstration of strong educational leadership, recognition of the critical importance of the first years of schooling, and strong pursuit of excellence.

Dr. Reitz has performed a wide variety of tasks, which include training for elementary principals and central office personnel on student data bases, spreadsheets, and telecommunications as well as other aspects of computer use. He also has been the coordinator of the "Restructuring Public Education" Conference. Under his direction and leadership, Harley Harmon Elementary School was nominated for the National Blue Ribbon Schools Award. Dr. Reitz' examples of service and achievements are above and beyond what is expected of an elementary school principal.

Dr. Brad Reitz is an individual who makes a difference in our schools and the lives of young people. It is my honor to congratulate Dr. Reitz for his achievements, and thank him on behalf of my constituents for his continuing efforts.

#### MUSICAL CHAIRS

### HON. HELEN DELICH BENTLEY

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 11, 1994

Mrs. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, 2 years ago, the Congress passed the Housing and Community Development Act of 1992. That act contained many important programs which I support, including, among others, project-based accounting, family unification, public housing vacancy reduction, reform of public housing management, termination of tenancy for criminal activity and rental assistance fraud recoveries. Tucked inside the 425-page document was "Moving to Opportunity," or MTO, a program designed to encourage families to move from areas of high concentration of poverty to areas of lower poverty levels.

It is not the intent of MTO, but the method in which it is being implemented in my, and other Members' districts, that has our constituents crying foul!

My constituents are being told, in the newspapers, that MTO will have little impact on existing neighborhoods. Therein lies a major problem. There appears to have been no effort on the part of HUD to communicate directly with either the local governments involved, or the neighborhood organizations.

In two letters written to Secretary Cisneros, I questioned the lack of information and notice about the program. I also questioned what planning had been done for support services for MTO participants such as transportation, education, and additional social services requirements. In my letter I ask the Secretary or his designee to meet with the affected communities to directly address those concerns.

Secretary Cisneros claims this redistribution of the poor from one political subdivision to another will make for a better society.

Instead, MTO programs are creating massive resentment in neighborhoods where couples are working two jobs to afford their home only to see a neighbor on section 8 living in a similar home being paid for not by the sweat of that neighbor's brow, but, by the couple's tax dollars.

Even the U.S. General Accounting Office has noted the unfairness of the plan by writing that:

The high rents and quality of section 8 housing invite resentment on the part of the taxpaying public who see their subsidized neighbors living in better accommodations than they themselves can afford.

One of my constituents spoke for many of his neighbors when he demanded that the Government stop punishing achievement.

MTO was, we were told, a pilot project that would run for 10 years, then be assessed. However, Mr. Cisneros has made it clear he wants to provide freedom of choice in housing in every major city and the Congress already is being asked to approve an expansion of this effort. This time it is being called the Housing Choice and Community Investment Act. We must not allow this current strategy to expand. This policy of musical chairs, moving poor Americans from jurisdiction to jurisdiction which fails to address the real problems.

The administration has put too much emphasis on moving the poor out of deteriorating

cities and not enough emphasis on rebuilding those cities.

Under MTO, a section 8 recipient could receive rent of up to \$603 per month for a two bedroom apartment in Baltimore County. In Prince George's Frederick, Calvert, and Charles Counties in Maryland, HUD will pay up to \$1,385 a month in rental subsidies per apartment, even though there are few, if any apartments in those counties with rents that high.

Section 8 now serves only about one-third of those eligible. Instead of subsidizing the entire cost of housing for the few at above-market rental rates, why not split the available dollars among all of those eligible?

And, if the intent really is to break the cycle of poverty, why not take a cue from President Jimmy Carter's Habitat for Humanity and use the millions in subsidized rents now handed over to well-off landlords to help rehabilitate poorer neighborhoods and provide home ownership opportunities? History tells us that pride of ownership is the only way to turn a neighborhood around, and our cities need this kind of transformation.

In his Wall Street Journal essay August 4, 1994, James Bovard noted that:

The notion that HUD can give away housing to some people without having any adverse effects on their fellow citizens and neighbors is the ultimate liberal pipedream.

**WE CANNOT AFFORD TO ALLOW EMERGENCY ROOMS TO BE MISUSED AS CLINICS**

### HON. FORTNEY PETE STARK

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 11, 1994

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, most of our mail these days seems to be preprinted mailgrams or one sentence postcards—and that makes it doubly wonderful when one receives a thoughtful, sensitive letter.

Following is a great letter I've just received from a man in San Jose—an eloquent, moving call for health care reform:

In 1985 my wife drove me to a local hospital. I had symptoms of coronary distress. She parked at the entrance of the emergency room and found a wheel chair. She wheeled me into the bedlam of an emergency room. It was filled with the sight, sound and smells of children and adults too poor to visit a doctor's office: those addicted to alcohol and drugs, victims of domestic abuse, the homeless. Those on the edge, are drawn to emergency rooms like moths to the light.

The heart team assembled quickly. Within minutes, I was hooked up to an EKG device and breathing oxygen. Soon I was feeling better. So much better that I convinced myself, and was trying to convince those attending that it was a false alarm. Suddenly several of the staff rushed at me. Startled I asked what was wrong. I was told my heart had stopped. The surprise restored that vital function.

Saying heart attack, and displaying insurance documents may have influenced the rapid response my problem received.

The appalling way the emergency room was being used by those without alternatives, has stayed with me long after I was

discharged. After reacting to the misery of the situation, I began to calculate the wasteful expense of using a million dollar facility, and millions of dollars to talent, to deliver ordinary everyday health care. The equivalent of a DOD \$120.00 hammer.

We can afford to deliver universal health care, because the alternative is too expensive.

We cannot afford to allow emergency rooms to be misused as clinics.

We cannot afford to alienate the poor, the homeless, the minority, the immigrants by denying them access to a decent life. Without hope they become wards of the courts and the penal system, and its billion dollar, non-refundable price tag.

We cannot afford an economy with runaway medical expense that grows larger every year, even while the infrastructure is folding in on itself.

With your support this country can become a better place to live. None of the legislation before the Congress seems perfect, but no one in that body claims perfection.

**CONDEMNING THE SHODDY WORK AND POOR BUSINESS PRACTICES OF MCT CUSTOM TRUCK BODIES OF MEMPHIS, TN**

### HON. TOM LANTOS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 11, 1994

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to draw the attention of the U.S. Congress to a serious contract dispute that harbors grave implications for U.S. export policy and for the reputation of American-made products in the world marketplace. This is a story of greed and incompetence whose impact reaches far beyond the confines of North America, to the shores of distant customers in newly emerging markets.

Konsumex North America, Inc., of San Mateo, CA, a multiproduct export-import company without expertise in armored vehicles, contracted with a Hungarian buyer for the shipment of an armored Ford Aerostar van to Hungary. The vehicle would be a demonstration model which would hopefully lead the Hungarian buyer to purchase a fleet of 20 to 25 vehicles. The Aerostar van sent to Hungary was supposed to be a sample of American quality and workmanship, a taste of things to come. What Konsumex, Inc., did not know, however, was that their subcontractor for the armor modifications, MCT Custom Truck Bodies, Inc., of Memphis, TN, a self-declared expert in armored vehicles, would create a disaster out of the Aerostar van. Through its incompetence, broken promises, and shoddy workmanship, MCT cost Konsumex valuable business opportunities and damaged the reputation of American products and craftsmanship in the eyes of new, European customers.

Although Konsumex, Inc., met all of its obligations under its contract with MCT, MCT nevertheless shipped to Hungary a modified Aerostar van far exceeding the permissible gross vehicle weight, yet lacking the extensive strengthening of the suspension, axles, and related parts necessary for the proper operation of the vehicle. Upon examination by the buyer—a subsidiary of the Hungarian Govern-

ment—and in the presence of high ranking government and industry representatives, the Aerostar van was rejected as unsafe and inoperable.

Despite repeated promises to Konsumex, Inc., from MCT of high quality workmanship and timely delivery, neither of which were met, MCT delivered a vehicle which "MERTCONTROL," a neutral Hungarian quality institute, rejected as shoddy, overloaded, and unsafe. Upon its return to the United States, the vehicle was examined by the U.S. National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, which declined to get involved in the contract dispute, but confirmed that the vehicle severely exceeded the manufacturer's assigned gross axle and vehicle weight ratings. In addition, the tires and braking system were inadequate for a vehicle of such weight. MCT knew this vehicle was leaving the country and was completely unconcerned with the serious issues of safety and quality.

In a further outrage, not only did MCT fail miserably to modify the Aerostar van to the contract specifications, but it also refuses to refund the over \$31,000 invested and lost by Konsumex, Inc., in this venture. Furthermore, MCT avoids communication with Konsumex, Inc., as much as possible. Although MCT has offered to repair the vehicle as best it can, the opportunity to sell vehicles to the Hungarian buyer has passed. The Hungarian buyer—disappointed with the initial model—declined to pursue further purchases.

In the end, the Hungarian buyer was cheated, Konsumex, Inc., was cheated, and American exporters will be cheated out of future sales because of the greed, incompetence, and gross negligence of MCT of Memphis.

Mr. Speaker, when an American company cuts corners on products for export, delivers shoddy goods after lengthy delays, and otherwise treats foreign customers as if they are cash cows to be milked and then discarded, all American exporters and all American products suffer. MCT's blatant disregard for the importance of quality work for a fair price and the cultivation of an honest and reliable business relationship with its clients presents an embarrassing image of American business practices.

**NEW YORK NATIONAL THRIVES ON FAMILY TIES**

### HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 11, 1994

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I rise to recognize Mr. Serafin Mariel, the founder and president of New York National Bank. Mr. Mariel is the epitome of leadership and commitment. Mr. Mariel has demonstrated through hard work and faith that one can encourage economic growth in economically depressed minority areas.

By investing in his community, Mr. Mariel is an American who is a part of the solution and not the problem. It is Americans like Mr. Mariel who will save our economically depressed communities by investing in the American people. I am thankful that Mr. Mariel's grandmother had such a positive impact on him because Mr. Mariel is an asset to his community.

I am especially proud of Mr. Mariel's achievements in my congressional district because he is an example of an individual who has given back to his community.

Mr. Speaker, I present the following article written by Austin Evans Fenner for the Daily News, on July 7, 1994.

**N.Y. NATIONAL THRIVES ON FAMILY TIES.**

Serafin Mariel credits his grandmother for his banking success.

Mariel, 50, still keeps her old savings account passbook. He is founder and president of New York National Bank (NYNB), which owns the old Manufacturers Hanover branch on Second Ave. and 116th St., where his grandmother deposited her money.

"I'm planning to frame it and hang it on the wall of the branch," said Mariel.

NYNB acquired the branch in 1964. It has another branch in the South Bronx, started in the mid-1980s when the larger commercial banks pulled out of economically depressed minority areas.

"I want to be there," said Mariel. "I have no problem holding mortgages in those neighborhoods."

Mariel wants to take his bullish attitude and open additional branches in Central Harlem and the South Bronx.

New York National has more than \$62 million in assets, and is one of four minority-owned commercial banks in New York City. The others are EastBank, \$72 million in assets; Golden City Commercial Bank, \$61 million, and Banco Popular de Puerto Rico, over \$1.3 billion.

"When someone says they want to do something in the minority community, that's music to my ears," said Mariel, who added that he is always extending.

"If someone is having a difficult time getting a mortgage, I don't say 'why are you calling me?' I make the calls necessary to help where I can," he said.

New York National is one of the success stories in the South Bronx, said Clint Roswell, spokesman for Bronx Borough President Fernando Ferrer. "They are a very community-minded bank and have done a lot to spur growth in the area."

Mariel's grandmother raised him after his parents died when he was young.

He says her lessons of "respect for ourselves and others and a need to work hard" made the difference in his life.

As a child, he did everything from selling bags at the La Marquette on Park Ave. to shining shoes.

Mariel studied biology and history at Hunter College, but did not finish due to marriage.

After a stint with the Post Office, he took a pay cut and got a job as a teller with Bankers Trust at the South Bronx branch.

Mariel eventually graduated from the Stonier Graduate School of Banking at Rutgers.

After rising quickly through the ranks at Bankers Trust—eventually becoming vice president of its International Department—he decided to strike out on his own.

After assembling partners and investors, he founded New York National in 1962.

"I wanted to continue banking that would serve my community," he said. "I have a love and affection for my community . . . and they reciprocate."

**WATER SHORTAGES AND CONTAMINATION**

**HON. GEORGE MILLER**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 11, 1994

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, many areas in the United States and around the world have water problems that will never be solved simply by building dams and destroying more natural river systems. There are many locations where we can use new advances in technology to help solve problems of water shortages and contamination. Some examples are:

The continuing drought in California and elsewhere in the West; contaminated surface groundwater supplies; over-appropriated surface water supplies; and limited sites and environmental problems associated with new storage reservoirs.

Just a few years ago, the United States was a world leader in developing desalination technology and putting that technology to work where it was needed. Unfortunately, programs to sponsor critical research and development of desalination technologies were stifled and cut back or eliminated over the last 14 years.

Budget cuts since 1981 have all but eliminated funds for desalination research.

No program exists now to provide Federal assistance when it is needed to build desalting plants.

Legislation I am introducing today will address these pressing water resource needs by allowing the United States to more actively pursue desalination technologies. This legislation will:

Renew U.S. leadership in desalination research and development; authorize the Secretary of the Interior to conduct studies to determine the best and most economical processes for converting saline water into water suitable for beneficial uses; and authorize demonstration projects and construction of facilities for desalination, in cooperation with Federal, State, and local governments and the private sector.

I welcome the views of my colleagues and experts in this field as we consider this legislation.

**MAINTAINING FAITH WITH AMERICANS STILL UNACCOUNTED FOR**

**HON. WILLIAM F. GOODLING**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 11, 1994

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of continued efforts to determine the fate of those individuals classified as prisoners of war or missing in action in southeast Asia.

In January, 1993, the Senate Select Committee on POW-MIA affairs concluded a massive investigation of the fate of 2,264 servicemen listed as missing in the Vietnam war. I supported these efforts to investigate the whereabouts of those individuals who put their lives on the line in service to this country.

I strongly encourage support, and endorse a policy where all captured and missing persons

should be released or accounted for by Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Russia, or any other Government which has information on these individuals. Furthermore, I encourage the administration to take appropriate measures to negotiate the release of any individuals who may remain in captivity and determine the fate of those who do not.

Mr. Speaker, we owe it to this country and to the friends and families of these individuals to finally resolve the fate of these servicemen. The Vietnam war was one of the most divisive times in this Nation's history. We should never forget those who sacrificed their time and their lives on behalf of our country.

**KATMAI NATIONAL PARK LAND USE REVISION LEGISLATION**

**HON. DON YOUNG**

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 11, 1994

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to offer legislation today at the request of the Alaska Federation of Natives, the Bristol Bay Native Association, and the descendants of Katmai residents who live within what is now designated as Katmai National Park.

Since time remembered, residents who lived within the boundaries of the Katmai National Park have participated in the annual harvest of the red fish fishery from August to early October. When the Katmai National Monument was created in the 1930's, a prohibition was placed on taking of salmon except for sportsfishing with a rod and reel, and local residents were banned from the further taking of red fish.

My bill would allow local residents, approximately 30 to 40 people, to again fish for red salmon from August to October of each year. I am pleased to offer this bill at this time to begin the legislative process.

**RECOGNITION OF J. FRANKLIN JONES**

**HON. TOBY ROTH**

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 11, 1994

Mr. ROTH. Mr. Speaker, it is my honor to rise today to pay tribute to the memory of J. Franklin Jones, an outstanding citizen from Oconto County, WI. In recognition of his commitment to the citizens of Oconto County, the 1994 Oconto County Fair is being dedicated to his memory.

J. Franklin Jones was elected to the Oconto County youth fair board in 1958. For the next 35 years he served in many capacities from committee memberships to chairmanships. His wide variety of interests, from animals and buildings to music and guitars, greatly benefited everyone who attended the Oconto County Fair.

Frank took an interest in the fair at many levels, including promotion and organization, as well as insuring the safety and comfort of the people who visited. His generous time and

effort in maintaining the standards of the fair followed in the footsteps of his motto: "To make the best better is the whole reason behind it all."

In addition to his involvement with the Oconto County Fair, he also was a significant role model for the 4-H Club for many years. In his own words, the thing that made him happiest about being a 4-H leader was seeing the kids grow up to be good, responsible citizens.

Frank set a strong example of community involvement by working with both the school board and the church council. While farming, he worked for the promotion and betterment of the dairy industry by working with the Morning Glory and the Badger Breeders Boards.

Frank will always be remembered for the generous sharing of his time and talents with the Oconto County Fair and most importantly with Oconto County's youth. His legacy lives on in the hearts of everyone who knew him. Thank you, Frank, for your many contributions which have benefited so many.

#### ONE YEAR LATER: HOW THE CLINTON TAX HIKE IS HARMING AMERICA

HON. JIM SAXTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 11, 1994

Mr. SAXON. Mr. Speaker, I commend the following article to my colleagues:

[From the Heritage Foundation  
Background, Aug. 10, 1994]

#### ONE YEAR LATER: HOW THE CLINTON TAX HIKE IS HARMING AMERICA

(By Daniel J. Mitchell, McKenna Senior  
Fellow in Political Economy)

##### INTRODUCTION

This week marks the first anniversary of 1993's record tax hike and the ill effects already are becoming apparent. The Clinton Administration's own numbers show that economic growth and job creation remain considerably below levels normally found at this stage in a business cycle. The White House figures also reveal that if any deficit reduction does occur, it will be only temporary and largely unrelated to the President's economic policy. Worst of all, the Administration's budget numbers confirm that government spending remains out of control, with rising deficits in future years entirely due to the unchecked growth of domestic spending programs.

These dismal results should not be surprising. Other Presidents who have followed high-tax policies also have experienced disappointing economic performances as a result. Large payroll tax increases and bracket creep during the Carter Administration, for instance, helped stifle a robust economy and create the phenomenon known as stagflation. George Bush also inherited a strong economy, but his acquiescence to a large tax increase in 1990, combined with other significant reversals of his predecessor's policies, helped put an end to the longest peacetime expansion in America's history.

##### DÉJÀ VU ALL OVER AGAIN

The Clinton Administration insists that its tax plan is working and that history will not repeat itself. Unfortunately, the rosy picture

being painted by the White House falls apart upon closer examination. Consider the following claims:

Claim No. 1: The Administration's economic policy has restored economic growth.

Reality: This assertion ignores the fact that the recession ended in the spring of 1991. And even though President Clinton's tax plan did impose retroactive tax increases on small businesses, investors, upper-income individuals, and the estates of dead Americans, even the White House is hard-pressed to argue that a tax increase beginning January 1, 1993, caused a recession to end nearly two years later. The Administration can legitimately claim that 1991 should not count as a recovery because the economy experienced almost no growth, expanding by less than three-tenths of one percent during the year. The same cannot be said for 1992, however, since the economy expanded at a 3.9 percent clip. Growth in 1993, the year of the Clinton tax increase, slipped back to 3.1 percent and the Administration's new projections show only 3.0 percent growth in 1994. As such, the best the Administration can claim is that last year's budget deal has not yet caused the economy's performance to slow down much compared to the growth levels President Clinton inherited.

The real story, however, is that the recovery under both Bush and Clinton has been woefully inadequate. In the post-World War II period, the U.S. economy traditionally has experienced strong recoveries after an economic downturn, with real growth averaging 5.34 percent for the three years following a recession's end. But the economy's performance this time has fallen far short of past recoveries, with growth averaging only 2.94 percent in the last three years. In other words, economic growth has been barely half as strong as that normally experienced at this stage of a business cycle. Average growth during this expansion has not even reached the average of 3.1 percent for post-World War II era—a figure which includes recession years.

Instead of taking credit for ending the recession and restoring economic growth, the Administration should be trying to explain why the economy's performance has been so weak. The reason for the poor growth figures, of course, is that the White House is pursuing policies similar to those that helped cause the recession in the first place. Presidents Bush and Clinton both raised taxes. They both increased government spending and they both increased the burden of regulation and imposed costly mandates. As a result, the economic downturn and subsequent weak recovery should not come as a surprise. Policies which raise the cost of productive economic activity inevitably result in less job creation, lower savings, and reduced investment.

Claim No. 2: The Administration's economic policy has helped create new jobs.

Reality: As is the case with economic growth, job creation has been unusually weak during this expansion. If the current expansion were producing an average number of jobs for a recovery, total employment would have jumped by 11.79 percent since the recession ended. But with tax increases and new regulations raising the cost of hiring new workers (not to mention the threat of an employer mandate in health reform), total employment has increased by only 3.19 percent in the last three years. Thus, while the White House likes to boast that more jobs have been created to date during the Clinton years than were created during the entire Bush Administration, officials should in-

stead be trying to explain why the nearly identical economic policies of the two Administrations have caused the rate of job creation in this recovery to be less than one-third the usual rate at this stage of a business cycle. This poor performance means millions of Americans are unemployed today who would have been working during an average recovery.

Claim No. 3: The Administration's fiscal policy is bringing down the deficit.

Reality: Projected short-term reductions in the budget deficit are largely unrelated to the President's policies. If final figures bear out the Administration's estimates, the three-year decline in government borrowing will be the result of three factors. First and foremost, the deficit is falling because the economy has finally climbed out of the recession, albeit slowly. And even though the expansion is very tepid by historical standards, incomes have risen slightly, some jobs have been created, and corporate profits have staged a mild recovery. All these factors mean the government collects more tax revenue. The expansion also has caused a slight decline in how fast some government programs, such as unemployment insurance and food stamps, are growing. But as discussed earlier, the economy is growing much slower than normal. As such, the White House's economic policies actually are causing the deficit to be higher than it would be if normal economic conditions applied.

The second reason for projected lower deficits is the cost shift for the bailout of the deposit insurance system. The large one-time costs of the savings and loan (S&L) deposit insurance bailout artificially swelled the deficit between 1989 and 1992, adding \$149 billion to the national debt in that four-year period. The government now is selling off the assets of seized S&Ls, however, and this is expected to generate \$60.3 billion of revenue for the government between 1993 and 1997. This huge shift, from a big budget expense to a significant revenue source, lowers the reported budget deficit. Bill Clinton had the good fortune to capture the White House just as the shift took place, but it certainly is not due to his policies. More important, it clearly has no impact on the long-term deficit.

The third reason the budget deficit is falling, and the one reason the Administration can take credit for, is the large reduction in defense spending. The Pentagon's budget is expected to go down from \$292.4 billion in 1993 to \$257 billion in 1997, a decline of \$35.4 billion. With the Administration's foreign policy in disarray, these sharp cuts may not be wise policy, but they do contribute to deficit reduction.

Claim No. 4: The Administration's tax bill has produced low interest rates.

Reality: Interest rates actually have been rising steadily ever since the Administration's budget package was approved. As indicated in Chart 3, interest rates began a steady decline in 1989. This trend came to a halt, however, with the enactment of the President's budget package. To be fair, the increase in interest rates following adoption of the tax increase has very little to do with fiscal policy and is related more to fears in financial markets of future inflation. Nonetheless, the White House can hardly claim that its fiscal policy is resulting in lower interest rates when rates actually have been rising.

##### THE REAL STORY

The White House has been trying to convince voters that last year's tax increase is working. But, every claim made by the Administration proves false upon closer scrutiny. Yet the problem is not merely the lack

of good news on the consequences of 1993's record tax hike. What is of greatest concern is that, as has been the case with previous Administrations steering through large tax increases (such as those of Hoover, Carter, and Bush), the Clinton tax hike is imposing heavy costs upon the economy. Most notably:

**Rising budget deficits:** According to the Administration's own forecast, the budget deficit resumes its upward climb in 1996. The Congressional Budget Office, estimates that budget deficits will swell to more than \$360 billion by the year 2004.

**Surging domestic spending:** As Chart 4 shows, the reason for rising deficits is the alarming growth of domestic spending programs. These programs, which are rising 78 percent faster than needed to keep pace with inflation, are projected to increase by a total of \$229 billion over the four years of the Clinton Administration. Significantly, if spending for these programs simply held to the rate of inflation beginning in 1995, the five-year savings would be more than \$367 billion and the budget deficit would fall to \$70.1 billion by 1999.

**Soak the rich tax hike backfiring:** The lion's share of new taxes in last year's tax package is supposed to come from increased income taxes on small businesses, savers, investors, and the well-to-do. Critics of the proposal pointed out at the time that higher tax rates would discourage productive economic activity and could actually cause tax revenue to be lower than it would be if taxes were not boosted. Known as the supply-side

effect, this revenue shortfall results when taxpayers reduce their work effort, change their behavior, shift their investments, or take other steps to protect their earnings from excessive taxation. As a result, projects of tax revenues based on models which assume taxpayers are oblivious to changes in the tax code almost always will be grossly optimistic. This effect was seen after the 1990 tax increase. Compared with projections made before the tax increase was approved, the 1990 deal actually caused tax revenues to fall by more than \$3 for every \$1 the 1990 tax bill was supposed to raise.

Since the Clinton economic program is so similar to that enacted during the Bush Administration, it should come as no surprise that history seems to be repeating itself. According to the Treasury Department, personal income tax revenues are growing slower than other sources of tax revenue this fiscal year. Nine months into the fiscal year, personal income tax revenues are only 7.2 percent above their level at this point last year. Tax revenues from other sources, by contrast, are coming in at 11.2 percent above last year's levels. Revenues from the tax that was raised the most have been growing far slower than revenues from tax sources which were increased by lesser amounts or not at all. The gap between personal income taxes and other taxes is concrete evidence that "soaking the rich" simply does not work. What makes these numbers particularly significant is that some of the income tax revenue came from the retroactive tax increase, which is one tax increase that

avoids the supply-side effect since it raised rates on income that was already earned.

The Administration should have anticipated that higher income tax rates would be associated with slower income tax collections. In the 1980s, when tax rates were slashed, income tax collections soared, and the share of taxes paid by the rich rose.

Out of step with world trends: In an increasingly global economy, changes in domestic policies can have a significant impact on international competitiveness. During the 1980s, policy makers in the U.S. understood and took advantage of this phenomenon, cutting tax rates and encouraging a surge in job-creating foreign investment in America. In recent years, other countries have followed the U.S. example, lowering their tax rates, oftentimes dramatically. Tragically, U.S. politicians seem to have forgotten the lessons of the 1980s. As seen in Chart 6, the United States has been raising tax rates during a period when most other nations are doing just the opposite.

CONCLUSION

Policies that did not work for Herbert Hoover, Jimmy Carter, and George Bush are not working any better for Bill Clinton. The economy's weak performance, the dismal job creation numbers, and projections of higher spending and deficits are the inevitable results of a fiscal policy based on this flawed model. Critics maintained that the 1993 tax hike would harm the prospects for a solid recovery, not enhance them. They are already being proved correct.